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THE
MASTER, WARDENS, AND ASSISTANTS
OF THE WORSHIPFUL
COMPANY OF DRAPERS

1921-1922

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CLERK.

Ernest Henry Pooley.





Initial from Charter No. 1

THE History of The
Worshipful Company
of the Drapers of
London : preceded by
an Introduction on London

and her Gilds up to the close of the XVth
Century. By the Rev. A. H. JOHNSON,
Fellow and Chaplain of All Souls College

Vol. III

From the Accession of James I

1603-1920 .

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PREFACE

OWING to the outbreak of the War in 1914 and its aftermath the publication of the concluding Volumes of the History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers has been unavoidably delayed. I have dealt in considerable detail with its fortunes up to the Revolution of 1688. To have treated the more modern period with the same minuteness would have made an undue demand on the patience of my readers, especially as by the close of the seventeenth century the Company had completely assumed its modern form. From that date therefore I have confined myself to points of especial interest.

Among many who have given me generous help I wish to give especial thanks to Mr. A. B. Beaven, the author of 'The Aldermen of the City of London', and Mr. Hopkins, Past Master of the Merchant Taylors Company. To the first I am indebted, not only for many corrections of errors in my first two Volumes, but also for invaluable information on minute points of municipal history; to Mr. Hopkins, for having read the proofs with the greatest care, for many helpful suggestions and for most useful and illustrative references to the history of the Merchant Taylors Company. Professor Firth has kindly read the proofs of the part dealing with the Stuart Period, while the whole of the third Volume was carefully revised by

Preface

the late Sir Cornelius Dalton, Past Master of the Drapers' Company.

I have also to thank Mr. Elwin, a livery man of the Company, for allowing me to use a MS history of the Company written by Mr. Chapman, a late member of the Court, and Mr. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., for help in compiling the genealogy of the Garraways.

Messrs. Freshfield and Williams have generously placed at my disposal important papers printed privately by them concerning the case of the Attorney-General v. The Irish Society and others, 1898.

Miss Greenwood, the assistant to Mr. Pooley the clerk of the Company, has not only undertaken the arduous task of compiling the index, but has also been most assiduous in looking up references and giving me information on many points.

The labours of Miss Watkins until she left Oxford, and then of Miss Hugo, have also been, in the tedious work of preparing many of the Appendices, beyond praise.

Finally, I have to thank the members of the Court for the thoughtful and generous treatment they have accorded me.

A. H. JOHNSON.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,
OXFORD,
October, 1921.

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CHAPTER I

THE RELATIONS OF THE DRAPERS' COMPANY TO PUBLIC EVENTS DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES I



(1)

AMES the First ascended the English throne at an unfortunate moment. During the year 1603 London was again visited by a serious outbreak of the Plague. As many as 305,708 are said to have died in London and the liberties thereof within twelve months.² Many members of the Company fell victims, and among them one Warden, Mr. Wilkinson their clerk, and their carpenter.³ It was thought desirable to cleanse and perfume the Hall. The election dinner was given up, and ten pounds of the money, which

The Coronation of James I (July 25, 1603) a hurried one owing to the Plague.

should have been spent on the feast, was distributed among the poor;⁴ as well as £41 14s. 8d. which was contributed by the House.⁵

In consequence of this visitation, the ceremonies at the first entry of the King into London and at his coronation were hurried and curtailed. The Lord Mayor, the aldermen, and twelve of the principal citizens alone attended at the coronation, the pageants

¹ This initial comes from the Charter of 4 James I framed at Drapers' Hall.

² Stow, *Chronicle*, Howe's continuation, ed. 1831, p. 857.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 1 a b. With regard to the deaths among the Liverymen, see *infra*, p. 86.

⁴ £5 by the Wardens; £5 by the House. Rep. H, fo. 297 a b.

⁵ Rep. H, fo. 297 b; Rep. + 131, p. 2 b.

2 *Relations of the Drapers' Company to*

First Pro-
gress of
James I
through the
City, March
1604.

which had been prepared were abandoned,¹ and the king did not make his progress through the City till the March of the following year. This however was conducted 'in pompous and magnificent state'; and, as was then the custom, the orations were written by some of the well-known playwrights and poets of the day. Thomas Dekker prepared an elaborate libretto, although he reminds us that 'in regard that his Majestie should not be wearied with tedious Speeches a great part were left unspoken', while Ben Jonson also wrote 'his part of King James' royal and magnificent entertainment'.²

The Drapers took their accustomed share in the ceremony. In the assessment made on the London Companies to raise £400 for the pageants they stand fourth on the list. They also enlarged their standing in Cheapside, and the total expense incurred by them for the coronation and the pageants at the progress was over £257.³

The other important public processions alluded to in the Drapers' Books were those prepared for the visit of the King of Denmark, the brother of the Queen, in 1606; for the Investiture of Henry Prince of Wales in 1610, and for the four Mayor's shows prepared for Sir Thomas Hayes, Sir John Jolles, Edward Barkham, and Martin Lumley: all of whom were Drapers.

The references to the two first in the Drapers' books are confined to a statement of the charges to which the Company was put.⁴ The comparative silence of the Drapers with regard to the reception of

¹ Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 3.

² Nichols, *Royal Progresses of James I*, vol. i, pp. 377 ff.; for Dekker and Ben Jonson, *Dictionary of National Biography*. Cf. on pageants of the time, Fairholt, *Lord Mayors' Pageants*, in *Percy Soc. Publications*, vol. x; J. B. Nichols, *London Pageants*.

³ Rep. H, fos. 7 b, 72 b, 295 b; Rep. + 131, pp. 6 a, 8 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1603-4, fo. 10 b; Renters' Accounts, 1603-4, fo. 23 b. The assessment followed the rates allotted for the provision of corn, and is of importance as indicating the precedence of the Company among the London Gilds (John Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, p. 400). In these royal pageants the gildsmen did not take part in the procession as they did in the Mayor's Show. They were arranged according to their Companies along the route in Cheapside, at first standing behind rails, and, after the reign of Elizabeth, seated, as will be seen from the print from *La Serre* given in Appendix IX A.

⁴ For the pageants in 1606, £76. 10s.; Rep. + 131, p. 40 b. For that of the

the King of Denmark may be explained by the continuance of the 'sickness',¹ while in the case of the Investiture of Prince Henry it may be that they were jealous of the favour accorded to the Clothworkers and the Merchant Taylors, who had succeeded, the one in enrolling King James himself, and the other the Prince, among their honorary freemen.² Yet from other sources we learn that both these ceremonies were on a magnificent scale. The playwright and ballad writer, Anthony Munday, himself a Draper, prepared the pageants of 'London's love to royal Prince Henry', and two speeches to be delivered to the Prince at his Investiture, in the presentation of which the actors Richard Burbage and John Rice took part, Burbage himself assuming the rôle of Queen Corinea.³

The Reception of the King of Denmark, 1606, and the Installation of Prince Henry, 1610.

It was, however, on the Lord Mayor's shows that the Companies

Prince, £12 6s. 6d., for hire of a barge and other charges, as well as an aid to the Prince: Rep. + 131, p. 66 b; Renters' Accounts, 1609-10, fo. 9 b.

¹ Cf. the most royal and honourable entertainment of the most famous King Christiern. Nichols, Progresses of James I, vol. ii, p. 54.

² There had been some friction between the Mayor, who was a Clothworker, and the Merchant Taylors over the affair. Clode, Memorials of the Merchant Taylors, p. 151; Early History of the Merchant Taylors, Pt. I, p. 284. We have the precept of the Mayor to the Merchant Taylors and the Stationers given in Nichols, Progresses, i. 318. Cp. also Jupp, Carpenters, p. 74. But that to the Drapers is not in the Drapers' Books.

³ For the pageant 'London's Love' cf. Nichols, Progresses of James I, vol. ii, p. 315. Rice and Burbage were paid £17. 10s. 6d. for their robes, which they were allowed to keep. Munday received a fee £4. 6s. 4d. and 47s. for expenses. Cf. Guildhall Rep. xxix, fo. 232 b; xxx, fo. 233. These references I owe to Mr. C. W. Wallace. Cf. also Stow's Chronicle, continued by E. Howes, ed. 1631, p. 900. For Burbage and Rice cf. Dict. of National Biography.

Anthony Munday's father was a Draper. He himself was apprenticed to a Stationer, but was translated to the Drapers. He was a most prolific though rather dull writer of pageants, romances, plays, and chronicles, and his rival Middleton sarcastically called him 'the black Monday' while Ben Jonson said that he wrote the City's Pageants 'when a worse could not be had'. Cf. Dict. of National Biography. I have received from Mr. C. W. Wallace two or three notices of his works in the Guildhall Repertory, especially his 'Chronicle', which was dedicated to the Court of Aldermen, and for which he received 20 nobles, and his edition of Stow's Survey, for which he received £60. In return for his services to the City he was granted the privilege of nominating one person for the freedom of the City and is said to have earned as much as £600 a year from the fees he charged. The privilege was also given to his widow. Cf. Guildhall Rep. xxx, fo. 225; xxxiii, fo. 239 b; xxxviii, fo. 31; xli, fo. 165 b; xlvi, fo. 14. He died August 1633 at the age of 80, and a monument

4 *Relations of the Drapers' Company to*

The Lord
Mayor's
Show.

concentrated their energies, more especially because the ceremonies connected with the old Midsummer Watch had been for some time discontinued.¹

In these shows the Company which had the honour of providing the Mayor took the leading part and bore the chief expense;² and since four Drapers held the office during the reign, we have much curious information on the subject.

That the reader may the better understand the references, I give a contemporary account of the Ceremony, written in the later years of Queen Elizabeth.

'The day of St. Simon and St. Jude the Mayor enters into his state and office. The next day he goes by water to Westminster in most triumphant-like manner, his barge being garnished with the arms of the City; and near it a ship-boat of the Queen's Majesty, being trimmed up

was put up to him in St. Stephen's, Coleman Street. This was destroyed in the great fire of 1666, but the inscription, which is to be found in the sixth edition of Styrpe's Stow, vol. i, p. 576, runs thus:

He that hath many an ancient Tomb-stone read,
Ith' Labour seeming more among the Dead
To live, then with the living, that survaid
Abstruse Antiquities, and ore them laid
Such vive and beauteous Colours with his Pen,
That, Spite of Time, the old are new agen,
Under this Marble lies interr'd; his Tomb
Claiming, as worthily it may, this Room
Among those many Monuments, his Quill
Has so revived, helping now to fill
A Place with those in his Survey, in which
He has a Monument more fair, more rich,
Than polisht Stones could make him, where he lyes
Though dead, still living, and in that ne'er dies.

¹ The Midsummer or Marching Watch was an annual muster of the Companies for the purpose of forming a guard for the ensuing year. It had been temporarily omitted between 1540 and 1548. It was then revived, but on a more economical scale, and lasted on under the name of the 'Standing Watch' till the force was superseded by the City Trained Bands in 1614. Grose, *Military Antiquities*, vol. 1, p. 193; Raikes, *Hon. Royal Artillery Company*, vol. i, p. 103. The last notice I have found of the Midsummer Watch is in 1571.

² When the Mayor was not a Draper the expenses were comparatively small, viz.: £1 6s. allowance to the four Wardens for their dinner with the Mayor (+8d. loss on exchange), and something over £7 for hiring a barge, for whifflers, torch-bearers, and trumpeters, and their refreshments. Cf. *Renters' Accounts*, 1622-3, fos. 10, 13.

and rigged like a ship of war, with divers pieces of ordnance, standards, pennons and targets of the proper arms of the said Mayor, of his Company, and of the Merchants Adventurers, or of the Staple, or of the Company of the New Trades. Next before him goeth the barge of the Livery of his own Company, decked with their own proper arms; then the Bachelors' barge; and so all the Companies in order, every one having their own proper barge, with the arms of their Company. And so passing along the Thames, he landeth at Westminster, where he taketh his oath in the Exchequer before the Judge there: which done, he returneth by water as aforesaid, and landeth at Paul's Wharf, where he and the rest of the Aldermen take their horses, and in great pomp pass through Cheapside.

And first of all cometh the two great standards, one having the arms of the City, and the other the arms of the Lord Mayor's Company; next them two drums and a flute; then an ensign of the City; and then about seventy or eighty poor men, marching two and two, in blue gowns, with red sleeves and caps, every one bearing a pike and a target, whereon is painted the arms of all those that have been Mayors of the same Company that this new Mayor is of. Then two banners, one of the King's arms, and one of the Mayor's own arms. Then a set of hautboys playing, and after them certain wyfflers,¹ in velvet coats and chains of gold, with white staves in their hands; then the Pageant of Triumph richly decked, whereupon, by certain figures and writings, some matter touching Justice and the office of a Magistrate is represented. Then sixteen trumpeters, eight and eight, having banners of the Mayor's Company. Then certain wyfflers in velvet coats and chains, with white staves as before. Then the Bachelors, two and two, in long gowns, with crimson hoods on their shoulders of satin; which bachelors are chosen every year of the same Company that the Mayor is of (but not of the Livery), and serve as gentlemen on that and other festival days, to wait on the Mayor, being in number according to the quantity of the Company, sometimes sixty or one hundred. After them twelve Trumpeters more, with banners of the Mayor's Company; then the drum and flute of the City, and an ensign of the Mayor's Company; and after, the waits of the City in blue gowns, red sleeves and caps, every one having a silver collar about his neck. Then they of the Livery in their long gowns, every one having his hood on his left shoulder, half black and half red, the number of them according to the greatness of the Company whereof they are. After them follow Sheriffs' officers, and then the Mayor's officers, with other officers of the City, as the Common Serjeant and the Chamberlain; next before the Mayor goeth the Sword-bearer,

¹ Whiffers originally played on pipes, but at this date the pipes had been dispensed with.

6 *Relations of the Drapers' Company to*

having on his head the cap of honour, and the sword of the City in his right hand, in a rich scabbard set with pearl, and on his left hand goeth the Common Crier of the City, with his great mace on his shoulder all gilt. The Mayor hath on a long gown of scarlet, and on his left shoulder a hood of black velvet, and a rich collar of gold of SS about his neck,¹ and with him rideth the old Mayor also, in his scarlet gown, hood of velvet, and a chain of gold about his neck. Then all the Aldermen, two and two (among whom is the Recorder), all in scarlet gowns; those that have been Mayors have chains of gold, the others have black velvet tippets. The two Sheriffs come last of all, in their black and scarlet gowns and chains of gold. In this order they pass along through the City to the Guildhall, where they dine that day, to the number of 1,000 persons, all at the charge of the Mayor and the two Sheriffs. This feast costeth £400, whereof the Mayor payeth £200, and each of the Sheriffs £100. Immediately after dinner, they go to St. Paul's church, every one of the aforesaid poor men bearing staff, torches, and targets, which torches are lighted when it is late before they come from evening prayer.²

The Mayor-
alty of Sir
Thomas
Hayes, 1614.

For the show of Sir Thomas Hayes in 1614 the Company made special arrangements, while in that year another 'brother', Martin Lumley, held the office of Sheriff.³ Besides providing the

¹ The SS collar dates from the reign of Henry IV. It takes several forms, the SS being sometimes linked together chainwise, sometimes used as ornamental bosses of a garter-shaped strap collar. Its origin is doubtful. According to Camden the letters are a repetition of the initial of Sanctus Sinio Simplicius, an eminent Roman lawyer; others believe them to be a repetition of the initial 'Souveraine', the favourite motto of Henry IV when he was Earl of Derby. Others connect them with the word 'Souviégne', or forget-me-not, which was Henry IV's flower, in goldsmith's work. They were certainly used as a badge of the House of Lancaster. Others again suggest that they represent the words 'Spiritus Sanctus'. The badge was used in the ceremony conferring knighthood, and is still worn by the Lord Chief Justice, the Lord Mayor, and others. Specimens of it are to be found on the effigy of Henry IV's wife at Canterbury. Cf. Camden, *Remains*, ed. 1629, p. 194; Meyrick, *Ancient Armour*, vol. ii, p. 103; Skelton, *Oxfordshire*, ed. 1823, p. 16; Parker, *Glossary of Heraldry*, ed. 1847, p. 271; Wylie, *History of reign of Henry IV*, ed. 1898, vol. iv, p. 117; Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain* (Nichols, Lond. 1796), vol. ii, p. 34.

² From A briefe description of the Royal Citie of London, by Wm. Smith, citizen and haberdasher. Cf. J. B. Nichols, *London Pageants*, p. 95. Cf. also p. 94, 'Order observed by Lord Mayor', printed by John Day, 1568. See also Herbert, *Livery Companies*, vol. i, pp. 199 ff.

³ The following Drapers were sheriffs and Mayors during the reign of James I:

Sheriff	Thomas Hayes	1604-5.	Mayor	in 1614-15
,,	John Jolles	1605-6	,,	,, 1615-16
,,	Ed. Rotherham	1612-13		





ENTREE ROYALLE DE LA REYNE MERE DU ROY TRES CH



PIEV DANS LA VILLE DE LONDRES

PAGEANT AT THE ENTRANCE OF MARIE DE' MEDICI, THE MOTHER OF
HENRIETTA MARIA, INTO LONDON, OCTOBER 1638.

From P. de la Serre. Histoire de l'Entrée de la Reyne mère (Marie de
Medici) dans La Grande Bretagne. London, 1639.



gratuities of £66 8s. 4d. to the Mayor and £33 6s. 8d. to the Sheriff¹ and lending plate to them, as was the custom when they were members of the Company, a new barge was ordered, while the Wardens were empowered to admit twenty-one freemen to the Livery over and above the Master Bachelors of the year and of the previous year. These were to pay 20 marks each 'so that the service of the Lord Mayor might be the better borne'. Eighty Bachelors were ordered to attend the procession, forty dressed in foynes who were to contribute £5 towards the general charge, and forty dressed in budge² who were to pay £3; while those excused from attending in foynes were to pay £12, and those excused from attending in budge £6.

This appears to be a new expedient for raising money to meet the expenses of the Mayor's show, when he belonged to the Company. It is at least the first notice of the practice which I have come across. One hundred gowns were also prepared for the poor of the Company, who were to carry javelins and torches, and coats for those who bore banners. Committees of important members of the Company were appointed to go by barge to Westminster, dressed in gowns faced with foynes, to welcome guests at the Mayor's banquet, and then to dine there with certain of the Livery dressed in budge, while the rest of the Livery were to dine at Drapers' Hall.³

The pageant, which was called 'Himatia-Poleos, the triumphs of old Drapery or the rich Cloathing of England', was written by Anthony Munday.⁴

Sheriff Henry Jaye	1613-14	
„ Martin Lumley	1614-15.	Mayor in 1623-4
„ Allan Cotton	1616-17	„ „ 1625-6

Besides these, three declined to serve in 1613: Brian Janson, Henry Butler, Will. Garraway; cf. Appendix XLII B. When a Warden was elected to or refused the office of Sheriff he ceased to be Warden, but kept his place on the Court. Cf. + 131, p. 156 a.

¹ Wardens' Accounts, 1614-15, fo. 46. The present to the Mayor had been increased since 1578, when it was 50 marks or £40. Cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 157.

² 'Foynes' was the skin of the tree or beech martin. 'Budge' is lambskin dressed outwards, something like astrakhan.

³ Cf. Rep. + 131, pp. 102 b, 103 a, 104 b, 105 a b.

⁴ Cf. J. B. Nichols, London Pageants (Bodleian Libr. Gough Adds. London,

8 *Relations of the Drapers' Company to*

Sir John
Jolles' Lord
Mayor's
Show, 1615.

As most of the charges of the Mayor's installation and show when he was a Draper were borne by the Bachelors, and their accounts anterior to 1615-16 have not survived, we do not know what the total expense amounted to,¹ but in the following year the show in honour of Sir John Jolles cost no less than £688 7s. 3d. in addition to the present of £66 8s. 4d. for 'his house painting'.²

To meet this heavy charge, resort was had to the method already mentioned. Ten sufficient men were received into the Livery from the Bachelors, who paid a fee of 40 marks apiece, while those who declined were fined. To this was added the fees of the Bachelors in foynes and budge and the quarterage money, both of the yeomen³ and of those who had paid their quarterage to the Wardens on their entry in the current year.

For the show itself Munday again dilated on the Triumphs of Old Drapery in his 'Metropolis Coronata'. Two pageants were exhibited which are thus described by Fairholt.⁴

The first represented Jason and his companions accompanied by Medea 'in a goodly argoe rowed by divers comely eunuchs, and shaped as neere as art could yeeld it to that of such auncient and honorable fame as conuaied Jason and his valiant argonautes of Greece to fetch away the gold fleece from Colchos'.

The second displayed Neptune and Thamesis in the sea chariot 'shaped like a whale, or the huge leviathan of the Sea'; in which also appeared Henry Fitzalwyn, the first Lord Mayor, attended by eight 'royall vertues', each one bearing the arms of some

Octavo 179), p. 102; Hazlitt, *Livery Companies*, p. 213. 'Old Drapery' is cloth which has been fulled, while 'New Drapery' generally meant manufactured worsted. See also *Illustrations from the Pageant of The Goldsmiths Chrysanaleia, 'The Golden Fishing'*, in 1616 (also written by Munday), by Nichols, 1844.

¹ The expenses connected with the taking of his oath by Sheriff Lumley in that year cost (besides the present of £33 6s. 8d.) for trimming of his house, hire of a barge, and cakes and wine at the Hall, &c., £1 17s. 9d. *Renters' Accounts*, 1613-14, fo. 14.

² Cf. *Wardens' Accounts*, 1615-16, fos. 40, 41, 42; *Wardens of Bachelors' Accounts*, + 178, fo. 3.

³ *Wardens of Bachelors' Accounts*, + 178, fo. 2; *Rep.* + 131, p. 116 a.

⁴ Fairholt, *Lord Mayors' Pageants*, *Percy Society*, vol. x, p. 138. Cf. also J. B. Nichols, *London Pageants*, p. 102. This is the first of the Drapers' Pageants of which a copy still survives. Cf. *Bodleian Library*, *Gough Adds.* London 122-6; unfortunately it has no illustrations.

celebrated member of the Drapers' Company. 'No sooner is my Lord and his brethren seated in their barge' than he is addressed by Fitzalwyn in a long jingling speech. After his return from Westminster, 'the Lord Mayor is edified by the first show: A faire and beautifull shippe stiled by the Lord Mayor's name, and called Joell', filled with sailors, and attended by Neptune and the Thames, and followed by 'a goodly ramme or golden fleece, the honoured creast to Drapers and Staplers, having on each side a housewifely virgin sitting, seriously imployed in carding and spinning wool for cloth, the very best commoditie that ever this Kingdom yeilded'. The Argoe succeeded this pageant, and 'instead of Neptune's whale, commeth another sea-device tearmed the Chariot of Man's life, displaying the World as a globe, supported by the four elements and running on seven wheels, emblematic of the seven ages of Man's life. It is drawn by two lions, and two sea-horses, and is guided by Time, as a coachman to the life of man.'

The principal pageant displayed London and her twelve daughters (the twelve Livery Companies) placed around. 'Onely Drapery is neerest to her as being the first and chiefest honoured Society before all others.'¹ 'Foure godly mounts, Learned Religion, Militarie Discipline, Navigation and Homebred Husbandrie, are grouped round her as bulwarks to protect her.'

After all these shows appeared 'a device of huntsmen all clad in greene, with their bowes, arrowes and bugles, and a new slaine deere carried among them. It savoureth of Earle Robert de la Hude, sometime Earle of Huntingdon, and sonne-in-lawe (by marriage) to olde Fitzalwyn.' He is attended by 'Robin Hood, Little John, Scathlocke, Much the Miller's sonne, Right hitting Brand, Fryar Tuck' and many more. Robin Hood and Friar Tuck repeated a short dialogue, and the pageant ended with a huntsman's song.

Considering how expensive had been the honour of placing two Drapers in the Lord Mayor's chair in two successive years, it is not surprising to find that the Company demurred to the translation of Alderman Barkham from the Leathersellers, because he was shortly to be elected to the office. When the Court of

Translation
of Alderman
Barkham
to the
Drapers'
Company.

¹ That is, because the Mayor was of their Company.

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Aldermen¹ and the Privy Council insisted that the request of Alderman Barkham should be complied with, the Company moved the Court of Aldermen to free it from the charges of the Lord Mayor's Day, 'so that the City be not disgraced nor they occasioned to complain elsewhere, as they without precedent have been complained of.' After a lengthy controversy the Drapers gave way,² and when, shortly afterwards, Barkham became Lord Mayor, the Company were not niggardly in their expenditure.

The Pageant
of 1621.

The pageant termed 'The Sun in Aries' was written by Thomas Middleton, and, as we are told in the title-page, was performed at the sole charge of the Drapers' Company. Middleton himself also made and set out some of the pageants, with the assistance of Anthony Munday.³

The whole ceremony is thus described by Fairholt: ⁴

'The triumph of honour, in which the heroes of antiquity are enshrined, is the first to greet the Mayor on his return from Westminster; it is placed in St. Paul's Church Yard. Jason delivers a speech, containing allusions to his voyage for the Golden Fleece, moralised for the

¹ The Court of Aldermen actually went so far as 'to order and decree' that the Drapers' Company should receive Alderman Barkham into their Society. Cf. Guildhall Records, Rep. 35, fos. 211, 220, 230, July 10-24, 1621.

² + 131, pp. 162 b, 163 b, 164 a; + 301, Reverse, fo. 75. The reason for Barkham's desire to be translated was because it was now the custom that the Mayor should belong to one of the twelve Greater Livery Companies; cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. i, p. 330. Herbert, with his usual inaccuracy, calls him Barker: i. 437. He had been Master of the Leathersellers. Sir R. Walpole was descended from his daughter.

³ Nichols, Progresses of James I, vol. iv, p. 274. Thomas Middleton was a dramatist of some repute: cf. Dict. of National Biography. He entered the Drapers' Company by redemption in 1626. Freedom List + 279, fo. 131. Cf. Bachelor's Accounts, + 178, fo. 26:

'Item paid to Mr. Thomas Middleton, Garrett Christmas, and Anthony Munday by Agreement for making and setting out of the Pageantes and shewes, viz: The one in forme or likenes of a Mountaine; one other, of a fountaine, with a triple Crowne; a third called the tower of vertue or ye brazen tower: and the fowrth a Chariott drawne with twoe pellited Lyons; and for all Chardges incident to those shewes . . . CXL li.'

⁴ Fairholt, Lord Mayors' Pageants, Percy Soc., ed. 1844, vol. x, p. 48. I have added a few sentences from the original. Cf. Nichols, Progresses of James I, vol. iv, p. 724.

occasion. The Mayor is then conducted to "the Master Triumph called the Tower of Virtue, which, for strength, safety and perpetuity bears the name of the Brazen Tower, of which integrity keeps the keys, virtue being indeed as a brazen wall to a City or Commonwealth; and to illustrate the prosperity it brings to a Kingdom, the top turrets or pinnacles of this Brazen Tower, shine bright like Gold; and upon the gilded battlements thereof stand six Knights, three in silvered and three in gilt armour, as Virtue's Standard bearers or champions, holding six little streamers or silver bannerets, on each of which are displayed the arms of a noble brother and benefactor, Fame sounding forth their praises to the world, for the encouragement of after ages, and Antiquity the register of Fame, containing in her golden legend their names and titles", as that of Henry Fitzalwin, Draper L. Mayor foure and twenty yeares together; ¹ Sir ² John Norman the first that rowed in barge to Westminster with silver oares at his owne charges; Sir Francis Drake,³ the sonne of Fame, who in two yeares and tenne monthes did cast a girdle aboute the world; the unparallel'd Simon Eyre,⁴ who built Leadenhall at his own cost, a store house for the poore both in the upper lofts and lower; the generous and memorable Sir Richard Champion⁵ and Sir John Milborne,⁶ two bountefull benefactors; Sir Richard Hardell,⁷ in the seat of Magistracy six yeares together; Sir John Pulteney four yeares,⁸ which Sir John founded a Colledge in the parish Church of St. Lawrence Poultney, by Candlewick Street; John Hinde a re-edifier of the parish Church of St. Swithins, by London Stone.⁹ Sir Richard [Pype¹⁰] who, being free of the Leathersellers, was also from there

¹ On the question whether Fitzalwin (al: Fitzalwyn) was a Draper, cf. vol. i, p. 75. The Drapers have always held that he was, and in 1613-14 procured a patent to that effect: cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1613-14, fo. 25. Unfortunately this is not a conclusive proof.

² Mayor 1453-4. The title of 'Sir' given to Fitzalwin, R. Hardell, John Norman, and Simon Eyre is incorrect. They were none of them Knights. Nor was it the custom to confer the title on the Mayor till later: cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. i, p. 255.

³ Given the freedom of the Company in 1589.

⁴ Mayor 1445-6.

⁵ Mayor 1565-6.

⁶ Mayor 1520-1.

⁷ Mayor 1254-7. It is doubtful whether he was a Draper, and his Christian name was probably Ralph. Cf. Stow, ed. Kingsford, vol. ii, p. 156.

⁸ Mayor 1330-1, 1331-2, 1333-4, 1336-7.

⁹ Mayor 1390-9, 1403-4.

¹⁰ Master of the Leathersellers 1566-7, translated to the Drapers 1571; Master of the Drapers 1573-4, 1577-8, 1581-2, Mayor 1577-8.

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translated to the ancient and honourable society of Drapers, and many, whose names for brevity's cause I must omit.'

His lordship is now conducted toward the new standard, and, in allusion to the repair it and St. Paul's had recently undergone, 'one in cloudy ruinous habit leaning upon the turret at a trumpet's sounding suddenly starts and wakes, and in amazement throws off his unseemly garments at the Mayor's approach, and addresses him in a complimentary speech'. 'After this for the full close of the forenoon's triumph, near St. Lawrence lane stands a mountain, artfully raised and replenished with fine woolly creatures; Phoebus on the top shining in full glory being circled with the twelve celestial signs.' Aries, placed near the principal rays, addresses the Mayor, whose entrance on the duties of his office is typified by the Sun's entrance into this sign. 'A triple crowned fountain of Justice' adorned with the figures of the graces and virtues that should belong to honourable magistrates, attend with the other Pageants near the entrance of his lordship's house at night, when Fame again addresses him.

To meet the charges, which came to the sum of £615 7s. 6d., the method already adopted in 1614 and 1615 was again followed.¹

Martin
Lumley's
Show, 1623.

The excuse given by the Company for their unwillingness to admit Alderman Barkham as a member had been that they shortly expected to have another Mayor of their Company. This occurred in 1623, when Martin Lumley was elected. For this occasion Middleton produced 'The Triumphs of Integrity', which is thus described by Mr. Fairholt.² The first show on the water was 'a proper and significant masterpiece of triumph called the Imperial

¹ Ref. + 131, p. 168 a; Renters' Accounts, 1621-2, fo. 14; Bachelors' Accounts, + 178, fos. 22 ff.

£300	0	0	was paid by divers men raised to the Livery.
£ 13	6	8	„ „ „ one for exemption from all charge and service, except quarterage.
£143	18	0	„ „ „ 59 for 'dismissment'.
£ 75	0	0	„ „ „ Bachelors wearing foynes.
£ 32	0	0	„ „ „ those wearing budge.
Total	£564	4	8

The balance was paid by the House.

² Percy Soc. Publications, vol. x, p. 49. Mr. Fairholt has adopted as far as

Canopy, being ancient arms of the Drapers Company'. The first on land was 'a Mount Royal upon which were placed six Kings and great commanders that were originally sprung from shepherds and humble beginnings': some with gilt laurels holding in their hands silver sheep-hooks, intended as a compliment to his lordship's Company, as also was the pageant, a chariot containing the most famous men of his lordship's Fraternity figured under the form of various virtues. This chariot was drawn by two pelleted lions, the proper supporters of the Company's Arms.' Upon them were seated Power and Honour. Next appeared 'an unparalleled masterpiece of art called the Crystal Sanctuary, or Temple of Integrity'. In this temple, Integrity 'with all her glorious and sanctimonious concomitants sat, transparently seen through the crystal', which was made to open in many parts; the columns or pillars were of gold and the battlements of silver: the whole being adorned at night 'with many lights, dispersing their glorious radiances on all sides through the crystal'. The concluding pageant at night was the Canopy of State, or arms of the Drapers' Company, 'three Imperial Crowns cast into the form and bigness of a triumphal pageant with clouds and sunbeams, those beams by ingenious art made often to mount and spread like a golden and glorious canopy

possible the original language of the pageant. Hazlitt, in his *Livery Companies*, p. 213, says that Munday also wrote the 'Triumphs of the Golden Fleece'. Probably this was the 'Argoe' mentioned in the *Drapers Bachelors' Accounts*, + 178, fos. 36, 37.

	£	s	d
Paid Anthony Munday for an Argoe	35	0	0
Item to Mr. Mundaye's man for bringing the bookes		1	0
Item given to Mr. Munday's * men to drinck, when the wardens went to veiwe the Argoe when it was making.		5	0
Item paid to Mr. Monday for the hyer of a barne in Whitecrose Streete to make the Argoe in.	2	15	0
Paid to and allowed to Davies the marshall in leiu of his scarfe	1	0	0
Item to Mr. Monday * and his partener for the like	2	0	0

* The different spelling of Munday's name in the same document is characteristic of the custom of those days.

¹ Cf. *Bachelors' Accounts*, + 178, fo. 36. 'Paid Mr. Thomas Middleton and Garrett Christmas . . . for making and setting out of the pageants and Shewes; viz. the one in forme of a mountayne; one other a Chariott drawne with twoe Pellited loyons'; a third a Chrystall Temple, and the fourth a royall canopy of State; and for all chardges incident to those Shewes CL li.' Garrett Christmas was a carver and statuary of reputation. Cf. *Dict. of National Biography*.

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over the deified persons who were placed under it, which were eight in number figuring the eight Beatitudes; to improve which conceit, *Beati pacifici*, being the King's word or motto, was set in fair great letters near the uppermost of the three crowns.

Of this pageant the charges came to over £629, and as we have a very elaborate account of the way in which the money was collected and spent, I give it in the Appendix.¹ Part of the money was raised as before, by calling Bachelors to the Livery. We however hear for the first time of divers obstinate young men, who refused to pay their fines and be conformable to the charges for the Show.²

The Gun-
powder Plot
and the
Gowrie Con-
spiracy.

Of other events during the reign of James I, the Gunpowder Plot is only mentioned because it was decided that it should be commemorated by a yearly dinner³ at the charge of the House. The Court also determined to hold another dinner on every 5th of August in memory of the king's escape from the Gowrie conspiracy in Scotland; and since the dinner was like to fall near the day of the election feast, it was ordered that a new cistern should be made in the kitchen, since 'there is like to be a scarcity of water for dressing of the two dinners'.⁴ A third dinner was to be given on March 24, the anniversary of his accession.⁵

Four other notices of the Drapers' attendance on royal and other

¹ Appendix IX B. They also contributed £66 8s. 4d. toward the 'trimming' of the Lord Mayor's House, as was customary when the Mayor was a Draper.

Renters' Accounts, 1623-4, fo. 14.

Wardens' Accounts, 1623-4, fos. 43, 44.

Bachelors Accounts, + 178, 1623-4, fos. 33-39.

Rep. + 131, p. 182 b.

² Wardens' Accounts, 1623-4, fo. 46.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 60 a.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 38 a.

⁵ Rep. + 131, pp. 52 a, 54 a. The cost of the dinners was not to exceed £20 each. For the Gowrie conspiracy cf. A. Lang, History of Scotland, vol. ii, pp. 449-64. These were 'Stewards' dinners. The dinners held at this time were :

Dinners.	Number yearly.	By whom attended.	How provided.	Allowance of the House.
The Election Day Dinner, Aug. 1	1	By Livery and Free-men	At charge of the four Wardens	£40
Quarter-Day Dinner	Usually 1	By Livery and Free-men	At the charge of the two youngest Wardens	£10

Public Events in Reign of James I 15

progresses are referred to in the Precepts of the Mayor,¹ although not noticed in the Repertory. On all these occasions minute instructions are given as to the number to be present and their dress. They were to be on horseback apparelled in velvet coats and gold chains, and to be attended by a footman; while at the progress to

Dinners.	Number Yearly.	By whom attended.	How provided.	Allowance of the House.
*View Day Dinners	Usually 2	For Wardens and those appointed to view	At charge of the Wardens	£5
Stewards Dinners	4, Oct. 29, Ld. Mayors Day March 24, King's Accession Aug. 5, to commemorate King's escape from Gowrie Conspiracy Nov. 5, Gunpowder Plot	For the Livery only " " "	At charge of the Stewards " " "	
*Court Dinners	Varied, gen. 4	For the Assistants	At charge of the House	Varied, abt. £6
*Search Dinners after measuring yards	2	By the Wardens and Searchers	13/4 from the Bachelors' Box	Two guineas
Auditors' Dinners		By Auditors		Varied, abt. £3
*Dinners after distribution of Charities	1	By Wardens	At charge of the House	Varied, 10/. to £1
*Committee Dinners	Varied	By Members of Committees	At charge of the House	
Yeomanry Dinner on Election Day	1	By Yeomen	By the Bachelors' Box, £10	

* All those dinners which are marked with an asterisk were usually held at Taverns, not at the Hall, until 1818 and 1827; cf. Records, + 138, p. 636; + 139, p. 577.

Cf. Wardens and Bachelors' Accounts for any year. The allowances for these dinners were altered at various dates; e.g. 1655, 1671, 1674, 1690, 1695, cf. *infra*.

¹ September 1617: Twenty-four to attend the King from his galley at Kingbridge near St. James to Westminster and back on the Lord Mayor's Day. Their names are given. Three Wardens, five Assistants, fifteen Livery, one doubtful. November 1617: eight or ten to accompany the Russian ambassador to his residence. Their names are given. The four Wardens, two Assistants, four Livery. May 1619: to attend the King from Gray's Inn Fields to Whitehall, on his first appearance in London since his dangerous sickness. March 1620: to attend the King from Whitehall to St. Paul's to hear a sermon. Mayor's Precepts, + 371, pp. 2 a b, 3 a, 5 a b, 7 b.

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the sermon at St. Paul's the whole of the livery was to appear accompanied by ten wiffers. The standings and rails were to be covered with fair blue cloth, and standards and streamers were to be set up 'as shall best beseem the places'. In September 1620 the Master and Wardens were ordered to attend the Mayor and Aldermen to the conduit head to view the water supply of London 'as in former years hath been accustomed'.¹

The New
River Com-
pany,
1609-13.

That the very important scheme of Hugh Middleton (Myddelton) and his 'New River Company' for furnishing pure water to the city from the river Lea finds no place in the Drapers' records reminds us at least that neither he nor his Company were originally financed by the Gilds or by the City, although at a later date the City lent him a loan of £3,000.²

THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER

The Planta-
tion of
Ulster, 1608.

A marked characteristic of the Drapers' Society, as of the other Livery Gilds of London, is to be found in the wide range of their activities. In the reign of Elizabeth they had participated in the numerous Companies founded for the purpose of exploration and of trade. In the reign of James I they took part in the two great schemes of colonization, which have left a deep impress on the history of England. These are the Plantation of Ulster and the settlement of Virginia.

The opportunity for the Plantation of Ulster was found in the confiscation of the lands of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell for a supposed intention to rebel.³ Since the days of Queen Elizabeth it had been held that the most efficient cure for the Irish difficulty lay in the plantation of English settlers. The plan had

¹ Mayor's Precept, + 371, p. 7 b.

² Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 18 ff. Quoting from the *Journal and the Repertory of the City*.

³ For descriptions of the Ulster settlement see Hill, *The Plantation in Ulster*; Leland, *History of Ireland*, ed. 1773, p. 430; Beresford, *Concise View of the Irish Society*, 1842; Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, vol. i, c. 5; *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*. Most of the important original documents are given in Hill. A still more complete collection is given in books privately printed by Messrs. Freshfield for the case of the Attorney General *v.* the Irish Society, 1898, where also documents dealing with the Companies of the Mercers and the Ironmongers are to be found. The volumes, which I have been kindly allowed to consult, have been most helpful.

been adopted in that reign with regard to the province of Munster. But the scheme, it was held, had failed because the lands had been granted in large isolated blocks dispersed about the country and intermixed with the Irish, and the proprietors, finding themselves surrounded by a large Irish population, had readmitted the Irish, and in many cases ceased to reside in Ireland.¹

To avoid this it was now proposed to plant Ulster with a number of smaller proprietors, chiefly of English and Scotch blood. These colonists were to be settled in districts or 'proportions' where they were to dwell apart from the Irish. The lower Irish were to be removed to districts assigned to 'Servitors', that is, persons who had served in the Irish wars, or had been employed in civil service in Ireland. Such men, it was thought, would be best fitted to govern them. The principal Irish were to be pacified by competent grants of land in the neighbourhood of the Servitors, while the Swordsmen were to be removed, some to serve under the Swedish king, others under the great Lords in Munster.² In this way it was hoped that a strong settlement would be made, which might form a veritable garrison and act as a leaven to all around. Later experience has led some to the conclusion that, apart from the question of the justice of the confiscation, the whole idea of this fateful policy was fundamentally wrong, and that, if Ulster has often since served as an English garrison, it has also worked as a running sore to arrest the natural development of the Emerald Isle, and has been the cause of those religious and racial discords from which she has suffered ever since.

The lands of the Earls comprised some 3,798,000 acres in the six counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh and Cavan.³ At first it was proposed to offer all the land to individual undertakers, and in October 1608 commissioners were appointed to draw up a plan for the Plantation and to formulate the conditions to be observed by those who applied.

The settlers were to be of three kinds: undertakers from

¹ On the Munster settlement cf. Bagwell, *Under the Tudors*, ed. 1890, vol. iii, p. 198.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1608*, 10, Preface, p. lxxvii.

³ Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, p. 445. Of this, some 511,465 acres only were capable of cultivation.

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Orders and
Conditions
of The
Ulster
Plantation.

England and Scotland, servitors who had served in Ireland either in military or civil office and native Irish. The undertakers were to be given lands of 1,000, 1,500, or 2,000 acres. They were to pay a quit-rent for their lands at the rate of 6*s.* 8*d.* for every sixty acres, but with a remission of rent for the first two years. They were to reside on their lands for at least five years. They were within two years to place a competent number of English and Scotch tenants on their portion, but not to aliene their lands to any one till the expiration of five years, nor ever to the 'mere Irish.' The conditions for the servitors were much the same, but their estates and their quit-rents per acre were smaller, and they were allowed to sub-let, though not to aliene, to native Irish. Both undertakers and servitors were to take the oath of Supremacy and to have 'a convenient store of Arms'. They were to have the privilege of importing victuals, materials for building and utensils free of customs for the first five years. The native Irish had to pay higher quit-rents; they were to use tillage and husbandry after the manner of the English Pale, and not to work their ploughs by attaching them to their horse's tail!¹ All were to enclose a 'bawn' (court yard), and the larger settlers to build a stone house or castle according to the size of their estates.² At the same time provision was made for the Church of England, for free schools, and for the College in Dublin.³

Bacon did not approve of the facilities offered to the undertakers and servitors to take under-tenants. He believed that, in

¹ Other rude and barbarous customs of the Irish were howling and crying at Wakes, and blowing their milch cattle to make them give milk. Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1611-14, p. 193.

² Cf. Harris, *Hibernica*, Dublin, 1770, p. 123, Orders and Conditions for Plantation; and pp. 105, 123, *The Project of Plantation*. State Papers, Ireland, 1608-10, vol. ccxxvi. 13, p. 355, No. 587; Patent Roll, Ch. Ir. 7 Jac. I, pt. 1. Cf. Hardy, *Vol. of Certified Copies*, p. 42.

³ For the question of the 'Termon' and 'Erenagh' Lands cf. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, vol. i, p. 69; Hill, *Plantation*, p. 91, note. Besides the episcopal lands, which were about 69,000 acres, each incumbent had his tithes and his glebe lands, which varied in extent from 60 to 120 acres; amounting in the aggregate to some 285,000; *ib.*, p. 217. The acreage reserved for the College of Dublin, which was popularly supposed to be only some 10,000 acres, was really more like 100,000. Hill, *Plantation*, p. 445, note. Over 20,000 acres was appropriated to Free Schools: *ib.*, p. 216, note 53.

spite of the regulations, owners, finding it difficult to obtain English or Scotch tenants, would admit natives, as indeed they did, and that their loyalty could not be trusted. Sir Arthur Chichester, the Deputy, on the contrary wished to distribute among the native Irish as much land as they could cultivate, and to plant English and Scotch colonists on the remainder only.¹ Both were, from their own point of view, probably right. As owners, self-interest might have kept them loyal, but they were not satisfied with the position of mere under-tenants. Many got no land even as tenants, and yet were not removed, more especially the 'Swordsmen',² and many of them joined the rebellion of 1641.

Since, however, a sufficient number of applicants did not present themselves, especially for the north part of Ulster³, it was subsequently decided to request the City to join in the project. Accordingly, in May 1609 a circular was prepared containing 'Motives and reasons to induce the City to undertake plantation in the Northe of Ireland'.⁴ The country was declared to be well watered and wooded, suitable for breeding cattle, and for the cultivation of hemp, flax and madder. Iron was to be found in the hills, and pearls in the rivers. It had excellent harbours. It was well stocked with 'redd deare, foxes, conye, martin, squirrel and sea fowl'. In short, it contained such abundance of provisions that, besides supplying the Plantation, it would assist towards the relief of the London poor. Moreover the City, which was so overcrowded 'that one tradesman was scarcely able to live by another', would there have an opportunity to get rid of some of

Share of
London in
The Planta-
tion.

¹ Cf. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, vol. i, pp. 65, 67; *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1608-10*, pp. 68, 85, 161, 177, 521. Cf. Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, p. 407, notes 57, 58.

² The question of the native Irish was a most difficult one. If they were removed, the undertakers would have difficulty in getting supplies and necessaries and would be ruined, while to the natives themselves 'the word of removing was as welcome as the sentence of death'. As a matter of fact the Irish were never entirely removed, for the adventurers dared not do it, and in the reign of Charles I they were released from this condition. *Calendar of State Papers, 1608-10*, pp. 530, 531, Preface, xci; *ib.*, 1615-25, Preface, p. xxiv.

³ It was said to be 'deserted' by other planters, probably because the natives of those parts and their chief, Sir Donnell O'Cahan, were known to be warlike. Cf. Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, p. 358.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1608-10*, p. 207.

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its surplus population, and at the same time render itself less liable to infectious diseases, which had of late led to frequent attacks of the Plague. Thus, by participating in the scheme, the citizens would not only find profit themselves, but promote the welfare of London, and so do a work acceptable to God. For, said the King, 'when his enemies should hear that the famous City of London had a footing therein they would be terrified from looking into Ireland, the back door to England and Scotland'.¹

After some hesitation the Court of Aldermen and divers freemen of London, selected by the Privy Council, resolved to invite the Livery Companies and others to consider the matter and to appoint committees to confer with the Court of Aldermen; and the Mayor forthwith issued precepts to this effect. As however the Companies were shy of venturing in the undertaking,² a Commission of four wise and grave citizens were ordered to go and view the lands. Of these Commissioners one, John Rowley, was a Draper.³ Every means were taken to satisfy these Commissioners. They were hospitably entertained, and careful instructions were sent to the Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, that they should be conducted along the best roads, and be accompanied by discreet persons 'able to controule whatsoever man shall reporte either out of ignorance or malise' and confirm and strengthen every part of the project by demonstration. When one fell sick and would fain have returned, all means were used to comfort and restrain him, lest this accident should discourage his companions. All matters of distaste, such as fear of the Irish, of the soldiers, of cess and such like, were not to be so much as named; these 'were matters of mere discipline and order', and could be set right afterwards. Finally, if the Londoners should express a wish respecting anything, 'whether it

¹ Letter of Sir T. Phillips: Harris, *Hibernica*, ed. 1770, p. 244.

² Thus there is no mention of the Mayor's Precept in the Drapers' Minutes, nor is there apparently in those of the Goldsmiths. The Ironmongers pleaded 'lack of Money'. The Mercers urged that, living as they did by merchandize, they were inexperienced in adventures of this kind. Ironmongers' and Mercers' Minutes, July 11, 1609. The Mayor issued several precepts which were not obeyed.

³ Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 32, quoting *Journal of the City. Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1608-10*, pp. 266, 268. The others were a Goldsmith, a Mercer and a Painter Stainer.

be the fishing, the Admiralty¹ or any other particular which may serve for a motive to induce them', it was to be conceded at once; and no private interest was to be allowed to stand in the way. The order was faithfully carried out. Presents of hides, tallow, salmon and other fish, pipe staves, beef, and iron and lead ore were given them; samples of the produce of the country were sent to the Mayor, and 'the best rhetoric was used to persuade' the Londoners to go on with their plantation, 'which would secure the whole island to the Crowne of England for ever.'²

That the Commissioners reported favourably cannot under these circumstances be a matter of surprise, nor that a Committee appointed by the Common Council advised that the Common Council of the City should authorize the formation of a Company and the raising of £15,000 from the City Companies.³ The Privy Council, however, was by no means satisfied. The sum, they declared, was wholly inadequate. They demanded £20,000, of which one-fourth was to be forthwith levied on the Twelve Livery Companies according to their corn assessment, and the remainder by instalments.⁴

Finally, on the 28th of January 1610, a special Agreement was signed between the Committee of the Court of Aldermen and the Privy Council formulating the conditions of the Plantation in 27 articles, January 1610.⁵ The Agree-
ment.

¹ By the admiralty was meant the jurisdiction over the coast.

² Letter of Sir J. Davis to the Earl of Salisbury. Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1608-10, p. 280.

³ City Journal 28, fos. 16, 19, Campbell Mayor. Two Drapers, Sir John Jolles and Mr. Megges, were members of the Committee.

⁴ January 1610. City Journal 28, fos. 24, 26, 32, Campbell Mayor. The remainder was raised in March and August 1610 and March 1611. Owing to the changes in the relative wealth of the Companies since the last fixing of the rate, some were overcharged and others greatly favoured; a new assessment was made for the last two payments (City Journal 28, fo. 53, Campbell Mayor), but, as the quotas paid by the Drapers were not altered, it is clear that their assessment remained at the same rate.

⁵ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1608-10, pp. 347, 348, 350, 359; 1611-14, p. 35. See also Propositions from the Lord Deputy, Calendar of State Papers, 1611-14, p. 35. It is of importance to note that the City held that it was bound by this Agreement, and not by the original orders and conditions enjoined upon the individual adventurers, especially with regard to settling of English and Scotch tenants (cf. *infra* p. 137 note 2).

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Land
granted to
the City,
1610.

The district granted to the City in perpetuity consisted of an area of not less than 400,000 acres, exclusive of Church Lands and the lands for the free schools and for the College in Dublin, lying within the Baronies of Coleraine, Kenaght, Tirkeerin, and Loughinsolin, as well as the town of Derry.¹ The City was to have the customs for a term of 99 years, paying to the Crown an acknowledgement of 66s. 8d. a year; as well as a rent for the lands. It was to hold the office of the Admiralty of the county of Tyrconnell and Coleraine, with all the royalties and profits thereto belonging, as well as the exclusive right of salmon and eel fishing over certain portions of the rivers Bann and Foyle. The City was also to have the patronage of the churches in the Plantation. All particular men's interest within the district should be cleared away except that three or four Irish gentlemen, at most, now dwelling in the county of Coleraine, were to be admitted as freeholders to the City, and pay a small rent; the extent of their freeholds and the amount of rent to be settled by Commissioners indifferently chosen between the King and the City. The City was to build 200 houses at Derry and 100 at Coleraine within two years, and to provide sites for 500 more. The King on his part was to maintain sufficient forces for a certain time. On the conclusion of the Agreement the Common Council ordered that the Plantation should be administered by a Governor, a deputy Governor and twenty-four assistants (subsequently increased to thirty-three) consisting of the Recorder, five Aldermen and eighteen freemen of the City. It was to have power to hold courts and to treat, debate and determine all matters affecting the Plantation. This body, later known as the Irish Society, carried on the management with funds supplied by the Livery Companies till the year 1613. In return for this grant the City agreed to levy £20,000.

It was not, however, long before the City was informed that the £20,000 already promised was inadequate, and further sums were from time to time extorted, under threat that a refusal to

¹ The only important grantee other than the City was Sir Thomas Phillips, who was granted Limavaddy and Castle Dawson. The Bishop and Dean of Derry were also secured in their lands. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, vol. i, p. 78. For the Charter to the Irish Society and the Licence to hold in Mortmain, cf. *Irish Society and London Companies*. Report 1890, pp. 450, 478.

comply would lead not only to the forfeiture of the money already subscribed and of all claims on the Plantation, but to the imprisonment of offending persons.¹ By these arbitrary measures £52,500 was extorted.² Of this, £5,000 was to be spent in satisfying private adventurers and other interests; the rest on the Plantation itself. The contribution of the Drapers and the Tallow Chandlers was £5,000,³ which was paid in fourteen instalments between 1609 and 1617.

In all these transactions the Drapers took a prominent part. Among the representatives of the Committees of the City for the business of Ireland we find William Megges, and among those who signed the articles Sir John Jolles, and possibly Harrison;⁴ while John Rowley, another draper, was not only one of the Commissioners who went to view the site of the proposed Plantation, but was also the first Treasurer of the Irish Society. He forthwith set out for Ireland to set the Plantation going. He appears to have been a grasping man, and the administration of the Plantation under him was not satisfactory.⁵

¹ Sharpe, vol. ii, pp. 40, 41. Mercers' Minutes, March 8, 1610, p. 12. Two Companies, the Coopers and the Brown Bakers, accepted this alternative. Court of Aldermen, Rep. 30, fo. 376, Pemberton Mayor.

² In the Wardens' Accounts, 1618-9, fo. 52, the sum is put at £60,000, but £52,500 is correct: cf. City Journals 28, fo. 24, Campbell Mayor; 28, fo. 239, Craven . . . ; 29, fo. 49, . . . ; 29, fo. 178, Middleton . . . ; 29, fo. 299, Haynes

³ So it is stated in the Wardens' Accounts, 1618-19, fo. 52. According to the abstract M. A. Dr. B1. 44, given in the Appendix, only £4,608 was raised in 1617. £12 was paid in 1618-19, and this, with the £260 subscribed by the Tallow Chandlers, would come to £4,880.

⁴ William Megges was Warden of the Drapers twice, in 1607-8 and 1610-11. Sir John Jolles was Master twice, in 1605-6 and 1610-11, and Mayor in 1615-16. There are three Harrisons, who were Drapers; and the Christian name of the person who signed the articles is not given, but in all probability he was Thomas Harrison, a Merchant Taylor, who was the second largest subscriber of that Company. Cf. List of Masters and Wardens, Appendix, p. XLIII A; Beaven, Aldermen of London, vol. ii, p. 49; Freedom Lists, 1519, 1596, 1599, 1602; Rep. + 131, p. 71 a. Possibly four more on the Committees, Fox, Bond; Richard Wright and Wheeler, were Drapers, but, as they were not at the time on the Livery, and apparently no Company had more than one representative on the said Committees, this is improbable.

⁵ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1611-14, pp. 184, 311; Hill, Plantation, pp. 419-25.

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Difficulty of raising the money.

The City authorities found much difficulty in prevailing on the Companies to furnish even their quota of the £20,000 which had originally to be raised; and still greater difficulty with regard to the later demands. As Chichester had feared, they proved like their London women, who 'long today and loathe tomorrow'. The Wardens of the Mercers and Clothworkers and some other Companies were committed to prison by the Mayor for failing to obey his orders.¹ The Wardens of the Drapers were also threatened.²

The assessment of the members of the Drapers' Company had been left to the discretion of the Wardens, and it is evident that their remissness was due to the unwillingness of members to venture in the undertaking.³ In June 1610 the Wardens gave information that divers had wilfully refused, and, on receiving a promise that they should be defended at the Company's charge in any action that might be brought by those committed, proceeded to send three of the recalcitrant to the Compter, and warned others.⁴ When Mr. Gillings, one of those warned, sought the support of the Lord Cooke 'for this parliament time', although his assessment had been reduced from £10 to £8, the Wardens were instructed to ask if his Lordship intended to protect him, and if not 'to proceed with him and others in like case'.⁵ In the year 1614 the

¹ Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 39, who refers to the City Repertory. Cf. also *State Papers, Domestic*, 1608-10, p. 297; *Prideaux, Goldsmiths*, vol. i, p. 112.

² Rep. + 131, p. 100 a.

³ That the venture was admittedly a risky one appears from this motto inserted in the Repertory:

'Mischaunces will sometimes befall a man

Though he n'er so chary doe he what he can.'

Rep. + 131, fo. 85 b.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 72 a. Wardens' Accounts, 1609-10, fo. 20 a. 16s. is paid to the Sergeant of the Mayor for attending to commit the three men, and a little later 52s. for warning others (ib., fo. 21 b, 23 a; £6 to the Beadle for warning members to pay their assessments (Rep. + 131, pp. 77 b, 97 b). Cf. also three imprisoned and others warned, Wardens' Accounts, 1609-10, fo. 42; divers warned, ib. 1610-11, fos. 42, 45; one imprisoned, ib. 1611-12, fo. 49; divers 'attached', ib. 1612-13, fo. 55.

⁵ Rep. + 131, p. 72 b. This is curious. Lord 'Cooke' is the famous Chief Justice Coke.

Court of Aldermen issued an order at the 'humble suit of the Master and Wardens of diverse Companies' to 'attach' those who refused to pay, and to bring them before the Lord Mayor.¹ As late as 1615 there were some who had neglected to pay,² although the Court had by that time met the claims on the Society out of the corporate funds.³

In November and December 1611 all those who had been originally assessed for the first charge of £384 were ordered to pay their share of all further sums that might be demanded, except those who had either been expressly released by the Court, or had disposed of their share to some other member willing to undertake the responsibility, or who would surrender their shares to the House.⁴ In November 1612 it was enacted that the payments due by those who had fallen into poverty should be defrayed by the House, and that the executors of those who had died should be offered the alternative of continuing the payments still due or of surrendering the shares to the Company.⁵ In January 1614 the Wardens were instructed to assess so many more as they should think fit until there were sufficient to bear the charge,⁶ and eventually twenty-three Assistants, thirty-nine Liverymen, and 146 Freemen, making a total of 208,⁷ were

¹ Court of Aldermen, August 27, 1614; City Rep. 31, fol. 389.

² *ib.*, p. 117 a. The same difficulty was experienced in the other Companies. Cf. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. i, p. 112; Clode, History of the Merchant Taylors, Pt. I, p. 327 ff.

³ At least the Company is not mentioned in a precept of the Mayor of September 8, 1615, requiring immediate payment of overdue instalments. City Journal 29, fo. 375 b.

⁴ Rep. + 131, pp. 79 b, 80 a.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 91 a. There are several instances of members, or of their widows, executors, or descendants, petitioning to be relieved of their payments. Sometimes their petitions were granted on their surrendering their shares; sometimes they were refused, but given a gratuity; sometimes they surrendered their shares in return for an extension of the leases of their houses in London. Cf. Rep. + 131, pp. 127 b, 130 b, 154 a, 156 a, 162 a, 168 b, 174 b, 186 b, 202 a.

⁶ Rep. + 131, p. 100 a.

⁷ Five Assistants and nine Liverymen, as they stand in the list of 1610-11, did not subscribe. No list of the year 1609-10 exists. Cf. Livery Lists, + 301, fos. 2, 3; and 'Abstract of those who subscribed'. Appendix LII. The number of freemen who did not subscribe is not known, as we have no list of freemen of that date. Five of those who put down their names never paid

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induced to put down their names. Of these, 193 subscribed a total of £366 (in sums varying from £10 to 15*s.*) to the first call of £384, while twenty-one others contributed to some of the later calls. In spite of this, the number of contributions to the later subscriptions fell off. This is accounted for by the fact that some had fallen into poverty, some had surrendered their shares to the Company, and some had probably died intestate and without heirs. The total amount subscribed to the fourteen calls came to £3,416 11*s.* 8*d.*,¹ the balance of £1,583 8*s.* 4*d.*, to make up the £5,000 demanded of the Company, being found by the House. Seven men presented their shares to the Company.² The others received interest on their shares whenever any dividends were distributed by the Irish Society, or whenever there was any balance on the account of the Drapers' estate at Money more, which, as we shall see, they were shortly to acquire.³ From the first some of those who had adventured were bought out by the House on the terms that the sum repaid them should be the amount they had subscribed, less the total dividends they had received. I believe also that the shares of those who fell into poverty before they had paid all their instalments, which were then defrayed by the House, accrued to the Company, unless, as was sometimes the case, the money was refunded to them by express order of the Court. The shares retained by individuals were treated as personal property. They could be disposed of by grant or by will, and, in case of intestacy, passed to their nearest of kin.⁴ But, as time went on, a good many died intestate and without heirs, and their

anything: Edmund Cotton, Francis Bickley, Thos. Harvie, John Williams and Wm. Anstrop.

¹ That is to say, including £22 17*s.* 6*d.* arrears, which were paid subsequently. Cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1617-18 to 1630-1.

² Sir John Jolles, Wm. Garway, Henry Wollaston, Clement Buck, J. Hollinshead, John Blanshard, Wm. Essington. The last two only paid five calls.

³ Cf. *infra* for list of dividends. This plan was adopted by other Companies, e. g. the Merchant Taylors, but Sir W. Prideaux, the historian of the Goldsmiths' Company, informs me that the subscribers of that Company retained no share; all the land belonged to the Company. The subscriptions (which, however, only amounted to £548 17*s.* 6*d.*) were therefore presents to the Company. Prideaux, *History of the Goldsmiths*, vol. ii, p. 213.

⁴ Hopkinson, *Ancient Records of the Merchant Taylors*, p. 38; *Miscellaneous Documents of the Merchant Taylors*, A 23, fo. 3 v; *City Journal* 28, fo. 163.

shares would again fall to the Company. The result was that the number of shareholders gradually dwindled away, while the corporate holding of the House increased.¹

Meanwhile, in January 1611, the Mayor had called upon the Companies to certify whether they were willing to accept an allotment of land in proportion to the money they had subscribed, and cultivate and plant it with settlers at their own charges according to the conditions, or leave the ordering of the Plantation to the Committee chosen by the City for managing the business.² They were given a week in which to make their decision, and were warned that they would in any case have to contribute towards the expense of building houses and fortifications, and the freeing of tithes. Eight of the greater Livery Companies (including the Drapers) and ten of the inferior Companies signified their intention to accept a proportionate part of the land;³ and apparently all eventually agreed.

Accordingly in the year 1613 all the lands granted to the Irish Society, with the exception of Derry and Coleraine and some 7,000 acres adjoining the said towns, which were reserved to the Society, were divided into twelve parcels and distributed by lot among the twelve Livery Companies. With these some of the lesser Companies were associated as sub-sharers so as to make up the money found by each group of Companies approximately to £3,333 6s. 8d.⁴ With the Drapers were

Land
granted to
the Com-
panies, 1613.

¹ Cf. Appendix LII.

² Rep. + 131, p. 76 a.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 76 a. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 40, quoting the *City Journal*. The other Livery Companies who originally consented were the Mercers, Grocers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners; and of the inferior Companies, the Armourers, Blacksmiths, Bricklayers, Broderers, Dyers, Founders, Tilers, Weavers, Whitebakers, and Woodmongers.

⁴ For description of method adopted cf. Hill, *Plantation*, pp. 432-3, or *Concise View of Irish Society*, p. 19. The actual amount of subscriptions from all the Companies amounted to £39,740. Where the sum totals of each group fell below the sum of £3,333 6s. 8d., the deficiency had to be made up: e. g. the Drapers and the Haberdashers paid £1 6s. 8d., the Mercers, the Goldsmiths, and the Skinners, 6s. 8d. each; the Vintners, 13s. 4d. Where they exceeded the required amount, the surplus was returned: e. g. the Clothworkers received £3 6s. 8d., the Fishmongers and the Ironmongers, 13s. 4d. each. The actual transfer was not made till September 1615.

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associated the Tallow Chandlers, who subscribed £260, while the contribution of the Drapers amounted to £3,072. In January 1618, however, the Drapers bought the Tallow Chandlers out for £300.¹ The Drapers were the only Livery Company who had only one sub-sharer. The Grocers and the Merchant Taylors held a full share each without any sub-sharers, and also contributed to the group headed by another Livery Company. All the other Companies had at least three sub-sharers, and the Vintners as many as eight.²

¹ i.e. £300 ready money. They also remitted a debt of £74 11s. 10d. due by the Tallow Chandlers for disbursements. Rep. + 131, pp. 133 b, 134 a. February 1618, B. 15, M.A. Dr. 1617-18. 42.

² Thus:

	£	s.	d.
1. Drapers	3,072	0	0
Tallow Chandlers	260	0	0
	£3,332	0	0 ^a
2. Merchant Taylors (in part)	£3,333	6	8
3. Clothworkers	2,260	0	0
Overplus from Merchant Taylors	752	13	4
Butchers	150	0	0
Upholders	44	0	0
Brown Bakers	90	0	0
Bowyers	20	0	0
Fletchers	20	0	0
	£3,336	13	4
4. Grocers (in part)	£3,333	6	8

^a Cf. City Journal 29, fo. 178, Middleton Mayor. This sum was part of the £5,000 originally subscribed. The balance of £1,668 went to the Irish Society, on which the Drapers hoped to receive interest. Thus:

	£	s.	d.
Original sum subscribed by the Drapers	4,740	0	0
" " " " Tallow Chandlers	260	0	0
	5,000	0	0
Paid for Moneymore	3,332	0	0
Shares in Irish Society	£1,668	0	0
	£5,000	0	0

Public Events in Reign of James I 29

As mentioned above, some 7,000 acres round and including the towns of Derry and Coleraine and the castle of Culmore, as well as the ferries, the fisheries and the timber, not being easily

Derry, Coleraine, the fisheries, ferries, and timber retained by the Irish Society.

	£	s.	d.
5. Vintners	2,080	0	0
Overplus from Grocers	540	13	4
Woodmongers	200	0	0
Weavers	100	0	0
Plumbers	80	0	0
Poulterers	80	0	0
Tilers and Bricklayers	80	0	0
Blacksmiths	64	0	0
Fruiterers	64	0	0
Curriers	44	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£3,332	13	4
6. Mercers	2,680	0	0
Inn holders	200	0	0
Cooks	200	0	0
Embroiderers	153	0	0
Masons	100	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£3,333	0	0
7. Fishmongers	2,260	0	0
Leathersellers	950	0	0
Plasterers	40	0	0
Glaziers	32	0	0
Basket-makers	32	0	0
Musicians	20	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£3,334	0	0
8. Goldsmiths	2,999	0	0
Cordwainers	250	0	0
Painter-Stainers	44	0	0
Armourers	40	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£3,333	0	0
9. Skinners	1,963	0	0
Stationers	520	0	0
White-bakers	480	0	0
Girdlers	370	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£3,333	0	0

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apportionable, remained in the ownership and under the control of the Governor and Assistants of the New Plantation in Ireland. This body, which was subsequently called 'The Irish Society', received a Charter [March 29, 1613], by which it was enabled at all times to (receive and possess lands and hereditaments and to grant them; and the lands and territories above mentioned were granted them to hold and enjoy the same with all profits . . . to the only proper use and behoof of the said Society and their successors for ever). It was also given powers to transact and determine all manner of matters concerning the Plantation. The territory over which its jurisdiction extended was at the same time erected into the City and County of Londonderry,¹ with its Mayor,

		£	s.	d.
10.	Salters	1,954	0	0
	Dyers	580	0	0
	Saddlers	390	0	0
	Cutlers	225	0	0
	Joiners	164	0	0
	Woolmen	20	0	0
		£3,333	0	0
11.	Ironmongers	1,514	0	0
	Brewers.	500	0	0
	Scourers	370	0	0
	Coopers	280	0	0
	Pewterers	240	0	0
	Barber Surgeons	230	0	0
	Carpenters	200	0	0
		£3,334	0	0
12.	Haberdashers	3,124	0	0
	Wax-chandlers	80	0	0
	Turners	68	0	0
	Founders	60	0	0
		£3,332	0	0

¹ Hill, *Plantation*, pp. 426-42. Clarke and Finnely, *Reports*, vol. xii, pp. 435 ff. For the Charter, cf. Appendix L A. Subsequently, in September 30, 1615, the Irish Society was granted a licence to hold in Mortmain 'to the end that they might be encouraged to proceed and finish the Plantation, and in future tymes reape some gain and benefit of their great travailes and

Aldermen, Chamberlain, and Burgesses, John Rowley the Draper being the first Mayor.¹

It was understood that the rents and profits arising from this district and from the fisheries, ferries, and timber² should, after the conditions of the Charter were fulfilled, be divided among the Companies; and this was done from time to time.³

The question subsequently arose whether the Irish Society were entitled to use their own discretion as to how the revenues from the lands they retained in their own hands were to be appropriated, so long as they fulfilled the conditions of the Charter and the

The Irish Society and the Companies.

expenses taken and bestowed therein'. Cf. Appendix L B. Of the original Assistants of the Irish Society, the following were members of the Drapers' Company: Edward Rotheram, who was Master at the time; Sir John Jolles, twice Master, 1605-6 and 1610-11, Mayor 1615-16; and Morris Abbot, who was one of the Assistants at the time, but subsequently held many important posts. He was brother of the Archbishop; thrice Warden, Alderman of two Wards at different times, Master in 1625-6 and again in 1638-9, when he also held the Mayoralty; M.P. for Hull 1620-22, 1624-5, Burgess for the City 1626, Deputy Governor and then Governor of the E.I.C. 1615-37, Treasurer of the Levant Company 1614-16, and one of the Assistants of the Company 1616-24, Subscriber to and on the Council of the Virginia Company, Incorporator of the Somer's Isles and New Passage Companies, and leading member of the French, Italian, and Muscovy Companies. Cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, who, however, gives a wrong date for his second mastership; Brown, Genesis of the United States, p. 811. For the important part taken by Morris Abbot in the management of the East India Company, cf. Hunter, British India, vol. ii, p. 144.

¹ Hill, Plantation, p. 404, note 53. He was shortly after dismissed from his post of Agent or Treasurer to the Irish Society for having in divers ways dealt very incorrectly and unfaithfully. City Journal 29, fo. 26, Middleton Mayor. He was the ancestor of the Rowleys who held a lease of the Proportion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Besides John Rowley the Mayor, the following members of the Corporation of the City of Londonderry were Drapers:

The Chamberlain Robert Goodwyn. There were two of this name; the younger, who was admitted by patrimony in the same year 1613, and his father, who was certainly at this date over sixty-six years of age. Which of these two was the Chamberlain is doubtful, but it is pretty certain that the son was subsequently steward of the Drapers' Court at Moneymore; cf. *infra*.

Francis White was one of the Aldermen, and Richard Middleton one of the Burgesses. Cf. Freedom Lists, + 279, 1585, 1601, 1613.

² In 1741 the Irish Society surrendered its right to the young trees to the Companies on their respective Proportions, to encourage planting on their part: B. 2, M. A. Dr. 239.

³ e. g. Wardens' Accounts 1620-1, fo. 30, £90; 1621-2, fo. 32, £60; 1622-3, fo. 30, £80; 1626-7, fo. 36, £80.

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Agreement, or whether they were trustees for the benefit of the Companies and were responsible to them for the way in which they administered the trust and spent the income. The controversy, which was raised by the Drapers' Company as early as 1658,¹ came to a head in the unsuccessful action brought by the Skinners' Company against the Society in 1838.² The House of Lords, to whom the case was referred on appeal, affirmed the decision of Lord Langdale, the Master of the Rolls, in 1845, and Lord Lyndhurst in delivering judgement³ declared that the objects for which the Irish Society had been constituted were public and important objects, . . . that the funds of the district were applicable to those purposes; that the Irish Society had a wide discretion as to how, to what extent, and to what objects they should apply these funds, and, that being so, they were public officers invested with a public trust. If indeed there was any surplus after they had fulfilled these objects according to their discretion, it should be handed over to the Companies as it had been in the past, but the first duty of the Society was to carry out the conditions of the Charter and the Agreement in developing the district, and that they were not responsible to the Companies for the way in which they thought fit so to do.

Since that date the Irish Society has spent its whole income on its plantation, and there has been no surplus to divide. Nevertheless, by rendering a yearly account to the Companies of its income and expenditure it has acknowledged that, if there were a surplus, it should be divided amongst them.

No doubt the decision of the House of Lords was a correct interpretation of the Charter by which the Irish Society was incorporated. But when we remember the magnificent hopes which had been held out as to the profits to be derived from taking part in the Plantation we cannot wonder that the Companies felt

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 218 and Rep. +132, p. 204 b.

² In 1816 we find the Court, at the request of the Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, and the Salters, applying to the Irish Society for such accounts and documents as might give information with regard to the interest of the Company in the estates under the management of the said Society. Records, +138, pp. 517, 540. The request was acceded to. Cf. Appendices LXII A, B.

³ 12 Clarke and Finnelly, p. 465.

aggrieved. Nor is it a sufficient answer to say that the Companies received a fair equivalent for their subscriptions in the 'proportions' which were granted to them separately.¹ As will be seen hereafter, it was a long time before the Drapers' Company derived any profit from their plantation; ² and, if as time went on there was a substantial surplus of income over expenditure, it should be remembered that the gain would have been infinitely greater if the sums expended in Ireland had been invested in landed estate in the City of London. The truth of the matter is that the Ulster settlement, like that in Virginia and like the Chartered Company of South Africa of to-day, was an attempt to promote a political object by means of a commercial speculation, and that in the conflict of these two aims the commercial interests suffered.³

The district apportioned to the Drapers and the Tallow Chandlers was called Moneymore or Drapers' Hall, and consisted nominally of 3,630 acres of arable land, to which must be added large tracts of heath and bog, wood and waste.⁴ The grant also included all mines, minerals, quarries, waters and weirs. The Irish Society retained the fishing rights on the rivers Bann and Loughfoil and all 'timber wood' other than fir. The Company, however, might cut any timber needed for building, while the Irish Society had a like privilege with regard to gravel, sand, &c., needed for the same purpose. The Company was to provide for the defence of the

Drapers' Hall
or Money-
more.

¹ The licence to hold their lands in mortmain was granted in order that they might be thereby encouraged and enabled to perfect the plantation, and in future times to reap some gain of this their great travail and expenses. For the case of the *Skinners v. The Irish Society* cf. Clark and Finnelly, Reports, vol. xii, p. 425 ff., and for the case of the Attorney General for Ireland *v. The Irish Society* 1898, Proceedings before the Master of the Rolls, Dec. 2, 1898, certified by R. W. Lucas, Reporter to the Court, and Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons, May 4, 1891, Hansard 222.

² The same was the case with regard to the other Companies.

³ Cf. the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council with regard to the Chartered Company. Times Law Report, vol. 34, p. 595.

⁴ Cf. the Grant, Appendices LI-LII. That is of 60½ Balliboes 'more or less'; a Balliboe was about 60 acres. This did not include the waste. The total area was approximately 27,268 acres, of which 25,826 were in 1880 arable and meadow, cf. *infra*. Much by that date would however be reclaimed, and it is probable that 'arable' land in the original grant did not include meadow land; cf. Irish Estates, + 775, p. 415 b. Phillip's Plan will be found in Appendix LII B, and a complete Survey and valuation of the date 1820 in + 773 and 777.

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district by building a 'Castle' and by providing an adequate supply of arms.¹ They were to settle their Proportion with some artisans and to establish some freeholders. They were to repair the Church on their Proportion, and furnish the ministers with a Bible, a Book of Common Prayer and a Communion cup.²

In November 1615 a licence to receive any lands by gift of the Irish Society or any other persons or bodies whatsoever and hold the same in Mortmain was granted to the Company³ 'to the end that they might be encouraged to proceed and finish the Plantation, and in future tymes reape some gain and benefit of their great travailes and expenses taken and bestowed therein'. In 1619 the Proportion was constituted a Manor with a court by the Irish Society and granted to the Company.⁴ In the preceding year a Committee had been appointed to deal with the planting and building of houses in the 'Proportion'.⁵ Until March 1615 John Rowley, who had been the Treasurer and Agent of the 'Irish Society', and Tristram Beresford, another agent of the Irish Society and sometime Mayor of Coleraine, acted for them.⁶ On Rowley's death in 1617, Robert Russell was appointed their agent, while R. Goodwyn, a member of the Company and a tenant on the Drapers' Proportion, was also continually consulted. Russell's fee or 'exhibition' was to be £30, which was subsequently raised to £52, and he was also, in the year 1616, granted a further gratuity of £6 13s. 4d.⁷

Committee
to deal with
the Drapers'
Proportion,
July 1614.
Their
Agents.

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 177 b.

² Beresford, *Concise View of Irish Society*, pp. 34 ff.

³ *Ib.*, p. 25.

⁴ B 23. Cf. Appendix L.

⁵ July 1614. Rep. + 131, p. 103 b.

⁶ Rep. + 131, pp. 100 b, 115 a, 130 b. Beresford was a Kentish man. His eldest son became an influential man in Ulster. His great-grandson was created Earl of Tyrone, and the family is now represented by the Marquis of Waterford. Beresford, as well as Rowley, was accused of satisfying his private interests to the disadvantage of the lands of the Irish Society. *City Journal* 29, fol. 26, Middleton Mayor. After Rowley's death his widow made a claim for moneys disbursed by her husband, and for his salary. The Company declared that they had never contracted to pay him any definite salary. They had given him a present of £50 and let him off the rent of a house in Lothbury, which he held of the Company. They also said they had paid him fees for any work he had done (e. g. £15 for surveying and superintendence). After some hesitation the Court consented to pay £150 in full satisfaction of all claims. *Letter Book* + 383, fos. 3, 16, 17; Rep. + 131, p. 139 a; *Irish Account Book*, + 782, p. 37 b.

⁷ Rep. + 131, p. 188 a b. Goodwyn was probably the same man who was for a time town clerk of Derry. *Concise View of Irish Society*, p. 29.

The Company now set to work to develop the lands assigned to them, and it is evident from the continued references in their minutes and other authorities that they took very considerable trouble.¹ Their endeavours were not however very successful. Robert Russell, their agent from 1615 to 1619, does not appear to have been at all satisfactory.² In a series of letters between April 1618 and January 1619 the Committee bitterly complain that his answers to their repeated questions were 'very slender' and that they were 'almost wearied out' with paying the constant bills of exchange he drew on them.

Bad be-
haviour of
R. Russell.

In spite of these heavy charges, which 'were more than any other Company had been put to', the 'Castle' was unfinished and so badly built that a part of it had fallen down, and the rest 'in hazard to fall' because, owing to his negligence, it had not been roofed in. On the other hand, an unnecessarily large brewhouse had been erected, to the disturbance of Moneymore and the profaning of the Sabbath by drunkenness. Nor was this all; he had 'engrossed four of the new built houses and the Mill and the Smithy to his own use, and would allow only poor people to dwell in them, who were encouraged if not forced "to draw his beer", whereby frays were caused; or else he granted them to "tapsters", who admitted Irish, or other loose persons, without restriction night and day, whereby the town was often disturbed by frays. Instead of paying the workmen their wages in money, he had forced them to take them out in supplies, and those bad, so that they naturally took them out in ale, and then ran away. He had even declined to employ anyone who would not drink his beer. . . . Besides all this he had diverted the water from the pipe which brought it

¹ Besides the references in their Minute Book, or Repertory, and in their Wardens' and Renters' Accounts, the Letter Book survives. This book, which covers the period from 1618 to 1633, contains 148 quarto pages of letters written to the agents, tenants, and others in Ireland. See too the Receipt Book, 1621-78, and the Account Book, 1614-16, and for many of the original documents, Catalogue Manor of Drapers. By the year 1614 they had let 58 town lands at £3 a town land, which came to £174. Account Book + 782, p. 40 a.

² R. Russell is mentioned as being the chief tenant of the Drapers in 1618, as well as their agent. He held 3,000 acres in freehold; he had twenty-three men, two muskets, ten calivers, one pike, and three swords for defence. Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1615-25, p. 222.

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into the town.' All such things they truly said were 'enough to subvert any plantation', or any hope 'of comfort or profit'.¹ He was also accused of wrongly charging certain items to their account. As however he was then in prison on a suit of debt brought by some private person, he was given £30 towards his charges and forgiven a sum of £64 11s. 11d., which he owed the Company.²

Other
causes of the
ill success
of the
Plantation.

The ill success of the Drapers in developing their 'Proportion' must not however be laid exclusively to the ill deeds of Russell. In the first place, there were persons who made claims to lands on the ground that they had received previous grants from the Crown. Of these the most troublesome were Messrs. Lewys Price and John Cornewall, who had been granted six and a half town lands containing about 360 acres close to the 'Castle', on the supposition that they lay in County Tyrone, whereas they really lay in Derry. And when these patentees had been satisfied by receiving £100 in lieu of their claims, the question still remained whether the Company ought to pay a quit-rent which had been reserved by the Crown in the patent to the said Price and Cornewall, a question which was not settled till the reign of Charles I.³ Then again the Committee had endless troubles with the applicants for

¹ Letter Book + 383, fos. 7, 19-21, 23-26. Certificate of complaints of inhabitants against R. Russell, and Beresford's letter on behalf of Russell, B. 128, M.A. Dr. 1618, 46; B. 128, M.A. Dr. 1618, 55.

² Rep. + 131, pp. 111 b, 118 a b, 153 a.

³ Letter Book + 383, Letters beginning fos. 1, 3, 23, 28, 32, 45, 85, 86. The lands in question were the following: Ballilohan, Kilbarny (Killenbarny), Tyressan and Donagona (al. Balligonan and Lisdromard), Moyghe and Cloghoge, Tawnagmore and Nart, Donnemane and Lismoney. Cf. Rep. + 131, p. 327 b. It appears that Price and Cornewall were dependents of Sir Tobie Caulfield. Cornewall was in all probability the John Cornewall who was sub-sheriff of Tyrone at the date of the flight of the Earl of Tyrone. Hill, p. 255. For the conveyance of these lands by Cornwallis to Richard Archdale and others in trust for the Company, cf. B. 17, M.A. Dr. 1616, 20. We also hear of a Mr. H. Min, another patentee on the Drapers' proportion, who had not surrendered his lands in 1631. Cf. Letter Book + 383, Letters beginning fos. 135, 137. In 1634 the Irish Parliament expressly declared that the negligent granting of these patents, of which men 'with eagle eyes' took advantage to the utter overthrow of many deserving persons who had fairly acquired their estates, was the principle cause of the slow planting and building; and prayed that the Stat. 21 James I, c. 1, protecting the subject against 'concealments', should be extended to Ireland. Stafford Letters, ed. 1739, vol. ii, p. 311.

freeholds or leases on their land; more especially with the sons of Robert Russell and William Rowley, the son of John Rowley their first agent.¹

Sir Arthur Chichester, speaking of the whole Plantation in its earliest days, and especially of the private undertakers, reported that they were for the most part greedy and apathetic, and that many of them were allowing the Irish to creep back as their tenants. These hated their masters, and especially the Scotch, hoping one day to cut their throats.² Nor, unless the account of a presbyterian minister and the son of a settler is grossly exaggerated, was the character of the settlers likely to conduce either to the peace or improvement of the country. 'From Scotland', he says, 'there came many and from England not a few; yet all of them generally the scum of both nations, who for debt, or breaking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came hither; hoping to be without fear of men's justice in a land where there was nothing or but little as yet, of the fear of God.' . . . 'A body of people of different names, nations, dialects, temper, breeding; and in a word all void of Godliness, who seemed rather to flee from God in this enterprise than to follow their own mercy.'³

Moreover, as Chichester feared, there was trouble from the native Irish. Many of these asserted that they had enjoyed a freehold in their land, which could not be forfeited by the attainder of their chief lords, and, when this was denied, they and others who had no such claim took to violence.⁴ In 1615 the Plantation was

¹ William Rowley claimed a freehold, which had been granted to his brother Nathaniel, but who had died before being estated. The two Russells disputed as to who should succeed their father. Neither case was decided during the reign. To be a freeholder it was necessary that the tenant should build a substantial dwelling-house and do service at Assizes and Sessions; the Company had only the power to recommend, the Irish Society alone could estate the person. Rep. + 131, p. 180 b; Letter Book + 383, Letters beginning fos. 76, 101. Numerous other disputes with regard to tenants and their leases are to be found in the Letter Book. They seem to have been a litigious, grasping set of men; cf. *infra*.

² Hill, p. 446; Carte Papers, vol. xxx, Nos. 64, 65.

³ Hill, p. 447.

⁴ Cf. Letter of Sir J. Davies, Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1608-10, p. 497. He says that under their chieftains the Irish tenants had but a 'scambling and transitory' possession. Sir A. Chichester's letter: 'The Irish will rather die than be removed to small proportions assigned to them.' *Ib.* p. 503.

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overrun with guerilla bands, who levied blackmail, and committed robberies. 'There were never sithence I came hither', wrote an eye-witness, 'soe many kernes out in the woods as now; they are in five or six severall companies, soe that man can travel no way neare anie woods without great danger, except they goe a good companie together and well provided';¹ and in that year there was a serious plot to capture the forts in Ulster, to surprise and burn Derry and Coleraine, and to massacre the inhabitants.² Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Sir Josias Bodley, the King's Commissioner, made a most unfavourable report of the general condition of the Plantation in that year.³ In response to this, James addressed a letter to the Lord Deputy threatening to resume the lands unless there were immediate improvements. The great majority of the undertakers, the King declared, had either done nothing at all, or so little that the work seemed to be forgotten. Some had begun to build and not to plant, others to plant and not to build, while all of them retained the Irish on their lands, the avoiding of which was the fundamental reason of the Plantation. The Plantation had been established for reasons of State and no private man's worth was able to countervail the safety of a Kingdom, which the Plantation if well accomplished would procure.⁴

Captain
Pynnar's
Report,
March 1619.

When in 1619 Captain Pynnar made his survey, matters had improved. Even he however doubted whether the colony would endure, because many of the English did not yet plough their lands, nor use husbandry. As the Irish graziers promised higher rents, the agents discouraged British settlers and thus increased the number of the Irish, who, though indispensable, were dangerous. Pynnar also noted that there were more Irish on the Londoners' lands than elsewhere. He thus describes the condition of the Drapers' Proportion⁵:

'3,210 acres. This Proportion is not set to any man but is held by the Agent Mr. Russell. Upon this there is a strong bawn of stone and

¹ Canning, agent of the Ironmongers in Ireland; quoted Hill, *Plantation*, p. 440.

² Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1615-25, Preface, p. x.

³ *Ib.*, p. 449.

⁴ Cf. Nichol, *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers*, p. 423.

⁵ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1615-25, p. 384. For Pynnar's report on the Plantations of the other London Companies and of the Irish Society, *ib.*, pp. 378 ff.



The Gentleman of Ireland



The Gentlewoman of Ireland



The Wilde Irish man



The Wilde Irish woman

From the margin of Spede's Map of Ireland, 1609,
in the possession of the Irish Society.



lyme 100 feet square, 15 feet high, with two flankers. There is a Castle within the bawne of the same wideness, being battlemented, the which hath also two flankers, and near finished. Right before the Castle there are built twelve houses whereof six are lime and stone, very good, and six timber, inhabited with English families; and this the best work I have seen for a building; a Water Mill, and a Malt-house also. A quarter of a mile from the town there is made a conduit head, which bringeth water to all places in the bawn and town in pipes. But these tenants have not any estates, for the Agent can make none,¹ neither will they have estates till such time as their land can be improved to the utmost. Within this castle there is good store of arms.²

The original idea of the Drapers had been to let the 'whole Proportion' on a long lease to some eight or ten tenants conjointly.² As no such offer was made, negotiations were entered into with several individuals.³ They all broke down until the August of the year 1609, when Sir Thomas Roper contracted to take a lease for fifty-five years, paying a fine of £450 and an annual rent of £230 for the first twenty-one years and £260 for the rest of the term.⁴ The fine was paid, but difficulties soon arose. The agent of Sir Thomas, Sir Baptiste Jones, interfered with the tenants already settled on the Plantation, apparently without the authority of Sir Thomas. In June 1622 the Committee complained that he had never paid any rent, that he was now £690 in arrear, and that he 'doth thinke little of the extremitie that many of the Company do endure being in povertie'. In answer Sir Thomas asked for a remission of £30 off his rents and an allowance of £250 towards the completion of the 'Castle'. The Company declined to entertain these proposals until the

The whole
Proportion
leased to
Sir Thomas
Roper
August 1619
to October
1622.

¹ The freeholders could only be estated by the Irish Society. The Company could only recommend them.

² Rep. + 131, p. 115 a.

³ The applicants were Capt. Cloteworthy, R. Goodwyn, and Edmund Pike. *Ib.*, pp. 133 b, 144 a b, 145 b. The chief points on which the negotiations broke down were the finishing of the 'Castle' and the Church, and the uncertainty as to the title to six and a half Town lands, which had been previously granted to Messrs. Cornwall and Price. Cf. *supra*, p. 36 and Rep. + 131, p. 160 b.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 149 a. The Goldsmiths and the Ironmongers also let their lands to one tenant in 1614. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. i, p. 124; Nichol, Ironmongers, p. 427.

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Sir Thomas Roper surrenders his lease, October 1622.

arrears were paid, and in the following October Sir Thomas surrendered his lease.¹

Thereupon the Committee decided to take their 'Proportion' into its own hands again, and speedily 'to see to the amendment of such defects as might be in their power to reform and amend';² and, though there were other applicants, the Company continued to administer the estate till the year 1638.³ Accordingly they gave instructions that the finishing of the 'Castle' should be hurried on. It was to be made 'strong, but not curiously finished as a man of wealth would make it for his dwelling', and strengthened by a dry ditch and a drawbridge.⁴

Reports of November and December 1620.

Meanwhile the Company had been admitting leasehold tenants and causing freeholders to be estated on a portion of their lands, and building houses. As will be seen in their Report of November 1620,⁵ given in answer to series of Questions asked by the Governor and the Committees of the New Plantation (Irish Society), there were, in addition to the 'Castle' with chapel and bawne, which was 'near finished' and well supplied with arms, a church called Desart Martin in good repair and another near to their Proportion finished 'to the roof', to which they were subscribing, a mill, a brewhouse and a smithy; twelve houses in Moneymore, six of stone and six of timber; elsewhere eight other substantial houses, and ten cottages, all inhabited by English or Scottish tenants, as well as four other houses just begun. Of freeholders there were five,⁶ of whom three were resident, and of leasehold

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 171 a; Letter Book + 383, Letters beginning fos. 17, 37, 39, 40, 41, 44, 47, 59, 63, 67; Livery Book + 301, reverse fo. 85.

² Report of February, 1623. Appendix, LIII d.

³ The other applicants were William Rowley, the brother of John, their first agent, Mr. Staples, and Robert Harrington, then their agent. Letter Book, Ireland + 383, Letters beginning fos. 76, 81, 84, 105, 106.

⁴ Letter Book + 383, Letters beginning at fos. 91, 93.

⁵ Cf. Appendix, LIII A.

⁶ (a) *Already estated*

Sir F. Cooke, Monisholin and Annah.

Lieut. Thursby, who had lately bought from D. Hall the freehold of Culmore and Moyennat, B. 22, M.A. Dr. 1619, 74, Report of November 1620, Appendix LIV A.

(β) *about to be estated*

R. Russell, Gortatawry and Cloughfin, B. 1742, M.A. Dr. 126.

tenants eight, including the parson Mr. Harford, a carpenter, a mason, as well as divers other handicraftsmen, making a total of fifty able persons, all of them British tenants. Unfortunately we are not told how many Irish were still remaining. In the following December the Drapers presented another report, which is substantially identical with that of November, except that the number of substantial houses is given as twelve instead of eight.

If we may trust the Survey of Sir Thomas Phillips made two years later, matters had not then much improved.¹ The number of natives on the Drapers' Proportion was one hundred and eighty-six, a larger number than on that of any other Company except those of the Fishmongers and the Skinners. The Report does not give the number of British residents; but, as mentioned above, the Companies Report of 1620 put them at fifty. In this respect the Drapers stood sixth, while the Haberdashers had planted as many as one hundred and twenty-three. Of these fifty, only sixteen were armed and those 'meanly'—and of freeholders only one was resident.²

In the matter of building, the Drapers had done more than any of the other Companies except the Haberdashers, whose plantation Sir Thomas especially praises as the strongest and most able to defend itself, and the Vintners.³ Nevertheless three of the houses

Survey of
Sir Thomas
Phillips,
August 10—
October 10,
1622.

G. St. Lawrence, Town of Kilbarnine in the Carrinah, B. 18, M.A. Dr. 1619, 77.

J. Elcocke, Town of Ballygone in Carrinah, B. 268, M.A. Dr. 1619, 75.
Of these Thursby, Russell and Elcocke were resident.

¹ Of this interesting survey, taken in virtue of a Royal Commission, I have printed in the appendix the parts which deal more especially with the Drapers' Proportion and the general remarks. The original is among the archives of the Drapers' Society +793. There is another copy in the Lambeth Library, cf. Appendix LIII A. Sir Thomas was a persistent enemy of the Londoners. They accused him of malice; an accusation which he repudiated. The survey was probably correct, although some of his remarks at pp. 84 b, 87 b, 88 a may be somewhat exaggerated.

² The freeholder was probably Mr. subsequently Sir Thomas Staples. He bought John Elcocke's freehold, and later lived in Drapers' Town. The other residents whom we find mentioned in the Drapers' books were: The minister; Messrs. Finch, Miles and Woodroof; Widow Russell; Birket the mason and the smith. According to the Report of the Royal Commission two years later sixteen persons held land.

³ In Phillips' plan we find twenty-four buildings besides the 'Castle' (six of frame work and stucco, eight of stone or clay, ten cabins) and, the necessary

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in Moneymore are marked 'void', and the condition of the Castle was very bad. It was partly uncovered, its walls were decayed with the weather, having so remained these six years, its timber was rotting, the floors and partitions were not finished, and it and the 'bawne' in which it stood was used as a pound for cattle.¹

Nor was the condition of the other Proportions better. Out of a total population of some 4,000 in the districts held by the Irish Society and the Companies, only 972 were British. Of these only 749 were armed, and not more than two-thirds serviceable men. Of natives there were as many as 1,824.² Besides these there were another 500, who were Irish natives, freeholders on the Church lands and on Sir Thomas' lands at Limavaddy. Three hundred persons were idle; of the others many were young men dwelling with parents, or servants.

According to Sir Thomas the state of the whole Plantation was a perilous one. In some Proportions there were murders and robberies.³ Indeed he prophesied that unless speedy course were taken to strengthen the towns and other defences and to increase the number of British settlers, and especially of freeholders, it would be a lost country.⁴

Robert Harrington,
Agent.
October
1622-8,
and

Meanwhile Robert Harrington, a member of the Company, had, on the death of Russell, been appointed Agent (October 1622)⁵; and in 1623 Robert Goodwyn, who had throughout acted as a sort of superintendent for the Company in Ireland, was created Steward of the Company's Manor: with authority to hold a Court Baron

accompaniment of a town, the stocks. The analysis given in the Calendar of State Papers, 1615, 1627, p. 370, is inaccurate.

¹ A later note of an uncertain date in the margin, however, says that the Castle had been repaired since the Survey.

² So he says in his summary, p. 85 a, but the number given in each separate account comes to 1,826.

³ Especially in the Proportions of the Fishmongers, Grocers, Ironmongers and Mercers. +793, pp. 19, 25, 55. 61.

⁴ Cf. Appendix LIII A, and Survey +793, pp. 84 b, 87 b, 88 a. Sir Thomas particularly advised that in the Drapers' Proportion 'a good plantation' should be 'made at the foote of the mountaine of Sleoghgallen, where Tyrone made his last fight with the Queene's forces.' This might be 'well seconded by the garrison of Dissert Martin, where Sir Windsor his foote Company lies.' Ib. p. 79.

⁵ Rep. +131, p. 173 a; Letter Book +383, fo. 68. He was a tenant on the Grocers' Proportion, ib., fo. 71.

and Court Leet or view of Frankpledge, and to enjoy the fees, profits and emoluments to the same office appertaining.¹

The appointment of Harrington was soon followed by continued complaints on the part of the Committee that he did not answer their questions, and that when he did they were 'dark and uncertain'; that he was remiss in collecting their rents and in distraining for the same, although they had instructed him so to do.² Possibly one reason for his want of zeal was that his remuneration was small.³ But, as we gather from the correspondence, their letters did not always reach him,⁴ and in truth the administration of the estate and the planting of the same was no easy matter.

Nevertheless under his management some progress was made, as is seen by the two Reports of February and November 1623.⁵ At the later date the number of leaseholders had risen to twenty-three, exclusive of the carpenter, the mason, a tailor and divers other persons of several other trades. The number of the freeholders had however decreased. It only stood at three, of whom one only was residing on his estate and one near by in Money-more; three more, however, were shortly to be estated. This is the last notice that we have of the Plantation during the reign of James the First in the books of the Company.⁶ But we learn from

R. Goodwyn
Steward of
the Manor,
1623.

Reports of
February
and
November
1623.

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 175 a, 177 a. The grant of this Manor had been made by the Irish Society in 1619. The conditions were: (1) That the lands to be included in the Manor were to be specified by name. (2) That common lands were to be apportioned for the use of the Tenants. (3) That not less than five freeholders should be created, with not less than a Balliboe (a loose term comprising 60 to 120 acres) apiece. (4) Upon such freeholds double of the King's rent might be reserved. (5) Freeholders were to be bound to the conditions of the plantation (unless otherwise agreed), dwell on their freeholds, inclose, and keep arms. Cf. Concise View of Irish Society, London, 1832, p. 24.

² Letter Book + 383, Letters beginning at fos. 77, 106.

³ He appears to have only been paid casual fees. Cf. Letter beginning fo. 83. He ceased to be agent in 1628, when the whole 'Proportion' was let to Peter Barker.

⁴ The questions are often repeated because there was danger of their mis-carrying owing to 'length of journey, dangers of seas and passage, and ordinary casualties'. *Ib.*, fo. 77.

⁵ Cf. Appendix LIII D.

⁶ The freeholders were: Th. Thursby, resident; Sir F. Cooke, non-resident,

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a memorandum in the State Papers of March 1624 that the Company held 64 town lands, of which 48 were planted with 189 Irish tenants and only 16 with English; and that the total rents came to £311 15s. a year.¹

had sold to Sir Wm. Windsor; Mr. Staples, living in Moneymore; Nath. Goodwin, G. St. Laurence, and the son of Rob. Russell were shortly to be estated. For names of other tenants cf. Reports of February and November. Besides the persons already mentioned in the text, the following members of the Company, admitted in the reign of James I, are noted as being in Ireland, though not necessarily on the Drapers' Proportion. Cf. Quarterage Books + 259, 260, 262, 266, 267.

Ashley, Erasmus	Hassell, Ed.
Babbington, Eldred	Head, John
Barrow, Josias	Heynesworth, Francis
Berry, John	Jenkins, Wm.
Berry, Richard	Miller, John
Burge, Thomas	Pinchion, Philip
Downes, Wm.	Preslley, John
Drue, Gilbert	Spanning, Rich.
Falconer, Wm.	Still, John
Fenton, John	Swanney, Wm.
Goodwine, John	Toll, Henry
Goodwine, Nathaniel	Waller, Wm.
Greene, Clement	Walker, Sam.
Hall, Anthony	Willcocks, Bernard
Harod, Wm.	

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1615-25, p. 471-2. According to this Report the condition of the several Proportions was this:

	Town Lands.	Planted with		Rents.	Number of Irish Inhabitants.		
		Irish Tenants.	English Tenants.				
				£	s.	d.	
1. Salters	53½	42½	11	244	5	0	147
2. Vintners	49½	29	20½	193	10	4	104
3. Drapers	64	48	16	311	15	0	189
4. Mercers	47	29	18	166	10	4	103
5. Goldsmiths	42¾	17	24¾	49	0	0	17
6. Grocers	53	21	32	64	0	0	42... (besides 4 in Mr. Griffin's hands planted with natives).
7. Fishmongers	55	24	31	58	0	0	48
8. Haberdashers	57½	17½	40	148	0	0	21
9. Cloth Workers	48½	8½	40	69	0	0	11
10. Merchant Taylors	47	24	23	158	0	0	80
11. Ironmongers	47	30½	16½	124	0	0	88
12. Skinners	43	14	29	43	0	0	13
Total	607¾	305	301¾	£1,629	0	8	863

The lands had been granted to the Irish Society and to the Livery Companies to the end that 'they might in future times reap some gains and benefits of their great travail and expenses bestowed thereon'. The Irish Society were not in a position to pay any dividend till 1623.¹ As to the Drapers, they had, according to their own statement, spent (beyond the £5,000 originally paid to the Chamber of London) near £3,000 on the buildings alone on their Proportion before April 1618.² There were also numerous incidental expenses which came to a considerable amount.³ Meanwhile their rents had been small.⁴ Consequently, although the Court had decided as early as March 1615 that all particular brethren, who had paid all the calls and retained their shares should receive a 'proportionable gayne' (interest) according to the sums they had disbursed,⁵ it was not until the December of the year 1621 that they were in a position to pay any interest. In that year they distributed a dividend of $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. to all the existing subscribers, who still held their shares. The remainder of the profits fell to the House, whether in return for the original sum subscribed by it, or in consequence of gifts, deaths, or surrenders.⁶ This method was adopted whenever a dividend was

The project
how far
a financial
gain.

In divers of these Proportions the numbers of the natives are not certainly set down, but in this manner, 'and such a town land is inhabited by such and such natives, and others'. The diminution in the number of the natives since 1622 on the Proportions of most of the Companies except that of the Drapers, where they had increased by three and in that of the Mercers is remarkable.

¹ Sharpe, London and the Kingdom, vol. ii, p. 44.

² Report of April 1618, Letter Book + 383, fo. 3. By the year 1623 they had expended £3,562. 6s. od. in building. Ib. reverse, fos. 6, 7.

³ Sir Thomas Phillips, when declaring that if the King had kept the lands in his own hands he would have made a great profit, forgets the expenses to which the Companies had been put. Cf. + 793, p. 89 b.

⁴ In 1614, £174. In 1619 they let the whole Proportion to Sir T. Roper for £230, and a fine of £450. But the rent was never paid. Cf. *supra*, p. 39. By the year 1623 the total amount received in rents was £1,482. Cf. Letter Book + 383, reverse, fo. 8.

⁵ Rep. + 131, p. 111 b.

⁶ The shares of those who had not paid all the calls were forfeited to the Company, which made itself responsible for the balance. In some cases, however, the actual amount paid was returned by way of charity.

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declared, but this did not happen again till 1627, when a dividend of $5\frac{5}{8}$ per cent. was distributed.¹

That the subscribers did not consider the investment a profitable one may be gathered from the number who abandoned their shares, rather than pay all the calls (although no doubt in some cases this was due to the 'decay' of the holders of shares, or to their dying intestate and without heirs), and from the rapidity with which those who had so paid surrendered their shares. No less than ninety-five belong to the first category, while before the close of James's reign eleven, and by the end of the reign of Charles I eighty-five, additional shares had been surrendered.²

The venture then was not a financial success to the original subscribers, nor to the Company for many years. The Company indeed benefited as time went on by the surrender or lapsing of shares, as shown above, by the increase in the value of the land, and owing to the reclamation of part of the waste. But considering

¹ +701 Irish Estate.

Dividends paid to individual shareholders.

1621	at	$8\frac{1}{3}\%$	from total profits	£617	+701, p. 7 a
1627	at	$5\frac{5}{8}\%$	" " "	£412	ib., p. 27 a
1628	at	$6\frac{1}{8}\%$	" " "	£500	ib., p. 27 a
1630	at	10%	" " "	£700	ib., p. 27 b
1632	at	$2\frac{7}{8}\%$	" " "	£200	ib., p. 27 b
1636	(due at the feast of All Saints, 1634, at $5\frac{5}{8}\%$)			£390	ib., p. 117 b
1660	at	5%		£442. 15s. od.	ib., p. 81 b

² Total number of those who put down their names 208. Of these 5 never subscribed.

6 gave their shares before 1621.

95 received no dividend and abandoned their shares before 1621.

5 surrendered their shares between 1621-4.

85 " " " 1625-48.

12 " " " 1660-79.

We have in all only 42 actual surrenders, but the rest either died or evidently surrendered because they ceased to receive dividends; and the date when this happened may be taken as the date of surrender. It is curious that more surrenders should not have been recorded, as a Special Book was kept of dividends and surrenders, +701. By the year 1679 all the individual shares had fallen to the Company. Cf. Appendix LII.

the serious expenses incurred in managing the estate, it was a long time before an adequate return was received.

It has been by some asserted that the survey was carelessly made, and that the area of land granted was much larger than had been intended. The only ground for such a statement with regard to the cultivated land is that in the grant the words 'a balliboe *more or less*' sometimes appear. But the instances are too few to make much difference.

With regard to the waste land it is probable that less care was taken. Nevertheless it would seem that the Government made a very good bargain. In 1641 1,000 acres of good arable and pasture land, with a sufficiency of bog, mountain and wood in Ulster, were offered to settlers by the crown for £200;¹ at that price the Drapers should have received some 15,000 acres of arable and pasture land, instead of the 3,210, which was all they were granted. In other words, they would at that price have received nearly five times as much as they did. No doubt the value of land had declined considerably in 1641 owing to the rebellion, yet it is questionable whether the fall would be as much as one-fifth, especially when we remember that the lands were valued at the same price in 1653 when Ireland had been subdued.² Nor, as events were to prove, was the Ulster settlement any more fortunate as a political measure in its immediate results. The failure was in fact due to the confusion of financial and political ends. If it was desired to establish a strong English garrison in Ireland, the settlement should have been made more thorough, and it should not have been run on the basis of a joint-stock Company. 'The bane of a Plantation', says Bacon, 'is when undertakers or planters make such haste to a little mechanical present profit as disturbeth the whole frame and nobleness of the work for times to come.'³

As for the private undertakers, they appear to have been less satisfactory than the Companies. Their pecuniary interests tempted them to be remiss in strengthening the Plantation with a sufficient number of British settlers and with adequate defence, and led them

¹ Cf. 16 Car. I, cap 33, § 1.

² Act of Sept., 1653. Firth and Rait, *Acts of the Interregnum*, vol. ii, p. 749.

³ Bacon, *Speech of the year 1617*: Spedding, *Life of Bacon*, vol. vi, p. 206.

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to re-admit too many Irish as tenants, or to leave them as dependants without any interest in the land.¹ Moreover, as stated below, both the Irish Society and the Companies denied that they were under any conditions to remove the Irish. Many of these Irish who remained, and whose employment had been fighting, had now to till the land of others to gain a living. The rest lived as nomad herdsmen on the uncultivated and unappropriated lands, which had not been included in the grants. None of them had any legal interest in the lands 'and few had anything to lose by a revolt, while many might think they had much to gain thereby'.² Had Chichester's advice been followed, these men would have been given lands, and might thus have been turned into loyal subjects. As it was there were too many discontented Irish,³ who felt that they had been despoiled, and too few British to keep them in control. The result was the Ulster rebellion of 1641.

Commission
of Inquiry on
Petition of
Sir Thomas
Phillips,
1624.

The ill-success of the Plantation led to considerable trouble in the last year of James I's reign. In January 1624 a Commission of Inquiry was appointed on the motion of Sir Thomas Phillips. The Commission, of whom Sir Thomas was a member, was instructed to inquire into the number of the Irish that were inhabiting, residing, manuring, creaghting,⁴ or depasturing on the several Proportions. In spite of the protest of Tristram Beresford, the agent for the Londoners, who alleged that the Londoners were purchasers and not planters, the inquiry was made. This showed that there were 305 town lands planted with Irish and

¹ Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1615-25, p. 514: Memoir by Sir T. Phillips. They were even threatened with confiscation; cf. Petition on behalf of the undertakers: Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1615-25, p. 518.

² Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, vol. i, p. 89. He estimates that the natives were not granted more than one-tenth of the land in the whole of Ulster; the rest lived chiefly as dependants on the undertakers: and the number of the Irish on the Proportion of the City and the Companies was, according to Pinnar, greater than elsewhere.

³ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1608-10, pp. 502-503, 505. Chichester speaks of the 'disappointment of the Irish at the small quantity of land left them upon the division', and of their 'discontent and heart's grief'.

⁴ 'Creaghting' is to take herds of cattle from place to place. 'Creaght' is a wandering herd.

311 $\frac{3}{4}$ with English tenants, and 863 Irish, in all, inhabiting the said proportions.¹

In the following July, Sir Thomas presented a petition to the King, declaring that the Londoners had brought the country into an almost desperate case: that, if they had spent much money, they had received valuable consideration for the same, and had 'so mispent their charge' that 'their towns and fortresses were rather baits to ill affected persons, than places of security', and that 'the few British now planted there were at the mercy of the Irish, being daily murdered, robbed and spoiled by them, to the terror of others, who would otherwise be willing to come and plant there'.²

In consequence of this petition the City was, in September, ordered to carry out the provisions of the Articles originally agreed upon, and Sir Thomas was appointed to oversee their performance, with a salary of £200 to be paid by the Irish Society. The Society was further instructed to strengthen its towns and provide adequate munitions, to create freeholders and tenants for lives, but none for years certain, thereby debarring the tenants from transferring their estates and departing from their holdings.³

The Companies, who had, it was acknowledged, built their castles, were to see to the better defence of them, with men and munitions; while it was suggested that two additional castles should be built, one at the foot of the mountain of Slew Garron (Sleogh Gallen), whither Tyrone had made his last retreat, the

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, pp. 462, 470, 477. The contention of the Irish Society and of the Companies was that they were not bound by the orders and conditions originally issued to the undertakers, but by the Articles of Agreement with the City. In the Articles there is nothing stated as to removal of the Irish, nor of the nationality of the tenants they were to plant. In 1611 however the Privy Council, when asked by the Lord Deputy whether the Companies were to retain the natives as the then agents assumed, answered that they were to plant as other undertakers did, excepting the special privileges expressed in the Articles. Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1611-14, p. 35. It would appear that the Privy Council correctly interpreted the original wish of the King. But to remove the Irish was impossible, and Charles I was forced to make concessions. Cf. *supra*.

² Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1615-25, p. 514.

³ The freeholds could not be alienated except by the consent of the Irish Society.

other between Dungiven and Derry. They were to establish six freeholders of at least one balliboe each, and ten leaseholders for lives on their several proportions. With regard to the remainder of the lands a concession was made. Natives might be set there if they would take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, learn English, adopt English fashion of apparel, and resort to church.¹

The
Deputy's
warning,
March 31,
1624.

Meanwhile the Lord Deputy was warning the Privy Council that Ireland was 'full of rumours, doubts and fears (of a general insurrection), and full of unsettled and ill-affected people, who desire nothing so much as alteration', and that he and his Council are utterly unprovided with means to prevent or withstand sudden dangers, 'that the forts are in decay, the army small, their pay hard to be collected so great is the want of money and what little there is . . . gathered into a few hands, who fear to part with it in these doubtful times'.²

On May 27, the Common Council made the following answer to the demands of the Privy Council: That the Irish Society had long ago fulfilled their agreements with regard to building, and moreover had during the past year taken further measures to strengthen the same; but that as for munitions they were not tied by any agreement, and humbly prayed that His Majesty would provide them. That the twelve Companies had furnished their castles with a competent number of arms and munitions; but that from building the two more castles suggested they were disabled, by reason of the excessive charges to which they had already been put, and conceived that they were not tied to any such article or contract. That every one of the twelve Livery Companies had made at least six freeholders British of one balliboe at least . . . and that, if there were not so many at present, the defect had arisen through the default of such as had the estates . . . granted unto them, and that they would 'endeavour to reduce the same to the course by them therein at the first settled'. That they were unable to make the leaseholders required because the rest of the lands had been sett for long terms, and humbly prayed that, 'inasmuch as they were not in a state of other undertakers, who had forfeited their estates, and in regard of the extraordinary charge which

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1615-25, pp. 527, 529.

² *Ib.*, pp. 476, 484, 504.

they were willing now to undergo, they might retain such of the natives as shall conforme in religion and habit and take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, without increase of rent or tax'.¹

Before this answer had been received, James was no more. He had died on the 27th of the preceding March, and, as was the case with so many of his schemes, he was spared from seeing the results of his misguided efforts to solve the Irish problem.

THE VIRGINIA COLONY.

If the Plantation of Ulster was fraught with fateful results to England and to Ireland, the Colonization of Virginia, though at first it met with little success, was eventually to have a great future. Of this Colony, Sir Walter Raleigh may be called the founder. Indeed, but for his half-brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who made an unsuccessful attempt to colonize Newfoundland, he was the first Englishman to dream of making a settlement in the New World. In 1584 Sir Walter received a renewal of a Patent originally given to Gilbert. The Patent authorized him to inhabit and fortify all lands not yet possessed by any Christian Prince or people; and granted him, his heirs and assigns, full proprietary rights over all lands within two hundred leagues of the place in which he should, during the next six years, make settlements, with a monopoly of trade within those limits.² Under his auspices two attempts were made to colonize the south-west coast of the Bay of Chesapeake, which, in honour of the Queen, was called Virginia. The attempt, however, failed,³ and it was not till the reign of James I that the project was revived.

The Virginia
Colony.

¹ City Journal, May 27, 1625; Gore, Mayor. Guildhall Library, Tor. 33, fos. 110 b, 111, 112 a.

² For the history of the Colony of Virginia, see Doyle, *The English in America*, vol. i, pp. 62 ff.; Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, vols. i, ii; Scott, *Joint Stock Companies*, vol. ii, pp. 246 ff.; *Records of the Virginia Company*, Washington, 1906; Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*; Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, Washington, 1908; Egerton, *Short History of English Colonial Policy*, chap. ii; Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*.

³ In 1589 Sir Walter transferred his rights to certain Gentlemen of London (cf. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, vol. i, pp. 18-20), and a grant of Arms was made for the proposed New City of Virginia (cf. Queen's College, Oxford,

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The First
Charter,
1606.

In April 1606 two Companies were formed. With the first, chiefly composed of West-country gentlemen and traders, and which started the Northern or Plymouth colony, we are not concerned. The other turned its attention to the country to the south, with its centre at Jamestown. Its principal members were Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Sir John Popham (Chief Justice of the King's Bench), Sir Henry Montagu (then Recorder of London),¹ and Richard Hakluyt. A few merchants (chiefly of London) are also found on the list, but the majority of the Patentees belonged to the official and military classes, who at that time were deeply interested in all such schemes.²

The government of the Company was to be in the hands of a resident Council of thirteen, and subsequently of twenty-five persons, nominated by and under the control of the superior Council in England, the members of which were to be appointed by the Crown. The resident Council was to elect a President out of its own members, and a Treasurer or Cape Merchant to superintend the trade. It was to have the privilege of coining money, and the control of all precious metals, paying a royalty of one-fifth to the Crown. It was to enjoy the right of free transport of emigrants and supplies for seven years. It could impose a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all subjects, who were not adventurers, and 5 per cent. on foreigners trafficking in the colony. The proceeds were to belong to the Company for twenty-one years, and then to fall to the Crown. The resident Council was given the power of making laws subject to confirmation by the Crown. The tenure of land was to be the same as that in the mother country, and provision was made for the establishment of the Church of England.³

MS. 137). There is one person among the grantees who may possibly have been a member of the Drapers' Company, Wm. Stone, who was admitted through apprenticeship in 1580. But more probably he was a Clothworker (cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 49).

¹ Subsequently Chief Justice and then Lord High Treasurer, created Earl of Manchester.

² Doyle, vol. i, pp. 144 ff.; Brown, *Genesis of United States*, vol. i, p. 52; Osgood, vol. i, p. 32. No Drapers are found on this list.

³ Cf. Doyle, vol. i, pp. 145-7; Brown, vol. i, pp. 52, 64; Scott, *Joint Stock Companies*, vol. ii, p. 247.

By this Charter the novel system was established of a compromise between a Proprietary Colony on a joint-stock basis and a royal Province. The Crown retained the ultimate control of the government, while the proprietors, who were appointed by the Council, undertook the risks and benefited from any profit that might be made. The majority of the settlers appear to have been gentlemen, artisans and labourers. Many of the 'gentlemen' were probably decayed, but the others appear to have been of a superior class to those who emigrated at a later date.¹ Of this colony the famous Captain John Smith was at one time President.

It should be remembered that the main objects of the Settlement were held to be the discovery of minerals, 'and the founding of a port, which should be fitted to receive the trade of all the countries about', and form a convenient starting-point for the discovery of the Western Sea. For that purpose Captain Newport, who conducted the first expedition after the granting of the Charter, was instructed to make choice of that river 'which bendeth most to the North West, for that way you shall soonest find the other sea'.² No sooner were these expectations, and especially the hope of finding gold, found to be an idle dream than the adventurers at home, seeing no hope of immediate profit, became unwilling to provide fresh capital, or to induce others to subscribe. They declared that their interests were neglected by the resident Council in Virginia, which had too much power. They complained that 'hitherto it had fed the adventurers but with ifs and ands and hopes and some few proofes', and warned the settlers that if they could not make some return for the supplies sent them, which had cost between £2,000 and £3,000, 'they were like to remain as banished men'.³ This however the settlers were quite unable to do. Of the 300 colonists sent in 1600 about one-third had died and their places had not been filled.⁴ Finally those at home feared that the King's known desire to conciliate Spain

¹ Osgood, vol. i, p. 34.

² Cf. Brown, *Genesis*, vol. i, pp. 79 ff.

³ Scott, *Joint Stock Companies*, vol. ii, p. 249.

⁴ Osgood, *The American Colonies*, vol. i, p. 61.

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might end in an abandonment of the plantation.¹ They claimed, as seemed not unnatural, that those who supplied the funds of the undertaking should have more immediate control, and therefore wished to transfer the government to a Council in England, and to free the Company from its close dependence on the Crown.

Reorganiza-
tion of the
Company,
1609.

The outcome of these complaints and difficulties was the reorganization of the Company which was effected in the spring of 1609. This was preceded by a vigorous appeal for more support. Every inducement was given to encourage subscribers and settlers. The City rang with sermons insisting on the 'glorious and happy work of planting there, not only humanity instead of brutish incivility', but the Protestant religion, and comparing the settlement of Virginia to that of Canaan by the Israelites. 'This land', said one preacher, 'was of old time offered to our Kings. Our late sovereigne Queen Elizabeth, being a pure virgin found it, set foot in it and called it Virginia. Our most sacred Sovereigne, in whom is the spirit of his great Ancestor Constantine, the pacificer of the World and planter of the Gospel in places most remote, desireth to present this land a pure Virgine to Christ . . . Lord finish this good worke Thou hast begun, and marry this land, a pure Virgine, to thy Kingly sonne Christ Jesus; so shall Thy Name be magnified; and we shall have a Virgin or Maiden Britaine, a comfortable addition to our Great Britain.'²

At the same time the more material interests of the Londoners were not forgotten. And here we note a change in the prospects held out. Although belief was still expressed that the country was rich in gold and copper, there is but doubtful reference to the possibilities of penetrating to the Western Sea. The Pamphlets which were distributed spoke in glowing terms of the fruitfulness of the soil, of the quantities of fish and timber, and of the numerous articles of export, which would establish a thriving trade with the old world.³

Precept of
the Mayor.

To this appeal the civic authorities gave their support. Sir Humphrey Weld, the Lord Mayor, a member of the Grocers'

¹ Cf. *A Justification for planting Virginia*, Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. xciii, fo. 200.

² Cf. Brown, vol. i, pp. 248, 256, 285, 361 ff., 375.

³ *Records of Virginia Company*, vol. i, p. 20.

Company, issued a precept¹ charging the Masters and Wardens of the London Companies 'to deal very earnestly and effectually' with their members, while Aldermen were enjoined to do the same with regard to the inhabitants of their wards. The citizens were reminded, as they had been in the matter of Ulster, that the plantation would give an opportunity of diminishing the risk of famine and pestilence in the City by removing some of the surplus population, and also prove a source of profit to the adventurers. As for the emigrants, they were promised 'meate drinke and clothing, with an howse, orchard and garden for the meanest family, and a possession of lands to them and their posterity.'² In response to these appeals, fifty-six Companies³ and 659 individuals consented to take shares. The 659 persons who took individual shares were of all classes and professions, and their subscription varied from £12 10s. 0d.⁴ to £150. In all a sum of £18,000 was contributed; £5,000 by the Companies and £13,000 by individuals.

Although the contribution of £150 made by the Company of the Drapers was not nearly as high as that of the Grocers, which subscribed £487 10s. 0d., it stood fifth on the list with that of the Fishmongers.⁵ Besides this corporate contribution, towards which ten subscribed £5 each, ten other influential members and probably nine freemen were among the original subscribers whose names appear in the Charter. In addition to these, four more members of high standing in the Drapers' Company and four or five freemen subsequently took shares.⁶

In May 1609 the Company was reorganized. By the new

Part taken
by the
Drapers in
the Advent-
ture of 1609.

¹ Brown, vol. i, p. 254.

² Letter of the Lords of his Majesties Council; cf. Appendix.

³ The answers of the various Companies may be found in Brown, Genesis, vol. i, pp. 250, 254, 257, 277, 278. He is, however, wrong when he says that there is no reference to the venture in the Drapers' Records.

⁴ Cf. Brown, vol. i, p. 229. Peers, 21; Knights, 96; Members of learned Professions, 11; Captains, 53; Gentlemen, 58; Merchants, 110; Citizens, 282; Unclassified, 28. Of the 659 Adventurers, 130 subscribed for three or more shares; 229 subscribed for less than one share; 200 never paid up for their shares.

⁵ The Mercers, the Goldsmiths, and the Merchant Taylors subscribed £200 Sharpe, London, vol. ii, p. 47; Brown, Genesis, vol. i, p. 468.

⁶ Cf. Appendix VIII.

Second
Charter of
Incorporation,
May
1609.

charter, which was then granted,¹ it was constituted a Corporation under the title of 'The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London' for the Colony of Virginia. It was composed of the 659 subscribers, a motley assemblage of Peers, headed by Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, of Members of Parliament,² Knights, Captains, Esquires, Gentlemen, Merchants, Citizens and Ministers. To these were added the fifty-six Companies who had subscribed. The government was vested in a Treasurer and Council in England, and a Captain General who was Governor in the Colony.

The members of the Council in England were to be nominated in the first instance by the Crown. Subsequently they were to be elected for life by the Members themselves, but subject to the approval of the King. All legislative power and the right to appoint officials was vested in the Treasurer and Council in England. The Company was given full sovereignty over all British settlers, whom it might import at will: empowered to wage defensive war by sea and land, and to levy custom duties of 5 per cent. from British subjects, and 10 per cent. from aliens, for twenty-one years; they were then to accrue to the Crown. The Company was therefore established as an independent Community governed by a representative Body; a Commercial Company with over-lordship over a proprietary Colony, which had added to its commercial responsibilities the functions hitherto enjoyed by the Crown, although like all other Corporations the Company was subject to the sovereign control of King and Parliament. The first Treasurer was Sir Thomas Smith, a Haberdasher and member of several other chartered Companies, and the first Governor Lord De la Warr.

The limits of the Colony were also greatly increased. It was to extend from sea to sea along the coast for two hundred miles on each side of Point Comfort, as well as to all islands within one hundred miles of the land, and covered an area of one million square miles.

Membership in the Company was open to all who took a share

¹ Cf. Brown, *Genesis*, vol. i, pp. 208 ff.

² At least one hundred had been, were, or were to be M.P.s.

of £12 10s. 0d. Subsequently every such share could be divided into half-shares. In return for their subscriptions the shareholders received Bills of Adventure.¹ These entitled them to have a part, according to their contribution, of all such lands 'as should from time to time be recovered, planted and inhabited, as also of such mines and minerals of gold, silver and other metals or treasure, pearls, precious stones, or any other kind of wares, merchandise, commodities, or profits whatsoever as should be obtained or gotten in the voyage'. The Society was therefore founded on a joint-stock basis. The proceeds of the subscriptions were to be spent upon the Plantation. Any surplus was to be divided among the adventurers or funded for seven years, during which period the settlers were to be maintained at the charge of the Company. At the end of that period every shareholder was to receive a grant of land in proportion to the stock he held. Membership was also offered to emigrants, who, on taking the Oath of Supremacy, became entitled to shares according to the estimated value of their services.²

During the years 1609-10 no less than three expeditions were dispatched with emigrants, among whom some women are for the first time mentioned.³ But some of the ships of the first fleet were lost in a storm, yellow fever broke out on the remainder; and this, with the plague which was conveyed to the Colony, caused great havoc among the earlier emigrants. The troubles with the natives increased, while the character of the settlers was enough to ruin any Colony. Sir Thomas Dale, the Lieut. Governor and High Marshal of the Colony in 1611, declared that they were 'so profane so notorious and so full of mutiny, and withal so diseased and crazed that not sixty of them could be employed upon labour'. Unruly gallants, it was said, were sent to Virginia to

Bad plight
of the
Colony.

¹ For a specimen of a Bill of Adventure, cf. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, vol. i, p. 471; Clode, *Memorials of the Merchant Tailors Company*, p. 146.

² Kingsbury, *Records*, p. 75. The apportionment of these lands was very complicated. No interest appears to have been paid, nor can I find evidence in the Drapers' Accounts either of interest being paid or of lands being granted to them. Brown quotes several statements as to there being 'no hope of profit', vol. ii, pp. 582, 619, 661, 789.

³ Osgood, vol. i, p. 51.

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escape ill destinies, and parents thus disburdened themselves of lascivious sons, masters of bad servants, and wives of ill husbands. Lord De la Warr, the first Governor, described the emigrants as 'Men of such distempered bodies and infected minds, whom no examples daily before their eyes, either of goodness or punishment, can deter from their habitual impieties, or terrify from a shameful death':¹

Sir Thomas
Dale's Laws,
1610.

Under these circumstances, Sir Thomas Dale supplemented and put into force a code of Laws, which had been previously drawn up, and which was only fitted for a penal settlement. Not only were blasphemy and treason punishable by death; but to speak against the Articles of the Christian Faith; to calumniate the Company, or any book published by its authority; to traffic with the natives or with any ships touching at Jamestown; to kill cattle or poultry without permission of the Governor, or maliciously root up any crop, were all declared capital offences; while any one 'giving disgraceful words', or committing an act to the disgrace of any person in the colony was to be tied head and feet together upon the ground every night for a month. To be absent from service on Sunday incurred a death sentence, and to be absent from daily service, for which a 'Praier' of nearly 3,000 words was provided, was punishable by six months in the galleys!² Meanwhile the settlers were treated like convicts. They worked in gangs under overseers, lived in common barracks and ate at common tables.³ But experience has shown that such Draconian legislation as this rarely answers, and with such colonists as these there was little hope of success. Moreover, supported as they were from the common store, and with nothing to gain from an increased output, they had no inducement to work their best. Failure caused disappointment at home. Many of those who had been engaged as servants declined to go out; adventurers became remiss in paying for their shares;⁴ funds ran short, and the Company appeared on the very verge of ruin.

It was clear that if the Colony was to survive, the Company

¹ Cf. Doyle, vol. i, pp. 180, 181; Scott, vol. ii, p. 254, who give the authorities.

² Doyle, vol. i, p. 85; Brown, vol. ii, p. 530.

³ Osgood, vol. i, p. 64.

⁴ Scott, vol. ii, p. 251.

would have to be reconstructed, and more money raised. Accordingly another Patent was granted in 1612, and a vigorous attempt was made to attract new subscribers. In this Charter none of the London Companies appeared in their corporate capacity, but eighty-three citizens, mostly merchants, as well as 242 subscribers of other denominations, five corporate towns, and the Corporation of the Trinity House are also found.¹

The third
Charter,
March 1612.

Judging from the number of Drapers mentioned in this Charter, their enthusiasm in the Venture had apparently cooled. No member, who was at the time in an influential position in the Company, is on the list of the Incorporators. Ed. Baber only entered the livery in the very year of the Charter, while Harper was not called till later. Besides these there were at most four freemen; while Richard Edwards, an incorporator of the Company of the Bermudas or Somers Isles, and Master of the Drapers' Company in 1630-1, joined the Virginia Company at a later date.²

It is not improbable that one reason for this remarkable falling-off is that it was just at this time that pressure was being put upon the members of the Company to pay up their subscriptions towards the Ulster Plantation.

By the Charter of 1612 the Bermudas or Somers Islands were added to the lands already ceded. Regulations were also made for the better management of the Company. Four General Courts were to be held yearly, and meetings of the Council once a week. Special provision was made for the expulsion of defaulting adventurers, and for punishing servants who failed to fulfil their contracts. At the same time the Company was freed from all

¹ Viz.: Peers, 25; Knights, 111; Esquires, 66; Doctors, Ministers, &c., 10; Gentlemen, 30. Some 120 were at some time members of the House of Commons. About 125 subscribed £37 10s. *od.* each; 83 less than £37 10s. *od.*; 117 nothing. Of those who subscribed and took bills of adventure, about one-third settled in Virginia, about one-third sent their agents or their relations, while the rest sold their shares to settlers. The cities mentioned were Chichester, Dover, Ipswich, Lyme Regis, and Sandwich. Brown, *Genesis*, vol. ii, p. 542.

² Cf. Appendix VII A. Ed. Baber was called to the livery during the year 1612-13 Harper in the year 1613-14.

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export or import duties, and was empowered to increase its funds by establishing lotteries.¹

Two
Lotteries
authorized,
1612-14.

'The Kings Majestie', says the chronicler Howes, 'in speciall favour for the present plantation of English Colonies in Virginia graunted a liberal Lottery, in which was contained £5,000 in prizes certaine, besides rewards of casualty, and began to be drawne in a new house at the West end of St. Pauls the 29th June 1612. Out of which lottery, for want of filling up the number of lots, there were then taken out and throwne away three score thousand blankes without any one prize, and by the twentieth of July all was drawne and finished. This lottery was so plainly carried and honestly performed that it gave full satisfaction to all persons. Thomas Sharplisse a Taylor had the chief prize which was 4000 crown in fayre plate.'² It is evident from the withdrawal of 60,000 blanks from the lottery that the results had been disappointing. Accordingly in 1614 another lottery was started on more favourable terms.³ To both these lotteries the Drapers contributed £30 in their corporate capacity 'besides anything any brother may like to venture'. No record survives of any tickets being taken by individual Drapers, and apparently the Company did not succeed in drawing any prizes.⁴ Finally the Company in 1620 twice subscribed the sum of 16*s.* 3*d.* towards

Children
emigrants

¹ Brown, vol. ii, pp. 542 ff.

² Howes, Chron., quoted Brown, vol. ii, p. 570. Cf. Original Letter from the Privy Council to the Drapers signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, Appendix VII B. For the part taken in the lottery by the Goldsmiths, cf. Prideaux, vol. i, pp. 119, 123.

³ The conditions of this second lottery are interesting. Any shareholder who ventured twice the amount of the arrears due by him was exempted from all suits for a recovery of such arrears, and any person might exchange his chance of a prize, or the prize itself, for a share or shares in the Company. Prizes were also offered to some of those who drew blanks; e.g. to those who drew the first three blanks, and the last blank, and special rewards to those who took up many lots. Cf. Brown, Genesis, Advertisement, vol. ii, p. 760 fly-page. There were several lotteries held subsequently, but in these the Drapers apparently took no part. The total profit of the Lotteries was £38,000; Scott, vol. ii, p. 258.

⁴ Rep. + 131, fos. 83 b, 101 ab. The members of the Goldsmiths' Company also declined to subscribe individually, though the Company did. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. i, pp. 119, 123.

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the charges of transporting one hundred vagrant boys and girls to be there industrially employed.¹

As this is the last important reference to the Plantation of Virginia which is found in the Drapers' records, and neither the Company nor its members appear henceforth to have taken much interest in the concern,² it would be without our province to pursue the history of the Colony in any detail. We must therefore confine ourselves to a brief sketch of its future fortunes.

The later history of the Virginia Company, up to 1624.

After the grant of the Charter of 1612, the prospects of the Colony had become somewhat brighter. In the April of that year Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, the most influential of the Indian chiefs, was taken prisoner. She was shortly after baptized, and married to one of the principal settlers, John Rolfe. Her father became reconciled to the English. Peace was also made with the Chickahominies, the most warlike of the neighbouring tribes, while the attempt of the French to make a settlement in the neighbourhood was defeated, although it must be confessed that the way it was done cannot be defended. The proceeds of the two lotteries had also improved the finances, and an experimental consignment of tobacco in 1613 had been very successful.

In the Parliament of 1614 the Virginia Company indeed came into conflict with the House of Commons. The incident is interesting because it is the first instance of a colonial question being debated in the House. The occasion was, however, somewhat trivial. One Middleton, though a member of the Virginia Company, attacked the tobacco trade which was the chief source of profit to the Company. This he said had led to increase of smoking, 'infinitely to the prejudice of the Commonwealth'. 'Many divines', he said, 'now smell of tobacco, and poor men spend 4*d.* of their days wages at night in smoke.' He therefore wished that the patent might 'be damned' and an Act passed for the better plantation of the Colony, and supply thereof.³ The

Question of the Charter raised in Parliament, 1614.

¹ Sharpe, London, vol. ii, p. 52; Renters' Accounts, 1617-18, fo. 20; 1619-20, fo. 16.

² Besides the members of the Drapers' Company already given, fifteen are mentioned in the Drapers' books as having settled in Virginia between 1615-54.

³ Brown, vol. ii, pp. 689-90; Doyle, vol. i, p. 200. Mr. Doyle identifies this

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Company in defence petitioned that they should be heard by counsel. Unfortunately their counsel, Mr. Martin,¹ was indiscreet enough to lecture the House on its neglect of the Colony whereby it imitated the thriftless parsimony of Henry VII in rejecting the offers of Columbus; and if we may believe one authority, he alluded contemptuously to the youth of many of its members. 'Formerly', said he, 'it was the custom of old men to make laws for young ones; but now nature is inverted, seeing young men enact laws to govern their fathers.'² Martin had to make humble submission for his indiscretion, and the Act might have passed had not the Parliament, known in history as 'The Addled Parliament', been shortly afterwards dissolved by the King owing to a quarrel over taxation.

Incorporation of the Company of the Somers Islands, 1615.

In the year 1615 the Somers Isles or Bermudas were separated from the Virginia Company and incorporated under the title of 'The Governor and Company of the City of London for the plantation of the Somers Islands'. In this venture the Drapers again took a considerable part. Morris Abbot, Abraham Cartwright, Thomas Church, Allan Cotton, Richard Edwards, Nicholas Exton, W^m. Garway and Cleophas Smith, all of them connected with the Virginia Company, were incorporators of the new Company, and five other freemen were probably members.³

Division of lands, 1616.

In the following year the Company of Virginia was able to proceed to the division of the lands. All owners of shares of £12 10s. were to receive 100 acres, and if they settled on the land themselves another 100 acres, with an addition of 50 acres for each person whom they transported and settled on their estates. Henceforth the individual owner and not the Company, as hitherto, would be responsible for the outlay on their estates and receive the profits.⁵ The position of the smaller settlers had also been improved. Allotments of 3 acres were leased to them, and they were relieved from all labour for the community save for

Middleton with Sir Thomas, then Mayor of London. But this is probably wrong.

¹ Richard Martin was one of the leading lawyers of his day. He became Recorder of London in 1618.

² Brown, vol. ii, p. 694.

³ Cf. Appendix VII A.

⁴ Records of the Virginia Company, vol. i, p. 75.

one month a year. The labourers, while they had still to work on the 'common garden' for eleven months in the year, had a month at their own disposal, while artisans, though they had to till the common land in return for their support, had more time at their own disposal.¹ Six small settlements had by that date been started along the James river. The total population of the colony was, however, only 381, including women and children. Of these, 81 were farmers with small allotments. No plough was yet in use, but there was a fair supply of cattle, goats, pigs and poultry, as well as 6 horses, while the tobacco industry had been definitely started.²

Sir Thomas Dale, who had been the Marshall or Governor since 1611, resigned in the same year. He was shortly followed by Samuel Argal (1617-19) who 'recklessly exploited the lands and the trade of the Company',³ but he was fortunately removed when Sir Edwin Sandys, one of the party of reformers in the House of Commons, succeeded Sir Thomas Smith as treasurer in England. His appointment was followed by a long and confused struggle between Sandys and his opponents. On the merits of the quarrel authorities differ.⁴ Some maintain that Sandys represented the party of progress and freedom as opposed to the autocratic and corrupt policy of the King. They point out that under his administration a scheme for endowment of the Governor, a college and the Church out of unoccupied lands was planned; that the joint system of land ownership was being gradually replaced by the increase of the number of tenants farming their own allotments, and that the number of adventurers, who exchanged their shares for land, grew. At the same time further colonization was promoted by the grant of sub-patents to private societies.⁵ Having thus formed a strong body of substantial

Sir Edwin
Sandys
Treasurer
1619.

¹ Osgood, vol. i, p. 75. These improvements were probably introduced in 1614.

² *Ib.*, vol. i, p. 76.

³ *Ib.*, p. 77.

⁴ Cf. Doyle, vol. i, pp. 208 ff.; Scott, vol. ii, pp. 267 ff.; Osgood, vol. i, pp. 80 ff.; Egerton, *Brief History of English Policy*, p. 34. The records of the Company under Sir Thomas Smith were lost, and Sandys' version is the only one that has survived. Some valuable information may be found in the Historical MSS. Commission, Report 8, pt. 11, Manchester MSS.

⁵ By the close of the year 1619 six such patents had been granted, one before the rule of Sandys. Osgood, vol. i, p. 84.

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settlers, the deputy Governor, Sir George Yeardley, with the approval of Sandys, summoned the first Assembly of elected 'Burgesses', who from that time till the revocation of the charter sat at regular intervals to legislate for the colony. Serious attempts were also made to convert and civilize the natives. Moreover, Sandys is represented as the supporter of a policy of greater freedom of trade and as the opponent of a monopoly of tobacco, which had been granted to certain patentees in 1620. And if he subsequently secured another monopoly for the Company, this they declare was less harmful than one in the hands of private individuals, who had no connexion with the Company. The supporters of Smith, the representative of the old merchants, while not attempting to deny that Smith left the finance of the Colony in much disorder and that progress was made under Sandys, dispute his claim to be an apostle of freedom of trade. Representing as he did the new men, he was no doubt opposed to those who wished to continue along the old lines of trade regulation and who were in possession, but if Sandys procured the dissolution of the joint-stock enterprise, which had since 1616 enjoyed the monopoly of the trade of the Company, he very shortly re-established a new one, and, as before mentioned, again revived the tobacco monopoly.¹ If this be so the quarrel was not an isolated one, but only one more example of a struggle which was then being waged in many other directions.² In any case the King, who had his own reasons for disliking Sandys, sent a strongly-worded message forbidding his re-election. 'Choose the devil if you will', he is reported to

¹ Osgood, vol. i, p. 88; Scott, vol. ii, p. 270. The system on which the trade of the Colony was conducted was a curious one. Till 1616 the trade, both import and export, had been in the hands of the Company. But as this was a financial success, a private Association known as the 'Society of particular adventurers for traffic with the people of Virginia in joint stock' was formed, which divided the profits of trade amongst its subscribers. This was often called the Great or Old Magazine. Other subsidiary Joint Stock Societies were also started later. Scott, vol. ii, pp. 256, 288.

² See, for instance, 1613-17, The New Company of Merchant Adventurers and Cloth Merchants against the Old. The Interlopers against the Old East India Company, 1617-30. Cf. Scott, Joint Stock Companies, vol. ii, pp. 105 ff., and the struggle for free trade within the Company of Spain and Portugal, Selden Soc. 28, XXIV.

have written, 'but not Sir Edwin Sandys.' The King indeed succeeded in excluding his chief enemy—but Henry Wriothesley, the Earl of Southampton, the patron of Shakespeare, and one of the supporters of Sandys, was chosen, and since he took little part in the affairs of the Company, Sandys remained the controlling spirit.¹ In revenge, the King in 1621 forbad any further lotteries, which were 'the real and substantial food' of the Colony, while a serious rising of the natives in 1622, and the persistent efforts of Spain to ruin the Colony, added to its difficulties.

Meanwhile the quarrels of the rival factions continued both at home and abroad. In Virginia the feuds were compared to those of the Guelfs and Ghibellines of Italy, and their meetings were declared to be cockpits rather than courts.² In England the controversy was fanned by the heated condition of home politics, and finally in 1623 the Company was summoned before the Privy Council to answer the charges brought against it. A Commission of Inquiry, upon which many enemies of the Company sat,³ reported that the administration of the Colony under the Chartered Company had been loose and inefficient, and the Privy Council decided, in spite of the remonstrance of the Colonists, to recommend the resumption of the Charter and the transference of the Government in England to a Council appointed by the King, who should also appoint the Governor and the Colonial Council. In vain the Company attempted to appeal to Parliament. Although their Petition was favourably received, further action was prevented by a message from the King forbidding any interference. And on the 24th of July 1624 the charter was revoked in an action *Quo Warranto*. By this measure the whole control of the Colony was transferred to the Crown, and the Company was

The
Company
arraigned
before the
Privy Coun-
cil, 1623.

1624
Revocation
of the
Charter.

¹ It is interesting to remember that Nicholas Ferrar, who subsequently founded the remarkable religious community at Little Gidding, and who at this date was a member of the Council of Virginia in England, was a supporter and indeed the chief adviser of Sandys. Cf. Dict. National Biography under Ferrar's name.

² Chamberlain to Carleton, quoted in Brown, vol. ii, p. 1006. The names of Morris Abbot and William Essington are found in a list of adventurers who 'dislike ye present proceedings of business in ye Virginia and Somers Islands Companys'; ib. p. 982.

³ Miss Kingsbury says that the statement of Sandys 'that accusers and judges were one' is proved. Cf. Records of Virginia Company, p. 63.

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reduced to the position of a mere trading society, dependent for its position and privileges on the royal favour. Nine months later James died.

It can hardly be questioned that the revocation of the Charter was an arbitrary act, the justification for which must be found on grounds of policy rather than of law. The argument of the Crown that the Charter of 1612 was bad on account of its unlimited character, and that under the clause permitting the transportation of as many loving subjects as were willing to go it would be possible to denude England of all its inhabitants, was surely puerile. James no doubt disliked the 'popularness'¹ of the Virginia Company, and the proceedings of the Colonial Assembly went far to justify his dislike, while his antipathy to Sandys and his parliamentary party in England naturally coloured his views. It does not, however, follow that the transference of the government of the Colony to the Crown was not the best way out of the difficulty, or that the interests of the colonists were thereby injured. It must be confessed that the previous history of the Colony had not been happy. The warning of Bacon as to the danger of starting a colony through the agency of a financial company, whose primary aim is to make a profit of the concern, is as applicable to the Colony of Virginia as it was to the Ulster Plantation. Nevertheless it should be remembered that without the impulse, which the commercial spirit gave, it is doubtful whether any of our colonies would have been founded, since the Crown was unwilling and indeed unable to incur the financial risk involved.² Moreover, the poor success of the enterprise was due in a great measure to want of experience in the matter of colonization at the time, and to the difficulty in procuring the right kind of settlers.

It may also be claimed for the Company that it had lived through its worst difficulties, and was on the way to a more prosperous future. Whether, if it had been allowed to develop on its own lines, it would have succeeded in founding a great Empire as the East India Company, in spite of many mistakes and short-

¹ Nethersole to Carlisle. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-60, p. 63.

² Cf. Osgood, *The American Colonies*, vol. i, p. 1.

comings, did, is a question of academical interest to which there is no definite answer to be made. Be that as it may, the change in the relations of the Colony to the Home Government is interesting as being the first indication of an Imperial policy, the advocates of which found themselves hampered by the independent action of a chartered company and thought that the general interests both of the Colony and the Home Government would be best secured by more effective control from home, a policy which was to triumph in the later part of the seventeenth century.

With one more adventure which was attempted in the reign of James I, members of the Drapers' Company were also connected. Some bold spirits hoped that a way might be found to the East through the icy regions of the North-West. If it could be found it would at least be free from complications with any European power. Accordingly in 1612, the Company of the N.-W. Passage was incorporated by Charter, and among these incorporators are found six or eight members of the Drapers' Company, all of whom had, however, taken part in the Virginia Company or that of the Somers Isles.¹

The Company of the N.-W. Passage, 1612.

Throughout the reign of James I the system of corn money was continued, and the assistance of the Livery Companies invoked, with the hopes of thereby regulating prices.² The amount to be provided by the Drapers varied, but after the year 1618 the usual quantity was 768 quarters of wheat or rye, out of 10,000 demanded of the fifty-five Companies of London.³ In the year 1604, owing to the complaint of some Companies that their assessment was too high, the rate was altered, but this did not affect the Drapers, who stood fifth as before.⁴ In the same year, it being found that the Company suffered a yearly loss by having to buy and sell the corn at a moment's notice, it was decided that in future this should be done whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself. The Renter accounted for the corn money, but paid over the proceeds

Corn money.

¹ Cf. Appendix VII A.

² For the earlier history of corn money, cf. vol. ii of this work, Index and Appendix xxv, p. 423.

³ Rep. + 131, pp. 4 b, 21 a, 36 a, 81 a, 92 a, 154 a, 167 b, 192 a. Mayors' Precepts + 371, pp. 3 b, 7 a.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 17 b. Cf. Clode, Merchant Taylors, vol. i, pp. 329, note 1, 405.

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to the chest whereby to defray the cost of future purchases, instead of raising the money in whole or part by assessment on the brethren, as had been the earlier custom;¹ and in 1619 the Mayor issued a Precept stating that the very low price caused great inconvenience to farmers and husbandmen, who were thereby unable to find a market, and ordering the Companies to buy because the price was too low, instead of letting it be provided by chandlers and bakers;² 27*s.* was considered a low price. Sometimes when prices were down, or in anticipation of a good harvest, they had to sell it at 26*s.*, but generally a profit was made, except for the loss from weevils, or because the corn had become musty.³ In 1620 the Mayor issued a Precept ordering the Company to bring six quarters of wheat to Leadenhall market every Monday till further notice, and to sell it to poor people in small quantities at 4*d.* the bushel below the market price.⁴

Mr. Heath says that in 1622 corn was demanded from the Grocers' Company for the royal household, because, owing to the neglect of the royal purveyors, it was short of wheat, but of this there is no notice in the Drapers' books.⁵ In 1609 new garnerers were built at Bridewell at a cost of £153 12*s.*; of which £55 12*s.* was paid out of the money which had been received for corn lately sold.⁶

Act for
better relief
of creditors,
1604.
Contribu-
tion to build-
ing Schools
of Disputa-
tion at
Oxford,
1617.

Of other contributions made to public objects by the Drapers during the early part of the reign, two are worth mentioning. In the year 1604 they took a share in the expenses of promoting the Act for the better relief of creditors against such as shall become bankrupts, a measure in which, as business men, they would necessarily be interested;⁷ and, in April 1617, £40 was given at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others towards erecting public schools of disputation at Oxford.⁸

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 45 b, 58 a, 74 b, 92 a. Wardens' Accounts, 1607, fos. 46-7. If there was a good balance it would at times be devoted to other purposes; cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1609-10, fo. 35.

² Mayors' Precepts + 371, p. 7 a.

³ Rep. + 131, pp. 9 a, 40 b, 50 b, 148 a.

⁴ Mayors' Precepts + 371, p. 8 a.

⁵ Heath, Grocers, p. 68.

⁶ Rep. + 131, pp. 63 b, 64 b, 70 a.

⁷ Cf. Stat. 2 James I, c. xv; Rep. + 131, p. 17 b.

⁸ Rep. + 131, p. 127 b. These schools still exist. They are on the ground floor of the north-west and south sides of the Bodleian Quadrangle. They were

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Although the demands of King James for loans from the City were frequent, the great majority of them were raised by the Mayor on the citizens in their wards, and not on the Companies. They therefore find no place in the records of the Drapers. There was, however, one loan and two benevolences or 'gratuities' which were levied partly or wholly on the Companies. To the loan of £15,000 demanded of the Companies in 1604, the Drapers' share was £1,152. For this loan 28 members of the Court, 57 of the Livery, one Widow, Mrs. Jayes, and 55 Yeomen were assessed.¹ As certain of them refused to pay, their names were sent to the Mayor. One Sivedale subsequently came to terms, but we are not told whether they all did, or how they were punished. The loan was repaid by the King in the year 1606.

Loans,
Benevo-
lences, and
Subsidies
to the
King.
The loan
of 1604.

In 1608-9 they contributed £10 15s. towards a gratuity or aid to Prince Henry;² and in 1614, James, being 'disappointed' of his expectation of financial relief by the sudden dissolution of the Parliament of 1614,³ turned to his loyal citizens and prayed them to help him in his necessity with the loan of £100,000, reminding them that he had repaid all the loans raised either by his late

commenced in the year 1613, and were not completed till the year 1619. To these schools the Mercers contributed £66 13s. 4d., the Goldsmiths £20, the Haberdashers £50, and the Skinners £40. Anthony à Wood, *History of Oxford*, in English, by Gutch, vol. ii, p. 790 ff.; Prideaux, *Goldsmiths*, vol. i, p. 127.

¹ The rates at which the Companies were assessed were the same as those agreed upon for the loan to the late Queen in 1598. The amounts at which each member was assessed are only given in the case of a few members of the Court. It appears, however, that the total sum thus raised was only £918 6s. 8d. Accordingly a Committee was appointed to reconsider the matter. Eventually £100 was found by Thomas Wicken, the Renter, and £194 borrowed from the trust for the children of Alderman Barneham, who had died in 1576. This brought the amount raised to £1,212 6s. 8d., which was £60 6s. 8d. too much. Some of the surplus was spent in incidental expenses. Thus 6s. 2d. went towards 'a repast to the Master Wardens, when they sate about the Collection', and 2s. was paid to the Lord Mayor's officer for attendance when those who refused to pay were committed. Presumably the balance would be handed back to the Renter. Cf. Rep. + 131, pp. 14 a, 15 b, 16 a, 17 b, 21 a. Wardens' Accounts, 1604-5, fos. 35, 42, 43, 49; ib. 1606-7, fo. 37. Sharpe, London, vol. ii, p. 13, tells us that other Companies were also remiss in paying.

² Wardens' Accounts, 1608-9, fo. 52.

³ This was called the Addled Parliament because it was dissolved without passing a single Act.

The
Gratuity,
1614.

predecessor or himself, and promising 'such suffycient securitie as shall be voide of exception.'¹ The City, while refusing to grant the loan, offered a gratuity of £10,000, half of which was to be found by the Chamber of London, half by the Livery Companies. Of this sum the share of the Drapers was £384, which the Company proposed to raise by a loan on interest from individuals, the loan to be repaid in January of the following year.²

Outbreak
of the
Thirty
Years War,
1618.

In the year 1618 the country was agitated by the outbreak of the war in Germany, which was to devastate that country for thirty years. On the death of the Emperor Mathias, the Protestant nobility of Bohemia deposed his successor Ferdinand and offered the crown to the Calvinist Frederick Elector Palatine, the son-in-law of James I, whereupon the Elector appealed to his father-in-law for advice. James, distracted as he was between his desire to maintain peace and yet to further the interests of his son-in-law, delayed to give any definite answer, and Frederick rashly accepted the dangerous offer. Forthwith the Catholic powers rose, and in the autumn of the year 1620 a Spanish army not only drove the unfortunate 'Winter King' from his newly-acquired Kingdom, but threatened the Palatinate itself.

Provision of
Gunpowder.

The first indication of the coming trouble is found in several precepts of the Mayor concerning the provision of gunpowder and matche by the Livery Companies.³ In May 1619 we learn that, as the Company had lately been obliged to buy as much as forty barrels at dear rates 'upon ye late sudden suspicion of fear of use thereof, and were more to have a great quantity put upon them by order of the Mayor', all but ten barrels of the said gunpowder should be sold at the best price obtainable.⁴ In July 1619 the Company was ordered by the Mayor to provide 2,619 lbs. of

¹ Cf. Precept of Mayor, quoted Nicholl, *Ironmongers*, p. 188.

² £300 of this was lent by Anthony Clowes. In the following January it was repaid to him out of the Bachelors' money in the hands of Richard Champion, the Renter Warden, the same to be made up again by such other moneys as should come into the Renter's hands. It would appear that the balance of £84 was found by the House, as no other person is mentioned in the Accounts as lending money. Cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1613-14, fos. 19 a-24 a; Rep. + 131, p. 102 b.

³ Cf. Mayors' Precepts + 371, pp. 4 a, 7 a.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 149 a.

powder, at 11*d.* the lb., towards a total contribution of 53,636 lbs. demanded of the Livery Companies, and 19 bundles of matche at 9*s.* 6*d.* a bundle, towards 266 bundles provided by the Livery Companies.¹ Some of the powder was apparently 'Hamburgh' powder, which the Company was expected to buy of the City, although it was not considered so good as English powder. This they neglected to do till warned by a peremptory injunction from the Mayor, and shortly afterwards they ordered it to be tried and sold or exchanged if found deficient.²

Meanwhile the danger that the Palatinate would be lost had at last aroused the King. He summoned Parliament for the following year, and again appealed to the City. In response the Mayor addressed the Alderman of each ward. But as subscriptions were to be purely voluntary, enough money was not raised. It was hoped that the balance might be obtained from the Mayor and those who had been fined for refusing to accept the post of Alderman or Sheriff;³ but even then there was a deficit, and accordingly resort was had to the Livery Companies, who agreed to grant a gratuity of £5,000. The Drapers' share was to be £384.⁴ The question as to whether this sum should be met by the

Loan for the defence of the Palatinate refused, but a gratuity offered, 1620.

¹ Mayors' Precepts + 371, pp. 5 b, 6 a.

² Rep. + 131, pp. 151 a, 159 b; Precepts + 371, p. 6 a. We find no instance during the reign of James I of a demand from the Livery Companies for men. The City trained bands were raised from the citizens in their wards, and even those do not appear to have been used for foreign service, but the Drapers still continued to have their armoury, which was kept supplied, and to supply an armourer. On the trained bands cf. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 64, Appendix to vol. iii. The arms kept by the Company were muskets (which had now taken the place of culivers), swords, pikes, halberds, corsetts, moryons, black armour. Cf. Rep. + 131, pp. 33 ab, 57 a, 135 b, 181 a.

³ Sharpe, *London*, vol. ii, pp. 75, 77, 78. In the reign of Elizabeth it had been difficult to get the office of Sheriff filled (cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 215), and the Government now made use of the unwillingness to serve for the purposes of raising money. Thus ten who were elected Sheriffs in 1614, and eleven in 1615, refused to serve and most of them were fined. City Letter Book E (at the Guildhall), pp. 240 b, 241 a, FF p. 85 b; City Rep. 31, pt. 2, pp. 348 b, 362 b, 369 b, 422; ib. 32, pp. 104 b, 110, 112, 125 b, 129 a b, 132 b, 133 a b, 134 b.

During the reign of James I three Drapers declined the office of Sheriff, and seven that of Alderman. Cf. Appendix, XLII B.

⁴ Mayors' Precepts + 371, p. 8.

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Expedient
for raising
the money.

assessment of individual members or by the House was debated by a meeting of the Court and of the Livery.¹ But 'the brethren showing themselves unwilling to contribute in respect of many former assessments, benevolences and impositions lately laid upon them, and the House not being able to bear it in respect of the great debt it oweth', it was decided that the money should be borrowed;² and that to repay it 'there should be a cessation of all feasting for the clothing (livery) and yeomanry' until it had been met. The Wardens, the Stewards and the Master Bachelors were to hand over to the House the sums they usually expended on dinners. The Company accordingly gave up most of their dinners or reduced the expense of them until the year 1623, by which time £345 had been saved.³

No notice is found in the Drapers' records of a refusal of the City authorities to make an advance of £20,000 on the security of the two subsidies, which the Parliament of 1621 had unwillingly voted,⁴ but the two subsidies were paid, the Drapers being assessed at £4 9s. 0d. for each subsidy.⁵

Riot of
Apprentices,
April 1621.

Meanwhile the King betook himself to an idea he had previously entertained of making an alliance with Spain, an alliance which was to be cemented by the marriage of Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta. Spain he hoped might thereby be induced to mediate between the Emperor and the Protestants in Germany, and bring about a peace. At once the English hostility to our old enemy Spain was aroused, the Spanish ambassador was insulted, and a riot of apprentices took place.⁶ As however no reference

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 160 a.

² £300 was borrowed from Elizabeth Hubbersteed, a widow. The rest was apparently found by the House. Wardens' Accounts, 1620-1, fo. 29.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 160 a. In 1620 the livery were to be entertained on the election day, but the dinner was not to be of that 'largeness as hath been accustomed'; ib. p. 162. Wardens' Accounts, 1620-1, fos. 35, 36; 1622-3, fo. 33. The remainder was found by the House out of allowances usually made for dinners.

⁴ Sharpe, vol. ii, p. 83.

⁵ Renters' Accounts, + 468, 1620-1, fo. 16; 1621-2, fos. 15, 16. The rate of the subsidy was at 4s. in the pound on the annual rents of their lands. These only amounted to £46. The fines for renewals of leases, which were high, were not included.

⁶ Sharpe, vol. ii, p. 79.

to this riot is found in the Drapers' records, we must assume that their apprentices took no serious part in it. In spite of this and other signs that England was deeply stirred by the prospect of the Spanish alliance, James, with his usual inability to gauge the public sentiment, or to fathom the designs of the Spanish Government, which was merely playing with him, persisted in his impossible project until it finally broke down on the occasion of the Prince's visit to Madrid. The return of Charles was hailed with extravagant joy, and James was forced to summon Parliament, only to find that, while he wished for a war against the Emperor for the defence of the Palatinate, Parliament desired a war with Spain. At length, however, a compromise was arrived at, and the Commons agreed to grant the King two subsidies, on the understanding that all negotiations with Spain should be broken off. To each of these subsidies, the Drapers were called upon to contribute £18. 8s. 0d.¹ This is the last reference to the foreign policy of the King to be found in the Drapers' records.

Failure of
the Spanish
Marriage
Scheme.
The Parlia-
ment of
1624.

James had changed his mind, and was now eager for the marriage of the Prince with Henrietta Maria, the sister of Louis XIII of France, in the hope that the French would assist in the recovery of the Palatinate. In September 1624, Count Mansfeld, a German adventurer who had offered his services to France, visited London, and the City was asked to help in furnishing soldiers for an expedition which he proposed to lead. The men who were pressed were a mutinous set of men, 'tapsters, ostlers, vagrants and idle persons'. Many absconded; the rest, who were landed at Flushing, were soon decimated by sickness and want of food.

At this moment James died. His reign ended, as it had begun, in a serious outbreak of the Plague, in which, according to the chronicler Howes, there perished 41,313 in the cities of London and Westminster and their suburbs during the twelve months between December 1624-25. The mortality among the Members of the Company was great. The Master, Dannet Poyntell, three of the Assistants, and fifteen liverymen succumbed, and to prevent infection the Hall and Sir W. Garway's house were 'aired' with

Death of
James I,
March 27,
1625.

¹ Renters' Accounts, 1623-4, fos. 16, 17; 1624-5, fos. 15, 16.

frankincense and juniper.¹ Nor was this the only calamity suffered. In the November or December of the previous year there had been a 'great and terrible' fire near Drapers' Hall.*

It is probably owing to the Plague that there is a gap in the Minutes of this date. The last notice is of February 1625, when it was decided to provide the usual dinner on the 24th of March to commemorate the 'Coronation' of James. There is no mention of James's death, which occurred on March the 27th, nor of the accession of Charles I. The next minute is that of a Quarter Day Court on June 1, 1625.³ Had we no other records than those of the Drapers we should have little conception of the seething discontent caused by the home and foreign policy of the first of the Stuarts, whom the witty King Henry IV of France described as 'the wisest fool in Christendom'. But, as we have often had occasion to notice, the Drapers troubled themselves but little with politics unless the interests of the Company were concerned.

¹ Howes, Chronicle ed. 1631, p. 1041; Livery Lists + 301, fo. 18; Renters' Accounts, 1624-5, fo. 16. Others put the deaths from the Plague at 35,417 only, but say the mortality from other diseases was double the average; cf. Dale Ingram, Account of Several Plagues, 1755, p. 2. Sir Wm. Garway died 26 September 1625, aged 88.

² Howes, p. 1035. It was in Broad Street. Rep. + 131, p. 183 b: 'New buckets and ladders and other necessaries to be provided in the place of those destroyed in the late great and terrible fire, which happened near this place.' Fires were common in London at that time, but this coincidence of the Plague and a fire is interesting in view of the Great Plague and fire in 1665-6.

³ Rep. + 131, pp. 192 a, 193 b. March 24 was really the day of the proclamation of James. But it is usually called the Coronation Day in the Drapers' Books. James was not crowned till the 25th of July, 1603.

CHAPTER II

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE COMPANY DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES I. 1603-1625



(1)

JAMES the First's reign is of considerable importance in the history of the Drapers' Company. It was from that King that they received their last Charter.² It is therefore worth while to see in what respects it differs from that granted by Elizabeth. All reference to the prayers for the souls of members of the House of York and for the souls of the brethren and sisters of the Fraternity departed, which were retained in the earlier charter, are omitted. Nor are the two chaplains mentioned. The annual value of manors,

The Charter
of 1607.

messuages, lands, rectories, tithes, rents, reversions, and other hereditaments, which the Guild may purchase without a license to hold in mortmain, is increased from £20 to £200;³ but a proviso that

¹ The initial comes from the Charter of James I.

² It was only after some hesitation that the Company decided to apply for this Charter, perhaps because they knew that the royal confirmation could not be obtained without considerable expense. Rep. H, pp. 165 b, 295 b, Rep. + 131, pp. 4, 6 a, 28 b. They paid £38. 5s. 10d. for 'suing out' the charter; £7. 10s. 0d. for the 'lyming' of the same; £200 to the Attorney General, and £10 to his attendant; ten angels (or £5) to the Recorder of London for a certificate that there was nothing in the proposed charter prejudicial to the ancient customs of London. Rep. + 131, pp. 43 a, 45 a; Wardens' Accounts, 1606-7, fos. 45, 46. For the Charter cf. Appendix IV. Charles II indeed granted a new charter after the proceedings *Quo Warranto*, but this was disregarded after the Revolution; cf. *infra*, pp. 296 ff.

³ For lands of higher value a licence had to be obtained. It should however

the said lands, &c., must not be held immediately of the Crown nor by Knight's service is inserted, which did not appear in the Charter of Elizabeth. The same privilege is also for the first time extended to those who may wish to grant, demise, or sell lands, &c., to the Fraternity. At the same time the Fraternity is definitely confirmed in its possession of all lands, chattels, liberties, &c., which it now lawfully holds.

With respect to the government of the Society, which is still called 'The Gild or Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Mystery of Drapers of the City of London',¹ whereas in the earlier Charter the Fraternity '*may*' have a Master and four Wardens, the words now run '*shall have*'. Further, the Court of Assistants is for the first time mentioned, and it is *ordered* to be constituted and to be composed of not less than twelve; the names of the existing Master, Wardens, and Assistants being given as appointed by the Charter.² The Master and Wardens are also granted powers to change and break their common seal. For the rest, many of the Ordinances, which the Company had made for themselves in the past, and which had been legalized under Elizabeth,³ are now inserted in the Charter. The Master and the Wardens are to be elected every year on the first Monday in August and to take an oath to well and faithfully fulfil the duties of their offices; but whereas in the Charter of Elizabeth the election was nominally in the hands of the 'men of the Gild or Fraternity', it is now to lie with those members of the Court of

be remembered that by the custom of London citizens might always leave lands within the city to any Corporation by will without any licence to mortmain, but this privilege did not extend to lands without the city. Money to any amount might be granted or left by will to any Corporation so long as it was not given to 'superstitious, or illegal uses'. But if it was invested in land a licence had to be obtained. Cf. Rep. + 131, p. 211, where the Company apply for a licence in mortmain to invest £2,400 left by J. Kendrick to charitable uses, 1627. The mortmain law with regard to lands was, however, evaded by granting lands to certain persons, as feoffees for charitable uses. Cf. Rep. + 132, p. 50 a.

¹ They had thought of altering the name of the Corporation; cf. Rep. H, p. 295 b.

² The number of the Assistants who were appointed was twenty-four, besides the Master and the four Wardens.

³ Cf. Ordinances of 1576 confirmed by the Chancellor and others, vol. ii of this work, p. 304.

Assistants who have held the office of Master or Warden. The same body is also to fill up vacancies should they occur. The Master and Wardens, with the Court of Assistants, are empowered to pass regulations for the rule of the Fraternity, so long as they be not repugnant to the laws, customs, or rights of England, and to enforce them by pains, punishment, ameracements, or imprisonment, such punishments to be enforced by the Masters and Wardens, who are also given powers to admit apprentices to the freedom. Lastly, the right of search is definitely authorized. The Master and Wardens are given powers 'to enter into all houses, shops, cellars, booths, and other places, now or hereafter used or appointed for the keeping or exposing of cloths, of every person or persons, as well free of the Fraternity as free of any other Society, and also those of foreigners using the art or mystery of Drapers within the city or the liberties thereof; to search, view and measure by a sealed standard . . . all yards, ells, godes and other measures whatsoever; and to forfeit all such measures as are found to be short or deceptive, and to impose a fine of 6s. 8d. on the offenders, the said fines to be distributed among the poor of the Fraternity.'

The granting of the New Charter had necessitated a search for all former Charters, and of special records in the Guild Hall concerning the Company,¹ and the occasion appeared to be a fit one to put their affairs in order. In January 1605 it pleased the Court to appoint that, according to the accustomed order, the clerk should read to the Assistants the orders which only concerned them; 'and then to call in the Livery to hear the orders which concerned the Assistants and the Livery, and lastly the yeomanry to be called in and the orders to be read which in general concerned the Company.' Which being done, the clerk was to proceed 'to read the gifts and legacies of the memorable and well disposed benefactors of the Society, to the ende that the same might be an encouragement to others to do likewise, for the maintenance of the poore of the Company'.²

New Regulations with regard to conduct of Business, &c. 1605.

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 28 a.

² Ib. pp. 20 a, 26 a, 77 b, 110 a. The dates of Quarter-Days, of which there were now generally two, were settled every year, and at one of these the Regulations were read. In 1618, and in 1620, it was further resolved that the

This was supplemented in September by the following resolution: 'Whereas this court was this daye enformed that many thinges concerninge the state and good of this House at this present are farre out of order, and for many yeares past have bene neglected, viz. that the view Booke of all the defects of reparacions have not bene kepte by the space of eighteen yeares past, whereby divers of the Companye's houses have gone to ruine, and the parties never called in question, for that due warninge hathe not bene geven them accordinge to the covenantes of their lease to repayre the same. Item, that there are a great many wills of divers good benefactors to this Companye, which have geven landes and other legacies, which lye scatered in lose papers and are not recorded as they ought to be in a Booke to be kepte for that purpose. Item the guiftes of divers good benefactors beinge inserted into the last two leaves of the Booke of Ordinances, some guifts are yett to be entered' (as Mr. Thorogood's and others) . . . 'and no more leaves left to insert them.' 'Item that the Booke of Ordinances is so confusedly engrossed, that the Orders concerninge the Assistance only, are intermingled with suche as belonge unto the Liverye, and those which appertayn to the Assistance and Liverye only, are engrossed amongst suche Orders as are to be reade unto the Yomanry, so as they cannot be reade on Quarter Dayes without mucche trouble.'² It is therefore ordered that 'An exacte breviat be made of all the leases and of the allienacions from tyme to tyme graunted.' Item, that 'A Booke be kepte of the yearely distribution of Mr. Clune's Legacye, as also of the monethely distribution of all other legacies and to whome.'³ Item that 'Severall accomptes be kepte of the money belonging to the children of Mr. Barneham, and Mr. Lambard, and of the money belonging to Queen Elizabeth College Greenwich

statues or pictures of benefactors, and especially those of Sir J. Jolles, Sir Thos. Russell, Mr. Dummer, and Mr. Buck, should be set up in places appointed; so that their memories and charitable deeds should be remembered. *Ib.* pp. 138 a, 169 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1620-1, fo. 37. This became the usual custom after this date, of other Companies as well as the Drapers.

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 28 b.

² The Book of Ordinances here referred to are those of 1576; cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 304.

³ The book still exists, numbered + 103.

founded by him.'¹ 'All which severall business the Court, deminge very requisite to be performed and done, and well consideringe that the same will aske much time of the clerk', it was decided to give him the loan of £200 gratis for three years, upon good security, and for longer if the Court should subsequently direct: the said £200 to be provided out of the funds belonging to Mr. Barnham's and Mr. Lambard's trusts.

Nothing very definite appears to have resulted from this resolution. The wills of benefactors are indeed collected together in a separate book.² We find some of the ordinances put together in another book, but it is of the date of Charles II.³ If the clerk did draw up a 'breviat' of all leases and alienations it has not survived. Indeed, inasmuch as all these matters had been, and were in the future, most carefully recorded in the Renters' Accounts, such a 'breviat' seems to have been hardly necessary.⁴ As for the reparations, these would no doubt be looked after on the view days, which were evidently constantly held.

As during the preceding reign,⁵ it was found difficult to secure adequate attendance at the Quarter Day Meetings, at one of which, generally that held in December, these ordinances and list of benefactors were read. We have indeed only one complaint of the remissness of the Assistants,⁶ and none with regard to the Wardens, who had been charged with this offence in the reign of Elizabeth.⁷ In their case the remedy then resorted to of offering a dinner to those who were punctual and the provision of extra

Irregular
attendance
at Quarter
Days.

¹ For the will of Lambard, Wills + 418, p. 6 b; and for Queen Elizabeth College, vol. ii of this work, p. 158. Barnham's Trust was a family one. He was Master 1592-3 and 1598. From this date the accounts of the College at Greenwich were kept separate, though audited by the two senior Wardens, who were paid fees; cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1608-9, fos. 48, 49. A book giving Lambard's will, a schedule of the lands bequeathed, and records of meeting of the Manor Court, &c., still exists, numbered +356. But the earliest accounts which remain are those of 1660 numbered +426.

² +418. This book appears to be of this date, although it is continued up to 1688.

³ Cf. +796, p. 41.

⁴ The accounts both of the Wardens and the Renter for this period are most detailed and in excellent preservation.

⁵ Vol. ii of this work, p. 218.

⁶ Rep. +131, p. 57 b.

⁷ Cf. vol. ii, p. 218.

beer and ale¹ seems to have been effective; and it is evident from the Minute Book that the business of the Court was most carefully conducted.

The Livery and the Yeomanry, however, appear to have been very irregular in their attendance, and many attempts were made to abate this abuse. In 1608, since it was represented that servants often forgot to inform their masters of notices of summons, the clerk was ordered to distribute 'tickets of summons' to the Assistants and the Livery for all Quarter Day Meetings and burials; and this rule was extended to the Yeomanry in 1621. Meanwhile the Beadle had been ordered to look after the matter; and in 1615, because it was held that he could not be sufficiently acquainted with the persons of all the Yeomanry, an under Beadle was appointed to assist him, who was to receive 2*d.* out of every fine for non-attendance. In 1611 the Master Bachelors were ordered to collect the fines; while in 1608 the Wardens had been instructed to refuse the freedom to the apprentices of those who had been remiss in their attendance without reasonable excuse, and had not paid their fine.² These measures failing, a resort was made in 1618 to the methods which had been successful with the Assistants. All the Yeomanry who answered their names on Quarter Days and paid Quarterage should, so runs the resolution, 'before they depart be made to drynke, if he please' and be given 'a bunde (? bun) of spice breade to dispose of, or carry with him away'. And for defraying of this charge it was provided that, 'whereas the four Wardens of the Yeomanry had heretofore kept their home dinner or supper for themselves and their assistantes and others and all their wyves, for which there arose a charge of £20 or more to every particular Warden (of the Yeomanry), hereafter they the said Wardens shall equalie amongeste them paie and defraie the chardge for the said bundes and drincks on ye two

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 21 b: 'Ordered that the clerk provide beer and ale for the Court of Assistants, and have yearly 40*s.* for the same.' The attendance of Assistants at the courts varied from 19 to 10: the usual number being from 12 to 15. This was out of a total number of 28 to 29. The Master and the four Wardens were almost invariably present. The Merchant Taylors also experienced the same difficulty as to non-attendance; cf. Clode, *Merchant Taylors*, pt. 1, p. 215.

² Rep. + 131, pp. 38 b, 57 b, 63 b, 67 a, 100 b, 167 a. The fine was 1*s.* 8*d.*

Quarters daies, in lieu of ye said home made dinners or suppers; which by estimation will not amounte unto above a fowrrth parte of their former chardge'.¹ Besides this the Yeomanry were always invited to the December Quarter Day dinner.

We have no definite evidence as to the numbers of the Livery and Yeomen who subsequently attended the Quarter Day Courts, but it is evident from the constant efforts to find some remedy that the abuse continued.² The complaints with regard to scant attendance at funerals are not so frequent, possibly because, by the bounty of the deceased, money was usually left to pay for a funeral repast, though we may readily believe that the old brotherly feeling would be evoked on such occasions.³

It was also found difficult to get those Yeomen who were appointed Master Bachelors to serve; at least there are four instances of their petitioning to be relieved of their office. Of these one, John Edwards, was fined £20, but offered the Livery; and one, James Franklin, whose excuse for not serving was that he was shortly to go beyond the sea, was fined 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) with an option of being received into the Livery on payment of another 20 marks.⁴ One other Master Bachelor, Francis Martin,

Disinclination of Wardens of the Bachelors to serve.

¹ May 1618, Rep. + 131, p. 138 b.

² Cf. Rep. + 131, pp. 32 b, 63 b, 99 b, 103, 120 b, 181 b.

³ Thus

in 1606	R. Bowdler	leaves £20	for his funeral repast.
"	E. Burton	" 20 nobles	" " " "
"	U. Babington	" £15	" " " "
in 1607	H. Smythe	" £20	" " " "
"	W. Cotton	" £20	" " " "
in 1610	Warden Jaye	" £10	for funeral dinner of his wife.
in 1614	Mr. Campe	" £14	" " " " " "

In 1620 the son of J. Hall, sometime Master, gave a gilt salt because the funeral dinner of his father, for which 20 marks had been bestowed, could not be conveniently held. Cf. Rep. + 131, pp. 34 a b, 41 a, 44 b, 46 a, 49 b, 71 a, 100 a, 159 b.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 24 b, 116 b, 131 a; Bachelors' Accounts, + 178, fo. 6. The fine of 20 marks was the usual fee paid by Yeomen called to the Livery by the Wardens; and 40 marks the fee paid by those called on their own petition. Cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 193. James Franklin accepted the offer. But I cannot find the name of John Edwards in the Livery Lists. I presume therefore that he declined to enter the Livery. Of the other two, one was fined £20 without option of

was removed from his office for refusing to bear his share of the election dinner.¹

Regulations
as to Legacy
money on
loan.

Some trouble was also experienced during the reign with regard to the money left to be lent out to young freemen of the Company, a form of charity which was very popular at the time.² Since some of these loans were in danger of being lost or forgotten, an order was made in 1608 that the names of those who held these loans should be publicly read, so that notice might be given if any were dead.³ This was followed in 1616 by a further regulation. All who retained their loans beyond the time for which they had been granted were to be charged 10 per cent., until the money was refunded. Proper security for repayment of the loan was also insisted upon,⁴ and in 1609 a defaulting surety had been arrested.⁵ These measures appear to have attained their end for the time, since we hear of no further complaints from the year 1616 to 1625.

Precedence
of Alder-
men

A few other matters touching the internal affairs of the Company were decided during the reign. In February 1612 the Lords of the Council decided, on the petition of the Lord Mayor, that Aldermen should take precedence of all knights, commoners who were freemen of the City, and such other citizens or commoners as might be hereafter made bachelor knights.⁶ Of the sixteen Drapers who were Aldermen in the reign of James I, eight were however knighted.⁷

The following resolution passed in April 1613 with regard to being received into the Livery; what the fine of the other was we are not told. From these instances we gather that the amount of the fine was at the discretion of the Court, the usual fine being £20.

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 98 b.

² Sometimes these loans were to be lent out 'gratis'; sometimes on interest, which was to be devoted to charitable purposes, generally among the poor of the Company. During the reign £1,880 was bequeathed for this purpose, £970 to be lent 'gratis', £910 at interest. Sometimes persons entrusted money to the Company for this end for a limited period, on condition that the interest should be paid over to the benefactor—a curious mixture of charity and investment; cf. Margaret Lambard, Rep. + 131, p. 54 b.

³ Ib. p. 63 a.

⁴ Ib. p. 123 b.

⁵ Ib. p. 70 a.

⁶ Rep. + 131, p. 109 a. Bachelor Knights are the lowest order of Knights.

⁷ Sir R. Goddard, Sir T. Hayes, Sir J. Deane, Sir J. Jolles, Sir E. Barkham, Sir M. Lumley, Sir A. Cotton, Sir C. Hackett. Cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. i, p. 341.

dress is humorous :¹ 'Whereas divers brethren sometimes wear at Court and dinners night gowns of sundry fashions and colours, and some in falling bands, not seemly in so grave and worshipful a Society, the Court, willing to have a decency used and ancient order kept, ordain that assistants and the livery shall not wear falling bands at dinner; that Aldermen shall wear gowns and tippets appointed for the season of the year, as agreed upon by the City. That the Master, if he be a commoner, the Wardens and the Assistants shall, at all Courts from Michaelmas to Easter, wear gowns faced with budge; such as have been fined for being aldermen or for the shrievalty,² foynes,³ and that from Easter to Michaelmas the Master, Wardens and Assistants shall wear gowns faced with satin, and the livery gowns faced with damask, on penalty of a fine to the Common Box of 3*s.* 4*d.* without forgiveness.' Whether the order was complied with by the Drapers we are not informed, but certainly the carelessness was not confined to them. In 1619 the Mayor issued a precept to all the Companies to much the same effect. The livery of companies were enjoined 'to face their gowns properly with fur instead of several stuffe in much disorderly manner as of late hath been used, whereby that ancient estate and gravity of the City hath received much disgrace.'⁴ From this date the colours of the gowns and hoods to be worn by members of the Court and the Livery of the Drapers' Company, which had been varied from time to time, remained unaltered.⁵

Regulations
as to dress.

Apprentices on the contrary appear to have been over-extravagant in their dress, since in 1611 the King ordered the Mayor to issue a precept to the Masters of the various guilds on the subject. The facings of their hats were not to exceed three inches in

Extravagant
dress of
Apprentices.

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 95 a.

² i. e. fined for refusing to serve.

³ For meaning of foynes and budge cf. *supra*, p. 7.

⁴ Mayors' Precepts + 371, p. 6 b. The precept is accompanied with a note of the rates of several sorts of furs for facing of livery gowns 'according to their goodness'. (i) Faces of budge from 2*s.* to £3. (ii) Faces of Foynne 'poutes' from £2 to £3. (iii) Faces of Martens 'of the which the Cheife Companies do were' from £7 to £10. (iv) Martens 'poutes' from £4 10*s.* 0*d.* to £6. 'Poutes', I believe, mean 'heads'.

⁵ Herbert, Livery Companies, vol. i, p. 440.

breadth, which with the band was to be destitute of lace, to be made of linen not exceeding 5s. the ell, and with no other work than a plain hem and stitch; the ruff band was not to exceed three inches in height, nor more than two inches in depth. The collar of the doublet was to be made close and comely without poynte, whalebone or plaits; the breeches to be only of cloth, kersey, fustian, sackcloth, canvasse, English leather, or English stuffe, and of not more than 2s. 6d. the yard; the stockings of woollen, yarn, or kersey. They were not to wear Spanish shoes with polonia heels, nor have their hair with any tuft or lock, but cut short in decent and comely manner.¹

Grant of
Arms.

Having obtained a new Charter, the Company decided to ask for a fresh Coat of Arms.² In view of the fact that the worthy William Segar, Garter King of Arms, so completely misunderstood the meaning of the 'three Imperial Crowns' of the Deity as to give them arches, as in royal crowns, his claim to have 'corrected the same', though 'without impeachment to the judgments of earlier Kings of Arms' or 'arrogation' to himself of 'more knowledge than he can avow', is amusing.

Confirma-
tion of all

During the reign of James I the Drapers also obtained a final confirmation of certain defective titles and a settlement of the

¹ Cf. Heath, *Grocers*, p. 90; Herbert, *Livery Companies*, vol. i. p. 166. I, however, find no reference to this precept in the Drapers' books, nor to the riot of Apprentices in 1621 mentioned by Dr. Sharpe, vol. ii, p. 80. Indeed the apprentices of the Company at this time appear to have been orderly folk. See also the resolution of the Ironmongers' Company passed in 1638: 'Because many young men doe take unto themselves a liberty in their apprenticeship, by their M^r. his conivence, to weare their hayre unseemly overlong, more like to ruffians than citizens apprentizes, and after their terms of their service ended, come to demand their freedome . . . in that disguised manner; for remedy thereof, it is now ordered that hereafter, if any master shall make free any of his servants before he have orderly cutt and barbed his hayre, to the liking of the Master and Wardens . . . for the tyme being, the M^r. of the apprentice shall paye . . . for every such neglect xxs for a fine'. Nichols, *Ironmongers*, p. 240.

² Cf. Appendix VI of this volume and vol. i, No. XI, p. 221. The ram and the helmet, as well as the two lions as supporters, are borrowed from the arms of 1571; but the motto, 'Unto God only be honour and glory', is new. The Charter gave the Company the power to change the Seal, and the idea was entertained; cf. Rep. + 131, p. 295 b. But this does not appear to have been done till 1771; cf. vol. i of this work, p. 228.

lengthy dispute as to the 'concealment' of lands, whether held to religious uses or no. This however was a prolonged and expensive affair, during which the Crown behaved in a pettifoggish and grasping manner. In 1606-7 a private Act was passed for the 'confirmation of lands heretofore mentioned in the Letters Patent of Ed. VI.'¹ For this the Drapers had to pay £292; while their solicitor's fee came to £10.² In 1609 a Proclamation was issued concerning other defective titles, under which a fine of £66 13s. 4d. to the Exchequer was extorted.³ In the following year a further claim for £55 7s. 0d. was made in return for a new Patent for the Hall.⁴ The matter however did not end here. In January 1619 a further sum of £6,000 was demanded from the Livery Companies, as a composition for arrears of superstitious charges claimed by the King.⁵ The Drapers' share of this was £266.⁶ The King in return issued Letters Patent to each Company (July 20, 1619), securing them in the quiet possession of their lands against any question of defective title whatsoever.⁷ Nevertheless in 1620 the Drapers were asked for an additional payment of £100, and, when they demurred, they were reminded that they had been rated much lower than the other Companies, especially the Goldsmiths, who had been rated at £1,000. Eventually they escaped with £50, plus £111 as a gratuity to the Recorder.⁸ The Crown however was not yet satisfied. Shortly after, the Letters Patent of 1619 to the City were annulled, on the ground that the Attorney General had corruptly and without warrant introduced certain clauses exempting the City from serving at muster without the walls and granting

defective
Titles and
of concealed
lands.

¹ 4 James I, c. 10, Appendix III B. Cf. Autograph Letters A. viii, 338, No. 18, Appendix III A. Cf. also Livery Commission Report, 1884, vol. i, p. 335, for the statement of the Recorder to the Clothworkers' Company.

² Wardens' Accounts, 1606-7, fos. 45, 47.

³ *Ib.* 1609-10, fo. 43.

⁴ *Ib.* 1610-11, fos. 44-5.

⁵ The original claim was for £12,000, but the Attorney General finally compromised for £6,000.

⁶ Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1619-23, p. 4, no. 38; Mayors' Precepts + 371, June, 1619, p. 4 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1618-19, fo. 48.

⁷ Cf. Appendix VI.

⁸ Rep. + 131, p. 153 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1619-20, fo. 40.

it all forfeitures for treason;¹ and it was not till the year 1623 that an Act was passed for the general quiet of all subjects against all pretence of 'Concealment'.² This Act finally secured the Company from all attack on the ground of 'Concealment', whether as to superstitious uses or no. The tedious and vexatious proceedings had cost the Company £751 0s. 4d., a sum which, considering the moneys they had paid in the previous reign, was preposterous. Can any unprejudiced person, with the whole case before him, maintain that the Company had not fully freed these lands from all claims on the part of the Crown, or that henceforth they held them in trust for any purpose whatsoever?³

Size of the
Livery and
of the Court
of Assis-
tants.

In August 1603 the Livery consisted of eighty-three members, or, including the Master, the four Wardens, and the Assistants, who numbered twenty-eight, 116. In consequence of the Plague in that year the numbers were certainly very much reduced, for in spite of the fact that in 1605 many were called to the Livery,⁴ there were only seventy-three Livery men in the August of 1610.⁵ In the April of the following year (1612) there was a further fall to seventy-one,⁶ but this is the lowest point touched during the reign. Henceforth there was little variation in the list of the Assistants, but the Livery men gradually increased, although with some sets back.

In 1614 and 1615, according to custom when a Draper filled the office of Mayor, more were called to the Livery in order that their fees might be applied to meet the charges of 'the solemnities

¹ Sharpe, vol. ii, p. 88; Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, 1619-23, p. 192. On the treatment of the Goldsmiths cf. Prideaux, vol. i, p. 129; and on that of the Merchant Taylors, Hopkinson, *History of the Site of Merchant Taylors Hall*, p. 51. The Letters Patent to the Companies were not however annulled.

² 21 James I, c. 2.

³ For similar proceedings with regard to the Goldsmiths cf. Prideaux, *Goldsmiths*, vol. i, pp. 104, 107-9, 129. For the earlier history of concealments cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 201; and for the effects of these Acts and Letters Patent cf. Lord Cottenham's Judgement in the case of *The Attorney General v. The Fishmongers (Knesworth's will)*, 1841; Mylne and Craig Reports, vol. v, pp. 11 ff., especially pp. 18, 25.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 28 b.

⁵ Master and four Wardens, Assistants 23, Livery 45.

⁶ Master and four Wardens, Assistants 23, Livery 43.

of the Lord Mayor.¹ Accordingly in August 1616 the total number had risen to 122. The four years following were marked by a slight relapse, but because Edward Barkeham had been Mayor in 1621, the Livery reached the unprecedented size of 136 in the following August (Master and four Wardens, Assistants 24; Livery 107).

In consequence of a renewed visitation of the Plague in 1624-5 the number had, in August 1625, again fallen to 130; and of these the Master, three Assistants, and fifteen Liverymen are marked as being dead. This would leave us a total of 111, or four less than there had been at the opening of the reign.²

It is evident that the Yeomanry or Freemen were getting out of touch of the Company. Hitherto no proper list had been kept of them, of their place of abode, of their attendance at Quarter Days,³ of their payments of Quarterage, nor 'of their antiquitie'. Loosening of the connexion of the Yeomanry or

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 103 a, 116 a, 182 b. The Draper Mayors were, in 1614 Thomas Hayes, and in 1615 John Jolles. For the method of calling to the Livery and of charging fees and fines see vol. ii. of this book, pp. 74, 193; cf. Bachelors' Accounts, + 178, p. 22; Rep. + 131, p. 53 a b. The question of admission and of precedence on the Livery was left to the discretion of the Wardens. Sometimes admissions were at the request of an influential person or for some special reason; e. g. in 1614 Richard Daniell, who had been abroad, was called on account of his 'antiquitie, discretion and sufficiencie' cf. Rep. + 131, pp. 81 a, 103 a, 110 a, 116 a.

² See Livery Lists, + 301.

The fluctuations will be best appreciated from the following table :

	Masters and Wardens	Assistants	Livery	Total
1603-4	5	28	83	116
1610-11	5	23	45	73
1612-13	5	23	43	71
1614-15	5	25	61	91
1615-16	5	23	82	110
1616-17	5	22	95	122
1618-19	5	23	89	117
1620-21	5	25	88	118
1622-3	5	24	107	136
1623-4	5	24	105	134
1624-5	4	22	85	111

³ On the irregularity of attendance at Quarter-Days cf. *supra*, p. 79. The Quarterage of the Freemen alone was collected by the Wardens of the Bachelors.

Freemen
with the
Company.
Difficulty of
collecting
Quarterage.

All this it was said was 'in the breast' of the Beadle. Accordingly in 1606 it was ordered that a book should be kept of the Yeomanry; that all Quarterages and arrears of Quarterage paid should be placed in the Common Box of the Yeomanry on every Court Day in the presence of the Wardens, and that the Beadle should keep an account of the same. In 1609 an under Beadle was for the first time appointed partly to look after these matters.¹ In 1611 two at least of the Master Bachelors were ordered to keep a court in the ladies' chamber once a month for the purpose of collecting the Quarterages of the Yeomanry.² In 1618 we hear of 'many journeys in gathering quarterages', and of the extra fees paid to the officers.³ These measures appear to have met with some temporary success. For in the following year, 1619, the number of Freemen who paid Quarterage was 644, or 157 more than those recorded to have contributed in the year 1574 (in the reign of Elizabeth).

Total
number of
the Free-
men.

We do not know the total size of the body of Freemen in Elizabeth's reign, but in all probability this increase in those paying Quarterage is to be partly accounted for by the growth of the Society, which in the year 1617 included no less than 2,106 Freemen, the largest number attained up to the year 1688.⁴ In any case there is good reason for believing that the actual numbers

That of the liverymen was paid to the Wardens and went towards the dinners. It was not accounted for.

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 38 b, 67 a.

² Ib. p. 80.

³ Bachelors' Accounts, + 178, fos. 9, 13: £1. 10s. 4d. instead of 10s.

⁴ The evidence for this statement is to be found in the Quarterage Books, which give the names of all the Freemen, and indicate those who paid Quarterage. These Quarterage Books begin in 1603, and are arranged alphabetically. In the earliest one, which runs from 1603 to 1618, the letters T to Z are wanting, but in the one which commences in 1617 the list is complete. Cf. Quarterage Books, + 259, 261. The conclusion has been thus arrived at. As the book begins in the year 1617, the list of all those who had entered up to 1617 presumably contains all the Freemen then living, especially as their names are written in the same hand. * We are thus reminded that the figure given for the reign of Elizabeth in vol. ii of this work, p. 195, is misleading. 487 paid Quarterage in the year 1574; but how many more had omitted to do so we cannot say. Probably, to judge from the evidence which first becomes available in 1617, they were numerous, since in that year, of 2,106 Freemen only 617 paid Quarterage.

had been steadily growing of late. The inducement to enter the Company on the part of the poor increased with the growth of charities; while the admission of persons belonging to all kinds of trades and professions (a question with which we shall shortly deal¹) loosened the bonds of the Society, and caused the poor members to be less willing to pay their annual Quarterage, small though it was.²

That the Drapers took no interest in the notorious monopoly granted to Alderman Cockayne³ for the finishing and dyeing of cloth, and the prohibition of the export of all unfinished or undyed cloth; nor again in the several Acts passed during the reign forbidding fraudulent practices in the making of cloth, need cause no surprise,⁴ since, as we have already shown, the drapers of London had never taken a serious part in the cloth manufacture, and had long since

Functions of
the Drapers
at this date.

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 93.

² As usual, by far the greater number of admissions was through apprenticeship. Those by Patrimony or Redemption were few. Now and then, however, persons would be especially admitted after the Election dinner, sometimes with, sometimes without paying any fee. Cf. + 301, fos. 55, 78.

³ For the monopoly of Cockayne cf. Hyde Price, *English Patents of Monopoly*, pp. 103 ff. Cockayne held the lease of one of the Drapers' houses in Austin Friars; Rep. + 131, p. 98 b.

⁴ Cf. 4 James I, c. 2; 21 James I, c. 18. There is in the City Reports at the Guildhall, 42, fo. 298 b, a reference to a petition of the Company of the Drapers of London of the year 1628, which led to the formation of a City Committee to view Acts of Parliament prohibiting the use of the 'Hot Press'; cf. 21 James I, c. 18, § xi. The hot press was used to close up the marks of the 'tenter', and to thicken the outside ends of the cloth, when it had been over-stretched. Cf. *Estate of Clothing*, by John May, deputy aulnager; Bodleian Lib. 4° D. 18 Art. p. 27. I can find no reference to this petition in the Drapers' Books. Among those entering apprentices in the reign of James the First, I have, however, come across two who are described as 'hot pressers' (January 1611, November 1623). This, indeed, proves that a few members of the Company were engaged in the finishing of cloth, but when we remember the very great number of the members who belong to other trades, the existence of a few men who were finishing cloth does not prove that the Company was any longer closely connected with the business. In the Clothworkers' Court Book of 1620 there is also a passage which seems to imply that the Drapers did employ the artisan clothworkers, who are said to be 'at the devotion of Drapers for labour', but this may mean that they sold to Drapers the cloth they had finished, not that they were employed by the Drapers to finish it. Cf. Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, pp. 233 and 112.

The Com-
pany little
interested in
questions
affecting the
Cloth Trade.

practically abandoned it. It is, however, more surprising to find that the Company concerned itself but little with questions affecting the trade in cloth apart from the making thereof. The insistence on the right of search for short measures in the Charter proves indeed that the Company was still interested in the buying and selling of cloth, and valued its privilege of seeing that all cloth measures should be according to the legal standard. Every year the Wardens visited the three great fairs of St. Bartholomew, Southwark, and Lady Fair for this purpose.¹ The Company is also interested in the aulnage. When, in December 1618, the Mayor informed the Society that the City had, for the good of the citizens, leased the office from the Duke of Lennox, who had been appointed aulnager both of Old and New Draperies,² but that unless the Merchant Taylors, the Clothworkers, or the Drapers, would discharge the City's rent for the same, it would have to surrender the lease to the Duke again, it was held that, if that should happen, it would tend 'to the great trouble and prejudice of many of this Company', and a Committee was appointed to confer on the matter and report.³

It would appear, however, that though the Drapers still bought and sold at Blackwell Hall,⁴ they no longer searched there, nor were they concerned with the appointment of the keeper.⁵ Nor again do the Drapers search for faulty cloths and

¹ Cf. Rep. + 131, p. 5 a; Wardens' Accounts for each year, e. g. 1603-4, fo. 45; 1623-4, fo. 37.

² 'There be many sorts of cloth, or stufes, lately invented which have got new godfathers to name them in fantasticall fashion, that they who weare them know not how to name them; which are generally called "New Draperie".' Declaration of Estate of Clothing now used within the Realm, by John May, deputy aulnager; Bodleian, 4° D. 18 Art. p. 21.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 145 b.

⁴ This is implied in the account of an Act of the Common Council of London (1620), already mentioned, which restrained clothworkers from buying woollen cloths in the Hall; cf. Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, p. 233.

⁵ The Quarterage Book describes John Mackereth as 'a clarke of Blackwell hall'. An almost illegible scribble follows, which is probably 'Gloster' Hall. We know that there were at this date several Halls, and that he was keeper of Gloucester Hall, and of others. Cf. *Domestic State Papers*, James I, vol. cxxviii, fos. 73-77. But the post of keeper of these separate Halls, or rooms, was a very inferior one to that of the old Keeper, which was covered by leading Drapers.

seal them. This they had never done, and by the 'Act for the true making of Woollen clothes' this duty was definitely entrusted to overseers specially appointed.¹

In the Parliament of 1604, a Bill had been brought forward to withdraw the monopoly of trading which in the previous reign had been accorded to the members of the Merchant Adventurers, the Levant Company, the Russia Company, and others. It was supported by clothiers and merchants from all parts of England. They urged the natural right of all to the free exercise of their own industry, and argued that the abolition of these monopolies would promote the better distribution of wealth, the greater increase of shipping, and the augmentation of the revenues of the Crown. The opponents, among whom the merchants of London were prominent, tried to prove that privileges granted to a Company stood on a different footing from a monopoly granted to an individual, a distinction which had been made by Bacon in the reign of Elizabeth.² They also declared that, if the Bill passed, these Companies would fail for want of apprentices, and that the Crown would have difficulty in collecting the customs. In spite of the opposition the Bill was carried in the Commons by a large majority, but was thrown out in the Lords. When we remember that many Drapers were members of these privileged Companies, it is strange that we find no reference in the Drapers' Records to the controversy, which evidently caused much stir.³ Nor have I found any notice in the books of the Drapers' Company of the demand of the *Drapers of England* for the suppression of interlopers, inexperienced clothmakers and hawkers, who sold directly to the consumer;⁴ nor of the opinion of the Merchant Adventurers,

Mackereth was the son of the Mayor's porter, and was not on the Livery. Cf. +259, fo. 86; +279, fo. 124. For the earlier relations of the Company with Blackwell Hall cf. vol. ii of this work, pp. 18, 79, 177. The site of Blackwell Hall is now occupied by Gresham College, or by buildings near it.

¹ Stat. 4 James I, c. 2, § xxii; 21 James I, c. 18, §§ iii, iv.

² Cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 214, note 4.

³ Cf. Sharpe, vol. ii, pp. 10 ff.; 68, quoting from the Journal of the House of Commons. He, however, tells us that no reference to the controversy is to be found even in the Records of the City.

⁴ Domestic State Papers, James I, vol. cxxx, Nos. 140, 141.

that the decay of the cloth trade was due to the prohibition of the export of undyed cloth;¹ nor of the opposition of the Drapers of Shrewsbury against London Merchants, who, by sending their agents into Wales to buy up white cloths, interfered with the cloth-finishing industries of the town; an agitation which ended in the Act of 1622 allowing free trade in cloth.² Nor, lastly, of the Act of the Common Council, restraining Clothworkers from buying in Blackwell Hall, already mentioned.³

Difference between the Drapers of London and those elsewhere.

All this goes to prove that by this time the Drapers of *London* had not only practically abandoned the making or finishing of cloth, but were no longer very closely concerned even in the special business of buying and selling cloth alone. The truth is that, as before mentioned, we must be careful to draw a distinction between the *London* Drapers and those of the country. In those districts, more especially in the West, in Yorkshire, and in East Anglia, which were becoming the chief centres of the cloth manufacture and trade,⁴ the Drapers were still makers or finishers of cloth, and traded chiefly in cloth.⁵ The rich London Draper

¹ Domestic State Papers, James I, vol. cxxx, No. 39.

² Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, p. 100, quoting Privy Council Register; Guildhall Rep. 31, pt. 2, fo. 259 b; Domestic State Papers, James I, vol. cxxxi, No. 20; 18 James I, c. ix, Private Act.

³ Unwin, p. 233, quoting from Clothworkers' Court Book, 1620.

⁴ Cf. Domestic State Papers, James I, vol. cxxviii, fos. 73-77.

⁵ The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided in 1619 that 'the course of buying of cloths at Oswestry raw and undressed, and working and dressing them, is, and hath been, the greatest part of the drapers trade'. Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, p. 99, quoting Privy Council Register. It was, however, the 'Clothier' who for the most part superintended the making of the cloth; cf. 7 James I, c. 7, Preamble. This speaks of 'Weavers who are set on work by the Clothier'; cf. also 2 James I, c. 6, § vii; 4 James I, c. 2, § xxv; 21 James I, c. 18, § 2. In the Declaration of the Estate of Clothing by J. May, deputy aulnager, it is the Clothier who is accused of resorting to many fraudulent devices in the making of cloth; cf. Bodleian Library, 4° 18 Art., p. 21. Cf. also, for a later date, the manifesto of the printers, 1663, 'Without the Clothier, what were the draper?' quoted Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, p. 212. So again Stow distinguishes between the Drapers of London and the Clothiers of all England, who repair to St. Bartholomew's Fair (ed. Kingsford, vol. ii, p. 27). Still more important evidence for our purpose is to be found in the Drapers' own authorities. In a book dealing with Queen Elizabeth College at Greenwich (+ 356, p. 29 a) we find it stated that the manor of Breuchely, or Criels in Kent, which

had on the contrary long ago extended his business. He traded in all kinds of commodities, and, as we have seen, took ventures in all kinds of Companies and in every clime. As for the smaller Draper, he continued as before to be a retail dealer, more especially in cloth.¹ Many also worked as handicraftsmen in making up clothes or as tailors. In evidence of this we may note that not only did John Tatton's benefaction to young handicraftsmen occupying the needle and the making of hosen continue, but that Sandbrooke left money in 1605 to two handicraftsmen making and selling doublets and hosen.²

Change in
the charac-
ter of the
Drapers'
Company.

We have moreover indisputable evidence in the Quarterage Book, and in the record of those entered into the freedom at this date, that by far the larger proportion of members were no longer even remotely connected with the 'mystery of Drapery'.³ Thus, of 528 Freemen, who were paying quarterage in 1624, only 25 are described as Drapers, or Woollen Drapers; 4 as Clothworkers; 1 as a clothmaker, and 1 as a 'hot presser'. On the other hand, there are as many as 116 tailors; 46 engaged in silk-weaving, or other industries connected with the making or selling of silk; 18 hosiers; 16 upholsterers, and 6 merchants. The rest of the Freemen are engaged in numerous occupations, none of which have anything to do with the making or selling of cloth, and some which are not even of a trading or industrial character.⁴

belonged to the College, would be a very commodious dwelling for a *clothier*, 'forasmuche as it hath wood and water abundantly and is situated in a country where the art of *drapinge* is much exercised'. It is curious that in a State Document of 1638 the Drapers' Company is called 'the Mistry of the Clothiers of London,' cf. Appendix LVII.

¹ Cf. Rep. + 131, p. 264 a, A. D. 1632, where a person is only allowed to enter by redemption, on his undertaking not to sell cloth by retail to the hindrance of many of the Company.

² Cf. Appendix, vol. ii, No. XXXII of this work. Cf. also the number of members of the Company who are described in the Quarterage Book as Tailors.

³ This had been the case for some time in the Drapers' Company, and in others. The admission of others than those pursuing the craft of Drapery was not contrary to the Charters of the Drapers; while the Charter to the Merchant Taylors expressly says that others than Merchant Taylors may be admitted to the Guild, and as early as 1399 only nine are described as taylors. Members of ten other crafts are found, as well as one abbot, one parson, and two esquires. Cf. Clode, *Early History of Merchant Taylors*, pt. i, p. 197.

⁴ Cf. Appendix X. This change in the character of the Company had

If we turn to the Liverymen the same feature presents itself, only that the larger proportion appear to be Merchants.¹ In

begun as early as the reign of Elizabeth, and may have commenced earlier, although of this we have no evidence. It may be noted that in the freedom list, + 279, fo. 16, we hear of a *freemason* Reginald Bennett. But what the meaning of that term was at that date is much disputed; cf. Oxford English Dictionary.

¹ On this point we have not such definite evidence. Yet of the 257 members of the Livery, including Masters and Wardens, during the reign of James I, 51 were Merchants. Of these, 33 are so described; 3 are termed Mercers, who were wholesale dealers; and 15 were members of at least one of the following trading Companies: the Merchant Adventurers, the East India Company, the Levant Company, the Russia Company, the New Guinea Company and the Company of Spain and Portugal. Besides these, one described as being in Spain and another said to be 'beyond the sea' were probably both Merchants. One more is called a Broker, and another is said to keep Merchants' accounts. Of the rest,

13	are described as	Woollen Drapers.
4	„ „ „	Drapers.
2	„ „ „	Linen Drapers.
11	„ „ „	Silkmen.
1	is „ „	a Silk throster (maker of silk thread).
4	are „ „	Tailors.
1	is „ „	a Chaundler.
1	„ „ „	an Upholster,
1	„ „ „	a Stocking seller.
1	„ „ „	an Inn holder (innkeeper).
1	„ „ „	a Soapboiler.
1	„ „ „	a Hosier.
2	are „ „	gentlemen (one rich).
1	is „ „	a Master Porter at the Tackle House.
4	are „ „	Aldermen.
1	is „ „	of the Custom House.
1	„ „ „	in the King's Bench.

From the Quarterage Books we also learn that a considerable number of the members of the Company were seeking their livelihood abroad, either as merchants or in the employment of merchants. Thus during the reign of James I we find:

	Liverymen	Freemen
In Turkey	1	3
At Zante	—	1
In the East Indies	—	7
In the Canaries	—	1 a merchant
In Spain	—	5, 2 of them 'factors'
In Newfoundland	—	1

a word the Company is rapidly coming to be composed, as it is to-day, of a motley group of men of numerous professions and callings, whose only bond of union is to be found in their common association in one Fraternity—a Fraternity, or Company, which is rapidly assuming the character of a mere Friendly Society. Moreover, if the statement of Stow's continuators is correct, we are driven to the conclusion that there were already men carrying on the trade of Drapery who were not even members of the Company, as we know was the case by the year 1650.¹

	Liverymen	Freemen
In Greenland	—	1
In Poland	—	1
In Antwerp	—	1 a merchant, rich.
In Holland	—	1 married there.
In the Low Countries	—	1

The following leading Drapers also held high office in some of the great Trading Companies. For the offices held by Sir Morris Abbot see *supra* p. 30, note 1. Sir H. Garway was on the Committee of the East India Company 1614-43; Deputy Governor 1636-9; Governor 1641-3; on the Court of Assistants of the Levant Company 1614-28; and Governor in the succeeding reign, 1635-43; Governor of the Russia Company 1643.

The Goldsmiths were also undergoing the same change, although not to such an extent. Thus in James I's reign we find the following entered as Freemen of the Company: 2 leathersellers, 2 armourers, a founder, a horner, a barber surgeon, an ironmonger, a cook, an apprentice to a 'comfit maker', a 'godly preacher', the chief Baron of the Exchequer, a clerk of the House of Commons; and in the first year of Charles I, the son of a doctor in physic. Cf. Prideaux, *Goldsmiths*, vol. i, pp. 104, 106, 107, 118, 119, 124, 141. I believe that this transformation had occurred more especially in those Companies in which the trading element was predominant. In any case we learn from the Drapers' Repertory that it had not affected most of the Companies, even as late as 1650; cf. *Rep.* + 132, p. 105 a. In that year the Goldsmiths ordered that no one should be admitted to the Livery unless he was a Goldsmith by trade, lest the government of the Company should fall into the hands of those ignorant of the mystery. Prideaux, *Goldsmiths*, vol. i, p. 272.

¹ The continuators of Stowe's *Chronicle*, A. Munday and H. Dyson, ed. 1633, pp. 264, 391, say that at that date the chief residence of 'Wealthy Drapers, retaylers of wollen clothes both broad and narrow' was Watling Street. If by this is meant that they were members of the Drapers' Company as well, the statement is not borne out by the evidence to be found in the Drapers' Books, for I have only found nine Drapers, who were entered into the freedom between 1567-1615, living in that street, and two whose trades are not given. Of other

We further gather that the larger number of the members were of the middle or poor estate. A certain number rose in the world, and remained true to the Society as long as they lived. Of these a few took up the freedom for their sons, either through apprenticeship or by patrimony; others bought their freedom.¹ Thus there always existed a group of wealthy men composed of something between one-fifth and one-sixth of the members, who monopolized the government of the Society; a group which was ever being recruited from below, and was certainly not in any sense a close caste. Meanwhile the majority never reached the Livery, and the only benefit which they received was a share in the charities of the Society should they fall on evil times.

Although, then, the Company is no longer an exclusive Society of Drapers, they are for the most part still business men who, if we may judge from the number of their apprentices² and the large

trades there are living in the said street: Silkman one, Taylor one; cf. Freedom List, + 279. In all probability, however, some Drapers did not belong to the Company, as was certainly the case in 1650, when we are told that 'scarce one Draper in ten within London, using the trade of Drapery, were free of the Drapers' Company', but were members of the Merchant Taylors, Clothworkers, and other Companies, and that the Drapers' Company 'doth consist of men of several trades and professions and not men of the same trade of Drapery'; cf. Rep. + 132, p. 105 a.

¹ During the reign the admissions into the Freedom were: 1,171 through Apprenticeship; 217 by Patrimony; 61 by Redemption. It is noticeable that there were as many as five who were admitted by the mandate of the Mayor, one of them, J. Burgess, being a Doctor of Divinity. They all paid an entrance fee, varying from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 12*s.* Two were admitted on the day of election and paid nothing. Sir Lionel Tollemache was also elected gratis. Cf. + 301, fos. 10, 11, 12, 13, 40, 55, 78, 80. In 1610 Cyprian Milles asked that he should be made free of the Drapers because, though never bound as apprentice, he had served a Draper seven years. He was instructed to petition the Mayor that he might be made free by redemption (Rep. + 132, p. 73 b), but was eventually entered by apprenticeship and paid 3*s.* 4*d.* He was a stocking-sewer and seller. Wardens' Accounts, 1609-10, fo. 30; Freedom Lists, + 278, fo. 130; + 297, fo. 128.

² The question as to apprenticeship is dealt with at page 195 of this volume. In 1604 the Court, at the request of the Chamberlain, ordered that the indenture of apprentices should be in English, so that both master and apprentice might understand the terms of their contract. As this increased the labour of the clerk, his fee was raised from 12*d.* to 1*s.* 11*d.* Rep. + 131, p. 23 b. Of the apprentices about one-third were usually entered into the freedom at the end of

amount of money bequeathed to be lent out to young Freemen starting in business,¹ are actively engaged in the pursuit of their calling, whatever that may be.

We have often had occasion to mention 'The Custom of London'. According to that Custom every Freeman was allowed to pursue the trade or craft he preferred, without having to belong to any particular gild.² The custom was fundamentally opposed to the theory of mediaeval industry, as organized under the gild system, a theory which was based on the principle that each gild should have control of those who were using its trade or mystery. But, as has been noted before, few if any gilds had completely succeeded in establishing this monopoly, and, now that the whole system was breaking down, and many of the greater Companies at least were composed of members pursuing various industries and professions, we find a more frequent appeal to the 'Custom'.

When we remember the character of the Drapers' Society we cannot be surprised to find that they were in favour of the 'custom', and that there is no instance during the reign of James I of their insisting on the 'translation' of members of other Companies who were pursuing the 'mystery' of Drapery.³

Translations.

their term, not however necessarily by the master who had originally taken them as apprentices.

¹ The amount so left was £1,880, bequeathed by thirteen benefactors. Only £400 was left for this purpose in the reign of Charles I. Under the Commonwealth there were no bequests of this kind. Under Charles II the practice was resumed, and six benefactors bequeathed £1,060. Cf. Appendix, Benefactions XLVII.

² Cf. vol. ii, pp. 167, 171, 174.

³ Humphrey Clare is described as having been entered into the freedom 'per Merchant Taylors Hall' in 1598. Rep. +261, p. 24 b; +278, fo. 93. This seems to imply that he had served his apprenticeship with a member of that Company on condition that he should become free of the Drapers after serving his term. Cf. vol. ii, p. 168 of this work for other examples. The only two instances of 'translation' to the Drapers during the reign of James I were for other reasons: John Walter, translated from the Girdlers 1616, because he had been appointed Clerk of the Company; and Alderman Barkham, translated from the Leathersellers 1621, because he was about to be elected Mayor, and had, according to custom, to belong to one of the greater Livery Companies. Freedom List, +278, fos. 156, 173; Beaven, Aldermen, vol. i, p. 331.

Other Companies, however, still fought for their exclusive privilege by insisting on such 'translation' from the Drapers' Company. Seven instances occur during the reign. Of these, three were translated to the Vintners, three to the Stationers, and one to the Barber Surgeons.¹ With the exception of the Vintners, who were always jealous of their privileges, these gilds were composed chiefly of handicraftsmen, and it was these gilds, rather than the ones in which the trading element predominated, which throughout the seventeenth century tried most strenuously to force all using their craft to belong to their gild.² One reason for this was no doubt because they feared that, owing to the superior attractions which the wealthier Companies could offer in the way of relief and otherwise, their gilds would find difficulty in keeping up their numbers. But if in this matter the Drapers were less exclusive than many of the other Companies, they still shared the jealousy of all Londoners to 'foreigners'.³

Comparison
of Financial
Position in
1602-3 and
1624-5.

Since the accession of James I the Company had received fresh grants of land and tenements on trust for charitable purposes from Mr. Buck and Sir John Jolles.⁴ These brought in rents to the amount of £114 (or £112 12s. 2d. with Quit-rents deducted).

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 24 b, 37 b, 44 b, 45 a, 48 b, 53 a, 72 a. Two more petitioned to be translated: one to the Goldsmiths and one to the Woodmongers, but whether their petition was granted we are not told. When, however, in 1603 Leonard Gale, a member of the Drapers' Company, was fined by the Painter Stainers for using their trade, the Company supported him and paid half his fine. Rep. + H, 1603, fo. 295 a.

² Miss Martin kindly informs me that there are references in the Court Minutes of the Merchant Taylors' Company, vol. viii, fos. 81, 82, 307 (1623 and 1627), to a petition by the Weavers' Company demanding translation to their Society of all Weavers apprenticed to members of other Companies, and that the said petition was opposed by the Merchant Taylors, the Haberdashers, the Clothworkers, and the Drapers. I have not found any notice of this in the Drapers' Books.

³ Rep. + 131, fo. 113 a, July 1615: 'Certificate read to the Company made in answer to the precept from the Mayor touchinge the inconveniences to this Citie and freemen of the same, by strangers and forinners inhabiting in this citye.'

⁴ They had also received £100 from H. Butler, to be spent in the purchase of land, but this, till the year 1630, was applied to the Plantation in Ulster. Kendrick's bequest of £2,400, dated 1624, to be spent in the purchase of land, did not come into operation till the reign of Charles I.

Meanwhile the rents of the other property had increased.¹ The total receipts in rent had therefore risen by nearly £200. The Company had also its lands in Ireland, and its shares in the Irish Society. But the receipts under this head were intermittent. In the year 1624-5 they received £118.² The rents alone are however a fallacious guide, because, according to the custom of those days, the majority of the leases were what is called 'beneficiary'; that is to say, a fine was charged at the commencement and renewal of the lease, and these were often raised, while the rents might, remain the same, or nearly the same. Moreover, as the fines were only levied on the grant or renewal of the lease, the annual value of revenue from lands was liable to considerable fluctuations.

In the year 1624-5 the money received for fines was only about one-half of what it had been in 1602-3, and yet the total revenue from lands in England, including rents and fines on renewal of leases, came to £927 7s. 8d. as compared with £848 in 1602-3. In the year 1624-5 the Company also received £118 from their tenant in Ireland, so that the total revenue derived from land in that year came to £1,045 7s. 8d.³

¹ Thus on the House and Clonnes' lands the rents had risen from £396 in 1603 to £468 11s. 0d. in 1625.

² This item is found in the Wardens' Accounts.

³ Thus:

	1602-3			1624-5		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rents*	606	6	8	805	14	4
Fines on renewal of leases	241	13	4	121	13	4
	<u>848 0 0</u>			<u>927 7 8</u>		
Ireland	0	0	0	118	0	0
Total	<u>£848 0 0</u>			<u>£1,045 7 8</u>		

*That is without deducting the Quit Rents payable by the Company and which amounted to £19 5s. 2d. in 1602-3 and in 1624-5 to £22 12s. 4d.

There were also the following arrears of Rents and Fines:

	1602-3			1624-5		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Arrears of rent paid	0	0	0	28	8	4
" " unpaid	0	0	0	67	1	4
Fines unpaid	145	0	0	292	6	8

Cf. Renter's and Wardens' Accounts, 1602-3, vol. ii of this work, p. 499; ditto, 1624-5, Appendices XV, XVI A.

Apart from the rents, the revenues of the Renter came from corn sold, and from the balance of the preceding year, and these items brought up his receipts in the year 1624-5 to a total of £1,368 16s. 4d.¹ as compared with £1,323 14s. 3d. in 1602-3. Of this sum £973 5s. 2d. was expended, leaving a balance of £395 11s. 2d. The receipts of the Wardens came to £1,913 9s. 5d., and the disbursements to £1,967 17s. 6d.² On their account there was therefore a nominal debit balance of £54 8s. 1d. No doubt the very heavy expenditure was due to the exceptional measures of relief undertaken by the Company in this plague year. Three hundred and ten pounds was spent, by the express order of the Mayor, in the purchase of corn over and above the normal amount, and a much larger sum than usual was dispensed in charity by the Wardens, independently of money given or bequeathed for that purpose.³

But a more important reason for the increase in the disbursements of the Wardens is the loan of £800 at interest to the East India Company, which should be looked upon as an investment. Then, again, no notice is taken in the balance-sheet of other moneys owing to the Company, which were considerable. The Wardens, like good business men, frequently lent their balances and those of the Renters out at interest, either to Companies, especially to the East India Company and the Merchant Adventurers, or to important members of the Company, and others. They did the same with money left to them on trust for infant children, the capital of which was due when the children came of age. When heavy claims were made on them by the Crown, they were forced either to borrow themselves or to call in their loans. Of these lendings and borrowings the transactions of the year alone are entered in the balance-sheet, which it must be remembered only deal with the actual receipts and expenditure. Fortunately, how-

¹ Of his receipts £28 8s. 6d. was arrears of rent.

² The Legacy Moneys are not taken into account. They were not revenues, but moneys lent out.

³ Thus :

	1602-3	1624-5
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To the poor of the Company . . .	19 0 0	156 7 6
To the poor not of the Company . . .	2 10 0	90 0 0

Besides this, in 1624-5 the Renter dispensed £67 11s. 5d. to the poor of the Company.

ever, a record is kept in the Wardens' Accounts of the debts owed to the Company. In the year before us the Wardens were owed as much as £1,946 5s. 6d.¹, as compared with only £857 5s. 6d. in 1602-3. And, if we consider that sum as prospective receipts, instead of a deficit the Wardens' Accounts would show a balance of £1,891 17s. 5d. Finally there remained the balance of £395 11s. 2d. on the Renter's Account, and a debt owing for rents of £69 1s., which would bring up the total prospective balance on the two accounts to £2,356 9s. 7d., irrespective of the balance on the Bachelors' Account, or with that balance to £2,672 19s.²

Of the moneys belonging to the Yeomen or Bachelors, which were kept separately, the first detailed account which survives is that of 1615-16.³ The ordinary receipts consisted of the Quarterage of the Yeomen, the fees of those received into the Livery, and the fines of those who declined the office of Master Bachelor.

The Bachelors' Box.

	£	s.	d.
¹ Owed by Chamber of London	712	5	6
by the E. I. C.	800	0	0
by individuals	54	0	0
by Fines on leases unpaid	290	0	0
by tenant in Ireland	90	0	0
	£1,946	5	6

² 1624-5.

Receipts.		Expenditure.		Actual Balance.		Debts owed to the Company.		Prospective Balance.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Renter's Account	1,368 16 4	973 5 2	395 11 2	For rents	69 1 0	464 12 2			
Bachelors	329 19 5	13 10 0	316 9 5			316 9 5			
Wardens	1,913 9 5	1,967 17 6	Less debit balance on Warden's Account						
			54 8 1	To Wardens	1,946 5 6	1,891 17 5			
	3,612 5 2	2,954 12 8	657 12 6		2,015 6 6	2,672 19 0			

³ Cf. Rep. +178, p. 2. For a specimen of an ordinary Bachelors' Account cf. that of 1624 given in the Appendix XVI B.

At exceptional times, when a Draper was Lord Mayor, these revenues were swollen by the fees of those who served on the Lord Mayor in foynes and in budge, and those who 'fined' to be free from attendance; while the number called to the Livery, and therefore the fees, were much increased. The ordinary disbursements were for the Great Dinner of the Bachelors at election time; for the search dinners, when the Bachelors went to collect the Quarterage; the fees of the Beadle, and a few other small items. But when a Draper held the position of Mayor, the larger part of the expense was borne by the Bachelors' Box.

In the case of the Pageant of Sir John Jolles in 1615 these exceptional receipts and charges were included in the general accounts of the Bachelors; subsequently they were kept separate. As has been shown above, these Pageants were very costly affairs.¹ If we omit the exceptional years of 1615, 1621 and 1623, when the Mayors were brethren of the Society, the receipts and the disbursements of the Bachelors' Box did not vary much. Since, however, the Quarterage was somewhat more efficiently collected in the later years, there is on the whole a steady rise in receipts and therefore in the balance from £162 18s. in 1616-17 to £316 9s. 5d. at the close of the reign.² On exceptional occasions, as, for instance, to meet the expenses of a Pageant when a Draper was a Mayor, the balance would be appropriated. At other times it was lent out, often to the Master Bachelors themselves, who gave a bond for the same, the interest being sometimes distributed to the poor, but generally credited to the next account.³

¹ The cost of Sir J. Jolles' Pageant was £685 4s. 1d.; that of Sir Ed. Barkham's £548 4s.; and that of Sir Martin Lumley's £629 10s.; cf. Bachelors' Accounts + 178, fos. 2, 3, 22-30, and Appendix XI.

² Thus:

	Receipts			Disbursements			Balance		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1616-17 . . .	180	18	0	18	0	0	162	18	0
1618-19 . . .	214	7	10	19	0	6	195	7	4
1620-1 . . .	258	3	2	22	5	0	235	18	2
1622-3 . . .	303	10	3	23	10	0	280	0	3
1624-5 . . .	329	19	5	13	10	0	316	9	5

For a specimen of the receipts and expenditure when a Draper was a Mayor, cf. Appendix XI, The Pageant of Martin Lumley.

³ Rep. + 131, pp. 21 a, 25 a, 133 b; cf. also + 178, Bachelors' Accounts.

In connexion with the financial position of the Company, it is of some interest to note that the coinage was still somewhat debased. Thus in 1611 we hear of 5s. being paid to a Goldsmith to change £10 into bullion, which means that the coinage was depreciated by 2½ per cent.,¹ while in 1613 the premium had risen to 6s. 8d.²

Depreciation of the Currency.

It would be interesting to know how much of the property in land and money belonging to the Company was held on trust, and how much was at its free disposal. Unfortunately, as there is no schedule of property arranged under those two heads, no definite statement is possible. We know indeed the total amount of money left to be lent out to young Freemen of the Company, and the whole of that sum may be considered as trust money. We know also the price originally paid for the Irish estate and the amount of the Company's interest in the Irish Society. All this was held free from trust, as well as the annual receipts of fees and fines from members. The grants or bequests of money tell us the amounts originally bestowed and of the trusts imposed, but most of the benefactions were from the first in land, and any money bequeathed was usually speedily invested in land. It is here that the difficulty comes in. The Renters' accounts give lists of the lands owned by the Company,³ and records the annual rents received. Since, however, they do not state the capital value of such lands, we are left in the dark. I have, however, attempted to make an approximate estimate in the following way: From the total receipts I have deducted all payments made in pursuance of trusts, and have taken these to represent rents or moneys received on trust; the balance I have considered to represent rents and money free from all obligations. Finally I have capitalized the rents on a 6 per cent.

Amount of Trust and non-Trust Property.

¹ Cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1610-11, fo. 44.

² Renters' Accounts, 1613-14, fo. 218: 'Paid to the Wardens to dine with the Mayor £10, and 6s. 8d. to change it for gold.' Cf. also Renters' Accounts, 1614-15, fo. 260; 1624-5, fo. 10. Stow, ed Kingsford, vol. i, p. 56.

³ For the possessions of the Society in lands and tenements cf. Transcript of the Letters Patent of James I of July 20, 1619, Appendix VI, but their value is nowhere given. Some plans of the Society's landed property are also to be found at Drapers' Hall, Pl. 65.

basis.¹ If my calculations are correct, we are brought to the conclusion that while the total trust capital came in the last year of James I to some £10,683, of which £8,134 was invested in land, and some £2,549 was in the form of cash, the capital value of lands free of all trust held by the Company came to £10,800 and the money to £5,773 17s. 2d.²

Leases of
important
Houses.

The leases of important houses were as before in much request, even before they fell vacant, and on one occasion the Crown intervened in the interest of a certain Dorothee Spekart, a servant of the Queen.³ Four great houses deserve especial notice: The Herber, to which we shall return; the Chequers at Dowgate, which after much negotiation was leased to a Mr. Holingshead, brother of a Draper, who was then on the Court;⁴ the House at St. Austin Friars, adjoining Drapers' Hall, which had been in the tenancy of Mrs. Lambard, the widow of the founder of Queen Elizabeth's College, and was in 1613 granted to his son, Sir Multon Lambard, for 21 years;⁵ and the Old Hall in St. Swithin's lane, which was at this date in the tenancy of Alderman Randall Manning, a Skinner.⁶ Smaller houses in the neighbourhood of the Hall were generally occupied by the officers of the Company, sometimes without payment of any rent.⁷

¹ Thus £100 rent would, according to this calculation, represent land of the capital value of £1,666 13s. 4d.

² Cf. Appendix XXXIV.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 71 b. In consequence of the King's letter, the house, 'The Black Raven', was granted to her husband on very favourable terms; ib. pp. 72 b, 73 a, 74 b. Cf. also recommendations of applicants for leases by The Privy Council, Lord Burleigh and others about this time. Autograph letters A viii. 338 Nos. 2-7, 9, 10, 14-16, 19.

⁴ Rep. + 131, pp. 56 a, 85 a.

⁵ Ib. pp. 91 b, 99 a b.

⁶ Ib. p. 5 b; Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 49. This site is now occupied by shops and offices, Nos. 18-23. It is opposite Salters Hall. The vaulting of some of the cellars is made of chalk blocks, and is probably of Roman origin. Besides these, Alderman Cockayne, the famous monopolist and future Lord Mayor, was tenant of the chief messuage at St. Austin Friars; Rep. + 131, pp. 96 b, 98 b. For a list of the leases granted during the reign cf. Rep. + 118; Index to Rep. + 131.

⁷ E. g. the Beadle (Rep. + 131, p. 168 b) and the Renter, who had a house opening into the garden (Rep. + 131, p. 277).

As owners of many houses in London the Company were, as was only natural, often involved in disputes. In some cases, their title to the houses was challenged, more especially with regard to the Hall and the Herber. In one year they spent over £81 in Law Costs.¹ Their title to the Hall was, however, finally confirmed in 1611.² Between the years 1609-12 the old question of the title to the Herber was revived. A certain Mr. Radcliffe, the lessee of Edmund Neville, brought an action against P. Banninge and another, to whom Sir Francis Drake had sub-let for 71 years in the days of Queen Elizabeth, although contrary to the conditions of his lease.³ On the petition of Mr. Banninge, the Company agreed to pay one half of his Law Charges. But when Banninge had won his case, he not only declined to pay his share, but asked leave to alienate his lease to Alderman Barkham. After some negotiations it was agreed to submit the matter to arbitration, and finally his request was granted.⁴

Disputes as to titles to Houses and Leases and Fines.

Questions of controversy also occurred between the Company and their tenants with regard to leases, and fines on renewal of the same. These were decided sometimes by the arbitration of individuals specially appointed, or, as in the case above, by the Wardens;⁵ sometimes by reference to the Mayor or his Court, and in the last resort to the Courts of the realm.⁶

On the other hand, the Company were but little troubled with quarrels between the members, or with acts of disobedience. Of disobedience to the orders of the Court we have only met with one instance, and of serious quarrels only three. In 1604 Jeremy Loggins was summoned before the Court of Assistants for having contemptuously disregarded several orders in a matter of dispute

Disobedience and Quarrels.

¹ £81 17s. 4d., Wardens' Accounts, 1609-10, fo. 43. Probably chiefly over the disputed title of the Herber.

² Re-grant and Confirmation of the Grant of Cromwell's House, ch. xx, framed at Drapers' Hall.

³ For earlier history of the Herber cf. vol. ii of this work, Index. The nature of Radcliffe's claim does not appear.

⁴ Rep. + 131, pp. 70 b, 72 a, 94 a, 96 a.

⁵ e. g. Rep. + 131, pp. 106 a, 145 a.

⁶ e. g. Rep. + 131, pp. 79 a, 92 b, 102 b, 108 a, 126 a.

between him and another Draper.¹ In 1605 Stephen Lea petitioned the Court 'to take some order' in a matter of controversy between him and another brother. The Court advised him to address himself to the Chancellor, promising to give him 'their lawful assistance to testify what them concerned in the equity and truth of the same.'² In 1610 Stephen Cundy complained that he had been stricken by Lott Sivedale. As Sivedale pleaded that it was his first offence, his fine of £10 was reduced to 30s. in hope of his 'better demeanour'. Apparently the quarrel still continued, since Sivedale was shortly after committed to prison, and half of the fine of 20s. imposed on Cundy for 'miscalling' his opponent was remitted.³ Cundy it would seem was a quarrelsome person, for in the following year he is again found complaining that one Nevill 'had given him evil speeches and broken his thymb with a spurne'. Nevill was fined £10, but on his alleging that Cundy had much provoked him, his fine was reduced to 10s., which was to be given to the poor.⁴

St.
Michael's.

The living of St. Michael's was, as usual, much sought after. In 1612 the Company managed to evade the request of the Princess Elizabeth that the reversion should be promised to her Chaplain, Mr Peacock, by passing a resolution that no reversion should be granted during the life of the existing incumbent, Dr. Wm. Archbold; although a few years later it was granted to a Mr. Cary (or Carew).⁵ On that occasion it was resolved that the Wardens should have power to appoint a preacher, or lecturer, besides the rector,⁶ and that the bell should be rung for two hours

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 10 b.

² *Ib.* p. 25 a.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 75 a; Wardens' Accounts, 1610-11, fo. 42. Sivedale was, however, subsequently raised to the Livery; + 301, Livery List, fo. 8.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 77 a. For one or two settlements of disputes between masters and their apprentices, cf. List of Livery and Court, + 301, reverse fos. 63, 64; and for adjudications with regard to debts, fos. 69, 85, 86, 96.

⁵ Autograph letters, A. viii. 338, No. 20; Rep. + 131, p. 134 a. In 1622 Archbold died and Carew was admitted, *ib.* p. 172 b. In 1625 Carew was succeeded by Wm. Brough, *ib.* 191 a. It appears that in the sixteenth century the living was held during the pleasure of the Company; cf. the dismissal of Willoughby in 1554. Rep. B. + 254, p. 52.

⁶ Thus in 1622-3 we find a Mr. Shute being paid £2 for preaching and

on election day; while in 1617 it was decided 'that for the better encouragement of such as are, or shall be, Drapers', free-men of the Company, or their sons, or Scholars of the Company at the Universities should, if fit and suitable, be preferred for presentation to all others.¹

Several improvements were made in the Hall. In 1604 the ceiling of the Great Parlour was renewed in fretwork. In 1607 the wainscot in the Hall was painted in sad colour, and the portraits of the King, the Queen, and Prince Henry were set up. In 1609 the glass of the 'loffer' was repaired. The total cost of these repairs came to £83 17s. 3d.² We are reminded also that 'cotton candles' were used for the lanthorn at the Gate.³ Of carpets we have more frequent mention than before, and the notice of a large and fair Persia carpet, the gift of Mr. Garway, is especially interesting.⁴ But these were not apparently used for the floor, which was still strewn with rushes or mats, but for covering the tables. The Hall.

The garden, too, was as ever a matter of considerable interest. In February 1606 complaints were made against the gardener, Walter Coates. It was devoid of trees and was not properly set forth with flowers, 'nor otherwise kept for the delight of members'. Too many were allowed to enter, and there was too much gaming. It was therefore decided to put another in election for the post of gardener, and the superintendence of the garden The Garden.

Mr. Gittens 10s. for reading in St. Michael's on August 5, while Mr. Carew was paid £1 2s. for his sermon on August 4. Wardens' Accounts, 1622-3, fo. 38.

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 135 a.

² Rep. + 131, pp. 23 b, 46 b, 65 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1604-5, fo. 46; Renters' Accounts, 1609-10, fos. 16 ff.

³ Wardens' Accounts, 1610-11, fo. 41. They cost 6d. a pound. This was an annual charge.

⁴ (a) A green broadcloth for a carpet for the table in the ladies' chamber. (b) A carpet left by Sir James Deane. (c) Two new carpets for the side-tables in the Hall. A fair green carpet of broadcloth bordered about with needlework, of the gift and work of Mrs. Elizabeth Bonde, widow of Charles Bonde. Rep. + 131, pp. 78 b, 83 b, 119 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1609-10, fos. 40, 41; 1610-11, fo. 43; Renters' Accounts, 1603-4, fo. 9 b; 1621-2, fo. 15. As late as 1656 we hear of green broadcloth to make a 'carpet' for the long table in the parlour, and of rushes even later. Wardens' Accounts, 1655-6, fo. 39; 1658-9, fo. 12.

was entrusted to the Clerk, who was paid £21 a year. A lock was to be put on the door, of which the Master, the Wardens, the Assistants, the Clerk and the porter alone were to have keys. No one except a member was to be admitted on Feast Days, on Quarter Days, or days when the Court met, or other meetings were held, and at other times only strangers of credit. No one was to play by candle-light. No clothes except those of the House were to be dried or 'whited' in it, since the driers picked the fruit, herbs and flowers. Meanwhile the summer-house was repaired, fruit trees planted, and in 1621 the wall was raised to stop Sir Thos. Hewett's lights.¹

Charity.

As noticed above, the amount of charity dispensed by the Company in the reign of James I had reached a high figure. It may be conveniently arranged under two heads. First, the moneys, or gifts of coals and bread, given to the poor of London or elsewhere, who were not members of the Society of Drapers; and secondly, those distributed among distressed brethren or sisters. The contributions under the first head were in ordinary years chiefly due to private benefactions, and of these there were a great many during the reign of James I.² It was only in years of exceptional distress, such as the plague year of 1624-5, that the House came to the rescue. It should not be forgotten that, besides these sums, the Company was annually rated for the poor of the Parish of

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 23 b, 33 b, 35 a, 39 a b, 40 a, 48 a, 49 a, 162 a; Renters' Accounts, 1622-3, fo. 13. Coates was given a pension of £10, but was 'no longer to intermedle'. Rep. + 131, p. 42 b. The Clerk, however, subsequently handed over the superintendence to Humphrey Downes, the Renter, with the fee, to whom a house near by was also given. Rep. + 131, p. 122 a. Renters' Accounts, 1623-4, fo. 12.

² The total amount of benefactions bequeathed or given during the reign of James I were :

	£	s.	d.
A. Lands producing a nett rent of	204	13	4
B. An annuity	15	0	0
C. Money to be lent to young men of the Company	1,580	0	0
D. Money to be spent in charity	565	6	8
E. Money to be spent in plate	115	0	0

The large amount left to be lent out to young men of this Company starting life is noticeable. Cf. Appendix, Benefactions XLVII.

St. Peter le Poor, in which Parish the Hall stood,¹ and that at times they contributed towards the maintenance or refurnishing of the church of the said parish² and of other churches in which they had some interest.³

It was, however, to the 'decayed' brethren and sisters of the Company that their largesses chiefly went. The support of the poor of the Fraternity had, as with all other gilds, always been a primary object, and the liberality of the House grew as its wealth increased. The relief fell under two heads. First came the permanent cases, which were met by the Almshouses at Tower Hill, in Beech Lane and in Queen Elizabeth's College at Greenwich;⁴ and the pensions and annual gifts, generally of £20, at Easter and again at Christmas.⁵ Secondly, the casual doles granted as occasion demanded. The charge of most of the ordinary charities did not fall on the corporate revenues of the Company. They were generally defrayed either from the bequests or grants of individual members, which were administered by the Company, or from the interest of the funds left to be lent to young members of the Society when starting life, and of the money belonging to the Bachelors' Box, which was lent out from time to time to the richer members of the Society. It was only when no sums were available from these sources, or when there was a deficiency, that the House contributed directly.⁶ In the granting of the pensions, or occasional doles, the position of the

¹ To the collectors of the Poor for the Parish of St. Peter le Poor, £6 10s. Renters' Accounts, 1613-14, fo. 220; ib. 1622-3, fo. 10.

² £10 towards finishing pews in the Church of St. Peter le Poor, 1616; Rep. + 131, p. 121 b. £24 for repairing the said church; ib. 1624, p. 187 a.

³ e. g. (a) Towards the restoration of the Chapel of John Norman, a famous Draper, in the Church of All Saints, Honey Lane; ib. 1624, p. 188 a. (b) Towards a window in the new Church in ye Duke's Place, with the Company's arms, at a cost of £14 2s. Rep. + 131, p. 173 a; Wardens' Accounts, 1622-3, fo. 41.

⁴ The college at Greenwich was not, however, confined to members; cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 158.

⁵ The sum varied. Sometimes it was only given once a year, sometimes the amount was left to the discretion of the Wardens. Cf. Rep. + 131, pp. 5 b, 12 a, 44 a, 62 b, 64 b, 77 b, 184 a.

⁶ e. g. in 1606 the sum distributed to the poor of the Society was thus made up:

applicants was taken into account, and the Company often found their continued petitions somewhat irksome. Thus in 1608, Sir Thos. Pullison, who had thrice served as Master, and had also been Mayor, was granted a pension of £30 on account of 'his antiquitie and charges passed in this Company and in the City'. In May 1615 his request that the pension should be paid in advance for three years was granted, on condition that he gave up house-keeping and sojourned with his daughter, or in some other convenient place; and that any one preferring any further suit on his behalf should be fined £10. In 1616 his pension was reduced to £20.¹ In 1613 a pension of £20 was granted to John Langley, once a Warden, 'because of his long service and great charges and small means to sustain his estate'.² In 1619 Ferdinando Clutterbuck, 'once Warden (in 1599-1600) but now for a long time in Ludgate', was granted a yearly pension of £10. In the following year this was changed to a present of £20, on his promise of 'never more being troublesome'. His promise was not kept, for in 1621 he was given £5, 'this to be the last'. He then somehow obtained his release from prison, for in May 1624 he was given £10 on condition that he lived with his brother in the country, and was no longer chargeable on the House.³ In 1619 Edward Leaminge, twice Warden (1604-5 and 1609-10), was given a pension of £20, while Sir Wm. Garway

£10	15	8	From interest of the money lent out of the Bachelors' Box.
£	5	0	0 Use of Alderman Barneham's legacy money, lent to Mr. Garway.
£	3	15	0 Also due by Mr. Garway for interest on money lent.
£	9	4	0 Given by the House. Rep. + 131, p. 44 a.
In 1609 it was thus made up:			
£10	0	0	Due for use of Lady Ramsay's Legacy Parcel.
£	2	0	0 " " " " Mr. Jaye's " "
£	2	10	0 " " " " Mr. Sandbrooke's " "
£	1	5	0 " " " " Mr. Cotton's " "
£	4	5	0 Contributed by the House. Ib. p. 64 b.

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 56 b, 112 a, 124 a; Renters' Accounts, 1614-15, fo. 11. He also held a pension of £40 from the Court of Aldermen (Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 173). He had been Master in 1578-9, 1582-3, 1586-7, and Mayor in 1584-5. He was also a member of the Eastland Company, and that of Spain and Portugal. Cf. vol. ii of this book, pp. 153, 182-4, 188-9.

² Rep. + 131, p. 98 b. He had been Warden in 1604-5.

³ Rep. + 131, pp. 151 a, 154 a, 159 a, 164 a, 186 a.

promised him another £10; and in 1621, on his surrendering the lease of a house, which he held of the Company, he was given £30, while his pension was increased to £40. He also asked for a return of the money he had subscribed towards the Ulster Plantation. This was declined, but an additional £5 was given to his wife.¹

Besides these pensions granted out of the corporate revenues, the Company frequently accepted money on trust to pay pensions, not only to members, but to others. A curious case of this is that of one Verzalim, who does not appear to have been a Draper. A sum of money had been left to the Company by Sir J. Deane, somewhere about 1608, on condition that a pension or 'portion' should be paid to Verzalim yearly. When in 1610 the money, which the Drapers themselves had put out at interest, produced more than was necessary to pay the portion, the 'increase' was distributed among the poor of the Company.²

We have no instance of a member of the Court, other than those mentioned, applying for relief during the reign, but in 1621 an allowance of £6 13s. 4d. was made for three years to Thos. Bland, 'once a Master Bachelor, but now impoverished by suretyships'; and in 1624 the allowance was raised to £10 for a further three years.³ Nor were their servants neglected. Thus £5 was granted to Richard Barnard, their Beadle, because of his infirmity in his leg, whereby 'he had spent much money and gained little'; the porter was given 30s. when sick; the butler, Richard Trott, was also granted five marks towards the apprenticing of his son.⁴ Many widows, too, of important members of the Company, as well as the widow of Warner, their Clerk, received relief. In their cases, however, the Company were not so generous. Even the widow of G. Cullimore, aged seventy, was only granted an annuity of £4, though her husband had served twice as Warden (1590-1,

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 153 b, 166 b, 167 b, 168 b, 169 b, 170 a b, 174 b.

² Ib. pp. 72 a, 131 b; Legacies Cash Book, 1606-23, + 103, Letter V; Wardens' Accounts, 1618-19, fo. 44.

³ Rep. + 131, pp. 136 a, 163 a, 185 b. The suretyships were for the loans granted to young members of the Society. I have only come across one instance of a loan which was not recovered; cf. + 364, p. 126.

⁴ Rep. + 131, pp. 130 b, 139 a, 180 a.

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1598-9).¹ Less important brethren were relieved in various ways. Some were lent money without any interest being charged; ² some were given the means of gaining a livelihood. Thus R. Brooke was granted £5 'to furnish him to sea as a purser'; ³ another was given £6 13s. 4d. towards purchasing 'two hackney horses for his better means of living'; another 5s. for the burying of his wife; ⁴ and another 20s. to redeem his clothes out of pawn.⁵ Others received grants to release them from prison.⁶ Widows of poorer brethren also received assistance. One, after much debate, was granted £10 of her husband's pension and £1 a year as long as she remained unmarried, on the grounds that 'she is not likely long to continue a widow.'⁷ Another received 25s. 'for the placing forth of her children'; ⁸ while a third was remitted part of a fine on the renewal of a lease.⁹

It would be wearisome to give further examples. Suffice it to note that, as will be seen from the table below, the amount of charity dispensed steadily increased until, in the last year of the reign, no less than £402 16s. 5d. was distributed among members of the Society, and £285 5s. 6d. to those who were not members.¹⁰

Conditions
of Alms-
houses.

As was the case in the reign of Elizabeth, the poor in the Alms-houses continued to give a good deal of trouble. In April 1613

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 96 a, 109 b.

³ Ib., p. 153 b. ⁴ Ib., p. 171 b.

⁷ Ib., p. 79 a. ⁸ Ib., p. 140 b.

¹⁰ This year was however a plague year.

² Ib., pp. 76 a, 127 a.

⁵ Ib., p. 147 b.

⁹ Ib., p. 114 a.

⁶ Ib., p. 175 b.

CHARITY DISPENSED

	1602-3			1620-1			1624-5		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>To the Poor of the Company.</i>									
A. By gift or bequest . . .	144	8	0	151	10	2	162	14	8
B. By the House	78	9	6	160	4	6	169	12	3
<i>To Poor not of the Company.</i>									
A. By gift or request . . .	146	3	0	183	18	0*	265	15	0
B. By the House	2	11	0	0	11	0	90	0	0
	<hr/>			<hr/>			<hr/>		
	371	11	6	496	3	8	688	1	11

For more detailed information cf. Appendices XV. XVI A.

* In the year 1620, 138 men and 76 widows were in receipt of doles. We cannot be certain that all these were of the Company, but most were. Cf. Rep. + 385, fos. 54-65.

the parson, the churchwardens and the parishioners complained of the extraordinary number of the inmates at Tower Hill and Beech Lane; of their 'unquietness' both among themselves and towards the neighbours, and of their importunate begging. Accordingly the following orders were made: No reversion of pensioners' places was to be granted. No one was to be admitted, who was not a Draper or a Draper's widow; and no man and wife, until they were past child-bearing. The bachelor almsmen were forbidden to marry any one under fifty years of age, and no widow was to marry a man under seventy. No inmate was to keep a tiplinge house or practise pettyeostrye.¹ Finally, all the pensioners were, on admission, to find sureties in £20 that they would comply with these orders.² When the pensioners alleged that the custom of 'pettyeostrye' was in part occasioned by the poverty of the inmates, and that prices had trebled since the foundation of the Almshouses at Tower Hill, it was decided to double the pension of each inmate, which was then but 2s. 6d.; the said pensions to be paid out of the rents of the lands given by the benefactor.³ This measure put an end to the 'pettyeostrye', but we meet with two further cases of 'unquietness', and these, as is so often the case, on the part of women inmates.⁴ Of Queen Elizabeth College we also learn that the Cook was expelled 'for much and often disorder' and for the unruliness and contentiousness of his wife.⁵ In 1622 all the almsmen and women were ordered to wear openly the badge or arms of the Company.⁶

The school at Barton in Staffordshire, which had been founded in the reign of Elizabeth by Thomas Russell, also caused the Company some trouble. In 1618 complaint was made that the Master had ill-treated the children, and, by beating some of them on the head, had made them deaf. Further, that he had withdrawn himself from the performance of his duties; that he had employed himself in the ministry, contrary to his engagement; that he spent much time in frequenting alehouses and places of disorder; and that he was generally a factious, contentious person, and a breaker of

The Schools
at Barton
and Bowe.

¹ 'Pettyeostrye' means taking in lodgers.

² Rep. + 131, pp. 60 a, 94 a b.

⁴ Ib., pp. 137 b, 151 a.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 101 a.

⁵ Ib., p. 60 a.

⁶ Ib., p. 169 b.

the peace. As a result of this conduct the school, which but seven years previously had been well supplied not only 'with very many gentlemen's sons from the neighbourhood', but with some from London, had now only about 'thirty poor little barefooted boys' 'slenderly learned' in English and some Latin, while the eldest of them, a boy of about fifteen or sixteen, was acting as usher. The Court, having assured themselves of the truth of these complaints, removed the offending Master, and when appointing a successor increased his salary to £20, on the understanding that he was not to undertake any other work which might interfere with his duties. At the same time certain necessary repairs were made, and the arms of the Company cut in alabaster were set up on the school wall.¹

One member of the Company, Sir John Jolles, was not deterred by these troubles from promoting education. In 1620 he left money to increase the salary of the master and usher of the school at Stratford Le Bow, which he had founded during his life-time for the education of thirty-five boys of Stratford Le Bow and Bromley 'in the fear of God and good manners'. They were to learn to write and to cypher, grammar and the Latin Tongue.²

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 141.

² Rep. + 418, p. 13; + 131, p. 189 ff., where the orders for the regulation of the School are also given.

CHAPTER III

RELATIONS OF THE DRAPERS TO THE POLITICAL EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I



(2)

to Oxford, because London was not considered safe. It was said that one thousand persons died daily during the month of November 1625 within the circuit of a mile from the centre of the City. 'The citizens fled as out of a house on fire, they stuffed their pockets with their best ware and threw themselves into the high-ways, and were not received so much into barns, and perished so, some of them with more money about them than would have bought the village where they died.' In the City nothing was

CHARLES was no more happy in the date of his succession to the throne than his father had been. The Plague, which had been raging in the last year of James, had not abated.² No doubt this was a sufficient reason for the postponement of all meetings of the Court of Assistants till June, and for the absence of all reference to the proclamation of the new King, or to the arrival of Henrietta Maria, and her marriage with Charles on June 13.³ In June the Parliament was removed

Accession of
Charles I,
March 27,
1625.
Continuance
of the
Plague.

¹ This letter comes from Charter II, 'License to hold Irish Lands in Mortmain'.

² Hamon Lestrangle, the author of the History of King Charles I, ed. 1655, p. 7, says that the two outbreaks of the Plague in 1603 and in 1624-5 originated in the parish of Whitechapel, and from the same roof.

³ The King had been married by proxy in Paris in the preceding May.

seen but 'trophies of death. Here was nothing but groaning and crying and dying and burying. Carts were the biers; wide pits the graves; men's clothes their coffins, and the very exequies of friends were murderous, and, if some infrequent passenger crossed the streets, it was not without his medicated posy at his nose.' All trading ceased. 'The rich all gone, house keepers and apprentices of manual trades begging in the streets, and that in such lamentable manner as will make the strongest hearts to yearn.'¹ During the year August 1625 to August 1626,² two Wardens of the Drapers died: Thomas Andrews, elected in August, before he was sworn, and Robert Stubbs in April, as well as one Assistant and one Liveryman. Under these tragic circumstances all dinners were dispensed with, and the usual allowances of the House, as well as the charge of the various officers towards these dinners, were ordered to be distributed, partly among the parishes which suffered most, partly among the poor of the Company, especially among those 'whose houses had been most visited'. Even at the meeting of the Court for the election of the Master and Wardens for the ensuing year, we are told that 'by reason of the extreame pestilent sicknes' all that could be gotten together were the Master, two of the Wardens, and six of the Assistants, two of whom were to act as deputies for the two absent Wardens.³ And although Allan Cotton, a member of the Society, was elected Mayor for the year 1625-6, there were no pageants; the expenses of attending him when he went to take his oath were comparatively small, and none of the other Companies were present at the taking of his oath.⁴

Ceremonies
at election of
Allan Cotton
1625 much
restricted, as
well as those
at the Coro-
nation.

¹ Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, *Court and Times*, i. 46, quoted by Sharpe, vol. ii, p. 95; Bp. Hall, Sermon, quoted Jupp, *Carpenters*, p. 84.

² Rep. + 131, pp. 194 b, 199 a; + 301, p. 19. We are not, however, definitely told that the Plague was the cause of their death.

³ Rep. + 131, pp. 193 a b, 194 a, 195 b. The parishes most visited were: St. Mary, Whitechapel; St. Leonard's, Shoreditch; St. Sepulchre's; St. Olave's, St. Saviour's, St. Mary Magdalen, St. George, Southwark; St. Botolph's, Aldgate; St. Giles, Cripplegate; St. Catherine at the Tower; St. Botolph, Bishopsgate; St. James, Clerkenwell.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 195 a; Bachelors' Accounts, + 178, fos. 4-6. The expenses were only £191 9s. 4d.; a remarkable contrast to those usually incurred on such occasions.

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As with the opening of the year 1626 the mortality somewhat declined, the Coronation of the King was solemnized on Candlemas Day (Feb. 2). But the Companies appear to have taken no direct part in it, satisfying themselves with paying their quotas to the sum demanded by the Mayor.¹ At the election of Sir Cuthbert Hackett in the same year the Drapers also dispensed with their election and Quarter Day dinners.² They were, however, unwilling to abandon the pageants on this exceptional occasion, when a Draper for the second time in two successive years filled the office of Mayor, especially as he was Master of the Company. An appropriate subject, 'The triumphs of Health and Prosperity', was prepared by Thomas Middleton, a member of the Company, and the expenses, though not so high as they had been in the time of Sir John Jolles, amounted to £545 13s. 8d.³ After the year 1626 there was a further abatement of the Visitation, but the City was never free during the reign of Charles, and we have special mention of renewed attacks in 1630, 1636, and 1637.⁴ In that year,

Election and
pageant of
Sir Cuthbert
Hackett
1626.

Later Visita-
tions of the
Plague.

¹ The Drapers were asked for £330 4s. 9½d. as their rateable proportion of £4,300 spent by the City for making pageants and beautifying the Cross in Eastcheap. Rep. + 131, p. 233 b. They also held a dinner; *ib.* 196 b.

² Rep. + 131, p. 119 b.

³ Herbert, *Livery Companies*, vol. i, p. 460; *Bachelors' Accounts*, + 178, fo. 54, 55. The charges were met in the usual way out of the Bachelors' Box; cf. Appendix IX on the Pageant of Sir Martin Lumley. Middleton was assisted in making the Pageants by Garrett Christmas, a carver and statuary of reputation; cf. *Dict. National Biography*. There was some question as to the payment, in regard that the Pageant had been 'ill performed', but they eventually received £135. Rep. + 131, p. 202 a; *Bachelors' Accounts*, + 178, fo. 52. For the text of the Pageant cf. *Works of Middleton*, by Rev. A. Dyce, ed. 1840, vol. v, pp. 319-30, or his works by A. H. Bullen, vol. vii, pp. 397-411. For Middleton, cf. *supra*, p. 10.

⁴ Rep. + 131, pp. 236 b, 239 b, 240 a b, 241 a, 242 b, 297 b, 303 a, 304 a, 307 a, 310 a, 312 a. In 1635 the reason given for dispensing with some dinners and reducing the scale of others was the extreme dearth of victuals. In 1636 all 'public' marriages and burials were forbidden for fear of infection, and the money was not to be distributed among the poor in the Hall for the same reason. Usually, where dinners were dispensed with, the charges to which the officers would have been put had the dinners been held, and sometimes the allowances of the House, were distributed among the poor of the Company, and sometimes among those not of the Company. But in 1630 the money saved by forbearing from the Yeomanry dinner was to go to the Bachelors' Box toward the charges

however, it was decided to have two banquets at election time as in former times.

Other causes of discontent. But if the times were 'not fitted for feasting but for fasting and prayer to Almighty God to avert His Judgment';¹ there were probably other reasons for this besides the Plague.² We know that the country was much agitated during these years owing to the foolish foreign policy of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and the dissolutions of Parliament whereby Charles attempted to save his favourite.³

And yet of all this turmoil there are but faint references in the Drapers' records. I confess that this reticence, which is maintained down to the execution of the King, has been very disappointing. I had hoped that the Drapers' books would have thrown much new light on the attitude of London during this momentous period; but at least it would be a grave mistake to attribute this silence to the apathy of the City, for we know from other sources that London was much stirred.⁴ Rather it is to be explained by the very seriousness of the discontent, and the deep divisions which were preparing the country for civil war. The Company, as we have shown, had become a motley assembly of all sorts and conditions of men; and any raising of these questions would have divided the Society into hostile factions. They were, moreover, becoming more and more a friendly society, and one of their more important functions was that of relieving the poor, and more especially the poor of the Company, without any distinction of party. It was therefore a sign of their wisdom that they left

'when it should happen that a Draper was elected Mayor, and at other times the money was to be disposed of as the Wardens might direct'. In 1635 the Wardens were brought to task for having spent too much on the dinners, and were ordered to pay £5 apiece towards the support of the poor. Rep. + 131, p. 300 b.

¹ Precept of Mayor, Rep. + 131, p. 303 a.

² Later on at least 'the present troubles and those to be feared in future' are definitely given as reasons.

³ Parliament was twice dissolved in 1625 and 1626. An impeachment, being a trial by the House of Lords on the prosecution by the Commons, was quashed by a dissolution. For all this consult Gardiner, *History of England*.

⁴ Cf. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii, ch. xxi.

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politics aside. It was only when financial and trading interests were at stake that the Company took action; and even here the Society obediently followed the wishes of the King until the year 1640.

Of the many loans¹ which King Charles extorted from the City when he failed to receive support from his hostile Parliament, those only are mentioned in the Drapers' records which were levied on the Livery Companies, or those to which they indirectly contributed. In December 1627 the Mayor and the Court of Aldermen had agreed to provide a loan of £120,000 at 8 per cent., to be raised by two instalments of £60,000 on the security of the royal lands, which were to be mortgaged to the City.² Of this first instalment the proportion of the Drapers was £4,608, which they lent to the City at 6 per cent. Some of the money was raised by loans from important members; the rest was lent by the House.³ The Masters and Wardens of some of the smaller

Loans to the
King 1627.

¹ For the various loans levied on the citizens, or on the Wards, cf. Sharpe, vol. ii, ch. xxi.

² Lands of the annual value of £12,496 6s. were conveyed to the City upon trust, to sell the same, and out of the proceeds to refund the moneys thus lent, as well as a loan of £60,000 raised by Charles in 1625, and also of £100,000 borrowed by James I. Subsequently the City was accused of fraudulently selling these lands at a lower price than might have been obtained. Cf. Hopkinson, *Records of Merchant Taylors*, p. 15. It is interesting to note that, whereas the King had to offer 8 per cent., the City obtained the money from the Company at 6 per cent., and that the Company paid 7 per cent. to its members, who found most of it.

³ The contribution of the Drapers was as usual based on their corn assessment, and was the fourth highest. Above them stood the Merchant Taylors (£6,300), the Grocers (£6,000), and the Haberdashers (£4,800). Below them stood the Goldsmiths (£4,380), the Mercers (£3,720), the Fishmongers and Clothworkers (£3,390), the Vintners (£3,120). Sharpe, vol. ii, p. 104 note. The sums lent by individual members to the Company were to be repaid within the year with interest at 7 per cent., the Company entering into Bonds to that effect. Most of the lenders were formed of groups of three. Thus:

£500 from	{	The Master, Alderman Garway
	{	Wm. Clarke
	{	Wm. Garway
£500 „	{	Sir M. Lumley,
	{	Alderman Chamberlen (Chamberlain)
	{	Nich. Colquite

Companies were committed to Newgate for neglecting to collect their quota, and some of the members of the Vintners' Company were committed to prison on the complaint of the Master and Wardens as being recalcitrant.¹ The Drapers, however, and most of the greater Livery Companies, appear to have paid theirs without opposition. In July, £20,000 of the second instalment was demanded. To this the Drapers contributed £1,536.² The two instalments of this loan were repaid with interest in 1629.³

The City
fined for the
murder of
Dr. Lamb,
June 1628.

Meanwhile the growing indignation against the royal favourite had led to the murder of a certain Dr. Lamb, an astrologer and quack doctor, who was called 'the Duke of Buckingham's devil' and credited with having supplied him with love philtres, where-with he corrupted women. 'Could they have seized the Duke', the murderers were reported to have said, 'they would have so minced his flesh that every one should have had a bit of him.' Charles, after threatening to forfeit the City's Charter if the murderers were not discovered, had to content himself with a fine

£500 from	{	Sir Ed. Barkham
		Warden Withers
		Clement Underhill
£500 "	{	Alderman Cotton
		Rich. Archdale
		Rich. Trott
£500 "	{	Sir Morris Abbott
		Rich. Edwards
		Rich. Trimnel
£500 "	{	J. Ranye
		Warden Goodyear
		Th. Meade.
£200 "	{	Sir C. Hackett

The remainder was borrowed from money which the Company held in trust for the children of a brother, Mr. Chapman. Cf. Rep. + 131, pp. 213 b, 216 b, 217 a; Wardens' Accounts, 1627-8, fos. 33 ff.

¹ Cf. Sharpe, vol. ii, p. 105, The Founders, Glaziers, Plumbers, and Sadlers.

² Of this £1,200 was to be received 'from divers the petty farmers', who had borrowed money from the Company, the rest being furnished by the Renter Warden. Rep. + 131, p. 218 b.

³ First instalment £4,608, plus interest at 6 per cent. = £5,268 2s. 6d. plus £3 10s. fee to Clerk of the Chamberlain. Wardens' Accounts, 1629-30, fo. 37. Second instalment £1,536, plus 8 per cent. interest = £1,658 6s. 4d. Rep. + 131, p. 230 b, Wardens' Accounts, 1628-9, fo. 37.

of £1,000. Towards this the Drapers had to pay £76 16s. The Mayor had ordered that the fine should be raised by poll on all the members, but, at a meeting of the Yeomanry as well as the Livery, it was decided that the sum should be found by the House, and saved by forbearing certain dinners.¹ Before the fine was paid, Buckingham had been assassinated (August 23, 1628²). To this there is no reference to be found in the Minute Books, nor to the Petition of Right and the dissolution of Charles's third Parliament, which occurred in 1629. Eleven years of personal rule followed, but here again the silence of our authorities on the political situation is only broken by a reference to the famous question of Ship Money. So far as London was concerned, the right of the Crown depended on two questions: firstly, whether the King could demand ships from maritime towns in times of war, or when the country was threatened by invasion; and secondly, whether the City of London could be considered a seaport. In spite of attempts to prove the contrary, there can be little question that the King had such a right, and that London had been frequently treated as a port.³ The writ, therefore, which asked for seven ships properly furnished with munitions and men, though protested against, was complied with.⁴ Dr. Sharpe tells us

Dissolution of the Parliament of 1628-9. Eleven years of personal rule 1629-40. The first Ship Money Writ, Oct. 1634.

¹ Viz. one quarter-day dinner, and the Yeomanry dinner on Election Day. The officers surrendered part of their charges, and the sum thus raised came to £81 6s. 8d. The balance was spent in giving 'some contentment' to the beadle, the butler, the cook and the porter in lieu of the loss they would suffer. Rep. + 131, pp. 268 b, 269 a b.

² Felton, the murderer, declared that he had no accomplices, and that he had murdered the Duke in consequence of a private wrong he had suffered at the Duke's hands. Gardiner, *History of England*, ed. 1884, vol. vi, p. 352.

³ Thus, not only had the City been called upon to furnish five ships in January 1626 for the defence of the river, but, in July 1626, a further demand had been made for twenty ships for service abroad. In their remonstrance the City authorities especially stated that they were ready to share with the rest of His Majesty's subjects in a matter which touched the State defence of the whole Kingdom; but that they objected to this charge being imposed on the City only. The demand had, however, been pressed, and the money was apparently raised on the parishes, for in the Renters' Accounts, 1625-6 fo. 17, 1626-7 fo. 15, we find £26 and £8 13s. 4d. paid to the Churchwarden of St. Peter le Póor (in which parish Drapers' Hall stood) by the order of the Mayor. Cf. also the frequent demands for ships in the reign of Elizabeth, vol. ii of this work, p. 436.

⁴ For the writ cf. Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, ed. 1899, p. 105.

that the demand was made on the Wards, but the evidence of the Drapers' Minutes proves that at least the cost of furnishing the ships fell on the Companies, for we find that the Drapers were assessed at the sum of £50 towards the setting forth of the said ships.¹

The second
Writ for
Ship Money,
August
1635.

In the second writ, which appeared in August 1635, the King called not only on seaport and maritime towns, but upon the nation at large to contribute to the defence of the realm.² The right of the Crown to thus extend the demand was disputed by Richard Chambers, a London merchant. The Judges, however, would not allow the legal question to be argued. Justice Berkeley said 'that there was a rule of law and a rule of government, and that many things which might not be done by rule of law might be done by rule of government'.³ Meanwhile the writ had been enforced, and the City had to furnish two more vessels of 800 tons apiece. To this the Drapers contributed £60.⁴

Corn Money.

In addition to these exactions the Drapers had, in common with the other Livery Companies, been called upon almost every year to supply the markets with corn. At moments of especial scarcity the amount they had to furnish was high. Thus, in December 1630, they had been ordered to provide a double weekly propor-

The pretext was the danger to be feared from 'robbers of the sea as well as Turks'. No doubt there was much piracy at the time. Thus, in June 1631, Baltimore was sacked by Algerine pirates. Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1625-32, p. 617. In the same year we find suggestions for building a special fleet for suppression of sudden depredations and landing of Turks and renegades upon the coast of England and Ireland; *ib.* 1625-60, p. 168. Cf. also the constant references to captives in the hands of the Turks. The pirates included English and Irish renegades. The real purpose, however, was to prepare a fleet against all emergencies, and, as was so often the case with regard to the exactions and arbitrary measures of Charles I, his action was unwise rather than positively illegal. It was an attempt to evade the necessity of summoning Parliament, and was resisted on that account.

¹ Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 113; *Rep.* + 131, p. 295 a, January 1635; *Renters' Accounts*, 1634-5, p. 7 a.

² In the previous July they had also bought a few barrels of powder in response to the Mayor's precept to provide a reasonable quantity. *Rep.* + 131, pp. 298 b, 299 a.

³ Cf. Gardiner, *History of England*, ed. 1884, vol. viii, pp. 84, 92-95, 103. The right of the Crown to thus extend the demand to the country at large was much more questionable. Charles, however, obtained a verdict in his favour by a narrow majority in the famous case of *Hampden* (1637); *ib.* pp. 270 ff.

⁴ *Renters' Accounts*, 1635-6, fo. 10; 1636-7, fo. 12.

tion, and, in June 1638, they were instructed to purchase 768 quarters, an amount which had not been exceeded in the reign of Elizabeth.¹ As, however, this was a long-established burden imposed upon the Livery Companies, we do not meet with any complaint.

In 1631 we have an interesting notice, which throws some light on the commercial policy of the Government. In that year the members of the Eastland Company had imported a large amount of rye, for which they could not find purchasers. The Mayor therefore, at the order of the Privy Council, issued a precept instructing the Livery Companies to buy of the said rye 'as well for the relief of the merchants and the encouragement of future speculators'. The price, the Mayor said, was only 6*s.* 6*d.* a bushel, which was 8*d.* less than cost price. With the precept the Drapers indeed complied, possibly because some of the influential brethren would, as great merchants, be inclined to favour the importer, even if they were not actual members of the Eastland Company. Nevertheless they undertook to buy 50 quarters only, at the rate of 5*s.* the bushel, instead of 384 quarters at 6*s.* 6*d.* the bushel, as they had been required to do by the Mayor.² Both the Goldsmiths' and the Grocers' Companies prayed to be excused altogether. The reasons as alleged by the Grocers were that, notwithstanding the great scarcity and dearth, the poor would not use rye or barley meal alone, nor yet with the mixture of two-third parts of wheat with it; and that they already had met with difficulty in selling the mixture which they had on hand. They further said that other merchants, Dutch and English, were offering it at 5*s.* the bushel, and that they could not be responsible for this overloading of the market.³

Ireland.

The attempt of the Company to develop their estate in Ireland had met with such little success during the early years

Attempts to develop the Irish Estate.

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 243 b, 320 a.

² *Ib.* p. 249 b. They appear to actually have bought two parcels of East country rye during the year October 1630-31: (1) 50 quarters at 4*s.* 9*d.*, and (2) 80 quarters at 4*s.* 6*d.* a bushel.

³ Cf. Heath, Grocers, pp. 69 ff.; Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. i, p. 152.

of Charles I's reign that they must have regretted ever having undertaken the venture. Although the plan of letting the whole Proportion to one tenant had not succeeded, and was probably not to be commended, since it tempted him to rack-rent his under-tenants, and relieved the Company from direct responsibility, it was at that time favoured by the Court, because thereby the endless troubles which direct administration of the estate involved would be avoided. Accordingly, since the lease to Sir Thomas Roper had been revoked in 1622, owing to his unwillingness, or inability, to pay the rent, they had been seeking for a suitable person. Meanwhile, in January 1626 Harrington, their agent, reminded them that some of their tenants were still charged a double rent for six and a half town lands, which the Company had purchased of two royal patentees, Price and Cornwall.¹ On this point no redress was obtained. The Company was also pressing its agent to complete the 'castle', to place locks on the inside of the doors, and to find a sufficient man to dwell therein and protect it and the town from natives and rebels; to pave Drapers' Town and furnish it with a good water-supply, and to set up 'a reasonable bell in bigness' in the chapel wherewith to rally the inhabitants to prayers.²

The whole
Proportion
leased to
Peter Barker,
January
1628.

After negotiations with sundry persons,³ the Court succeeded in letting the whole Proportion, with the exception of any freeholds which had been granted, to Mr. Peter Barker, a drover of Ballybantrom, in County Antrim. The lease was to be for sixty years from January 1628, the rent £200, and the fine

¹ That is, one rent for their lands within the county of Londonderry, in which the town lands lay, and another reserved by the Crown in the patent granted to Price and Cornwall. Rep. + 131, fo. 197 a. Cf. *supra* under James I, p. 36 of this volume. Cornwall had been sheriff of Tyrone when the Earl fled. Hill, *Plantation*, p. 255.

² January 1626. Rep. + 131, pp. 197 a ff.

³ In August 1626 Ralph Whistler, of Dublin, agreed to take a lease for forty years, but threw up his agreements because his request for a reduction of the rent by £50 'for so long time as the present trouble and charges imposed by the State shall be upon the Proportion' was refused. Rep. + 131, pp. 202 b, 204 a. In 1627 a Mr. Lathom and their agent Harrington made offers, which were not considered good enough. *Ib.*, p. 204 b; Letter Book + 383, letters beginning fos. 106, 107, 109.

£500.¹ Barker, however, proved to be as unsatisfactory as Sir Thomas Roper had been. In spite of repeated promises, he failed to pay his rent; a re-entry was therefore made in February 1630, and the Manor leased temporarily to R. Goodwin, the Steward of the Company. Then, however, Barker paid £140, and gave a bond for the remainder of £60 necessary to make up half his arrears. Upon this, in the following September the lease was renewed.² Barker no doubt could plead as an excuse for falling into arrear that there were many vexatious questions to be settled, which had been dragging on for some time, and the Court had told him to expect crosses from those who had been disappointed in their hopes.³ Of these the most troublesome arose out of the claims of Robert Russell and Wm. Rowley.

R. Russell, the son of their first agent, asked that a freehold of the town land of Gortatawry, which had been promised to his father, should be handed over to him; intending to aliene the said freehold, when granted, to one Sir William Windsor, who at that time held a third of the Company's estate.

Claims of
R. Russell,
Wm.
Rowley,
and others.

As, however, Sir William Windsor had done nothing in the way of building or planting, it was decided that no grant should be made until security was given that he would fulfil these obligations.⁴ Sir William himself caused no little trouble to the Company, and fell into arrears with the rent to the amount of £138 9s. 10d. He, however, died early in 1628, an event on which the Court congratulated Mr. Barker because 'it was likely to prove a great means of good to him'.⁵ Finally, the freeholds of Gortatawry and Cloughfin in Ballyravenny were granted to

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 235 b.

² *Ib.*, pp. 215 a, 232 a, 235 a, 241 a b, 245 b; Letter Book + 383, letters beginning fos. 114, 115, 125, 126, 127.

³ Letter Book + 383, letter beginning fo. 111.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 197 b. In 1630 he also asked for a renewal of a lease of the town lands of Carimony, Lismony, Caltrum, and Drombeabut, which had been granted to his father according to a pretended promise of Barker. The Company declined, unless he could show further evidence of any promise from Barker. Rep. + 131, p. 244 a. Carimony and Lismony were also claimed by Wm. Rowley.

⁵ Letter Book, letters beginning fos. 106, 107, 111.

Russell,¹ as well as a lease of the two and a half town-lands of Carimony and Caltrum.²

The claims of William Rowley of Tubbermore gave greater trouble. He persisted in his right to the freeholds of the two town-lands of Monishenare and Brackaleslea, which he averred had been promised to his brother Nathaniel, who before his death had assigned this promise to himself for £20. He further demanded a renewal of the leases of fourteen and a half other town-lands for three lives or thirty-one years, which, according to his statement, he had purchased of the original leaseholders; as well as certain allowances for services performed by him. To his last demand the Court answered that any services he had rendered had been done for his brother John, the late agent of the Company, whose widow had already been recompensed; that as to the town-lands, most of them had been only held at will by the previous tenants, who had therefore no power to assign their interests; and that he had wrongfully taken possession of the said town-lands for the last thirteen or fourteen years.³ It was further asserted that he had paid no rent to Barker, nor done anything towards planting, hedging, enclosing, building and the like; but had cut timber to his own great profit and to the prejudice

¹ June 1629. B. 1742, M.A. Dr. 126.

² B. 275, Ma. Dr. n. d. 1627.

³ The disputes had been going on since January 1626; cf. Rep. + 131, p. 196 b. The names of these fourteen and a half townships are given in Barker's first Bill (cf. B. 46.12). The claims of William Rowley were: (i) The town-lands of Monishenare and Brackaleslea, which he said had been assigned to him by Nathaniel his brother. (ii) Those which William Rowley claimed by virtue of a lease granted to him in 1617 by John Rowley his brother, who was then agent of the Company: Tullaninge (Tullanye or Tullnagee), Dromconreddy (Drumconready), Dontebrían, half township (Duntybryan), Clohey, Clowan (Cloughog). (iii) Those which he claimed, as having purchased the remainder of a lease of three lives, which had been granted to John Rowley: Terersen (Teressin), Ballymoyle, Anna Aule (Annahavil). (iv) Those he claimed as having purchased them from John Newton, to whom he declared a lease had been made: Donmurray (Donamurre), Carnemony (Carnamoney, Carimony), Ballinure (Ballynure), Dunloan, half town-land (Denloan, Dunlogan), Cullinesillagh (Coolnasalagh), Moydawlel (Moydonlaght), Ballocluan (Balliloan, Ballyloghan). (v) Wm. Rowley in his answer also claimed the township of Brackaugh, as having been among those leased to him, and the townships of Moydoenan and Silmody, the lease of which he said had been made to another brother, Ralph, and assigned to him. Cf. B. 88. For a genealogy of the Rowleys cf. *infra*, p. 376.

and discredit of the Company.¹ Barker also complained that Rowley had sub-let these lands to Irishmen on easy terms, so that they should keep the said tenancies by force, and had raised a confederacy to resist the payment of rents on other lands. Rowley, he asserted, was in such friendship and alliance with all the gentlemen-freeholders of the county of Londonderry that he, being a stranger, could expect 'no indifferency' in a trial at the Common Law.² No doubt Wm. Rowley had hoped to get the lease of the whole Proportion himself. Indeed, he offered to take it with Lieut. Thursby, when the quarrel with Barker was at its height.³ This explains his persistence on his claims, which appear, however, to have been unfounded.

As to the freeholds of Monishenare and Brackaleslea, the Company denied that Nathaniel Rowley had any right to assign his interest, inasmuch as he had not received livery of seisin before his death, and further declined to give the freehold to Wm. Rowley, because he had been an evil tenant of the said lands for the time he did enjoy them. They also stated that he already held another freehold on the Vintners' Proportion, and it was contrary to custom that one man should hold two freeholds. They therefore wished to grant the said freeholds to Mr. Nathaniel Goodwin, the brother of Robert Goodwin, who had long looked after their interests in Ireland. The controversy dragged on for several years. Finally a decision on the matter of the freeholds of Brackaleslea and Monishenare was given against Rowley by the Star Chamber, and they were granted to Goodwin on condition that he repaid William Rowley the £20 he had given to his brother for the original assignment of the freehold.⁴ The

¹ The wood was made into pipe-staves and shingles, and sold.

² B. 46. 6. Cf. Rowley's answer, B. 88. The names of the Irishmen to whom Rowley had sub-let were: Donnell O'Hogan, Toole Mc. Vaughe, Hugh O'Neale, Shawe O'Keogh Mc. Quilliam, Phillonny O'Donnell, Hugh O'Moyligan, Patrick Roe Mc. Quilliam, Donogh O'Logan, Cullum Mc. Quilliam, Murtaghboy Mc. Quilliam.

³ Cf. B. 88.

⁴ Rep. + 131, pp. 196 b, 248 a b, 265 b, 267 a; Letter Book + 383, letters beginning fos. 118, 124; B. 46. 21 (12, 13); B. 236, Ma. Dr. 1632, 149; B. 33, Ma. Dr. 141; State Papers Domestic, Car. I, vol. 257, No. 134¹.

question of the other fourteen and a half town lands, after having been heard before the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was left by Rowley's consent to the decision of the Company, who, following the verdict of the Chancellor, gave him a renewed lease of the four town-lands and the half town-land which he claimed to hold from his brother John. The possession of the remainder, with the exception of the half town-land of Anna Aule (which was leased to William Woodruffe), was granted to Mr. Barker.¹

Other dis-
putes.

Harrington also reported that Mr. St. Lawrence had received the promise of a freehold of the town-land of Killibarnes from Sir Thos. Roper, and that he desired to be estated. For this, leave was granted on condition that he proceeded to build and fulfilled the other obligations which had been imposed by Sir Thomas. Owing to delay on the part of St. Lawrence to do this, the grant of the livery of seisin was postponed, and, when it had been completed, he proceeded to claim the rents due from the tenants on his freehold before he had been estated. The Company declined, and ' marvelled at his unthankfulness ', but the Court of Chancery took a different view when appealed to by St. Lawrence, and ordered that he should receive £12, as well as £10 for the costs of the suit. [August 1632.]²

Report as to
condition of
Drapers'
Town and
Moneymore,
March 1631.

On the state of the Plantation at this date we have a description in the Report presented by the Drapers to the Governor and Committee for the City's Plantation in Ireland (Irish Society)³ in March 1631. Besides the ' Castle ', which had been duly supplied with arms and munitions, the mill, brew-house and smithy, there were twelve fair dwelling-houses, eight other substantial houses and twelve cottages. The repair of the Church had been commenced

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 197 a, 241 a, 242 b, 244 a, 247 a, 248 a b, 249 a; Letter Book + 383, letters beginning fos. 105, 108, 113, 118, 124; B. 46 (1, 2, 7, 8); B. 88; B. 225.

² Rep. + 131, pp. 197 a, 261 b; Letter Book + 383, letters beginning fos. 127, 137 a; B. 241. I have selected these cases to illustrate the difficulties of the Company. There were many more, which can be found in the Letter Book + 383. As late as 1631 we are told that several persons who claimed freeholds had not been estated because they had not fulfilled the necessary conditions. Letters beginning fos. 135-6.

³ Cf. Appendix LIII E.

nine years ago, but the work had, by order of the King's Commissioners, been stopped, because of the danger that might happen to the town of Moneymore while the inhabitants were at Church which was a mile away, and resort had been made to the 'Castle' chapel instead. The town itself was paved. The number of British tenants was now about fifty, of whom five were at present freeholders (three being resident).¹ They also intended immediately to 'estate' Nathaniel Goodwin; which was shortly afterwards done. To the native Irish they had neither granted any estate, nor made any lease.² Finally they declared that, besides the original sum of £5,000 subscribed to the Plantation, they had spent on their own Proportion no less than £5,073. 11s. 1d., over and above any money disbursed by their tenant, Mr. Peter Barker, which they understood had been a 'good sum'. To these expenses we may add 100 marks (£66. 13s. 4d.) paid to the Treasurer of the Irish Society in 1635, to be expended on such 'necessarie and unavoydable occasions' as mentioned in the Mayor's warrant or request.³ They had also been asked for a loan towards soldiers in 1627. To this they had answered that they saw no cause 'why the Company should bear the cost as it is a general charge laid on the Country', and is 'unreasonable and dangerous' . . . 'lest it prove a thing hardly to be removed'; whereas if it be paid by particular men, 'great hope there is that the grievance of the generality will sooner cause alteration'; yet 'in this time of extremity will do as other Companies do.'⁴ I do not, however, find any evidence that the loan was made.

¹ The resident freeholders were: John Elcock, who held Ballygone; Robert Russell, who held Gortawry and Cloughfin; Sir F. Cooke, who held Monisholin and Annah (Anugh Longe). Nathaniel Goodwin's freeholds were Monishenare and Brakisleah. (Brackaleslea)

² We are told incidentally that a fine of 5s. a year was imposed on every native, man or woman, for leave to reside on the lands belonging to the City, and that there was about eight couple on every town-land; so that there appears to have been some 232 native Irish on the lands of Moneymore. B. 110.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 295 a.

⁴ Letter Book + 383, fo. 106; cf. B. 161, 'Instructions for the maintenance of 5000 foot and 500 horse in Ireland'. That there was some apprehension of an Irish rising appears from a letter of Thursby, one of the Company's tenants, December 1625. He warns them of the danger of leaving the Castle at Moneymore empty; tells them there is enough lead on the roof and elsewhere

Sir J. Clotworthy tenant of the whole Proportion November 1632.

In September 1631 Barker died, and his executors asked leave to assign his lease to Sir John Clotworthy, who was recommended by the Earl of Cork.¹ After much negotiation the Company agreed to grant him a new lease for sixty-one years from November 1, 1632, on the same terms as those in the lease to Barker, which he surrendered. Sir John was also to pay £42 14s., a sum which represented the arrears owed by Barker, less £17 6s., quit rent of £2 17s. 8d. for six years owing to the Crown, Sir John being given power of attorney to recover the said sum from Peter Barker's executor. At the same time the Company sealed the leases to three under-tenants.²

The forfeiture of the Estate in Ireland.

The agreement with Sir John Clotworthy had scarce been signed when the Company became involved in the trouble with the Star Chamber, which ended in the confiscation of their Irish estate. Although an excuse for this high-handed act was found in the disturbed condition of the country, and the failure of the Irish

'as would suffice the enemy to annoy the whole Kingdom'; that 'more rebels was not known these many years', and that 'they were encouraged by the rumours of a Spanish invasion, which was much to be feared'. B. 97, Ma. Dr. 1625, 188. It should be remembered that the proposed Spanish marriage of Charles had been broken off in 1623, and war with Spain declared March 1624.

¹ Sir John Clotworthy was a large landed proprietor in Antrim. He was a Presbyterian, and enemy of Strafford. After a chequered career he was created first Baron Masereene by Charles II. Cf. Dict. National Biography.

² Letter Book + 383, letters beginning fos. 140, 142; Rep. + 131, pp. 252 b, 263 a, 273 a, 275 b, 278 a b, 305 a. The leases signed were: (1) G. Birkett, a stonehouse and 15 acres in Drapers' Town for 80 years at £4. 10s. a year, if he or either of his two sons should live so long; and the half town-land of Turneface for 90 years, at a yearly rent of £2 16s. 8d., if he and either of his two daughters should live so long. (2) The half town-land of Ternebracken to J. Bodkin, on the same terms as the last, if he or either of his two sons should live so long. (3) To the widow of Robert Russell, and her son, a house and 15 acres of land, a croft, and the two town-lands of Carimony and Cultrum, held by her late husband for 28½ years at a rent of £18. B. 36, Ma. Dr. 1633, 157. In 1627 the town-lands of Killiecrinagh and Killetanie had been leased to Anthony Hall for 21 years. B. 20, Ma. Dr. 202. In 1628 the town-lands of Moneygogan, Moykerran, Moykellen and Moy Begge Kerley had been leased to Thos. Thursby for 21 years. B. 19, Ma. Dr. 207. A house with 15 acres in Drapers' Town, the town-lands of Ballcloghan, Tawneymore, and Nart, and the two and a half town-lands of Tullawee and Annah Awley to Wm. Woodruffe for 21 years. B. 21, Ma. Dr. 1627-8, 197; Rep. + 131, p. 326 a.

Society and the Companies to carry out the conditions of the grant, it was mainly the imperative need of money to carry on the government, without having recourse to Parliament, which led the King to this fatal step, whereby he completely alienated the sympathy of the City.¹

In 1632 Sir Thomas Wentworth, better known as the Earl of Strafford, had been appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland.² His avowed object was to make the King absolute in that island, and to raise the royal revenue there to 'a fair improvement', so that he should not only pay off the King's 'debts of £100,000, but settle a revenue of £20,000 more than his Majesty had'.³ Obsessed with the conviction that all private interests should be sacrificed to reasons of State, he not only proceeded to raise the old question of 'concealments' and defective titles,⁴ and flagrantly violated the 'Graces' in Connaught,⁵ but, considering that the Plantations were 'the best subjects to work upon', proceeded to question the patents of private undertakers, especially those in Ulster.⁶ The undertakers came to terms and received confirmations of their estates upon paying a fine of £30 for every 1,000 acres and consenting to pay a double rent. Even then Strafford was not content. 'The King,' he said, 'hath suffered abominable frauds', and

The Irish Policy of Wentworth, Lord Strafford.

¹ Cf. State Papers, Ireland, vol. 241, Order of Council September 2, 1625. Sir T. Phillips: 'His Majesty may thereby increase his royalties and revenue in an ample . . . manner'. State Papers, Domestic, Car. I, vol. 172, No. 72.

NB. The references to the State Papers, Ireland, and to Patent and Close Rolls, are to the original documents in the Record Office. They have not been publicly published, but are given in Mr. Freshfield's, City Companies' Irish Estate, Statement of Facts, privately published 1898, to which I am much indebted.

² Sir Thomas Wentworth had been a leading opponent of the Duke of Buckingham, the King's favourite, until the death of the Duke in 1628. He then abandoned the cause of Parliament and became the chief adviser of the King. In December 1628 he was created Viscount Wentworth, and in January 1640 the Earl of Strafford.

³ Strafford Letters, vol. i, pp. 160, 273.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 92.

⁵ The 'Graces' were certain promises made by Charles, that the landowners should have their titles to land confirmed against any future inquiry into defective titles. Strafford, in pursuit of his scheme of recolonizing Connaught, violated the promises in several cases. Cf. Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, ed. 1884, vol. viii, pp. 13, 17, 46.

⁶ Strafford Letters, vol. i, p. 159.

‘if the business were again, in any managing, free of these grants of confirmation I could make it six times as profitable to the Crown, and yet use the Planters honourable and well.’¹ Although, no doubt, there was a good deal of truth in his allegations,² the high-handedness of the whole transaction naturally made him many enemies.

Strafford was, however, regardless of this, and now proceeded to attack the Irish Society and the Livery Companies. It does not indeed appear that the idea originated with him, but, as he himself acknowledged, Sir Thomas Phillips of Limavady was the ‘Father’ of the scheme.³ Sir Thomas had been an adventurer in Ulster and governor of Coleraine before the lands had been offered to the City, and had conducted the Londoners when they came to survey the country. When the City received its grant he had been forced to surrender part of his estates, although the grant of Limavady and Castle Dawson was probably a fair compensation. Henceforth he appears as a most hostile critic.⁴ In his report of 1622⁵ he had accused the Londoners of remissness in the matter of the Plantation, declared that unless some speedy course was taken ‘it would be a lost country’, and from that date he had persistently urged the Government to take further action.

Report of
Sir Thomas
Phillips
1622.

Sequestra-
tion of
Rents, Sep-
tember
1625.

The new King, Charles I, was only too ready to listen to his advice, and, as the answer of the City sent just after his accession was not considered satisfactory, the sequestration of the rents and profits of the Irish lands belonging to the Irish Society and of the twelve Livery Companies was ordered, September 1625. Here, however, the Government met with unexpected though tacit resistance. The agents of the Irish Society collected the rents and dispatched the proceeds to London by means of Bills of Exchange, while the Companies declared that the sequestration did not affect them, since they held their Proportions from the Irish Society, and that they left the Society to sue for redress on their behalf.

¹ Strafford Letters, vol. i, p. 405.

² Cf. Gardiner, ed. 1884, vol. viii, pp. 33, 44, 61.

³ Strafford Letters, ed. 1739, vol. i, p. 496.

⁴ Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1611-14, p. 340.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 41.

Some of them, to make matters sure, made haste to collect their rents before the sequestration could be effected.¹

Meanwhile the Mayor, the Commonalty of London, and the Masters and Wārdens of the several Companies presented another petition in 1626 against the sequestration.² They repeated their previous protestations, and attributed the eagerness of Sir Thomas Phillips to his desire to raise his fortunes thereby. After some hesitation the Government changed its mind. The sequestration was revoked in August 1627; and a new enquiry ordered.³ It may be that the King was influenced in taking this course by the opinion of Lord Falkland, the then Deputy, who was opposed to the sequestration.⁴ Sir Thomas, however, did not relax his efforts, in which he was supported by Strafford,⁵ and shortly after the King proceeded to more violent methods.

Finally in the year 1630 the Attorney-General filed an information in the Star Chamber against the Irish Society on the suit of Sir Thomas.⁶ It was charged with having deceitfully

¹ Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, pp. 87, 105, 106; Mercers' Minutes, February 23, 1625; I find no proof that the Drapers' Company did this.

² Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1625-32, p. 187. The month is not given.

³ Patent and Close Rolls, Ireland, Car. I, p. 308; Irish State Papers, vol. 245. It is to this date that the letter of the Drapers' Company to Harrington, their agent in Ireland, belongs. 'We heere there is a Commission under the Great Seal of England to enquire of performances of London's Plantacion. We pray you see that the Castle be kept in safety from any danger as may come to yt; and if it be inhabited, as wee hope it is, that the municion of powder and arms heretofore sent over maie in safety and order be placed and kept therein, for the better defence of itself and toune and places neere thereunto.' Letter to Harrington, Letter Book + 383, September 14, 1627, fo. 107.

⁴ 'In my opinion it were meet the Londoners were cherished for so much as they have already done well, and that they receive comfort and encouragement to finish what is yet to do.' Cf. Irish State Papers, vol. 242, under date January 26, 1626.

⁵ Wentworth was not appointed Lord Deputy till January 1632, but he had supported Sir Thomas since his defection from the Parliamentary cause in 1628.

⁶ Sir Thomas accused the Londoners of intimidating witnesses, but he naively remarked, 'Whatsoever witnesses they shall produce contrary to the truth I shall be able to control them'. Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1625-32, pp. 631, 664; State Papers, Ireland, Bundle 252, under date September 22, 1631. Sir Thomas's suit, we are told, brought him into such extremity that he could no longer subsist without relief. Strafford suggested that a sum of £500 should be given him, it being held desirable to encourage all men to serve the Crown.

procured its Charter from King James, and with wilful breach of the trust which had been imposed upon it, especially with regard to the building of houses and the allotting of lands. The Governor and Assistants were accused of having neglected to remove the native Irish and to plant with British. 'They had indeed preferred the Irishe before the Englishe, because as they pretended they were more servicable, and paid higher rents', and had even 'invited and drawne the Irishie out of other parts to be their tennants'. Further, instead of preserving the timber for the purposes of the Plantation, they had cut and merchandized it. Lastly, instead of 'planting the true religion', the Romish religion was continued, inasmuch as there was a 'Popish priest beneficed and maintained in every parish.'

The campaign once started, Strafford eagerly took it up. 'His Majesty', writes Secretary Coke in December 1634, 'doth so much take to heart the business of the London Plantation now depending upon the Star Chamber here, that he hath pleased to write his own letters to you. . . . Mr. Attorney and the rest of the Council are confident that it will prove of great service and happily bring into the King's hands the better disposing of those countries, wherein your Lordship may expect such employment as shall be worthy of you, and it is fit for none but him that really advanceth the service of the State in whom his Majesty is so confident.'² 'I hope', wrote Laud, when sentence had been passed, 'that your Lordship is to take care of the Plantation.'³ Sir Thomas Phillips was most energetic in pressing the case against the Londoners.⁴ As for Charles he was so careful of the business that

Strafford's Letters, vol i, pp. 137, 496. Eventually he received £5,000 out of the fine decreed in the Star Chamber (Hist. MSS. Commission, Earl Cowper's MSS., vol. ii, p. 99); 'a princely reward' says Strafford, Letters, vol. i, p. 496.

¹ Cf. Case of Counsel for the Crown, Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1625-60, pp. 193, 203, 205, 210. The answer of the Merchant Taylors' Company I owe to the generosity of the Merchant Taylors' Company. That of the Drapers is not found in the Drapers' Archives.

² Strafford Letters, vol. i, p. 340.

³ *Ib.*, p. 375.

⁴ There are numerous letters of his in the original Irish State Papers. Cf. especially vols. 274, 276, 277. They are given in Mr. Freshfield's 'City Companies' Irish Estate', printed privately, 1898.

'he stayed from going to Newmarket' till it was finished in the Star Chamber.¹

In May 1635 that Court pronounced judgement. The Irish Society was ordered to pay a fine of £70,000; their charter was cancelled and their property sequestered.² Forthwith Strafford was given a warrant to put the decree into execution.³ The Livery Companies were not parties to the Bill, and were not at first liable to the decree. The Attorney-General therefore proceeded to prepare a 'particular information against them and their tenants' so as to bring them within its scope,⁴ in the hope that the process being at once issued to levy the fine on the Irish Society they might be 'induced to conform'.⁵

Judgement
of the Star
Chamber,
May 1635.

The matter was much debated by the Court of the Drapers. On the reception of the information from the Attorney-General that a decree had been issued against the Company,⁶ the Court answered that, whereas the Company held the lands in trust for divers their Freemen, they would, if they obeyed, be chargeable to them; and therefore they must be consulted. They further appointed Sir John Hooker to appear as their attorney, and John Banks as their general attorney⁷ (March to November 1635). Shortly after the Court consented to leave their case in the hands of the Common Council of the City, 'conceiving that the Council would do their best so as the tenants may enjoy their estates', and that 'the Drapers would be discharged of any future charges'. The same course was adopted by the other Companies. In answer to further questions, the Court gave the terms of Sir John

¹ Strafford Letters, vol. i, p. 369.

² As this Judgement has never, I believe, been publicly printed, I give it in the Appendix LVI.

³ Strafford Letters, vol. i, p. 424.

⁴ Copy of Bill in the Star Chamber against the Twelve Companies and others for alleged misconduct in the management of their estates. B. 43, Ma. Dr. 1635, 161.

⁵ Secretary Coke to Strafford. Strafford Letters, vol. i, p. 432; Historical MSS. Commission Reports, July 28, 1632.

⁶ Summons to the Master and Wardens to appear before the Court of Chancery to show cause why the Plantation granted should not be annulled. B. 57, Ma. Dr. 160.

⁷ Rep. + 131, pp. 296 a b, 301 b.

Clotworthy's lease, but said that they could not estimate what the annual value of the lands would be at the termination of his lease.¹ In May 1636 the Common Council appointed a Committee to deal with the King's Commissioners.

October
1638. Sur-
render of
Irish Estates.

They had originally demanded a fine of £120,000. The King however, probably became alarmed at the serious ferment caused by his high-handed conduct, and, after prolonged negotiations, a compromise was reached. The City and the Companies surrendered their titles to the Irish estates and consented to pay the comparatively small sum of £12,000, over and above the £70,000 imposed on the Irish Society by the Star Chamber, in return for a pardon and Letters Patent confirming their other ancient privileges.²

The share of the Drapers of this sum was £600.³ Meanwhile Sir J. Clotworthy had in February 1636 agreed to pay his rent, on condition that the Company 'undertook to save him harmless in regard to the sequestration by the Star Chamber', and gave him a power of attorney to recover from the executor of Thomas Barker, their late lessee of the whole Proportion, the debt he had owed for arrears.⁴ He further demanded that the Company should grant to him in fee farm the six and a half town-lands which they had purchased of the

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 308 b, 309 a. For the same procedure on the part of the Goldsmiths, cf. Prideaux, Memorials, vol. i, pp. 171, 187.

² For petitions of the Mayor and Commonalty and the negotiations, cf. State Papers, Domestic, Car. I, vol. 309, No. 11; 346, No. 92; 349, No. 122; 361, No. 92; 362, No. 31; Common Council, 12 Car. I, Jan. 23, 1636-7; City Journal, February 29, 1636-7, 37, fo. 288; March 9, fo. 296 b; March 21, fo. 307 b (Bromfield Mayor); Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. i, pp. 171, 185, 187. The titles were not surrendered till 1639 under a writ of Scire facias. Petty Bag Office, Chancery, Hilary Term, 1638-9. Among the Papers were the original grants by the Irish Society to the Drapers' Company and Indentures to the freeholders and leaseholders at various dates. For the Pardons cf. Guildhall 24th and 25th Patents in the 14th year of Charles I. Appendix LVII.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 323 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1638-9, fo. 39. Besides this their expenses in the matter had been eighteen guineas. Wardens' Accounts, 1635-6, fo. 51. Dr. Sharpe, vol. ii, p. 116, says the total sum demanded was £12,000, and this is the amount given in the Goldsmiths' Book; cf. Prideaux, vol. i, p. 185, and in the Mercers' Minutes, p. 141. In the Drapers' Books, £12,500 is given.

⁴ Rep. + 131, pp. 302 b, 305 a.

patentees Cornewall and Price, and leased to him. These townlands, he maintained, had been originally given to the said patentees, and therefore were not included in the forfeiture of the lands of the Company; he had paid the quit-rent due to the King, and would do so in future. Although the Court declared that they had not the power to comply with his request, they repeated their letter of attorney for procuring a new grant from the Commissioners for defective titles.¹ I have not succeeded in discovering whether Sir John was successful, but he shortly after became a candidate for the whole of the lands which had been forfeited from the Irish Society and the Companies, offering the sum of £9,000 a year for the same. The Lord Deputy, however, did not approve of his proposal, although it was supported by Archbishop Laud;² and before anything further was done, the judgement of the Star Chamber was voted illegal and unjust by the House of Commons in 1641.

In dealing with the justice of the treatment of the Ulster Colonists, it is necessary to distinguish between the individual adventurers, who had received their grants direct from the Crown and were bound by the original orders, and the Londoners, who maintained that they were only bound by 'the Agreement' made between the Government and the Irish Society, and that they were purchasers and not undertakers.³ Of the former it must be

The injustice and inexpediency of the forfeiture.

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 324 a, 329 a.
² Strafford Letters, vol. ii, p. 222. The Lord Deputy himself was also an applicant; cf. Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, p. 202.
³ So it is definitely stated in the petition presented to Parliament in January 1641 (cf. Appendix LVIII), and also the protest of Beresford (cf. *supra* under James I). The chief point of disagreement was with regard to the removal of the Irish. Sir Thomas Phillips and the Crown insisted that in this matter they were bound by the original orders. Thus the Privy Council, when asked by the Deputy in 1611 whether the Londoners were to retain their natives, as their agents presumed they could, answered that 'they were to plant as other undertakers do, excepting the special privileges expressed in the Articles of agreement between the Government and the City'. Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1611-35, p. 35. Cf. also State Papers, Ireland, vol. 276, 'Strong reasons to shew that the Londoners were obliged to plant with British and not with Irish', written by Sir Thomas Phillips, and his answer to the petition of the City, Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1625-60, Addenda, p. 207. Unfortunately the 'Articles' are silent on the point, and the Companies, maintaining that they were only bound by these Articles stoutly asserted that they were under no engagement to remove the natives

allowed that many were unscrupulous and even fraudulent, but as far as I can discover, and I have spared no pains, there is no proof of such conduct at least with regard to the Drapers. Yet, while the private adventurers had only to double their rents and pay a fine,¹ the whole property of the Londoners was forfeited. It must be admitted that the Plantation had not been a success, and that the expectations of James I had not been realized. Nor, to judge from the evidence given us in the Drapers' books, do the tenants on their lands appear in a favourable light. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether the failure is to be laid to the charge of the Companies. Of the trouble the Drapers took in this unfortunate Irish business, the Minutes of the Court meetings, and especially the Letter Books, are a convincing proof. The expenditure was on a most generous scale, the dividends which were received gave but a poor return for the money subscribed;² and, if they and the other Companies had not succeeded in planting many British settlers, the difficulty of finding good men, who would make the venture in the unsettled condition of the province, as well as the practical impossibility of removing the Irish,³ must be remembered. Moreover, whether the Companies were bound to remove the natives and plant only with British was doubtful, and as to the provisions for defence, the Companies maintained that they had fulfilled the conditions.

It is possible that the area actually handed over to the Londoners was considerably larger than it was supposed to be (although this was denied in 1641), and this might perhaps have justified the withdrawal of a certain part of their Proportion. But the error was due to the ignorance of Government officials

Here, as so often, the difficulty has arisen from want of definiteness in the Articles. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the main object of the Plantation was to settle it with English and Scotch, it would appear that the Companies were in the wrong.

¹ Cf. Petition of the City, January 1641, Appendix LVIII.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 45. Besides, it must not be forgotten that the Company were asked from time to time to subscribe to the Irish Society, and had not received any profits from them till 1620. Cf. Rep. + 131, p. 295 a: 100 marks paid to the Irish Society 'to be expended on such necessarie and unavoydable occasions as in the said warrant are mentioned', January 1635. They also had in 1627 contributed to a loan for soldiers.

³ On this point Charles I had himself been forced to make concessions.

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and the absence of any proper survey. So again if, as was alleged, the Attorney-General had granted privileges for which he had no warrant, that was a matter between him and the Crown. But there is no evidence whatsoever that the Londoners were guilty of any fraud, or that by indirect means they had procured these privileges to be inserted in the Charter without due warrant, 'to the prejudice and deceit' of the Crown. Under these circumstances all but the most prejudiced will surely agree that there was no case, either in law or equity, for the wholesale forfeiture, and that any breach of covenant there may have been was not a sufficient cause.¹ What then shall we think of the wisdom of such a step?

No doubt we should most of us accept Strafford's general principle that private interests should not stand in the way of those of the State; but the whole question depends on the exact application of this general and somewhat dangerous principle. The Tudors, indeed, had thus justified many acts of spoliation; but the times had changed, and the faults of Strafford lay chiefly in his failure to realize this, or the character of the English people, whom he attempted to dragoon. Moreover, the policy of Charles differed in one material point from that of his father. James had at least intended to spend the sequestered rents on furthering and perfecting the Plantation. Charles, intent on filling his coffers without having to apply to Parliament, not only appropriated the fine of £12,000, but, as if to add insult to injury, gave it to the hated foreign and Roman Catholic Queen Henrietta Maria.² Charles was soon to learn that the Londoners did not forget.

By the autumn of the year 1638 matters in England were rapidly becoming serious. The misguided attempt of Archbishop Laud to force the use of the English Book of Common Prayer on Scotland had led to the signing of the Covenant in March, and the Scots were now preparing for the war, which broke out in

¹ Cf. *infra* p. 151, Reasons why judgement of the Star Chamber was voted illegal and unjust by Parliament in 1641.

² Sharpe, vol. ii, p. 116.

Sir Morris
Abbot and
Sir Henry
Garway,
Masters of
the Company
and Mayors
1638-40.¹

the following February. It was just at this date that Sir Morris Abbot, the Master of the Drapers' Company, was elected Lord Mayor (September 1638), to be succeeded in the following year in both offices by Sir Henry Garway.¹ The union in one person of the office of Mastership of the Company with that of the Mayoralty of the City, which had not often occurred before,² and this in two consecutive years, was of the greatest importance because of the critical character of the times and the Royalist leanings of the two Mayors. Nor is this all; the two Draper Masters and Lord Mayors were followed by two more Masters, Thomas Adams 1640-1 and George Garrett 1641-2, both of whom also leaned to the King's party. This unbroken succession of four Royalist Masters leads us to the conclusion that the majority of the Court of Assistants at least were Royalist in sympathies, and explains some points which would otherwise be obscure.

At the elections of Sir Morris Abbot and of Sir Henry Garway, substantial Pageants were performed at the charge of the Company. The Pageant for Sir Morris was entitled 'Porta Pietatis, or Harbour of Piety, exprest in sundry Triumphs by Thomas Heywood dramatist'.³ Heywood again contributed the Pageant for Sir Henry Garway. This was somewhat inappropriately termed 'Londini Status Paccatus' or London's Peaceable Estate; the triumphs being executed by John and Mathias Christmas,⁴ the two sons of Garrett Christmas.⁵ Sir Morris had

¹ The election of the Master was on the 1st of August, that of the mayor on September 29, Michaelmas Day, although he did not assume office till October 28. Sir Morris Abbot was brother of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury 1611-32. For his commercial activities cf. under James I.

² There are five previous instances of the Master of the Drapers holding the position of Mayor at the same date: Wm. White, 1489-90; Sir Wm. Roche, 1540-41; Wm. Capel, 1509-10; Sir Rich. Champion, 1565-6; Sir Cuthbert Hackett, 1626-7.

³ The cost of Sir Morris Abbot's Pageant was £747 2s.; that of Sir H. Garway £787 3s. 4d.; Bachelors' Accounts, + 178, fos. 90, 91, 101.

⁴ Fairholt, Percy Publications, vol. x, pt. ii, pp. 55 ff. Heywood, Collected Works, ed. 1874, vol. i, pp. 355 ff.

⁵ For Garrett Christmas cf. *supra*, p. 117 note 3. For the life of Heywood cf. Dict. National Biography. These Pageants were the last Lord Mayors' Pageants held

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in his earlier days opposed the financial policy of the King. Although he then held a lease of the customs on wine and currants, he had actually refused to pay an additional tax on currants in the year 1628, and had broken into the Government's warehouse, where currants belonging to him had been stored. In 1637 he was charged with remissness in fitting out the ships which had been demanded under the writ of 1636. The charge was, however, dropped, and from that time he appears to have been a supporter of the King.¹ It is therefore questionable whether his election Pageant was received with much enthusiasm by the City. Certainly the Pageant performed immediately after his election, on the visit of Marie de Medici, the mother of the Queen met with little response. For 'the English people hated her, or suspected her, for her own, for her church's, for her country's, for her daughter's sake: and having shifted her residence in other courts, upon calamities and troubles which still pursued her, they thought it her fate to carry along misfortunes with her, and so dreaded her as an ill-boding meteor, wherever she appeared,' 'for it was observed that wherever this miserable old Queen came there followed immediately after plague, war, or famine.'²

In November 1638, Charles, having obtained a decision from his Judges in favour of his right to levy Ship Money on the whole country, made another demand, and the City was ordered to furnish one ship of 500 tons, the cost of which was estimated at £1,000. A precept was accordingly issued by the Lord Mayor,

Renewed
demand for
Ship Money,
November
1638.

for sixteen years. The next one was in 1655, on the election of John Dethick, a Mercer. Percy Society Publications, 1844, vol. x, pp. 62-4.

¹ Cf. Dict. National Biography and authorities quoted there. When Charles went North in March 1639, on account of the Scotch war, he was appointed the King's lieutenant within the City and suburbs, with powers to arrest all suspected persons.

² Quoted from Kennet, Complete History and Treatise of the Monarchy, in the Introduction to P. de la Serre, Histoire de l'entrée de la Reine Mère dans la Grande Bretagne, who gives an account of the Pageants, with woodcuts. The object of Marie de Medici in visiting England was to solicit the good offices of Charles with Richelieu, who had driven her from France. Charles had tried to prevent her visit, but gave way to his wife. She was forced to leave England in 1641.

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instructing the Aldermen to ascertain how the money might best be raised. On the 29th of January 1639, a Committee of the Court of Aldermen declared that the City was not in a position to comply with the royal demands, and eventually the money was found by the Livery Companies, the Drapers with six others contributing £100 and the others £60 apiece.¹

A loan of
£100,000
refused, but
a free gift
of £10,000
granted,
June 1639.

Nor was this the end of the royal exactions. No sooner had the 'Bishops' War' with Scotland commenced than a further request was made for a loan of £100,000 (June 1639). The Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen declared that they could not find the money, but in the following July they voted him a free gift of £10,000. Even so the sum was only raised by appointing sixteen men as Sheriffs, who paid their fine rather than accept office.²

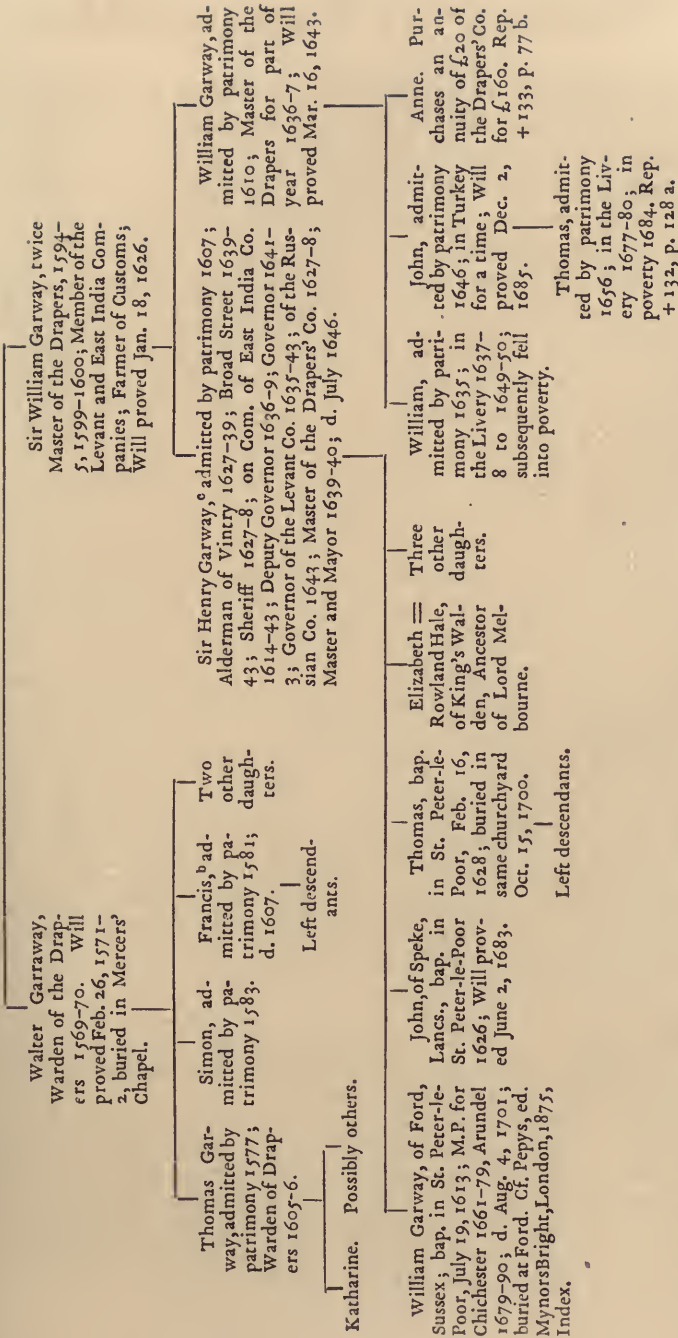
Sir Henry
Garway,
May or
Michaelmas
1639.

It was at this critical moment that Sir Morris Abbot was succeeded as Master by Sir Henry Garway, and in September Sir Henry was elected Lord Mayor.³ We find, however, no

¹ So says the City Journal, Guildhall 38, fo. 224 a. I have only found evidence of £70 being paid by the Drapers. Renters' Accounts, 1637-8, fo. 13; 1638-9, fo. 10; 1639-40, fo. 30.

² This practice was very common at the time. In the reign of Charles I, nine or ten Drapers declined the office of Sheriff, and five the office of Alderman; cf. Appendix XLII. In December 1647 it was decided that no member who declined the office of Alderman or Sheriff should be admitted as an Assistant until he paid a fine of £50; and that any one, who was on the Court as an Alderman and subsequently resigned his office should retire, unless he paid a like sum; the reason given being that, by virtue of their being chosen Sheriff or Alderman, they escaped the necessity of serving as Warden with the charges to the said office appertaining. It was further ordered that, among those who declined either of the said offices and who paid their fine, those should have precedence, who had been on the Court first, and not those who were first fined. Rep. + 132, pp. 81 a, 149 b. Another question of precedence was also settled in the year 1640; namely, that the Master for the time being should, when dining with the Mayor, take precedence of all members of the Company who had filled the office of Mayor. Rep. + 132, p. 3.

³ Sir H. Garway was a member of a family that had been connected with the Company since the reign of Elizabeth, and continued to be so for many years. He lived in Broad Street. In 1628 he took the lease for seventy years of another house adjoining the Drapers' Hall, which he rebuilt at a cost of over £1,000. The connexion of the family with the Company will be best seen from the following genealogy.



^a I have received much assistance in compiling this Genealogy from Mr. Garraway Rice, F.S.A. The references in the Drapers' Records are to be found in the Wardens' Accounts for the various years, the Quartermaster and Freedom Books.

^b In the Quartermaster Book + 259, fo. 106, he is said to be 'of the Custom House', and to reside at 'Dice Key', and later 'in Rude Lane by Rude Church'.

^c Cf. Dict. National Biography and Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 60. I have not been able to identify John Garway, admitted through apprenticeship in 1652; in the Livery from 1637-8 to 1644-5.

reference to public affairs in the Drapers' Records till we come to the following May. Then Charles, having quarrelled with the Parliament, which he had called in April,¹ and being in serious straits for money wherewith to renew the war against Scotland,² turned to the City and repeated his request for a loan.

The loan
again de-
manded,
May 1640.

The patience of the City was at last exhausted, and when, on the Court of Aldermen demurring, Charles insisted on twice the amount, and threatened that if they did not comply he would have £300,000, the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen refused to furnish him with a list of the rich citizens. Although Charles did not follow Strafford's advice to hang a few of the Aldermen, he committed four to prison³ and threatened to depose the Lord Mayor, Sir Henry Garway. Warned, however, by a serious riot, the King shortly released the Aldermen, and attempted to gain his end by a demand for Ship Money, which was no more successful. The Draper Lord Mayor, who from this date supported the cause of the King, was ordered to distrain the goods of the recalcitrants, and went, accompanied by the Sheriffs, from house to house to demand the money. As only one man in the whole City consented to pay, the Lord Mayor bade the Sheriffs distrain the goods of those who refused. When they told him that this was his business, and not theirs, the Lord Mayor entered a draper's shop and seized a piece of linen. The owner insisted upon measuring the stuff before he parted with it, and, then naming the price, said he should charge it to his Lordship's account.⁴ It is remarkable that of all this there is no mention in the Drapers' Minutes, possibly because the Royalist leanings of Sir H. Garway were not approved by many of the Company.

¹ The Short Parliament, April 15—May 6, 1640.

² In June 1637 a truce had been made with the Scotch, but disputes arose at once, and Charles was again preparing for war.

³ Nich. Rainton, a Haberdasher, Mayor 1632-3; Th. Atkins, a Mercer, Mayor 1644-5; J. Gayer, a Fishmonger, Mayor 1646-7; Thomas Soame, a Grocer, Sheriff 1635-6; Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, 1640, p. 155. It is noticeable that Rainton, Gayer, and Soame were, subsequently at least, of Royalist tendencies and were deprived of their Aldermanries by the Parliamentarians. Atkins was a bitter Republican. Cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, pp. 178, 180.

⁴ Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, 1640, p. 306, No. 36.

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In July, hearing that the Scots were threatening the border, the King tried once more to obtain his loan. He promised that, if the citizens would comply, he would abandon the project he had entertained of issuing a debased coinage, and declared that he wanted the money, not to prosecute the war, but only in order that he might make an honourable peace sword in hand, and pay off the soldiers, so that they should not take to pillage at their disbanding.¹ The Lord Privy Seal was, however, unwise enough to tell the Aldermen and the Lord Mayor that the City was the rather beholden to his Majesty for taking their money on loan, than the King would be beholden to the City if it were granted to him.² Nevertheless the Lord Mayor and Master of the Company, Sir Henry Garway, succeeded in inducing the Court of Aldermen to approve of this loan;³ but the precepts which he issued in pursuance of the royal order met with opposition from his Company.

Renewed demand for a loan, July 22, 1640

At the meeting of the Court held on July 29 a letter was read

The Drapers demur, and finally refuse the loan, July 29-30.

‘sent from his Majestie to ye Lord Maior and Aldermen and Common Counsel of this Citty of London as also to such of ye severall Companies, or Corporacions, of this Citty of London, as should be thought fitt to be called upon, touching the loans of £200,000 to his Majestie for his highnes’ necessary employments about his present army, with his Majesties promise in ye said letter that, if ye said monies shalbe furnished, that then ye coine intended to be sent forth by his Majestie of a meane alloy shall not be sent abroad, as otherwise it is entended it shalbe. And thereupon, and upon intimacion given to this Court by ye said Lord Maior that his Lordshipp yesterdaie in ye afternoone, having a meeting at ye Guildhall of ye Masters and Wardens of ye most of all ye severall Companies of this Citty, hee declared unto them the contents of ye said letter, and his Majestie’s greate necessitie for ye use of ye said monye. And that his Lordshipp had caused searche to be made how a some of about £50,000 or £60,000 which was lent to his Majestie by ye severall Companies of this Citty touching ye land’s business, granted by his highnes to diverse feoffees for ye Citty’s use, was then proportioned upon ye said severall Companies.⁴ And thereby found that according

¹ Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, 1640, pp. 465, 500, 513, 535, 554.

² *Ib.*, 1640, p. 32.

³ State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, vol. 469, No. 22

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 119.

to ye same disbursement this Companies proporcion of monies now required to be lent to his highnes as parte of the some of £50,000 or £60,000 doth amount to ye some of £4,500. And thereupon his Lordshipp advised this Courte, as well for his Majestie's said accomadacion, as for prevention of dangers which otherwise might hereafter happen to this Company upon a displeasure to be taken by his highnes, to condescend to ye lending his Majestie of ye said some of £4,500, upon securitie of his Majesties Customes by ye farmer's bonds, to be given in that behalfe for ye paiement thereof at ye limited tyme together with ye allowance of £8 per cent. per annum, for ye forbearance of ye same. And after this Courte had debated of ye said busines and had alleadged diverse causes of their disabling in performance therein. In fine ye particular members of this Courte for ye most parte made knowne to this Courte that they could not so well advise and resolve of a business of this nature and aidment at this present sitting . . . neither were they willing to deliver their opinions and resolucions in ye said business without further consideracion and advisement in that behalfe, which they desired his Lordshipp to afforde unto them. And thereupon it was appointed by ye honourable ye said Ld Maior our Master that this Court shall here meet againe tomorrow to resolve and determine touching the premisses.²

At the meeting held on the following day, 'after divers speeches and allegations made touching the premisses', the question was put to the scrutiny, and 'by ye voates of ye greater number it appeared that ye same cannot be lent to his Majestie as is required'.¹ Sir Henry, however, did not give up the struggle. On August 3, the Election Day, he acquainted the Court

'of his Majesties high displeasure against this Company in denying his gracious request for ye loane . . . imposed upon this Companie for their rateable parte . . . and withall, that his Majestie tooke ye Companies deniall ye more offensive, conceiving ye same became exemple to other Companies, whereby they have made ye like refusall. And thereupon his said Lordshipp desired this Court to take further consideracion of ye premisses and to condescend to ye said loane for obtaining his Majesties favour, ye furthering his highnes designs, and preventing those evils and dangers as may hereafter happen unto this Companie by his Majesties displeasure against them. And withall his Lordshipp produced and read to this Companye A letter sent . . . to him from ye right Hon. Lord Vayne His Majestie's Secretary,² which was written . . . by

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 339 b, 340 a.

² i. e. Sir H. Vane the elder.

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His Majesties speciall command, whereby is declared That His highness is much moved for this Company's deniall of ye said loane, considering ye lardge priviledges this Company hath enjoyed from his highnes.¹ And withal that there is none other required from them than ye company hath granted formerly in ye like. And if his highnes shall please to question ye company they cannot be free from some excepcons which may be taken against them. . . . Whereupon this Courte, taking consideracons of ye premisses, desired further respite to advise thereof as being as yet unresolved to alter their former opinions in ye busines. And thereupon ye said Lord Maior apointed a meeting to be here had to-morrowe morning whereby to take ye further resolucons of this court. . . .²

No meeting was however held, and so the question was left for the moment. The attitude of the Drapers' Company, an attitude which was followed by most of the Livery Companies,³ is most significant. Although we have met with several cases of opposition to the royal demands for money from the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen or the Common Council, we have come across no previous instance of a refusal on the part of the Company to comply. It should also be remembered that Sir Henry Garway, the Lord Mayor, who was their Master as well, was known to be Royalist in his sympathies, and evidently wished the Company to give way. Doubtless the refusal is partly to be attributed to resentment at the way in which the Drapers had been treated over the Irish estate; indeed, many of the Companies pleaded as an excuse that the Plantation had 'consumed their stocks'.⁴ The King, on hearing that his demand had been rejected, seized the bullion which had been deposited at the Mint by merchants, and treated it as a loan.⁵

The Drapers, however, did not altogether persist in their refusal to meet the financial needs of the King. The City had been somewhat conciliated by the confirmation of its right to levy

The Drapers
contribute
£3,750 to a
reduced loan
of £50,000,
Oct. 7, 1640.

¹ This is a somewhat bold assertion in view of the forfeiture of the Irish estates.

² Rep. + 131, p. 340 b.

³ Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1640, p. 554. I have, however, found no actual statement to this effect in the Drapers' Minutes.

⁴ Whitlock, Memorials, Oxford, 1853, vol. i, p. 101. For the conduct of the Goldsmiths cf. Prideaux, vol. i, pp. 194, 195.

⁵ Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, 1640, pp. 451, 544.

tolls; and by the news that Charles intended to come to terms with the Scotch¹ and to call a Parliament. Accordingly, although by the retirement of Sir Henry Garway from the post of Lord Mayor and the election of E. Wright, a Grocer,² in September, the King had lost a valuable supporter, yet the Common Council was prevailed upon to agree to the raising of the reduced sum of £50,000. To this sum the Drapers consented to lend their quota of £3,750.³

The money was to be found partly out of the balance of the Renter's Account, partly by a loan from the members or others.⁴ Ten Peers agreed to stand security for the repayment of the loan,⁵ and a Committee was formed of one representative from each of those six Companies whose contribution was the highest. The Committee was to hold the pledge of the Peers in trust for all the Companies. Of this Committee, John Withers, one of the Court of Assistants of the Drapers, was a member.⁶

¹ The Treaty of Ripon was signed on October 21, 1640.

² The King and the Privy Council were anxious to procure the re-election of Sir H. Garway, or at least the election of Sir Wm. Acton, Bt., a Merchant Taylor, who was known to be favourable to the royal cause. After a stormy meeting Edmund Wright, a Grocer, was chosen. *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, 1640-1*, p. 115. Dr. Sharpe incorrectly says that Acton was elected, but discharged by Parliament. This is not mentioned in the State Papers, and Parliament did not meet till November.

³ Of this loan only £375 was repaid in September 1644, and £375 in July 1646. The rest was never repaid. Cf. *Wardens' Accounts, 1647-8*, fo. 15.

⁴ Of this sum £750 was supplied by the Renter out of his balance; £1,000 was borrowed from Alderman Adams, and the same amount from John Harvey, Esq., and James Ingram, Esq., both of London, these sums being repaid by the Company before August 1641. *Wardens' Accounts, 1640-1*, fos. 31, 38. The Merchant Taylors raised their quota by a loan from the Merchant Adventurers and the East India Company; the Grocers from three Grocers and two others, not of the Company. Clode, *London during the Rebellion*, p. ii. The Ironmongers got £400 from the East India Company which was owed them; £500 they borrowed from Sir J. Cambell, who had been Lord Mayor in 1628-9 and was Master of the Company in 1641; and the rest by a sale of their plate. Nicholl, *Ironmongers*, p. 249.

⁵ *Cal. of State Papers, 1640-1*, pp. 101, 133, 134.

⁶ *Rep. + 132*, pp. 2 a, 3 a b. The six Companies were: the Mercers, the Grocers, the Drapers, the Goldsmiths, the Merchant Taylors and the Haberdashers. Sharpe, *vol. ii*, p. 128.

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From the opening of the Long Parliament, in November 1640, to the outbreak of Civil War in August 1642, all direct mention of public affairs ceases, and we must go elsewhere for information as to the events which finally culminated in that catastrophe.¹ We have, however, a few indirect references which are interesting. In June 1641, the Wardens were instructed to view the armoury and see what munitions were fit to be altered, and what should be supplied, so that the armoury might be complete 'if tyme of necessitie, or use thereof shall be required'.²

Meeting of the Long Parliament, November 3, 1640.

In July 1641 the presence of the two armies, that of England and of Scotland, 'in the bowels of the Kingdom', now that peace had been made with the Scotch, was considered dangerous, especially in the view of the King's intended journey to Scotland and of rumours of army plots. It was therefore decided to disband them. To meet the expense of paying off the soldiers, Parliament ordered a poll-tax to be raised, and the Masters and Wardens of the Livery Companies were called upon by a precept of the Mayor to make a return of their Liverymen and Freemen, with a note of all those who had filled the office of Master or Warden, Sheriff or Alderman, or had paid their fine for declining the said offices, so that they might be assessed according to their position, as ordered by the Act.³ The Aldermen were likewise enjoined to furnish a list of all the inhabitants in their respective wards; of every merchant, whether English or stranger, and of every Popish recusant. The House of Commons, who had promoted the idea, called it 'a friendly assistance and relief' for the Scots; and so eager were the citizens to rid the country of the Scottish forces, lest the King might make a party among them, that it was difficult to find tellers enough to receive it;⁴ while the Drapers presented a fee of £5 to the Beadle and the under-Beadle for their 'extraordinary pains

The friendly assistance, July 1641.

¹ Cf. Gardiner, *Hist. of England*. The best account so far as London is concerned is, as usual, to be found in Dr. Sharpe's *London and the Kingdom*. He bases his information chiefly on the City Records.

² Rep. + 132, p. 6 b.

³ 16 Car. I, ch. ix. The assessments were: for the Mayor, £40; Alderman or Sheriff, £20; Masters of the twelve greater Livery Companies, £10; Wardens, £6 13s. 4d.; Liverymen, £5; Yeomen, £3.

⁴ Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, 1641-3, p. 76; cf. Appendix XIX, Poll Tax Return.

about the poll money' and £1 to the clerk for writing out a list of the Yeomanry.¹

The Parli-
mentary
sympathies
of the
Drapers.

Alteration in
the wording
of the Head-
ing to the
Court
Minutes,
December
10, 1640.

G. Garrett
elected Mas-
ter, August
1641.

The ease with which this poll-tax was collected forms an instructive contrast to the late opposition to the King's demand for a loan, and we have another indication that, although Thomas Adams the Master for the year 1640-1 was a Royalist, a good many of the Company leant at this date to the Parliamentary side. This is to be found in a significant change in the heading to the Minutes of the meeting of the Court of Assistants held on December 10, 1640. Hitherto the heading had run 'Anno Regni Domini nostri Caroli Regis Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae et Hiberniae fidei defensoris', but in December the words 'Domini nostri' and 'fidei defensoris' are omitted, and though the words 'Domini nostri' occasionally recur, Charles is never again called the 'Defender of the faith' in the Drapers' Minutes.² It would appear that this alteration was the result of the growing strength of the Puritan party in the City. For on November 28, Prynne and Burton, two victims of the Star Chamber, had entered London in a veritable triumphal procession.³ On December 11, a petition for the abolition of Episcopacy 'root and branch' was presented to Parliament signed by 1,500 Londoners, and on the 18th Archbishop Laud had been impeached. If, however, the Company, then under the Mastership of Thomas Adams, was influenced by the outburst of popular enthusiasm, the election of another Royalist in the person of G. Garrett, the Sheriff, to the post of Master in August 1641 seems to show that a majority of the Court had not abandoned the King. In any case, the Company remitted their customary festivities. No public Election dinner

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 12 a b; Bachelors' Accounts, + 178, fo. 104. £40,000, half the amount required immediately, was raised in London in July. The reason why we are not told how much was contributed by the Drapers is, I presume, because the money was paid directly to the Chamber of London, and therefore did not come into the accounts. The Goldsmiths' Minutes, however, mention the certificate of the Wardens that they have paid over £206; Prideaux, vol. i, p. 204. For the actual precept cf. Nicholl, Ironmongers, p. 252. Herbert's statement, i. 177, that it was paid unwillingly is incorrect.

² Cf. Rep. + 132, pp. 2 a, 4 a, 20 a, 22 a.

³ They had been condemned to the pillory, and to have their ears clipped, for their puritanical writings.

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or Quarter Day dinner was given, and, although it was decided to have a Stewards' dinner on the Lord Mayor's day *if* he held his feast, and one on the 5th of November *if* he should go to St. Paul's, one of the Stewards, who refused to undertake the charge, was not fined according to the usual custom.¹

It is certainly strange that no mention is made in the Drapers' Minutes of the petition of the City to the House of Commons for a restoration of their confiscated lands in Ulster, nor of the resolution of the House of Commons in August 1641 declaring that the action of the Star Chamber in 1635 had been illegal and unjust.² But the probable explanation is that, although Charles, in his anxiety to win over the City on the return from Scotland, is said to have declared his intention to restore the Irish lands, the matter went no further.³

Resolution
of the Com-
mons against
the forfeiture
of the Irish
Estates,
August
1641.

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 10b, 12a. The Court of Assistants, however, held a private dinner on Election Day at the cost of £13 2s. 4d., as well as four others at a total cost of £38 14s.

The Lord Mayor apparently did hold his Feast, and also attended at St. Paul's on the 5th of November, as Stewards' dinners were held on both those days, as well as a Quarter Day dinner in December. How much they cost we cannot be certain, as the items are illegible, though they look like £20 for each dinner. Wardens' Accounts, 1641-2, fo. 47.

² Cf. Sharpe, vol. ii, pp. 143 ff., quoting from the City Journal 39, fos. 164 ff.; Journal of House of Commons, ii. 272. The resolution declared that in the opinion of the House the citizens had been solicited and pressed to undertake the Plantation; that James I had not been deceived in the matter of the grant, and that more lands had not been granted than was intended; that there was not sufficient proof that the citizens were tied to perform the printed articles (i. e. the original orders issued to individual undertakers), and consequently were not bound to plant with English and Scotch, nor restrained from planting with Irish, nor to estate any definite number of freeholders; that the breach of covenant (if any such there were) was no sufficient cause for forfeiture, and no crime, which was not triable in ordinary courts of justice; that the Star Chamber had no power to examine freehold, nor determine breach of covenant, and that the forfeiture was therefore 'ultra vires'. That the citizens and all those against whom judgement had been given should accordingly be discharged of the judgement, and be reinstated. This resolution had indeed no legal force. The House could not constitute itself a judicial tribunal, nor pass an Act; but the case was heard judicially, and there can be little doubt that the opinion was a correct one.

³ Concise View, p. 36; Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, Car. I, 1641-3, p. 177, November 25; Rushworth's Collection, ed. 1721, vol. iv, p. 430; City Journal 40, fo. 96, November 30, 1641, Gurney Mayor.

The Irish
Rebellion,
October
1641.

Provision of
corn and
artillery for
the Relief of
Ireland,
January
1642.

Return of
the King
from Scot-
land, No-
vember
1641.

Nor again is there any direct mention of the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, although it began with the 'Ulster night', and we know that the district planted by the Londoners suffered most severely.¹ The letters of the Company to their agent, if there were any, have not been preserved, and the Minutes of the Court meetings are silent. Presumably the Company felt no special interest in Ireland, now that their Proportion had been taken from them, and there was little prospect that, amid the troubles afoot they would speedily be restored. Nevertheless, in January 1642 the Company were not unwilling to assist the Protestants in Ireland. In answer to a Precept of the Lord Mayor asking for some good proportion in corn and bread or otherwise for the relief of Londonderry and of the Protestants in Ireland, 'who through the inhumane and bloody cruelty of the rebels, were likely to be utterly destroyed', the Court agreed to send 100 quarters of wheat either ground or unground or baked in 'biskett', or money, if it be more needed, and promised more from time to time as the Wardens should see fit. They also purchased 750 quarters, their proportion of 10,000 quarters, 'as their stock was lower than it ought to be', and in the following March promised to provide guns and ammunition to the value of 40 marks for the relief of the said City.²

That Charles was well received by the City on his return from Scotland we learn from other sources,³ but, although we have a notice of the expenditure⁴ of the Drapers, there is no reference

¹ Two of William Rowley's sons were slain in an encounter with the Irish, 1641, and all the houses on the Drapers' Proportion burnt, including the Manor House. Hill, *Plantation*, p. 404, note 3; Rep. + 132, p. 251 b. I do not know which William Rowley is meant. There were two living at the time. Cf. genealogy, *infra*, p. 276. Cf. also *infra*, p. 156 note 2.

² Common Council, March 2, 1641-2. Rep. + 132, pp. 14 ab, 15 ab. For this they were thanked by the House of Commons. Journal, January 29, 1642, vol. ii, p. 402. Cf. also Prideaux, *Goldsmiths*, pp. 201, 202. The Mayor, in asking for money to be spent in artillery, said that it was to the interest of the City to provide it.

³ Strype's *Stow*, ed. 1754, vol. i, Bk. I, p. 334. Sir R. Gurney, a Royalist, was Mayor at the time.

⁴ Wardens' Accounts, 1641-2, fo. 51. As the page is unfortunately torn out, we do not know how much was expended. But we learn that the Company helped to line the streets at the royal procession to Whitehall, and gave a dinner to the Assistants and Livery when the King and Queen dined at the Guildhall.

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in the Minutes to the ceremony on his entry into the City; whereas in the Goldsmiths' Minutes there is a fairly detailed account.¹ It is not improbable that the silence may, as before, be explained by the divisions of opinion in the Company. Again, there is no allusion to the stirring events which followed the King's return. Neither the Grand Remonstrance of December, nor even the attempted seizure of the five Members in the following January, an act which finally lost Charles the sympathies of the Londoners, find any place.² We know, however, from other authorities that Charles, after his stormy reception in the Guildhall on January 5, 1642, when he attempted to justify his attack on the five Members on the ground that they had been acting treasonably, dined with George Garrett the Master.³

When in June 1642 there seemed but little hope of a reconciliation with the King, especially as it was known that he was collecting forces, the Parliament sent a deputation to a meeting of the Liverymen of several Companies, assembled at the Common Hall of London, with a demand for a loan of £100,000 for a year at 8 per cent. The ostensible object of the loan was 'the relief and preservation of the Kingdom of Ireland' and 'the speedy supply of the greate and urgent necessities of this Kingdom'. Pym declared that the money was voted with alacrity, but according to the Royalist Lord Mayor, Gurney, the Common Hall insisted that Parliament should take the responsibility of raising the loan by passing an ordinance, before the Companies were asked to raise the money according to their corn assessment.⁴ The King, on hearing of this, wrote from York to say that, if the Companies should pay any money, either for the *relief of Ireland or the*

June 1642,
Parliament
applies for
a loan.

¹ Prideaux, Goldsmiths, p. 199.

² Cf. Forster, Arrest of the Five Members, pp. 258 ff. We learn from Dr. Sharpe that some of the Minutes of the Common Council of this date were expunged in 1683, and that there is no notice in the City Archives of the stormy meeting, when the King presented himself at the Guildhall on January 5, two days after the attempted arrest. Sharpe, vol. ii, pp. 155-7.

³ Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, ed. Oxford, 1849, Bk. IV, p. 157.

⁴ Clode, London during the Rebellion, p. 19.

payment of the Scotch, he would take it as an acceptable service; but that, if under general pretences the money should be lent to raise a guard, he would look upon their action as raising a force against him in contempt of his authority, and would then be compelled to question the Charter of the City. The letter was to be communicated to the several City Companies.¹ Inasmuch as it was realized that the Companies would require careful handling, it was decided that they should be summoned to meetings in groups, at which some members of the Commons should be present, and that the Mercers, the Grocers, the Fishmongers and the Drapers should be first summoned, possibly because it was thought that they were likely to be the most amenable, and that their decision might influence the others.² Having obtained the consent of this meeting, and fortified by the ordinance of Parliament, the Lord Mayor addressed a Precept to the Drapers. On this being considered at a meeting of the Company, held on June 10, 1642—a meeting at which divers of the Livery and the Yeomanry, as well as the Assistants, were present—a somewhat hedging resolution was passed, to the effect that ‘although they do not know how the said loan may concerne ye good and safety of ye King and this City’, yet in view of the necessity they ‘do not deny, but condescend’ to the furnishing it, and ‘doe with a free and loving respecte for ye satisfying of ye desires of ye said Lords and others of both Houses of Parliament, and for the preservation and good of both Kingdoms, consent and thinke fit that the said some of £7,500, proportionately imposed on the Company, shall be forthwith raised and lent’.³ While, however, the Court declared the willingness of the Company to contribute, they entered a protest declaring that the Common Hall had no authority to bind the Company in the matter of finance; and that, in voting the loan, they were following the order of Parliament, not that of the Common Hall, and this, because the said Common

¹ Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, 1641-3, p. 339, June 14. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, p. 204, says this letter was read before the Court of the Company. I have not found any notice of it in the Drapers’ Minutes.

² Cf. Clode, London during the Rebellion, p. 19.

³ This loan was never repaid.

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Hall; 'consisting of ye Liverymen of all ye severall Companies, amongst which ye greatest number being of ye inferiour Companies and men of very poore estate, are careless of what they graunted, in regard they were neither willinge nor able to bear any considerable parte of ye said chardge; and that the Common Hall hath been in the past used only for the election of the Lord Maior, Sheriffs, and other like offices, and such like occasions, but never to graunte monies or chardge the Citizens or Corporacions thereof with any chardges or paiements.'¹

From this time onwards the Company ceased to concern themselves much about Ireland, but there are a few more references. Clarendon tells us that among other expedients for raising money to put down the Rebellion in Ireland, Parliament made certain propositions to encourage men to be 'adventurers in that traffick' by promising them lands out of the estates to be forfeited from the rebels; and that the King consented to a Bill presented to that effect, without considering 'whether this policy might not retard the reducing of that Kingdom by exasperating the rebels and rendering them desperate of being received into grace', a design which, he maliciously suggests, was one of the reasons why Parliament had moved in the matter.² We learn from Mr. Prideaux that although the individual members of the Goldsmiths' Company did subscribe nearly £400 to the relief of the Protestants and to subdue the rebels, they declined to subscribe as

Later Refer-
ences to
Irish affairs.

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 16 b, 17 ab. For similar conduct on the part of other Companies, cf. Clode, *London during the Civil War*, p. 19; Prideaux, *Goldsmiths*, vol. i, pp. 203-6; Nicholl, *Ironmongers*, p. 257. The Drapers provided the money, partly from the rents of the lands belonging to Queen Elizabeth's College, Greenwich, partly by loans from members of the Company and others. The Common Hall was the old Folk Moot of London, and apparently any Freeman could at that date attend. This explains Clarendon's statement (ed. 1849, Bk. VI, § 222) that the meanest persons were admitted. But for the purposes of electing the Mayor, the Sheriffs, the Chamberlain, the Bridgemaster and other officials, and the Burgesses, it was limited to Liverymen of the Livery Companies presided over by the Mayor of the past year. The Common Council was composed of Aldermen and Councillors elected out of those who were Liverymen of the Companies by the Freemen of the Wards paying scot and lot.

² Cf. Clarendon, *Hist. Rebellion*, ed. 1849, vol. i, p. 355. The Bill was actually presented in 1640. Cf. Stat. 16 Car. I, c. 35; Prideaux, *Goldsmiths*, p. 212, June 30, 1643; Sharpe, *London*, vol. ii, p. 163.

adventurers, a course of conduct which we should expect, considering the way in which the Livery Companies had been treated with regard to their Irish estates. As nothing is found about the matter in the archives of the Drapers, we may presume that they were not even willing to subscribe. In November 1645, on a petition being received from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Londonderry for a supply of spades, pickaxes, powder and other things for the defence of the town, it was ordered that, after inquiry as to what other Companies had done, the Wardens should do as seemed fitting.¹ The only other entries in the Minutes refer to charity conferred on members and others who suffered from the rebellion.²

The Petition
of the City,
January
1643.

But, if there are signs of hesitation in the conduct of the Court just described, there is no doubt that, after the indecisive battle of Edgehill (October 1642) and the unsuccessful attempt of Charles to seize London, there were many within the City who were anxious to come to terms with the King. These opinions found expression in a petition addressed to him at Oxford on January 10, 1643, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of London, and presented by a deputation, of which Sir G. Garrett, the Draper Sheriff, was a member. The petitioners declared that they were pierced with the great divisions between the King and the Houses, and deeply wounded by the misapprehension which the King seemed to entertain of the love and loyalty of the City. They assured him that they abhorred all thoughts of disloyalty, and were resolved to the last drop of their dearest blood

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 60 b.

² 1642, March. £10 to their tenant Wm. Woodruffe, because his lands had been wasted and 'for aught he knew his children and wife slain'. *Ib.*, p. 16 a.

£10 to G. Oliver, a merchant, who has lost all and had to fly, for the purpose of 'making him a stock to begin again with'. *Ib.*, p. 23 b.

1643, February. £10 to the son of the late Renter, H. Downes, who has lost all he had from the rebels and is now a poor soldier in great want in Londonderry. *Ib.*, p. 27 a.

November. £10 to John Rawson, one of the Livery, in respect of his great losses in Ireland. *Ib.*, p. 34 b.

1644, February. £5 to Thomas Francis, who hath lost all his estate by the rebels. *Ib.*, p. 42 a.

May. £6 13s. 4d. to Widow of Wm. Rowley and her children, 'being cast out of all means'. *Ib.*, p. 44 b.

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to defend the Protestant Religion, the King's Royal person, honour and estate, as well as the powers and privileges of Parliament and the lawful rights and liberties of the subject. They therefore besought the King on their bended knees to return to his Parliament, accompanied by his 'Royal and not martial attendance', to the end that whatever was amiss in Church and Commonwealth might be reformed, and such a peace be obtained as should be for the Glory of God, the Honour of his Majesty, and the welfare of his loyal subjects. To this the King replied by saying that he did not entertain any misapprehension of the love and loyalty of his City, but that they should consider what confidence his Majesty could have of security therein, while the laws were being notoriously despised, and while Alderman Penington,¹ 'their pretended Mayor, the principal author of the calamities which threatened the realm', and other persons, more especially Venn, Foulke and Col. Manwaring,² notoriously guilty of schism and high treason, were oppressing, robbing and imprisoning all such his subjects 'whom they are pleased to suspect of wishing well to their King', and openly countenancing Brownists, Barrowists and all manner of Sectaries. Further he declared that if they would manifest their power to defend him from all tumults, affronts and violences, and apprehend the persons above mentioned, he would speedily return without his

¹ Isaac Penington had been elected Mayor on August 12, 1642, after the removal of Sir R. Gurney. Charles declined to acknowledge him Mayor because he declared Alderman Cordell had received the majority of votes, and because Penington had not been presented to his Majesty. Cf. Rushworth, ed. 1721, Part III, vol. ii, p. 121. J. Wollaston, who like Penington was a Parliamentarian, though not so prominent a politician, was the other presented by the Common Hall. Cordell, though his senior Alderman below the Chair, was passed over at this and at the next five elections. We have no record of the voting at this date. Probably Charles meant that he had the majority on a show of hands, but that is not a conclusive proof.

² John Venn, Warden of the Merchant Taylors at the time, and M.P. for London in 1641, was a leading Puritan, and subsequently one of the regicides. John Foulke, or Fowke, was Master of the Haberdashers three times: in 1642-3, in 1652-3 (when he was also Mayor), and in 1655-6. He was named one of the Judges to try the King, but refused to attend, and took some part in the Restoration. Cf. Dict. National Biography; Beaven, Aldermen, vol. i, p. 276; vol. ii, p. 66; Clode, Merchant Taylors, Pt. II, pp. 346, 347.

martial attendance, and labour with all the faculties of his soul to advance the Protestant Religion, the laws of the land, and the just privileges of Parliament. Meanwhile he threatened with condign punishment all those who took up arms against him, or contributed to the support of the army of the Earl of Essex. Charles gave special injunctions that this uncompromising answer should be read in the Common Hall, but he had miscalculated the strength of his party. Pym, who with the Earl of Manchester attended to represent the Houses of Parliament, had little difficulty in showing from his letter that the King had no intention of coming to terms,¹ and the Assembly broke up with the cries, 'We will live and die with Parliament' (January 13).

The opinion of the City was, however, evidently in a condition of much uncertainty. Four days afterwards (January 17) Sir H. Garway, the Draper and late Mayor, is said to have addressed another meeting in the Common Hall. Although the speech is now acknowledged to be spurious, its contents may be taken as representing the views of the Royalist party. In it complaint was made that Pym and other Members of Parliament had wrongly attended and addressed the late meeting; the conduct of the King was vindicated; the merchants trading to foreign ports were warned of the danger they would incur if the King withdrew his protection; the citizens were urged to refrain from contributing to the Parliamentary Army and to comply with the King's command for the apprehension of the Mayor and others. A tumult followed, and the Assembly broke up amid cries of 'No money; peace, peace'. On the same day Charles, hoping to find support among the Livery Companies, addressed another letter to the Sheriffs. He reiterated his charges against Penington and others, and requested them to circulate his original answer among the Masters and Wardens of the Livery Companies, with instructions that it should be read before their respective freemen and apprentices, 'whose hopes and interests were so much blasted in these general distractions'. The Committee of the Houses for the safety of the Kingdom forbade this to be done, conceiving the whole conduct of the King to be 'evidently tending to sedition' and 'a

¹ Rushworth Collections ed. 1721, vol. v. pp. 110 ff.

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bloody design to destroy the City and Parliament'. Further, they took into custody the Masters of some of the Companies that were the chief promoters of the business.¹

It is disappointing that of this interesting episode, in which two important Drapers, G. Garret and Sir H. Garway, both took part, the Drapers' documents give no information. Indeed, the references to public events from the autumn of the year 1642 to the close of the first Civil War in the spring of the year 1646 are almost entirely confined to loans and taxes, the provision of arms and of corn, and the dispensing with dinners.

From a financial point of view at least, the Company did not benefit from the change of masters. On July 12, 1642, the Parliament at Westminster had voted that an army should be raised 'for the defence of King and Parliament' under the Earl of Essex. Forthwith the Lord Mayor instructed Sir Henry Garway, who was Alderman of Broad Street Ward, in which the Drapers' Hall stood, as well as the Aldermen of other Wards, to make a view of the arms and munitions both of the Company and elsewhere within the Ward, and to furnish all that could be spared. To this request the Company answered by providing 40 corslets, 40 pikes, and 60 muskets, 'as the fishmongers had done'.²

Demands of
the Parlia-
ment for
arms, loans,
and money.

¹ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Oxford, 1849, Bk. VI, § 210 ff.; Rushworth, ed. 1721, vol. v, pp. 110-22; *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. ii, p. 941; *Parl. Hist.*, vol. iii, pp. 59 ff.; *State Papers, Domestic*, 1641-3, p. 438. For Garway's supposed speech, which was subsequently published under the title, 'The loyal citizen revived', cf. *Harleian Miscellany*, ed. 1810, vol. v, pp. 179 ff.; *Dict. National Biography*, revised version. Garway, the Master and Wardens of the Merchant Taylors, and the Grocers were summoned to appear before the Houses. *Journals of House of Commons*, vol. ii, p. 943; Clode, *London during the Rebellion*, p. 30. The summoning of the Merchant Taylors was no doubt because Venn was one of their Wardens at that date, while G. Clarke, the Royalist Sheriff, was a Grocer. This may account for the heavy sum of £9,000 assessed on the Grocers for the loan of June 1642, the reason for which Mr. Heath (p. 111) says he is at a loss to discover. Clode is wrong when he says Gurney was the Mayor summoned. It was Penington who was then Mayor, and he came of his own accord to clear himself of the charges brought against him by the King in the letter mentioned above. Cf. *Journal of the House of Commons*, vol. ii, p. 946. The Ironmongers were ordered to forbear publishing the said documents. Nicholl, *Ironmongers*, p. 261. Of the other Companies I have no direct information.

² Rep. + 132, p. 22 a. The King had been refused entrance into Hull on

This was followed in May 1643 by a demand from the Mayor, Isaac Penington, the strong Parliamentary man,¹ for a loan of *all* their arms for the forces then being raised by the City. The Company complied, saving however what might be held necessary for the safety of the Hall.² Meanwhile, in the previous March an assessment of £23 a week was imposed on the Company in pursuance of a Parliamentary ordinance.³ This, says the Royalist historian Clarendon, was the first general tax levied on the people by the Parliament, 'who had not hitherto ventured to

April 23. This was an act of war, which was thus begun by Parliament. It was not till August 22 that the King raised his standard at Nottingham. The explanation of the reference to the Fishmongers appears to be that the Drapers were grouped with that Company, as well as with the Mercers and Grocers, for the purpose of these requisitions. Cf. Rep. + 132, p. 17 a; Prideaux, Goldsmiths, p. 203. The Company eventually only furnished 50 muskets. The arms, valued at £121, were lent, not given; cf. Rep. + 132, p. 152 a. This compliance of Garway did not save him. In April 1643 the House of Commons dismissed him from his office of Governor of the Turkey and other Companies, and in May he was expelled from the Court of Aldermen. In November he was arrested for various misdemeanours, and was then 'tossed from prison to prison and his estate conveyed from one rebel to another'. In 1644 he was deprived of his Governorship of the Russia Company and imprisoned in Dover Castle. He was subsequently released, died in July 1646, and was buried in the church of St. Peter-le-Poor, in which parish Drapers' Hall stood. His three sons succeeded to his large estates in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Kent, Sussex, and Devonshire. But the Commissioners for sequestrations raised difficulties about his property in Cornwall, declaring that he died a delinquent in prison, and that all his family were enemies of Parliament, a statement which two of his sons declared to be scandalous and untrue. Cf. Dict. National Biography; genealogy of the Garways, *supra*, p. 143.

¹ All the subsequent Mayors till 1645 were Parliamentarians. Penington was Colonel of the White Regiment of the Train Bands which did such good service for the Parliament cf. Raikes History of the Honourable Artillery Company, ch. v. Archaeologia 1890, vol. ii, p. 129.

² Rep. + 132, p. 27 b.

³ *Ib.*, p. 27 b. This was the Drapers' share of £10,000 a week assessed on the City. The weekly assessment for the whole kingdom would have come to £33,518 a week, or over one and a half million of pounds in the year. But of course it was only levied on the counties held by the Parliament. It appears that three-fifths of the first month's assessment was to be repaid. Cf. Rep. + 132, p. 152 b. For a succinct account of the taxes and loans demanded by Parliament from August 1641 to August 1650, cf. Appendix XXII. The total amount was: Taxes, £1,308 16s. 9d; Loans, £11,750.

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inflame them and inform them how they meant to invade their liberty and their property, with the jealousy whereof they had blown them up to all those swellings and seditious humours against the king'.¹ To meet the new imposition and also to pay the debts they had incurred in providing loans, the Court resolved to sell all their plate except the spoons. In place of the plate, handsome earthen salts and Venice glass were to be bought; it being further resolved that, when the Company should be in a position to do so, the plate should be made up again in thankful remembrance of the donors.²

In August 1643, on receipt of the news that Bristol had been taken by the Royalists and that the King was thinking of marching on London, the Court agreed to furnish £3,750 towards a loan of £50,000 at 8 per cent., which the Common Council had asked for from the City Companies towards the defence of London and the nation; the money being once more borrowed by the Company.³ In February 1645, the Clerk reminded the Court that since the year 1640 a total sum of £150,000 had been lent;⁴ as well as arms to the value of £198 5s. and exclusive of the monthly assessments. Of this total sum, £3,750 had been lent on the security of divers peers and only £375 had been repaid; of the £7,500, for which Parliament had made itself responsible, nothing had yet been received; while, of the last item of £3,750 lent to the City itself, only £50 interest had been paid, and an instalment of £1,300 was due in March. In the following April the Court of Aldermen, while acknowledging their indebtedness,

¹ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, ed. 1849, Bk. VI, § 325. These assessments, which were generally monthly, took the place of the old subsidy which had been levied once a year or in some cases half-yearly. They were, however, assessed more carefully than the old subsidy had been. Cf. Dowell, *History of Taxation*, vol. i, p. 196; vol. ii, p. 4.

² They had been obliged to borrow money of their members at 8 per cent. to meet the loan of £7,500 in 1642. Rep. + 132, pp. 22 ab. The gilt plate sold at 5s. 2d., the white parcel gilt plate at 4s. 10d. the ounce. The total sum realized was £571 9s. 11d. Wardens' Accounts, 1642-3, fo. 28. Other Companies also disposed of their plate at this date. Cf. Heath, *Grocers*, p. 112; Nicholl, *Ironmongers*, p. 275; Jupp, *Carpenters*, p. 96.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 31 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1643-4, fos. 35-7.

⁴ Viz.: £3,750 in October 1640; £7,500 in June 1642; £3,750 in August 1643.

pleaded the command of Parliament that £1,000 of this sum should still be left on loan, in respect of the necessity of furnishing Sir Wm. Brereton, who was then besieging Chester, with the necessary supplies. To this the Court demurred, but finally agreed to leave £500 on loan, which was to be repaid when Parliament by ordinance should order.¹ At the same time a sum of £17,105. was assessed on the Company for strengthening the defences of London,² and this was followed by further assessments in 1647 and 1648 for military purposes.³

We find the Goldsmiths' Company complaining of these frequent impositions, on the special ground that their Hall had been used for Parliamentary Committees more often than those of other Companies. No such complaint is found in the Drapers' Minutes, although their Hall was also frequently used for meetings of the Broad Street Wardmoot, the Ward in which the Hall stood, and in July 1643 a Quarter- and a View-day dinner were forborne because the Hall was occupied by the Committee which sat touching the 'reducing' of the City of Newcastle then held by the King.⁴

Corn Money
still con-
tinued.

In addition to these contributions, the demand for Corn Money was continued almost every year. In 1643 the Drapers had to provide as many as 750 quarters;⁵ while in 1647 a precept of the Lord Mayor ordered them to sell 5 quarters of wheat meal to the poor in small quantities at the price of 6*d.* a bushel, but not to sell more than half-a-bushel to any one person.⁶ The large accumulation of corn, which resulted from these purchases, led to great waste. The corn became infested with weevils; it rotted from damp and want of proper turning, and had often to be sold

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 53 ab, 54 a. The £500 was repaid, with interest of £30, in the course of the year 1645-6. Wardens' Accounts, 1645-6, fo. 29. But this was all that was ever repaid of this loan. The total amount of these loans not repaid and declared 'desperate' in 1678, was £11,885 5*s.* Cf. Rep. + 133, p. 95 b.

² Rep. + 132, p. 54 b.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 81 b, 82 b, 84 b.

⁴ Prideaux, Goldsmiths, p. 247; Rep. + 132, pp. 26 a, 29 a. The Ironmongers also protested against these frequent demands because of their poverty, and raised the question whether they were liable to assessment in their corporate capacity. Cf. Nicholl, Ironmongers, pp. 279, 282. They were also ordered to pay to the Committee of Revenues all that they owed the King. *Ib.*, p. 272. For use of other Halls see Clode, London during the Rebellion, p. 31.

⁵ Rep. + 132, p. 26 b.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 80 a.

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at a serious loss. In the autumn of 1643 the plan was tried of paying a fixed fee of £20 a year to the store-keeper, who was to be entirely responsible;¹ but, as this arrangement did not prove satisfactory, it was abandoned, and other measures were resorted to. The store-keeper was forbidden to take in the corn of other persons, as he had done; the corn was to be more equally divided between their two store-houses at the Bridge House and at Bridewell; the trees near the granary at Bridewell were to be cut down because they caused damp, and the Lord Mayor was petitioned to do away with the bakehouse and the still-house at the Bridge House, for the purpose of reducing the danger of fire, and also because the corn got heated.² Although we are not told how far these expedients proved satisfactory, we at least have no more complaints.

From the scanty information vouchsafed us as to the proceedings of the Drapers during the first Civil War, it would appear that, whereas in the critical days before the actual outbreak of the struggle there was much division and hesitation as to the course to be pursued, they had, when the sword had been drawn, adhered to the Parliament. They, however, showed no enthusiasm; and it should be remembered that any expressions of loyalty to the King would have been dangerous.

The election of Thomas Adams, an important member of the Company and once Master,³ to the Mayoralty in the autumn of

Thomas
Adams,
Mayor
1645-6.

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 34 a, 40 b, 43 a.

² *Ib.*, pp. 60 b, 64 a; cf. p. 104 b. The granary at Bridewell had been lately made. *Ib.*, p. 9 b. We learn incidentally that the granary of the Drapers at Bridewell was on the ground floor, that of the Fishmongers on the first, and that of the Ironmongers on the second floor. *Ib.*, p. 139 b. The danger of fire here and at the Hall and of provisions to meet with it are frequently mentioned; e. g. *ib.*, pp. 15 b, 26 b. In 1638 'divers butts of sacke' stored in the cellar under the Hall by Warden Bewley, whether belonging to him or to the Company we are not told, were ordered to be removed because the custom is considered dangerous in view of the lights used by the coopers, and because of the noise of carts, &c. Rep. + 131, p. 324 a b.

³ This was the fourth time that a Draper held this high office during the reign of Charles I. But Cuthbert Hacket was translated from the Dyers, cf. Appendix XLII B. Adams was Col. of the Blue Regiment, the largest one of the Trained Bands. But unlike most of the commanders of those troops he was a strong royalist and we are definitely told that he was not at the Battle of Newbury 1643, cf. *Archaeologia* 1890, vol. ii, p. 137. When the King fled from

Dinners and
displays dis-
pensed with.

1645 may be taken as an indication that there was a temporary reaction, in the City at least, and perhaps in the Company, since he was subsequently accused of being a Royalist. But the evidence so far as the Company is concerned is not conclusive. All that we can say with certainty is that matters were taken seriously,¹ since the Court determined to dispense with the public election of the Master and Wardens for the ensuing year, 'as had been done by divers Companies'. Instead of the Great Dinner, one only should be provided for the Assistants after the private election; and the Wardens should, in lieu of their usual charges for the Great Dinner, pay fines which were to be distributed among the poor of the Company.² The Company also reduced their expenses by declining to send any of their members as 'benevolent guests' to the dinners of the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, because of 'the miseries and extremities of the times, and the necessities of money for want of trading', especially as the Lord Mayor 'hath much abated the charge of his housekeeping and put off many of his officers from their daily attendance, while the Sheriffs have altogether left off their housekeeping, and the Mercers and Grocers, who precede the Drapers in rank, have decided so to do', December 1642.³

Oxford in April 1646, there were suspicions that he had taken refuge in London, and Adams's house was searched. In September 1647 Adams was accused of treason and committed to the Tower. He, however, was subsequently released, and was one of the deputies sent by the City to accompany Charles II from Breda. He was created a Baronet in 1660, and founded the Professorship of Arabic in Cambridge; cf. *Dict. National Biography* and authorities quoted there.

¹ As early as July 1642, that is before the outbreak of war, it had been resolved that 'in regard of ye present troubles and distractions in Church and Commonwealth, and the great fears and dangers, which are shortly likely to be within this City and Kingdom, if ye Lord in mercy prevent it not, the times are and will be more fit for fasting and humbling our soules before God, than for feasting and rejoicing.'

² Rep. + 132, pp. 17 b, 19 b.

³ *Ib.*, p. 25 b. In 1638-9 the allowance to the Wardens, which went towards their presents to the Mayor and Sheriff, had been increased from £10 to £24. Rep. + 131, p. 337 a. In 1640, a request on the part of divers of the Assistants that they too should have an allowance on the same occasions had been rejected, because it was thought undesirable to add to the charges of the House. Rep. + 132, p. 3 a. In 1642 only £8 had been given to the Wardens (*Renters' Accounts*, 1642-3, fo. 8); and now the allowances were stopped altogether, and were not renewed till 1645. Cf. *Renters' Accounts*, 1645-6, fo. 9.

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Although, when Adams was elected, the Court presented him with the usual present for beautifying his house, it was decided that inquiry should be made as to the procedure at the election of the preceding Lord Mayor, and to do accordingly, and no special festival was given.¹ Indeed, throughout the period from 1641 to the death of the King, no public election or election dinner was held, and though sometimes stewards' dinners on Lord Mayor's Day and on the 5th of November were ordered, it was generally with the proviso noticed above, that they should only be held if the Lord Mayor made his public processions on those days. Quarter-day and View-day dinners were usually held, but at these, and at the private dinner of the assistants on the Election Day, the fare was to be at a moderate cheer in respect of the times. In August 1645 it was decided to reduce the allowances made by the House towards dinners, in respect of the misery of the times and the great debts of the Company;² while in the November following it was ordered that there should in future be no 'seconde' (course) at any dinner, and only eight or nine dishes of meat, except when the Lord Mayor dined, when the usual allowance of £6 13s. 4d. for the 'Mayor's Messe' should be granted.³ This regulation was followed by another in 1647, which ordered that, unless the Court decided otherwise, no strangers should in future be invited to the dinners of the Assistants, 'for better order and freedom in business'; and that at the Stewards' dinners, to which all the Livery were invited, the Stewards should only be allowed to invite two guests apiece.⁴ The Yeomanry dinners were also usually dispensed with. The charges thus saved were generally devoted to the poor of the Company, and sometimes to the poor of London; but in November

¹ Cf. Bachelors' Accounts, + 178, fo. 113; Rep. + 132, p. 57 b. The Company attended in their two barges, but the expenses were under £19, being chiefly for ribbons for the bargemen. The other charges were for wine, cake, &c., £4 2s. 4d., and the sum of £8 for '120 chambers charged and shot' besides four barrels of the Company's powder! They also spent £6 13s. 4d. for 'the Mayor's Mess', when he was a guest at the Stewards' dinner. Cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1645-6, fo. 35; Renters' Accounts, 1645-6, fo. 10.

² Rep. + 132, p. 56 a. They had been raised in 1639, because of the increase in the fare and of prices. Rep. + 131, p. 336 b.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 61 b.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 80 b.

1643, the allowance of the Company was to go towards paying interest on the money they had taken up to meet their loan to the City,¹ and sometimes the charges of the Master Bachelors were placed to the credit of the Bachelors' Box.² The Company, however, generally held dinners on the thanksgiving days kept to commemorate Parliamentary victories. This does not necessarily prove that the sympathies of the Drapers were strongly on the side of Parliament, since to have refrained might have brought them into trouble.³

Reticence of the Drapers during the period between the close of the first Civil War and the death of the King. May 1646–Jan. 30, 1649.

On the conclusion of the first Civil War, London, as well as the rest of England, was much divided as to the proper course to pursue.⁴ No sooner had the Scotch handed over the King to Parliament, on January 1647, than that Assembly, then consisting almost exclusively of Presbyterians, made attempts to come to terms with Charles and to rid themselves of the army. On March 10 a day of humiliation was held, when Divine Protection was implored against heresy and schism, in other words against the Independents. In the preceding autumn Sir John Gayer, a Fishmonger of Royalist sympathies, had been elected Lord Mayor, and various petitions were now (July 1647) addressed to the Houses by apprentices and 'divers others well affected citizens'.⁵ The agitation ended in a riot, the impeachment of Sir John Gayer and of Thomas Cullum the Draper Sheriff, and

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 34 a.

² *Ib.*, p. 300 b.

³ Thus they gave a dinner on the thanksgiving days held for Marston Moor and Naseby, when the dinners cost £6 10s. and £18 3s. 11d. Cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1643–4, fo. 4; Renters' Accounts, 1645–6, fos. 11, 12. For the like conduct on part of the Merchant Taylors see Clode, London during the Civil War.

⁴ Charles I surrendered to the Scotch, May 5, 1646. On January 30, 1647, the Scotch handed him over to Parliament. On June 4 he was seized at Holmby House by the Army.

⁵ One petition was presented by apprentices asking for the King's restoration. Two others, one from 'divers well affected' citizens, and one from 'divers young men apprentices', protested against an ordinance which had been passed to substitute a militia selected by the army for the old militia, and in consequence of this the ordinance was withdrawn. Clode, London during the Rebellion, p. 34. There is a good account in the Fairfax Correspondence, ed. 1849, vol. i, pp. 379 ff. Cf. also Rushworth, ed. 1721, Pt. IV, vol. i, pp. 614, 616, 618; State Trials, ed. 1809, p. 959.

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the election to the Mayoralty, for the remaining days of September 1647 and for the next year, of Alderman Warner, a man of more popular sympathies. It is curiously significant that the only reference to this period is found in the following entry in the Renter's Account, 'spent upon an humiliation day at the three Tonns as per bill 7s. 8d.'¹ Either the Company was too much divided, or the Court too prudent to raise contentious matters at the Meetings.

When, however the second Civil War had broken out, the apprehensions of the Drapers as to what might happen is expressed in the resolution of May that the Summer Quarter-day Dinner should be put off 'in respect of the fears of what may happen to the state', and in the order of July, that there should be no ringing of bells on election day, nor music, nor open shewe of the Company in the streets.²

Cromwell's victory at Preston in August finally ruined the Royalist cause, but no notice is taken of it with exception of a brief entry of a sum of 13s. 6d. 'paid to officers in going to Paul's a thanksgiving',³ nor of the struggle, which shortly ensued between the Parliament and the army, ending in the march of the troops

The second
Civil War.

¹ Renters' Accounts, 1646-7, fo. 7.

² Rep. + 132, pp. 84 a, 85 a. We learn that on Coronation Day, March 27, 1648, more bonfires were lit in the City than at any time since the return of Charles from Spain after the failure of the Spanish marriage in 1623, and that those passing through the City were forced to drink the King's health, while on April 9 and 10 there were serious riots, accompanied by the cry 'Now for King Charles'. On June 1 the City asked for a personal treaty with the King, and on July 29 sent a petition to the Houses asking for an immediate cessation of arms. On the other hand, a thanksgiving service for the victories vouchsafed to the Parliament was held at St. Paul's on July 27, and a savage sermon preached against 'Malignants'. At this service the Livery of the Drapers attended, and spent over £10 in refreshment at the Three Tuns. Gardiner, *Hist. of Civil War*, ed. 1893, vol. iv, pp. 94, 97, 143, 173; Clode, *London during the Rebellion*, p. 37; Renters' Accounts, 1648-9, fo. 11.

³ Renters' Accounts, 1648-9, fo. 12. The following entry certainly shows that there were some on the Court who sympathized with the Royalist revolt at Colchester: 'Paid to Richard Minors the Company's porter towards great charges in releasing and relieving his son Capt. Minors out of Heref. Castell, taken by the Lord Fairfax in Colchester, to accomodate him upon his voidage to the East Indies £10.' Wardens' Accounts, 1648-9, fo. 49.

on London and Pride's Purge, December 6. This act of high-handedness on the part of the army at last aroused the supporters of Parliament, and even of the King, in the City. In September 1648 two humiliation services, sure signs of a revival of the Presbyterian party, were held at St. Paul's on September 12 and 13, at which the Company was represented; and on the 29th, Abraham Reynardson, a Merchant Taylor of Royalist sympathies, was elected Lord Mayor. A struggle followed. The Rump, now completely in the hands of the army, passed an ordinance declaring any one who had subscribed to an engagement for a personal treaty with the King incapable of either voting or being elected to the Common Council, December 20. The Lord Mayor answered this order by refusing to allow any Councillors to take their seats unless they took the oath of allegiance. The army, however, was determined to have its way. The Lord Mayor was instructed to postpone the taking the oaths of allegiance till further orders; all who had taken up arms or assisted the King were enjoined to leave the City, and forbidden to return within a month on pain of being treated as prisoners of war; the chains were ordered to be removed from the streets, so that the soldiers and cavalry might the more easily sweep the streets in the event of a riot; and a violent petition to the Houses demanding justice against the capital contrivers of, and actors in, the late wars against the Parliament was sent by the approval of this purged Common Council. Nevertheless the Mayor stood firm. He refused to have the petition considered, and after a stormy scene, which lasted from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., he left the chair, accompanied by two Aldermen. The petition was then put and confirmed.¹

We may no doubt detect a fear of the army in the resolution of

¹ Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii, pp. 297 ff. The names of the two Aldermen are not known; but among the six Common Councillors who were subsequently degraded we find Thomas Adams, the Draper. No Draper sat on the High Court of Justice which tried the King. At a Special Court of Aldermen held on April 2, 1649, when, in obedience to an order of the House, Abraham Reynardson was deposed from the Mayoralty, Thomas Cullum and Christopher Pack, both Drapers, were present. Clode, *London during the Rebellion*, vol. ii, pp. 43 ff.

January 1649, that General Fairfax should be applied to for a warrant that no soldiers should be allowed to enter the Hall as they had 'in other like places'¹; and possibly the warrant was obtained because Christopher Pack, a strong supporter of Cromwell, was Master at this date. But this is the last allusion to the tragic days which ended in the trial of the King and his execution on January 30. And of these days again the Drapers' books only record the money spent on the Humiliation days,² although we know that one prominent member of the Company, Thomas Adams, was on the side of Reynardson, the Royalist Lord Mayor, and was subsequently degraded with him; and that two more members, Thomas Cullum and Christopher Pack, were of the adverse party. A careful reader might, however, guess that the Monarchy had fallen from the omission of the King's name in the heading of the next meeting of the Court in March, which runs: 'Quarto die Aprilis anno Dom: millimo sexcentesimo quadregesimo nono.'³

¹ Renters' Accounts, 1648-9, fos. 11, 12; Rep. + 132, p. 89a. The Wardens were authorized to give allowances to those persons by whose means the warrant was obtained, 'having respect to the worth of the parties and the honour of the Company', and £20 was accordingly given to Ed. Gravenor, Master General to Fairfax, as a gratuity for granting a protection to the Company against the quartering of the said soldiers in their Common Hall. Wardens' Accounts, 1648-9, fo. 49. Cf. Clode, *London during the Rebellion*, p. 41, for similar conduct on the part of other Companies. When Fairfax marched on London in the previous November he declared his intention of billeting his soldiers, not in private, but in great and void houses; very likely to avoid any fraternizing of the soldiers with the citizens, although he offered to refrain from this, if the City would pay a sum of £40,000 out of the arrears of the assessments. From June 4, 1648, to January 15, 1649, there is a continued expenditure on 'souldiers', generally four, night and day. These were no doubt to guard the Hall.

² Renters' Accounts, 1648-9, fos. 11, 12: 'Spent on an Humiliation Day 12th Sept. 12s. 2d. Paid to officers upon an Humiliation day at St. Pauls.'

³ Rep. + 132, p. 89a. In October 1649, Thomas Foote, the Lord Mayor elect, issued a precept to the Ironmongers, reminding them of the order of Parliament to remove the arms of the late King from the things they were to use in attending him to Westminister. Nicholl, *Ironmongers*, p. 285. This precept was probably issued to all the Companies, although it is not found in the Drapers' archives.



CHAPTER IV

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE COMPANY DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES I



(1)

WHEN we turn to the internal history of the Company during the reign of Charles I, our difficulty no longer arises from the scantiness of our information, but in selecting the items of importance from the mass of detail which crowds the Repertory and the Accounts. At first sight one is astonished to find the Company so deeply engaged in trivial business affairs at such a crisis of the history of the

Numerous notices with regard to the internal affairs of the Company.

City and the country.² Yet, as we are constantly reminded, the times were those of stress, and brought with them many troubles and anxieties.

Owing to the dislocation of all business, which resulted from the repeated visitations of the Plague, the agitation which preceded the outbreak of war and still more from the war itself, many who had been rich became impoverished, while those who

General dislocation of business and increase of poverty.

¹ The initial letter comes from Rep. + 133, p. 116 b.

² For instance, in June 1642, when civil war seemed inevitable, the Court was discussing whether water should be brought from the New River to their almshouses, and whether they should make a new passage into the garden. Rep. + 132, p. 18 a.

were poor were reduced to great extremities. Under these circumstances there was a general disinclination to undertake the responsibilities of office; and many were unable to pay their debts.

Unwilling-
ness to serve
as Master,
Warden, and
Master
Bachelor.

We have already drawn attention to the numerous instances of refusal to serve on the part of those who had been elected Sheriffs. In some cases this is to be attributed to the deliberate policy of the municipal authorities, who chose those whom they believed would rather pay their fine to the City than undertake the irksome responsibility, in order that their fines might go to meet the loans and gifts made to the King and Parliament. This, however, would not apply to the Masters and Wardens of the Company, and yet no less than fifteen persons declined the office of Warden during the reign of Charles I. Sometimes illness or infirmity, sometimes absence from the City, sometimes important employment elsewhere was the pretext. The usual fine for this offence was £20. In some cases a smaller fine was imposed, and in a few instances, where there was a reasonable excuse, it was wholly remitted.¹

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 194 b, 199 b, 251 a, 262 b, 263 b, 264 b, 276 a, 299 b, 312 b; Rep. + 132, pp. 45 b, 46 b, 47 a, 80 a. In the case of Simon Adams, who in 1632 could not be found, his son-in-law refused to give the requisite information, lest it might be to his father-in-law's prejudice. In 1644 J. Walker pleaded that he was serving on the Committee for the county of Essex for the Parliament, and was not able to travel owing to sickness. Robert Saythe, who was chosen in his place, gave as an excuse that he was Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace in the same county. Rep. + 131, pp. 264 b, 265 a. In 1644 Richard Davis was excused because he had been appointed Comptroller of the Customs at the Port of Dover. In all these cases the fine was remitted. But in 1636 George Thorogood paid his fine to be excused being one of the younger Wardens. In 1638, however, his fine was remitted because he had served in 1637-8. In 1646 E. Ashe paid his fine, although he had been elected a Member of Parliament. Rep. + 131, pp. 305 b, 323 b; Rep. + 132, pp. 67 b. Besides these Wm. Geere, who was chosen in 1642, did not serve because he was 'in parts beyond the sea'. He was elected youngest Warden in the following year. Walter Coventry, who was chosen in 1643, only attended one meeting of the Court, and was represented by a deputy for the rest of the year, probably because he was ill. Rep. + 132, pp. 24 b, 25 a, 31 b, 35 a, 44 b, 46 a.

The general rules with regard to the election of Wardens were as follows:—

(a) The fourth Warden and the Renter Warden or third Warden were elected from persons who had never held the office of Warden.

(b) Any person elected Sheriff or Alderman or who 'fined' rather than accept office was forthwith called to the Court. Such persons were also eligible for the post of junior Warden, but were, if they wished, excused holding this office without

But if any person not specially excused did not pay his fine, he would at the request of the Court be apprehended by the Sergeant-at-arms. In 1639 some of those who had served as junior Warden declared that, owing to the heavy expense incurred for the dinners, the fare of which had of late increased, and which exceeded that of almost any Company, persons were deterred from entering the Fraternity, and chose the Mercers, the Goldsmiths, the Fishmongers, the Salters, or even one of the inferior Companies; whereby not only did the Company lose many who would have been useful and profitable members, but that, owing to these heavy charges in their life-time, the said Wardens were unable to leave money for the use of poor members. It was therefore decided to raise the allowances for the dinners.¹

That there are only three instances of Masters declining to serve² during the reign may be explained by the fact that they had not, like the Wardens, to bear the charges for dinners,³ and that the office generally entailed less labour. Of refusal on the part of Yeomen to serve as Wardens of the Bachelors I have only noticed two cases, that of Mr. Knevitt in 1630 and Mr. Swynnocke in 1633⁴. But, in December 1645, the Wardens of the Bachelors

paying a fine. Aldermen had precedence in the Court. For changes on these points cf. *infra*, p. 316.

(c) The second Warden was elected from those who had held the position of one of the two youngest Wardens.

(d) The Master or Upper Warden from those who had held the post of second Warden.

(e) No person was elected to the office of Warden two years running.

These rules were occasionally departed from under special circumstances. Cf. Rep. + 131, p. 239 a; Rep. + 132, p. 67 b.

In 1645 it was ordered that the election of the Wardens and the Master should be by ballot, 'whereby the choice might be with more freedom and less exceptions'. Rep. + 132, p. 80 b.

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 336 a b. This order was, however, revoked in August 1645, when it was decided that the dinner should be moderate 'in respect of the great misery of the times and the greates debts the Company is engaged to pay'. Rep. + 132, pp. 56 a, 61 b.

² In 1638 John Withers, and in 1647 G. Thorogood and Walter Rogers. Rep. + 131, p. 322 b; Rep. + 132, p. 79 b.

³ It was, however, the custom for the Master to present a buck for the election dinner. Cf. Rep. + 131, p. 323 a.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 242 a; Letters + 183, fo. 146. Swynnocke was fined

for the year prayed to be dispensed from paying their fines in lieu of the Bachelors' dinner to the support of the poor, since 'times are hard, trade decayed, and monies hard to be come by'; or at least be spared until they should be called to the Livery.¹ The petition was, however, resented by the Court of Assistants. They resolved that those Wardens of the Bachelors who refused to pay the said fines, or charges, should not be called to the Livery, and even raised the question whether, since the said Wardens had been so remiss of late in collection of quarterage, and generally had been of such small service to the Company, it would not be well to cease having any Wardens of the Bachelors at all.²

Legacy
money not
lent out, or
not easily
recovered.

One of the most significant indications of the general slackness of business and general insecurity is to be found in the large amount of legacy money left to be lent out to young Drapers on starting life, for which either there was no demand, or for the repayment of which the Company could not find adequate security. This is especially noticeable after the year 1640. In 1643 £2,800, and in the last year of the reign as much as £3,782 16s. 6d., had found no borrowers.³ Moreover, the Company found great difficulty in recovering the money which was lent out. In December 1632 the Court, being informed that as much as £133 15s. of legacy money was in danger of being lost owing to the death or poverty of five sureties, it was decided that part of Mr. Sandbrooke's legacy money should be applied to meet the deficit, and that the balance should be paid by the Renter out of the Company's revenue.⁴ Besides this there were as many as nine instances of those who had enjoyed the loans and six sureties⁵ and were defaulters during the reign.⁶ Usually the sureties were

£13 6s.: Wardens' Accounts, 1633-4, fo. 40. His reason was probably absence, as he is called 'of Maidstone'.

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 60 a.

² *Ib.*, pp. 62 a, 64 a.

³ In 1624-5 the amount not lent out was only £225; and in 1634-5 £211 7s. 10d. Cf. Abstracts of Wardens' Accounts 1624-5, 1634-5, 1643-4, 1647-8, Appendices XVI A, XVII, XXI, XXIII c.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 293 b.

⁵ In 1635-6 the debt of £113 18s. owing by four persons was declared to be 'desperate'. Wardens' Accounts, 1635-6, fo. 24.

⁶ The references are too numerous to give. But two instances are worth

only asked for repayment of the principal without the interest due.¹ In a few cases a portion only of the principal was recovered, and that often only after a legal process. To stop this abuse the Wardens were enjoined in the year 1645 to be more careful in the future as to the sufficiency of those who became sureties,² and in this way the evil appears to have been abated.³ The same difficulty was found with regard to loans made to the Wardens of the Bachelors' Box.⁴ We are therefore not surprised to find serious arrears both of rents and fines, whether they were due by members of the Company or by others. It was not, indeed, till the year 1642 that this difficulty became a serious one, but from that date till the end of the reign there are numerous instances.⁵ In some cases the petition of the

Rents and
Fines in
arrears.

special notice. In 1637 the Court had great difficulty in recovering £60 from John Clarke, the creditor of Richard Carrier, one of the Wardens of the Yeomanry, who had died without repaying a loan of Yeomanry money. Eventually it was recovered, and £10 was paid to Carrier's widow. Rep. + 131, pp. 311 b, 317 a. In 1637 Charles Leaminge procured a person to impersonate one of his sureties for a loan of legacy money. He was prosecuted, and the Renter ordered to be more careful in the future that no impersonation took place. Rep. + 131, p. 317 b.

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 259 b, 312 b; Rep. + 132, pp. 5 b, 23 a b, 28 b, 48 a, 52 a, 63 a. In 1643 A. W. Baker, who owed £500, asks for respite 'in regard that little monies are now to be come by', and undertakes to repay the debt with interest, even if divers silks which he has deposited with the Company for security of the debt be seized or plundered. Rep. + 132, p. 26 b.

² Rep. + 132, p. 56 b.

³ In 1647-8, however, the following legacy money was still owed: £2 by the sureties of Richard Longe, deceased. £18 15s. by Ed. Salisbury. £40 because the borrower, A. Throgmorton, is poor, and all his sureties are dead except a Mr. Potter, who has protected himself against a judgement in the Sheriff's Court on the ground that 'he is an officer to some Committee of Parliament'. And the following amounts had been remitted or lost: £5 in respect of the party's poverty. £25 lost because both borrower and sureties were dead. Wardens' Accounts 1647-8, fos. 1, 2, 6, 14.

⁴ Rep. + 132, p. 49 b.

⁵ The references are too numerous to give. Suffice it to say that we have met with at least twelve fines amounting to over £486, and nine rents amounting to over £222, which were in arrear at various dates during the reign. In the last year, fines to the amount of £69 4s. 2d. were long overdue, as well as £796 due for that year, and rents to the amount of £187 15s. which were old arrears. See Renters' and Wardens' Accounts, 1647-8, in the Appendix XXIII A, B. These

parties to be given more time, or to have their rent or fine reduced, on account of the evil times, was granted;¹ in others the defaulters were proceeded against, or their leases were forfeited; the Renter being given powers of attorney for the purpose.² In 1645 the Renter is ordered to be more careful in collecting rents, and to deliver the names of those in arrears speedily, and, because he is old, he is given a subordinate to help him.³ Even the tenant of the Great House of Lothbury, Mistress Elizabeth de la Fontaine, asked for delay in accepting an offer to renew her lease on higher terms. She pleaded the distractions of the times and her being separated from her son, and finally assigned her lease to Mr. Lowther, a Draper, to whom eventually the lease was renewed on the old terms;⁴ while the tenant of the Herber, Sir Edward Bromfield, became a bankrupt.⁵ Inasmuch also as tenants were continually under-letting, or assigning their leases without leave, and quarrelling concerning lights, watercourses and the like, resolutions were passed that for the future clauses should be inserted in every lease forbidding, on pain of a fine, any alienation or under-letting; and that in cases of disputes the parties should abide by the decision of the Wardens for the time being.⁶

Charity.

The most convincing proof of the general distress during the reign is, however, to be found in the great increase in the charities

sums must be multiplied at least six times to realize what this would mean to-day. Cf. the continued complaints against the Renters for allowing rents to fall into arrear, e. g. Rep. + 131, pp. 220 a, 229 b, 279 b; Rep. + 132, pp. 62 b, 63 a.

¹ In 1640 Thomas Shalcrosse had his lease extended on promise of a fat buck yearly for the election dinner. Rep. + 131, p. 338 b. In 1645 a Freeman of the Company got his rent reduced in memory of his kinsman, R. Buck, a benefactor and late Master of the Company. Rep. + 132, p. 55 a. For Buck's will cf. Rep. + 436.

² Rep. + 132, p. 24 a.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 58 b, 59 a b, 62 a.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 28 a, 51 b.

⁵ Sir Edward Bromfield, a member of the Fishmongers' Company, had been Mayor 1636-7, and was Governor of the Irish Society 1637-8. The lease had been assigned to him by Sir E. Barkham, and he was succeeded as tenant by Alderman Chambers, the famous merchant who had opposed the Ship Money levy. Rep. + 131, p. 300 b; Rep. + 132, p. 55 b.

⁶ Rep. + 131, p. 238 a; Rep. + 132, p. 83 b.

dispensed by the Company. Of these charities quite an exceptional number were granted, either to persons who had once been of good estate, or to their widows, children, or kinsmen. Besides Edward Leaminge and Ferdinando Clutterbuck,¹ who had been receiving assistance during the reign of James I, five more brethren² who had once been prosperous, and two relations of such persons, received charity.³

¹ Edward Leaminge had been granted a pension of £20, and also an annuity of £10 for himself and his wife for twenty-seven years, with remainder to be disposed of according to his will. In 1628 his widow was given an additional sum of £2 down and £8 a year, in respect of her many children. On her death, which apparently occurred in 1633, his annuity, which had eleven years to run, was distributed according to his will, and £20 was also given to his children on condition 'that they never be again suitors to the Court'. The Court however relented, for in 1634 his two daughters were given £2 10s. a year, and in 1635 Thomas, his son, received a pension of £5. Rep. + 131, pp. 195 a, 218 b, 270 a b, 271 b, 291 b, 298 a. These Leaminges were troublesome people; cf. the case of Charles Leaminge, who got a person to impersonate a surety, *supra*, p. 174, note 6. Clutterbuck was holding a pension of £10 in 1626. In 1631 he received a further gratuity of £1. In 1632 his daughter Mary Lee, then a widow, was given £6 13s. 4d. to apprentice her son, and the same amount in 1634 to help her to set up as a chaundler. Rep. + 131, pp. 199 a, 249 a, 256 b, 293 b.

² 1629. £6 13s. 4d. to Richard Langeley, once Bridge Master, son of a member of the Court. He had been in Virginia. Rep. + 131, p. 228; + 259, p. 78.

1631. Pension of £8 to Thomas Tuesley (Teusley), a Freeman, and once Mayor of Guildford. Rep. + 131, p. 245 a; + 279, p. 200.

1634. £20 to be paid quarterly to Richard Trimmell, a woollen draper, who had been twice Warden, 1630-1, 1632-3. In 1635 he was appointed Renter. Rep. + 131, pp. 291 a, 295 b.

1640. House let at nominal rent to Philip Careles, a woollen draper, once with Richard Trimmell; in the Livery. Rep. + 132, p. 1 a; Quartermage Book + 259, p. 28; Livery List + 301, fo. 22.

1631. £12 to Edward Snowden, a Freeman, an upholsterer, who in his better state had borne charges for the Company, to pay for transportation of his son to the Island of St. Christopher. Rep. + 131, p. 246 b; Rep. + 259, p. 120.

³ Philip Quarles, grandson of John Quarles, sometime one of the Assistants, then in the debtors' prison. John Quarles, the grandfather, was an Assistant in 1602. He was the son of John Quarles the Benefactor, and twice Master, 1570-1, 1575-6. Jane Coventry, widow of a liveryman, was given £4 for placing of her daughter in service, and the promise of the next vacancy in Beech Lane Almshouse, 'in regard that she is descended of citizens of worth, and the widow of one in the clothing, of honest, religious, painful life, and of

In 1635 £1 was granted to Thomas Jarves, a Freeman of the Company, towards supplying his wants on going to Virginia.¹

The Company were also generous to their servants. The widow of Humphrey Downes, for many years their Renter, received £5 towards his burial in 1633. In 1626 the Beadle, J. Eaton, received £3 'in regard to his present sickness and the late visitation'. In 1636 £5 was given to the son of Richard Barnard, the next Beadle, who was shut up by reason of the Plague; and in 1638 his widow got a pension of £6.² In 1636 Richard Minors, the porter and under-Beadle, was granted £10 towards the apparelling and setting forth of his daughter on her marriage, and although Minors' petition for an increase of his salary in 1643, on the ground of the important duties he had to perform, was by the Wardens adjudged to be 'frivolous', yet 'in respect of his charge of children, and for his better encouragement of painstaking hereafter, and utterly to take out of his mind the conceit or questioning of the foresaid things claimed as any way belonging unto him', his salary and allowances were raised from £7 to £10; while in the following year a further gratuity of £10 was given to his son, who was going to India in the service of the East India Company.³ In 1631 the Butler, R. Trott, was lent £30 wherewith to pay his debts, and in 1646 his widow was given a gratuity of £5.⁴

Further details would be wearisome. Suffice it to say that, in addition to the charities which were the result of benefactions, the Company made the following contributions out of their corporate revenue: The usual £20, distributed every year at

such humble mind as she desireth to be admitted' to an almshouse. Rep. + 131, p. 245 b; Rep. + 132, pp. 55 a, 71 a.

¹ Wardens' Accounts, 1634-5, fo. 63.

² Rep. + 131, pp. 200 b, 255 a, 279 b, 304 a, 320 a.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 304 a; Rep. + 132, pp. 30 b, 50 a. The office of under-Beadle, or Porter, had only been established in 1615 (Rep. + 131, pp. 67 a, 100 b); and the Wardens evidently thought that Minors exaggerated his importance. He certainly was a good beggar, for in 1647-8 the Company gave yet another gratuity of £10 to the same or another son to relieve him from prison. Minors' son had joined the Royalist revolt at Colchester, and was anxious to go to the East Indies. Wardens' Accounts, 1647-8, fo. 49.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 255 a; Rep. + 132, p. 66 b.

Easter and at Christmas, was increased on exceptional occasions;¹ at least eight poor brethren and one poor sister were personally relieved; seven brethren and four sisters were given money wherewith to meet the charge of apprenticing their sons, or starting their daughters in service; the son of one had his fee on entry by redemption returned, and seven other children of Freemen received gratuities.²

The reasons given for some of these charities are quaintly expressed. Benedict Webbe now in prison, 'who setteth his own demerit for and touching the clothing of this kingdom, making of rape oil and perpetuanoes', needs money for recovering his right by law.³ The son of Richard Champion is given a suit of clothes, but not money, it being questionable whether he would not wastefully spend the money! A widow seeks help to make a stock to keep two infirm children on work in making buttons. A daughter of a Draper deceased, having a kind of leprous disease, and the physicians saying the only hope of cure is 'by the Bathe', she 'craves help for the journey to the Bath'. A poor schoolmaster, brother of the Company, receives £5 in respect of his poverty in not keeping school. On the petition of Jacob Smith, £10 is to be given to the merchant who shall transport him and his son to Virginia, when they are shipped! If the son be not shipped, then only £6 is to be paid and the remainder spent on apprenticing the son. The pension of one

¹ Thus at Christmas 1627, £25 was distributed 'in regard to the hardness of the times'; at Christmas 1630, £60 was paid by the Stewards in lieu of their charges for dinners forborne, and in 1636 and 1642 the money paid by the Wardens for the same reason was added. At Easter 1633 the balance of Wm. Terry's legacy money, and at Easter 1646 the fines received from the Master Bachelors in lieu of their charges, or imposed for not having collected the quarterage, or other offences, were appropriated to the same purpose. Rep. + 131, pp. 212 b, 242 b, 306 b, 269 b; Rep. + 132, pp. 25 b, 63 b. These instances by no means exhaust the list.

² Some of these apprenticeship fees were paid out of a legacy of £50 left by Lady Garway. Others were found by the Company. Rep. + 132, pp. 11 b, 13 a b.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 301 a. 'Perpetuano' is a durable wool fabric, something like serge. Why the same man should be making two such very different things, I cannot say. It should be noted that this man was not a member of the Company, as we might expect.

woman is stopped because she has married a girdler, who is no longer a brother and because she is no longer in want.

Lastly we find the Company acting as an Insurance Society to its members, probably on somewhat better terms than would at that time have been offered by an ordinary Insurance Company. Thus in 1645 they grant an annuity of £8 a year to a Freeman of the Company, S. Smallwood, on his payment of £50, he being 76 years of age, and pleading that if he lost the £50 in any commercial venture he would have nothing to live on.¹ In February 1646 another annuity is given to a 'citizen of worth', who did not want his name known, on a larger scale. On his paying £1,250 the Court agrees to give him 8 per cent. for the rest of his life, and after his decease to appropriate 4 per cent. to the poor of the Company;² while Sarah Cullimore, a sister of the Company and daughter of G. Cullimore, receives £4 a year on her paying £20 down, she, owing to her infirmity, not being able to take that pains and course for her living as she otherwise would have done.³

The charity given to those who were not members was naturally much less. In times of the Plague or of great general distress the Court distributed doles to the parishes most visited, and now and then gave gratuities to particular persons. Thus in 1641, £6 13s. 4d. was granted towards the relief of John Neesinge, sometime burgess and councillor of Magdeburg, 'after his long suffering, misery and sickness, which befell him in his hard usage upon the late lamentable bloody and cruel massacre' at that town.⁴ As had been the case under James I, assistance was also

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 245 a, 253 a, 290 a, 306 a; Rep. + 132, pp. 45 a, 58 a, 79 a. Smallwood apparently died before receiving any annuity, as there is no reference to the payment of this annuity in later Wardens' Accounts.

² Rep. + 132, pp. 55 a b, 64 b, 65 b. This person, we learn from Wardens' Accounts 1647-8, fo. 45, was John Smith, who had been Master in 1644-5. He died in 1655. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 71.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 55 a. She was probably the daughter of G. Cullimore, who was only a Freeman, and granddaughter of George Cullimore, a great merchant and twice Warden of the Company, 1590-1, 1598-9. Cf. vol. ii, pp. 180, 189 of this work.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 282 a. The Protestant town of Magdeburg was stormed and sacked by Tilly in May 1631, during the Thirty Years War.

given to those who suffered from the Turkish privateers. The wives of eleven persons received moneys towards the ransom of their husbands, who were 'in most miserable bondage and captivité under the Turke', and Wm. Steed, a Freeman of the Company, £5 on behalf of his son, a captive in Argeir¹ (Algiers).

From the table given below² it will be seen that there was, with the exception of the amount distributed by the Company among outsiders, a notable increase in the expenditure on charity between the first year of the reign and the year 1635-6, an increase which was, however, mainly due to private benefactions. Although, as we should expect, there is a marked decrease in the number of

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 297 a, 298 a. In some of these cases the Court, however, insisted on security being given that the money should be repaid if the captives died before they were ransomed. By the Turks are probably meant the Algerine pirates, who were a constant menace to traders of the day. The Council of Trinity House reported in 1617 that above 300 English and Scotch ships had been taken by Turkish pirates. Hist. MSS. Commission, 8th Report, 1881, p. 235.

	Poor of Company.			Poor not of Company.								
	By Will.			Gift of Co.			By Will.			Gift of Co.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1624-5												
Wardens' Accts.	122	6	8	103	0	10	30	16	8	90	0	0
Renters' Accts.	40	8	0	66	11	5	234	18	4			
Total	162	14	8	169	12	3	265	15	0	90	0	0
1635-6												
Wardens' Accts.	105	10	0	93	5	0	150	6	8	55	18	4
Renters' Accts.	97	14	8	126	10	0	305	15	3	2	10	0
Total	203	4	8	219	15	0	456	1	11	58	8	4
1647-8												
Wardens' Accts.	107	6	8	99	3	2	71	3	4	18	0	0
Renters' Accts.	83	18	0	121	0	2	296	10	4	4	16	8
Total	191	4	8	220	3	4	367	13	8	22	16	8

In 1646-7 a novel expedient for raising money for the poor was tried. The leaseholders of the Company were asked to put money in a box. The appeal was not very successful. It produced £1 10s. Wardens' Accounts, 1646-7, fo. 34.

bequests after 1640,¹ the slight decrease in the item in the year 1647-8 was mainly due to the fact that in that year part of Rainey's charity was then appropriated to a lecturer at St. Michael's,² and this in spite of the bequest of John Kendrick in 1637 of a sum which brought in £12 10s. a year. Meanwhile the charity dispensed by the Company among its members, after rising some £50 between 1624-5 and 1635-6, remained nearly stationary, while the amount granted to outsiders steadily declined from £90 to £22 16s. 8d. We are probably correct in attributing this decline to the hardness of the times and the difficulty of finding money for general charity in addition to the claims of members.

The Alms-
men and
Women.

The almsmen and women appear to have given less trouble than they had in previous reigns. The only offences mentioned were those of unquietness on the part of the women, and of marrying without consent. Of the latter breach of rules, four men and two women were guilty. The usual penalty was dismissal from the house. In 1645 all pensioners were ordered to wear badges with the Company's Arms on their breasts, on pain of dismissal for disobedience.³ Daily prayers were read at least in

¹ The total amount of charitable Bequests during the reign were

A. Money	£4060
B. Lands producing rents of about	£96
C. An annuity of	£6 13 4
D. Loans to young men, the interest to be spent in charity	£400 0 00

Of these bequests only three came into operation after 1640. The decrease in the amount of money left to be lent out to young Freemen of the Company is noticeable. In the reign of James I no less than £1,880 was so left. Cf. Appendix, Benefactions XLVII.

² Rainey had left provision in his will that, if there was no lecture at St. Michael's, part of his bequest should be distributed among poor members of the Company. In 1635-6 no lecturer was appointed, because the Bishop of London had refused to accept him; in 1647-8 the lecturer had been appointed.

³ Rep. + 131, pp. 201 b, 301 a; Rep. + 132, pp. 23 b, 54 b, 58 b. By a resolution of 1629 the Wardens were charged with the duty of visiting the Almshouses every three months, and of deducting from the pensions of the inmates the amount of any fines they had incurred. Rep. + 131, p. 230 a. In 1645 they were specially instructed to superintend the administration of all charities. Rep. + 132, p. 58 b.

Milborne's Almhouses. The duty apparently was done by a poor brother. In 1632 one Arthur Stiles, who 'ran up and down on the Company's business', was the reader, receiving a fee of 40s. a year. In 1647 he petitioned for admission into the Almhouse, but was not successful.¹

That during the earlier years of Charles I the religious parties of the day were represented in the Company is shown by the different forms of charity dispensed from both its corporate revenues and by individual members. Thus on the one hand grants are made for the building and restoration of Churches, a work in which Laud, the leader of the High Church party, had much at heart.² Not only did the Company contribute £20 in 1629 to the building or re-building of the steeple of their Parish Church, St. Peter le Poor,³ but in 1632 they responded to the request of the Bishop of London by promising £400, in yearly instalments of £40, towards the restoration of St. Paul's, 'if the work be continued to the satisfaction of the Court',⁴ and gave help towards the repair of six other Churches.⁵ In 1627 they turned a room in their almshouses at Tower Hill into a chapel, and made provision for the reading of prayers twice a day by

The Com-
pany' not
confined
to one
religious
party.

Subscrip-
tionstowards
building and
repairing of
Churches,
1629-36.

¹ Rep. + 131, 261 a; Rep. + 132, p. 81 a; Wardens' Accounts, 1632-3, fos. 54, 61.

² Laud devoted the most strenuous efforts to improve the condition of the churches both externally and internally. Many had of late fallen into decay, owing partly at least to the Puritan disregard, and even dislike, to all such things as superstitions.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 320 b.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 258 a. Other Companies did the same, e. g. the Ironmongers; cf. Nicholl, *Ironmongers*, p. 237. Mr. Nicholl reminds us that the nave of St. Paul's was at that time the resort of Lords, gentry, 'and men of all professions not merely mechanic', who discoursed, some of business and others of news.

⁵ 1630 £50 towards rebuilding of St. Catherine Creechurch.

£10 towards repairing church of St. George in Southwark. Rep. + 131, p. 237 a.

1633. £20 towards new steeple for St. Peter, Cornhill, it being considered 'a work of piety'. *Ib.*, p. 275 b.

1634. £5 towards repairing church of St. Mary Matfellow in Whitechapel. *Ib.*, p. 284 b.

£25 towards rebuilding church of St. Alban's Wood Street. *Ib.*, p. 293 a.

1636. 20 marks towards repairing church of St. Nicholas Acon. *Ib.*, p. 303 a.

Attendance
at Church
insisted
upon.

one of the pensioners.¹ It is, however, noticeable that all these subscriptions belong to the period before the calling of the Long Parliament. After that date the religious and political opposition to the Crown became identified, and the City was too deeply concerned in the greater issues of the time to think of the repair or building of churches. Evidently, however, the Company was no enemy to church-going, at all events before the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640. In 1637, on hearing that there was a poor attendance at the service provided for them by the will of John Kendrick at St. Christopher's at six in the morning, a special order was made that the Assistants and the Livery should hereafter attend 'in decent manner in their liveries' once before, or after, Lady Day and Michaelmas Day; while for their bodily refreshment cakes and wine were to be provided at the Hall after the services.²

Vicarage of
St. Michael's.

A more convincing proof, however, that the Company was not at that time strongly opposed to the High Church or Arminian party is seen in the appointment of Wm. Brough, a follower of Laud, to the Vicarage of St. Michael's in February 1625. There appears to have been some informality in the presentation, for in the following March he asked for a new presentation in respect 'there is some danger of ye Law being taken by ye Bishop of London',³ 'touchinge ye losse of his benefice if ye same be espied, before he shall have a new presentation'. This was accordingly done. In 1638 Brough was appointed Chaplain to the King and Canon of Windsor, and in December 1641 he asked to be allowed to surrender his living to a certain Mr. Jaggard, B.D. Apparently the negotiation fell through, for, in June 1646, we find the parishioners informing the Court that there are 'great hopes for ye outing of Doctor Brough from his benefice, and this the rather because the parish

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 203 b, 233 b, 240 a. The usual fee was £1 a year.

² *Ib.*, p. 306 b. Kendrick had left £33 a year for the service.

³ This was George Montaigne, who became Archbishop of York in 1628. The reason for the opposition of the Bishop was apparently not because he disapproved of Brough's opinions, for at this time Montaigne was a supporter of the Arminian party. He was, however, by all accounts a time-serving and self-seeking man. Cf. Gardiner, *History of England*, ed. 1884, vol. vi, p. 207.

by the order of the Committee of Parliament is to allow among his children a fifth part of ye profits of ye parsonage, whereby there will not be much left for the maintenance of another minister', and asking the Company to join them in petitioning for his removal. The Court however declined to intermeddle, and advised the parish to do what they thought fit, and as counsel should advise. He was apparently turned out of his living shortly after, and joined the King, who rewarded him with the Deanery of Gloucester in 1643. We hear little more of him till the Restoration, though his wife and children were turned out of doors by the Parliamentary Commission, and his wife is said to have died of grief. He was then restored to his deanery and apparently regained his living of St. Michael's, which he finally resigned in 1664.¹ But while thus showing sympathy with the Church party, the strong Protestant feeling shared by some of the assistants is well illustrated by the gratuities dispensed to distressed ministers. Thus no less than twelve ministers received gratuities ranging from £5 to £1 during the reign. Of these, one, William Freake, was a Freeman of the Company, six others were Englishmen, and five were foreign exiles.²

Relief given to ministers.

In 1638 they also grant £3 to the widow of 'that famous and reverend Divine Mr. William Perkins',³ and in 1634, £2 to the

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 191 a, 193 b; Rep. + 132, pp. 12 b, 14 a b, 66 a; A 32, fos. 18, 20; Dict. National Biography.

² English.	Mr. Freeman, a Freeman of the Company	£3	
	John Trebick whose house had been burnt	£5	
	Peter Hudfield, an ancient divine.	£2	
	John Alkis.	£1	
	George Blagbourne, blind.	£3	
	Mr. Salisbury—long sick.	£3	6 8
	Matthew Page, in a debtors prison.	£2	
Foreigners.	Bartholomew Sykertoe, a Bohemian.	£1	
	John Sictor, a Bohemian.	£2	
	Jasper Flavbennino, an exile.	£1	
	John de Luna, lecturer in Spanish at St. Bartholomew's Church, pension of	£5	
	Lucius Frezzan, D. D. an Italian	£2	

Rep. + 131, pp. 242 b, 243 b, 245 a, 306 a b, 336 a; Rep. + 132, pp. 1 b, 27 a.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 318 a. Perkins was a noted Puritan divine of Calvinistic
1603·3 B b

Endowment
of lecture-
ships.

son of the minister on their Irish estate, who had lost his legs and received wounds in his head at the isle of Rea, to pay for his passage to Ireland.¹ So again we find several instances of money left about this time to 'lecturers' or preachers.² These lecturers, or preachers, were appointed to preach in certain churches without having any cure of souls. They were in great favour with the Puritan party, who strove in this way to propagate their principles, and for this reason were much disliked by Laud. In 1630 he induced the King to issue instructions to the Bishops ordering them to ascertain how the lecturers 'behaved themselves in their sermons' and insisting that the lecturers should read divine service, properly vested, before their lecture.³ Rainey indeed, who in 1632 bequeathed money for the appointment of a preacher at Worsburgh and of a lecturer at St. Michael's, was evidently a good Churchman, and left special instructions that these rules should be complied with, and that the doctrines of the Church of England should be taught. Some difficulty, however, arose as to the appointment of the lecturer at St. Michael's.

The Lec-
turer at St.
Michael's,
Cornhill.

According to the will of John Rainey, in December 1633 the Bishop of London, Wm. Juxon, claimed the right of appointment, which he declared 'wholly rested in him', and suggested that, as he and the Company could not agree, they should follow the

views. His opponent was Arminius, the founder of the Arminian or Laudian party. Cf. Dict. National Biography.

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 292 a. The isle of Rhé. I presume this must have happened in Buckingham's disastrous expedition in 1627.

² Already in Elizabeth's reign William Parker had left £6 a year to found a lectureship at St. Antholins. Cf. vol. ii, p. 486. In 1613 a Society was formed, called 'The Collectors of St. Antholins', for the object of buying impropriations and advowsons with a view of presenting trusted persons to the livings and to endow lecturers: it was dissolved by Laud in 1633. Rushworth, ed. 1721, vol. ii, pp. 150 ff. I do not know whether there was any connexion between this Society and Parker's Lectureship. In 1593 Th. Russell had left 10s. to twenty unbeneficed preachers at St. Paul's Cross. These were discontinued in 1642 and not resumed till 1653. Cf. Renters' Accounts for these years. During the reign of James I and Charles I there were three more such endowments: 1622, Sutton, for a preacher at Bampton; 1632, Rainey, for a preacher at Worsburgh and lecturer at St. Michael's, Cornhill; 1649, Shalcross, for a preacher at Barton.

³ Rushworth, ed. 1721, vol. ii, p. 30.

terms of Rainey's will. This had provided that, if a lecturer were not appointed, the fee of £2 should be devoted to the relief of the children of Christ's Hospital and the poor of the Company.¹ The Court for the time complied. In 1641, however, at the request of the parishioners they proceeded to appoint a Mr. Price, who was forthwith elected a Freeman of the Company, the Bishop apparently giving way. In 1645, on another lecturer being nominated, he was instructed to omit the use of the Book of Common Prayer according to the Order of the Directory, he on his part undertaking to 'conceive fitting prayers' before the Sermon.² The justice of this order may be questioned. Rainey, who had died not earlier than February 1631, had specially provided in his will that the prayers should be those allowed by the Church of England, and that the lecturer should urge on his congregation the duty of monthly attendance at the Holy Sacrament. But the methods of the Commonwealth were as arbitrary as those of Charles himself.

The affairs of the College of Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich, which had been founded by William Lambard in the reign of Elizabeth, and of the two schools at Barton and Stratford at Bowe,³ are at this time of some interest. We are reminded that the lands belonging to the College were held of the Company as the Manor of Breuchley or Cryell, and that the lands had been leased in 1609 and in 1618 to Sir Multon Lambard, the son of the founder, who was to hold a Court Baron according to the founder's will. In 1637 the lease for twenty-one years was renewed, and the Manor granted to Thomas the son of Sir Multon, the rent thereof being increased by £5.⁴ Some alterations

Queen Elizabeth College, and Schools at Stratford at Bowe and at Barton.

¹ This in a codicil dated February 30, 1632; cf. +417, fo. 47. In the copies of the Will of February 25, 1632, given in +2, p. 12 a, Rainey directs that, if the incumbent of St. Michael will not allow the lecture to be given in that church, it is to be given elsewhere.

² Rep. +131, pp. 280 b, 281 b, 282 b, 283 a, 313 a; Rep. +132, pp. 5 b, 26 a, 54 a b.

³ Barton School had been endowed by Thomas Russell in 1593, and the School at Stratford at Bowe founded and endowed by Sir John Jolles in the reign of James I.

⁴ Rep. +131, pp. 141 a, 228 b, 307 a; +356, pp. 41 ff., 139 ff., 170 ff. A Court Baron is a court of the freeholders of a Manor, as distinguished from

were also made with regard to the finances of the College. In the first place the College was relieved of the expenses of the two Upper Wardens' visits. The Company itself undertook to pay £5 towards these expenses, anything in excess of the said sum being thrown upon the Wardens themselves. In 1641 the sum contributed by the Company was increased to £6.¹ In 1645 it was ordered that the Master, Goodman Goodridge, was in future to enter the sums, which he received from certain woods, in the accounts, and not, as he had done of late, distribute them as they came in among the pensioners of the College.² It was the custom for the balance of the account to be borrowed by the Company; the interest being appropriated to the use of the pensioners.³ An interesting resolution that the ground-floors of the College buildings should be boarded, because the earthen floors were cold and damp, is evidence that there was a rise in the standard of living at this period.⁴

The condition of the school and almshouse at Stratford at Bowe appears to have been satisfactory. On the resignation of the Master in 1626, his son was appointed to his place, and in 1641 a 'convenient house' was built for him.⁵ It was, however, otherwise with the school at Barton. In 1630 complaints were made that the Master, Anthony Huxley, had neglected his duties and had 'taken to ministry and somewhat to husbandry' with the result 'that little profit had come to the scholars'. Huxley at first disputed the right of the Company to interfere, declaring that the power to dismiss the Master lay with the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The Lord Keeper, however, on being appealed to, declared in favour of the Company, and Huxley resigned, on condition that he was allowed to reap the corn he had sown on the school ground!⁶ His successor, Anthony Mason,

a court Customary or court of the Copyholders. In it the duties and dues of the freeholders of the Manor, and petty suits arising within the Manor, are dealt with. Cf. Holdings of the Manor Court of Breuchley, +356, fos. 223 ff.

¹ Rep. +131, pp. 249 b, 250 a; Rep. +132, p. 11 a.

² Rep. +132, pp. 58 a, 68 b.

³ *Ib.*, p. 68 b, 71 a, 73 a.

⁴ Rep. +131, 249 b.

⁵ Rep. +131, p. 203 a; Rep. +132, p. 4 b.

⁶ Rep. +131, pp. 242 b, 258 a; Letter Book +383, fos. 15, 16. We hear of the same complaint of the Master of Barton neglecting his duties and 'taking to ministry' in the reign of James I; cf. *supra*, p. 113.

was no more satisfactory. He was also shortly dismissed for neglecting the school and spending his time in the 'ministry'. His excuse was that his salary of £12 a year was inadequate, an excuse which finds some support in the difficulty experienced by the Company in finding any one to take his place.¹

In spite of these troubles, the interest taken in education by members of the Society did not cease. In 1631 John Rainey, who had, as already mentioned, founded a lecturership at St. Michael's and a preachership at Worsburgh, left an endowment to pay the salary of the schoolmaster at the same place. The teaching was to comprise writing and ciphering and the grounds of religion as established in the realm.²

In addition to the maintenance of these Schools, the exhibitions at Oxford and Cambridge, with additional sums for books and sometimes gratuities to students commencing their M.A.,³ were continued, except that during the first Civil War no exhibition appears to have been given at Oxford, perhaps because that city was in the hands of the Royalists.⁴ For these exhibitions, sons of members of the Company had a prior claim. In 1638 the petition of Dr. Holdsworth, the Master of Emmanuel College, for £30 or £35 towards the endowment of a Fellowship in that College, on condition that sons of Drapers in that College and then sons of Drapers at other Colleges in the University of Cambridge should have precedence for election if they be fit,⁵ was favourably received.

Exhibitions
at Oxford
and Cam-
bridge,
Fellowship
at Emmanuel
College.

There are a good many references at this date to a somewhat

The Tackle
House Por-
ters.

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 65 a, 77 a, 83 a, 84 b.

² Wills + 416, p. 24 a.

³ e. g. Rep. + 131, pp. 200 b, 203 a, 278-84; Rep. + 132, pp. 27 a, 67 a.

⁴ Oxford surrendered in June 1646. The Oxford Exhibition is again mentioned in May 1647. An application for one in the previous October had been refused on the ground that 'there was none to be had'; Rep. + 132, p. 76 a. This however may mean that the Scholarships filled up before the outbreak of the war were not vacant till May 1647. When in May 1643 an exhibition was granted to Gonville and Caius College, the College is, by mistake, said to be in Oxford! Rep. + 132, p. 28 b.

⁵ Rep. + 131, p. 325 a. The Master also petitioned other Companies for assistance towards establishing Fellowships, on the ground that there were many scholarships, but only twelve Fellowships, by the want of which the students received a great prejudice. Apparently the scheme was never carried through. The Master of Emmanuel College tells me that there is no record of any such

curious organization called the Tackle House Porters.¹ They were the porters employed at the Company's landing-place on the Thames, although they did not work exclusively for the Drapers. They were at first divided into three grades, the labourers, the under Porters, and ten Master or Fellow Porters, although at later date the two first are merged in that of the servants. Promotion from one grade to the higher was usual, if the applicant was considered to be fit and capable. The Master Porters or Fellows, of whom there were four, were appointed by the Court of Assistants, and paid an entrance fee of £2 towards the future repair of the 'tackling'. The servants were appointed and could be dismissed by the Master Warden for the time being. They were paid a weekly wage of 5s. by the Master Porters, besides any fees they might receive from Merchants or others who employed them. The receipts of the Master Porters and fines for any misconduct were administered by one of the Masters in turn, and divided equally. Like all organizations of this kind, the Society had its benefit side. Those who were unable to work from old age shared in the common receipts of the Society, while the widow or children of a deceased Master Porter received £20

Fellowship in the College archives, which are however very incomplete, and that the College is still in the same difficulty with regard to its Fellowships. The Company itself often gave its exhibitions to students at Emmanuel College; e. g. Rep. + 132, p. 33 a.

¹ On the earlier history of these Porters cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 165. Other Companies had their tackle-house porters, and the Vintners' Company still have an association of the kind. Nicholl, *Ironmongers*, p. 36; Hopkinson, *Ancient Records of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, p. 36. They are to be distinguished from the Fellowship Porters, which was an Association of Porters who loaded and unloaded at the docks, and who, according to Maitland, were constituted into a Fraternity by Act of Common Council in 1646, but were never incorporated. It is probable that the Master Porters of the separate Gilds belonged to this Fraternity. Cf. Hazlitt, *Livery Companies*, p. 154; Strype's *Stow*, ed. 1755, vol. ii, pp. 515 ff.; Maitland, *London*, ed. 1756, vol. i, p. 471; *Second Report on Municipal Corporations*, 1837, vol. i, pp. 179-82.

In 1794 the Company petitioned against certain proposals then before the Court of Common Council to abridge the rights of these Tackle House Porters; and in 1797 the Haberdashers asked the Drapers to join with them and other Companies in petitioning Parliament to extend the privileges of the Tackle House Porters to the proposed new wharves at Wapping. The Company, however, took no action. Records + 137, pp. 138, 312.

on his death from the surviving Fellows, and the successor to his place received only servant's wages until he had repaid the sum.

They appear to have fallen into a somewhat unsatisfactory condition at the beginning of the reign, and regulations were from time to time passed for their reformation. It 1627 it was ordered that poor Freemen of the Company should, if fit persons could be found, be admitted as servants in preference to strangers, and this rule was extended to the Master Porters in 1633. In 1642 the Master Porters of various Companies were accused of entering into combinations to raise their fees, and in 1646 the fees were fixed by an Act of Common Council. In spite of these regulations, complaint was made in 1645 that the Tackle House Porters of the Drapers were the worst of all, and that their work was so negligently done, that even Drapers would not employ them. The only remedy thought likely to be of any use was to insist more strictly on the old rule that every Master Porter should on admission find adequate sureties to the amount of £20, which would be forfeited if in future he or his servants were in any way remiss or dishonest. In the reign of Charles II the Orders were revised and reinforced.¹

The number of the Assistants varied very little during the reign of Charles I. In the year August 1625-6 it had fallen to 28; but it rose again in the succeeding years, till in 1633 there were 34 members of the Court. From that period till the end of the reign the variations were slight.

Number of
the Assistants
and
Liverymen.

The fluctuations in the number of those in the Livery were more pronounced. In the year August 1625-6 they were fewer by twenty than they had been in the previous year; no doubt, partly at least, in consequence of the Plague,² and the number

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 203 b, 204 b, 264 a, 276 b, 332 a b; Rep. + 132, pp. 10 a, 23 b, 60 a, 230 a; + 133, p. 2 a. Wardens' Accounts 1659-60, fo. 27; 1664-5, fo. 39. For the Orders of 1676 cf. Appendix XXXVII.

	<i>Courts.</i>	<i>Livery.</i>
1623-4	29	105
1624-5	30	100
1625-6	28	80

The Master, three Assistants, and fifteen Liverymen died between August 1624-5; + 301, fo. 18.

5 of the Assistants J. Cotton, Ralph Flower, Henry Garway, Walter

never rose higher than 94. For the rest the variation in the numbers was due to the fact that as a general rule new members were only added every fourth year, and sometimes not for five years. This however caused considerable discontent among the Wardens of the Bachelors, because, by being admitted to the Livery, they escaped the charges imposed on them for the Lord Mayor's Pageants, when he was a Draper.¹ Those who were called to the Livery were usually such as had served as Wardens of the Bachelors since the last time when the Livery had been increased. To those were sometimes added others, who were thought fit in regard to profession, estate and understanding; especially when a Draper was Mayor, in order that their fines or fees might go towards the expenses of the Lord Mayor's Day, and thus relieve the rest of the Yeomanry or Bachelors.²

Number of
the Free-
men.

In the year 1633 we are told that the Beadle and the Porter were forbidden to demand fees beyond those allowed by the ordinances, for the binding of apprentices and for entering of apprentices into the freedom, as they had done of late, although they might accept them if offered.³ In 1639 the Wardens

Rogers, Michael Warner; and four of the Livery, Rich: Fenton, Rob: Haley, Thos: Walmsley and S. Watkins disappear from the lists at times during the Civil War. The reasons are not given.

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 247 b, 331 b, 339 b.

² Thus in October 1626, ten besides the Wardens of the Bachelors were called, 'for the better ease of the young men of the Company'. Each one so called and accepting was to pay forty marks. The proceeds were to be applied to the payments of the shows and triumphs of the Lord Mayor elect, Cuthbert Hackett. Rep. + 131, pp. 201 a b. Again, in 1639 when Garway was Mayor, eleven were taken into the Livery, besides Lewis Roberts, who, having been for many years capable of his freedom, was admitted at once into the Livery. Rep. + 131, p. 332 b; Bachelors' Accounts + 178, fos. 49, 95.

For the fees paid on entrance into the Livery see vol. ii of this book, p. 193. It appears also that it had been the custom for a buck, or sugar loaves, or a fee of 20s., to be given in the case of the Wardens of the Bachelors entering, and 40s. in the case of others; and in 1648 it was decided that a fee of 20s. should be in future demanded in a 'loving and friendly way', and that those who declined to comply should not be invited to the election dinner. Rep. + 132, p. 85 b.

³ Rep. + 131, p. 279 b, viz. 1s. each from every one entering the freedom through apprenticeship, and 2s. from those entering by patrimony, or redemption, instead of 4d. which the Beadle was allowed to charge for all entering by any one of these three avenues. They had also taken 4d. each for enrolment of apprentices, when no charge should have been made.

declared that people were deterred from entering the Company because of the heavy charges incurred by them for dinners, charges which were greater than those borne by the Wardens of almost every other Company¹, while in 1644 the Beadle complained that 'his gettings' by presenting apprentices and making men free of the Company had fallen off lately.² Whereas the fear of expense to be incurred when, and if, the person entering became a Warden would seem to be too remote to deter many from becoming ordinary freemen, it is more probable that this decline in the number of the freemen should be attributed to the political unrest, and to the fear that membership would make them more liable to the financial demands of the Crown. In any case the Books of Admissions show that there was a falling-off in the numbers of freemen just at this moment,³ and especially in the years 1624-5 and 1632-3. And although the total number of admissions to the freedom increased during the sixteen years after that date,⁴ we learn from the Quarterage book that in 1642

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 336 b.

² Rep. + 132, p. 50 a.

³ Cf. Appendix XXV on admissions to the freedom. It should be remembered that only about one-third of those bound as apprentices entered the freedom at this date. This is proved by a comparison of the Lists of Binding + 287-8 and the Freedom Lists + 278-9.

⁴ I have in the Appendix compared the number of admissions for the sixteen years before and after 1632. It will be found that seventy more were admitted in the later period than in the earlier. One person, Wm. Smart, a Doctor of Divinity, was admitted in 1633 at the request of Lady Whitmore, wife of Sir G. Whitmore, the Mayor of 1631-2. He paid 6s. 8d. Cf. Freedom List + 301, fo. 144; Wardens' Accounts, 1632-3, fo. 32. It is to be noted that the number of admissions by redemption are few, and that most of those were admitted by the warrant of the Mayor for the purpose of attaining the freedom of the City, who, unless they were freemen of the City by birth, could only gain that position through a gild. It does not appear that it was ever necessary for a freeman of the City by birth to be a member of a gild, but in early days every such freeman would as a matter of fact be a gildsman. As the gild system broke up, this ceased to be the case, and from that time forward there were freemen of the City by birth, who were not members of any Company. Liber Niger, Guildhall 11 Rec. 11: 1387, speaks of the franchise which 'always belongs to the soil of the City'. Cf. Letter Book G fo. cxlii (1364), H, p. 310 fo. 218. City Journal 4 b fo. 67, May 9; 1666. On the other hand, it was not necessary for a member of the Company to become a freeman of the City. We have found five instances of this during the reign of Charles. Cf. Freedom Book + 266, pp. 39, 40, 88, 104, 109.

the body of the freemen had shrunk since the year 1617 from 2,106 to 1,427, of whom 516 alone paid quarterage. That of these 1,427 only 835 appear in the return of those assessed for the Poll Tax of 1641 is to be explained by the fact that in that return the names of those are alone given who could pay at least £2.¹

The paying of Quarterage becomes less frequent.

Meanwhile it was found increasingly difficult to collect the Quarterages. In the year 1629 two resolutions were passed blaming the Master Bachelors for want of zeal in the matter, and ordering them to keep a more careful record of all, who paid, and who were in arrears.² Hardness of the times was alleged as a reason for non-payment.³ In 1638 the Court expressed a wish that the poorest, 'who prove disordered and can hardly pay the 12*d.* which they allow to the Yeomanry dinner', be not invited,⁴ and in the last year of the reign only 427 freemen are recorded as paying.⁵ Nor was the trouble confined to the freemen. Inasmuch as some of the Liverymen attempted to escape paying their Quarterage by staying away from the sermon at St. Michael's on election day 'to the dishonour' of the Company, and even from the election dinner, a practice which led 'to wasteful provision of banqueting stuff', the Court in 1634 ordered that the Quarterage of the Livery should be paid on the Quarter Day held in June, and that those who did not pay should be fined.⁶ The resolution however had but little effect. The conclusion of the whole matter is that the Society, in spite of temporary fluctuations, is decreasing in size, and the practice of paying quarterage is becoming less and less usual. In other words, the poorer are ceasing to be

¹ Quarterage Book + 266. Cf. Appendix XIX, Poll Tax Assessment, 1641. Although this return does not give the names of freemen who were unable to pay £2, and is therefore not complete, it is a most valuable document. Unfortunately later poll taxes of the reigns of Charles I and Charles II were not assessed on the Companies, but on individuals in their Wards. They therefore give us no help.

² Cf. Rep. + 131, pp. 225 a, 239 b; Quarterage Book + 266, p. 1.

³ Other Companies found the same difficulty. The Goldsmiths' records attribute it to the fact that 'many have gone for soldiers, many shops are shut, and occupiers will not be spoken to.' Prideaux, vol. i, p. 209, 1643.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 323 a.

⁵ Besides these there were 182, who, though not paying in that year, paid subsequently.

⁶ Rep. + 131, p. 293 b; Rep. + 132, p. 85 b.

active members, and the movement has gone far towards the present conditions, under which no quarterage is paid by the Liverymen, and by the freemen only if, and when, they bind apprentices or present persons for entry into the freedom, or come to the Hall to do any business.¹ On such occasions, however, the arrears of 1s. a year since they entered the freedom or last appeared are demanded.

Nevertheless the number of freemen, who have apprentices and are therefore masters, is considerable. These, though they have no share in the government of the Company, are actively engaged in business, although their business is not necessarily that of drapery. Since the publication of the ordinances of 1576, the only regulations with regard to the taking of apprentices were that the master was not to be in receipt of the charity of the Society; that he should pay quarterage when he bound an apprentice or entered him into the freedom; and, further, that he was liable to a fine if he did not give his apprentice due training. The number of apprentices henceforth held in a continuous period of seven years by any one master in many cases exceeded the old number of three, which were all that had been allowed except by special consent of the Wardens.² Out of the 121 Liverymen and the 835 freemen given in the Livery List and the Poll Tax return, 116 Liverymen had 936 apprentices among them, or an average of 8 each, while 571 freemen had had 2,672 apprentices, or an average of $4\frac{2}{3}$ each.³ This shows that a very large number of

Number of
Apprentices.

¹ A minute of the year 1657 tells us that the payment of quarterage was already at that date practically confined to those who bound apprentices or entered them into the freedom (Rep. + 132, 201^b); and, as will be seen below, this payment was, after the Restoration at least, confined to Freemen.

² Cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 198, and Ordinance of 1560, No. 16, p. 302; Ordinances of 1576, Nos. 31, 38, pp. 320-24. The Drapers were, like all the London Companies, exempt from Elizabeth's Statute of Apprentices, which limited the number; and we are told that the rule was also neglected in Yorkshire in the reign of Charles I. Cf. Domestic State Papers, Car. I, vol. 460, p. 64.

³ For a complete list cf. Appendix XIX, Names of those assessed for Poll Tax.

This calculation is based on the assumption that the apprenticeship lasted the customary seven years. If however, as I believe, the number inserted after the date of the binding indicates the number of years for which the apprentice was bound, there are many instances of a much longer apprenticeship. Cf. Bindings

the freemen were masters, although not in such a big way of business as the Liverymen.¹ Mr. Unwin says that the characteristic feature of the seventeenth century is the degradation of the small masters to the position of journeymen.² Certainly our evidence, so far as it is based on the Poll Tax Return, which however included only the better class of freemen,³ does not support this view. The explanation is probably to be found in the fact that Mr. Unwin draws his conclusions chiefly from industrial companies, or those which, like the cloth-workers, were composed of traders and artisans; whereas the members of the Drapers' Company were for the most part traders, though not necessarily in drapery. With them, therefore, the journeymen were comparatively few. Their place was taken by an increased number of apprentices, who, if they entered the freedom at all, became more often retail shopkeepers in their own special calling. If subsequently they rose in importance they would betake themselves to wholesale business on a larger scale. It was this peculiarity, perhaps, which helped to save the Drapers' Company from the struggle, which was soon to trouble many of the industrial crafts, and lead to the attempts of the journeymen either to obtain separate incorporation as journeyman guilds, or to form combinations against their masters: movements which eventually developed into Trade Unions. But a more potent reason was no

Book + 287 passim; + 287, fos. 39, 222; Freedom List + 279, fos. 121, 187. Widows not only continued to keep their husbands' apprentices, but, if they were members, bound apprentices and entered them into the freedom; E. g. I find nine women, who are not called widows, so doing. None of these bound more than three apprentices. Women, however, were never admitted to the Livery.

Of the apprentices the number who entered the freedom was, as it had been in the reign of James I, about one-third; four being entered by other masters than those who had apprenticed them.

¹ If we take the 38 Liverymen and the 54 freemen, who had ten or more apprentices during a given period, we find that the average number of apprentices held by the freemen is higher than that held by the Liverymen. This tends to the conclusion that there was little difference, so far as business was concerned, between the more important freemen and the Liverymen. No doubt they would be the ones who would shortly be called to the Livery.

² Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, pp. 196 ff.

³ As shown above, the total number of the freemen in 1641 was 1,427, so that 592 were probably journeymen.

doubt the numerous trades and industries undertaken by members of the Company, and the comparatively small number of those who devoted themselves to the business of drapery. Under these circumstances it would have been difficult for the journeymen to form a gild or to combine with any one common object.

I have attempted to discover the professions or trades of the members of the Company, and the results, though not complete, are, I think, quite sufficient for our purpose.¹ Certainly the evidence, so far as it goes, is startling. The number of the professions and trades in which the Liverymen were engaged is eighteen, while the freemen are found belonging to no less than 140 different occupations. It is noticeable that all the Liverymen, and all but five of the freemen, have some occupation or business. The Company is therefore still chiefly composed of business men.

The varied Professions and Trades used by Members of the Company.

Among the 121 Liverymen, the Merchants and the Drapers by trade (if we include woollen drapers) head the list with twenty-two of each,² to which four linen drapers may be added, although they are not Drapers in the strict sense. Those pursuing the trade of silk-men stand next with sixteen; while mercers, tailors, and upholsterers are credited with three each. The remainder belong exclusively to the trading professions, with the exception of one body-maker, one cloth-worker, one scrivener, two servants of important members of the Company, and the Clerk, who, it is interesting to observe, has apprentices.

Among the freemen the tailors are by far the most numerous. No less than 161 are so described, while the drapers and woollen drapers only number 31; the linen drapers and linen-men 10. Next to the tailors come the silk-men with 44; to which we should add 22 silk weavers and 4 silk throsters. Thirty-four are

¹ Thus, out of the 121 Liverymen, the professions or trades of 85, and of the 835 freemen, those of 751, have been discovered. The information has been collected from the Poll Tax Return, which only gives the trades of some of the freemen and none of the Liverymen; the Quarterage Books, the Freedom Lists, and the Livery List.

² I have counted Wm. Williams among the Merchants, because, although he is not definitely so called, he was at one time Deputy Governor of the Levant Company (1657-9) and on the Committee of the East India Company (1643-62). Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 80.

upholsterers, 24 salesmen, 14 weavers, 21 body-makers. Then come the chandlers with 19, the hosiers with 15, the mercers with 14, and the butchers with 10. The Mayor and Sheriff's officers are found, while we are reminded that the holder of the ancient office of the Common Hunt is,¹ as he often had been before, a member of the Livery. The Company was certainly not an exclusive one. Almost every craft and industry is represented down to the parish clerk, the cook, the gardener, the porter, the water-bearer and the cobbler. But what is still more significant is the comparatively small number of the members who are pursuing the trade of drapery, with which the Company was originally so closely connected.² Under these circumstances it is to be expected that, as had been the case in the reign of James I, the Company did not insist that all those pursuing the trade of drapers should enter their Society.³ It will be observed that persons 'using' the trade

The Drapers do not insist on Translation.

¹ For the duties of the Hunt cf. vol. i of this work, p. 141.

² The Repertory of 1650 + 132, p. 105 a, says 'There is scarce one draper of ten within London using the trade of Drapery, who are free of the Drapers' Company; but of the Merchant Taylors . . . and other Companies.'

³ The question of translation to the Drapers' Company was twice raised, but the persons were not drapers, and the cases were peculiar. (1) In 1640 the Company petitioned the Court of Aldermen to order the translation of Anthony Bateman from the Skinners' Company. Cf. Rep. + 131, p. 338 a. It appears that although apprenticed to a Mr. Newman, a freeman of the Drapers' Company, and enrolled by him (cf. Rep. + 287, p. 177), he had been also unduly made free of the Skinners, probably because his father was a Skinner. Their petition was, moreover, of no avail. Bateman subsequently became an important member of the Skinners' Company and Lord Mayor in 1663-4. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 87. (2) According to the City Rep. 40, p. 80, Cuthbert Hackett, the Mayor of 1626-7, was translated from the Dyers to the Drapers' Company on January 24, 1626, in accordance with usual custom. This is probable, as we have no notice of his entering the Drapers' Company in any other way. It is, however, odd that there is no reference in the Minutes to his translation, especially in view of the agitation caused by the wish of Alderman Barkham, the Mayor of 1621-2, to be translated from the Leathersellers; cf. *supra*, p. 9. The first notice we have of Hackett is in the list of the Assistants of 1625-6 (cf. Rep. + 301, p. 29). If he was translated we must suppose that he was admitted an Assistant at once, because it was known that he was to be elected Mayor in the autumn of 1626. In any case his translation was, not because he was following the trade of a draper, but in pursuance of the established custom that the Mayor should be a member of one of the greater Livery Companies. He was also elected Master of the Drapers' Company in August 1626. Cf. Rep. + 301, p. 20.

or industry represented by six of the greater Livery Companies, and others, whose industry was originally the monopoly of many of the smaller Companies, and even the Clerks of two Companies, the Saddlers and the Cooks, were of the Drapers' Society. This reminds us that many of these Companies, like the Drapers, no longer demanded that such persons should be of their fold. Some Companies, however, still attempted to maintain the old custom. Thus there are as many as fifteen instances of translation from the Drapers' Company. All these based their petition to be allowed to translate on the ground that they were molested and prevented from pursuing their industry by the Companies, whose particular trade or crafts they were 'using'. It will be noticed that there is no case of a translation from the Drapers to any of the great trading Companies, if we except one to the Vintners, and that case was a somewhat peculiar one: the man, originally a silk-man, had married the widow of a Vintner and wished to carry on her business.¹ The remaining fourteen translations, given in the notes,²

Translations
to other
Companies.

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 55 a. He had to pay a higher fee.

² Two to the Cooks: one of them had been brought up as apprentice to Sir John Jolles in his kitchen. Rep. + 131, pp. 205 a, 314 b.

Two to the Brewers. At first the Company thought of refusing leave for these to be translated, and of defending them. *Ib.*, pp. 240 a, 267 a, 338 a.

One to the Plasterers. *Ib.*, p. 260 b.

One to the Weavers by order of the Lord Mayor, 'because he had come unduly by his freedom'. *Ib.*, p. 292 b. Miss Trice Martin kindly informs me that there is a reference in the Court Minutes of the Merchant Taylors of 1646, vol. ix, fos. 239, 243 b, 244, to a petition of the Weavers on the question of translation, which petition was opposed by the Merchant Taylors, the Haberdashers, and the Clothworkers, as well as the Drapers. We find a reference to this in Rep. + 132, p. 69 b, when the Weavers are advised to consult Counsel on the matter.

Two to the Barber Surgeons. Rep. + 131, pp. 293 b, 309 b.

One, Servant to the Clerk of the Stationers' Company, to the Stationers. *Ib.*, p. 308 a.

One to the Whitebakers. *Ib.*, p. 320 a.

One, Constance Wadding, to the Poulterers. *Ib.*, p. 308 a.

One to the Butchers. He had served as an apprentice to a member of the Drapers' Company who was a saddler by trade, but, after the death of his master, had finished his apprenticeship with a butcher, and yet had been made free of the Drapers. Rep. + 132, p. 6 b.

One to the Cordwainers. *Ib.*, p. 6 b.

One to the Woodmongers. *Ib.*, p. 77 b.

were to inferior Companies, whose mystery was of a handicraft nature. This controversy, as we shall see, was continued in later times. One of the translations, that of Constance Wadding, is the only instance I have come across of a woman being translated. Presumably the Poulterers' trade was much followed by the weaker sex.

Abode of
Members of
the Com-
pany.

From the table given below it will be seen that the greater number of the members who were using the trade of drapers, or woollen drapers, were to be found in, or near, the larger streets east of St. Paul's Churchyard, although they had not yet abandoned the churchyard itself, as they had in the time of Defoe some eighty years later.¹ The other members of the Company, whether in the clothing or no, lived in various parts of London, notably in Cheapside, Watling Street, Gracious Street (Gracechurch Street), Lombard Street, Bishopsgate Street, Whitechapel, Thames Street, and Fleet Street.² Eight Liverymen and four freemen are given as living in the country.³

¹ Defoe says that the Drapers had abandoned St. Paul's Churchyard, and betaken themselves to high streets, such as Cheapside, Ludgate Street and Cornhill, where customers were more likely to be found. He is, however, speaking of all drapers, whether they were members of the Company or not. Cf. *The Complete Tradesman*, ed. 1727, vol. i, pp. 81, 86.

² Thus :

	<i>Livery Men.</i> <i>Trades or Profes-</i> <i>sions Unknown.</i>	<i>Freemen.</i>
Cheapside	8	41 ; of whom 11 were silk-men, 6 tailors.
Watling Street	8	23 ; of whom 4 were drapers, and 3 salesmen.
Cannon Street (Can- ning Street)	6	11 ; of whom 1 was a draper.
Gracious Street	6	12 ; of whom 1 was a draper.
Lombard Street	5	21 ; of whom 6 were silk-men, and 2 mercers.
Bishopsgate Street	0	30 ; of whom 8 were tailors.
Whitechapel	0	30 ; of whom 7 were butchers, 3 tailors, 3 tallow-chandlers.
Thames Street	0	25 ; of whom 2 were tailors.
Fleet Street	0	25 ; of whom 9 were tailors 1 a draper
Southwark	1	23 ; of whom 3 were tailors.
Holborn	0	21 ; of whom 9 were tailors, 2 salesmen.
Newgate Street	0	21 ; of whom 5 were tailors, 2 bookbinders.

Unfortunately the assessment for the Poll Tax of 1641 does not give us much help as to the wealth of the members of the Company.¹ Of seventy-five Liverymen the assessments are not

Wealth of Members.

<i>Livery Men.</i>	<i>Trades or Professions Unknown.</i>	<i>Freemen.</i>
Birchen Lane	1	21 ; of whom 6 were tailors, 5 salesmen.
Long Lane	0	18 ; of whom 8 were brokers, 2 salesmen, 2 tailors, 2 tobacco sellers.
Cornhill	0	15 ; of whom 4 were upholers.
Bread Street	1	15 ; of whom 3 were tailors, 3 body-makers.
Strand	0	15 ; of whom 2 were tailors, 2 body-makers.
Barbican	0	15 ; of whom 6 were silk-weavers.
Coleman Street	3	10 ; of whom 2 were tailors, 2 silk-weavers.

For details cf. Appendix XX.

³ (p. 200)

<i>Livery Men.</i>	<i>Profession or Trade not given.</i>	<i>Freemen.</i>
Fulham	1	Westminster 1 a coach harness maker.
Bromley, Kent	1	1 a gingerbread maker.
Hornchurch, Essex	1	
Plaistead, Essex	1	
Oxsted, Surrey	1	Islington 1 trade not given.
Staffordshire	1	Ireland 1 a musician.
In the Country	2	

A curious entry is found in the Quarterage Book + 267, p. 11: 'John Bowles, app. Arthur Swannicke in Sion College Oxford.' Oxford is evidently the mistake of a later hand. There never was any such college in Oxford. A Mr. Bowles was tenant of a 'chamber' in Sion College, which at that time let lodgings. Cf. Sion College Court Register A, p. 83.

In the Quarterage Books we find the following freemen abroad :

In the East Indies	4	
In Turkey	4	one described as a merchant.
In Greece	1	
In Venice	2	one described as a merchant.
In the Summer Islands (Bermudas)	1	
In the Barbados	2	
In Holland	7	
In Hamburgh	1	a merchant

Of the richer merchants, who would be in the Livery, most would probably conduct their business from home.

¹ The assessments were apparently very loosely done, as we know they were in 1660. Bacon, speaking of the assessments for all taxes in Elizabeth's time, 1603-3

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given. The rates to be paid by officials of the Company, by the Liverymen and the freemen were fixed by the Act¹ according to their office or position in the Company, not according to their

said that the English were 'more masters of their valuation' than any people in Europe. Dowell, *Hist. of Taxation*, vol. iii, p. 81.

		<i>Livery.</i>	£	s.	d.
Wm. Williams	. . .	'as rated in land'	12	0	0
Wm. Middleton	. . .	. . . . .	10	0	0
A. Rickards	. . .	. . . . .	10	0	0
Robert Lowther	. . .	'rated at £10 in goods'	6	13	4
Walter Coventry	}	'rated at £8 in goods'	5	6	8
Richard Hall					
31 paid	. . . . .	. . . . .	5	0	0

Of 61 we are told that they had paid their monies; but no sum is mentioned. Of 14 that they were 'conceived' to have paid; but the amount is not given.

Freemen.

- 100 are returned, as paying £3.
- 7 " " " " £2 only.
- 171, as alleging they could not pay £3.
- 94, as not appearing before the Wardens when summoned.

The clerk's man and the beadle drew up the lists, and were paid fees. Cf. Rep. + 132, p. 12 a b; Wardens' Accounts, 1641-2, fo. 49; Bachelors' Accounts + 178, fo. 104.

¹ The rates fixed by the Act 16 Car. I. c. 9 for the Municipal and Company officials, the Livery and the Freemen were as follows:—

- The Mayor, £40
- Sheriffs and Aldermen, £20
- Common Councillors, £5
- Masters of the Livery Companies, £10, the same as that levied on an esquire.
- Wardens, £6 13s. 4d.
- Liverymen, £5. The same as that levied on those who could dispend £100 per annum.
- Freemen, £3. £1 more than that levied on those who could dispend £50.
- Widows, one-third of that which their husbands would have paid.
- The members of the smaller companies were assessed at a lower rate.
- A Baronet, £30.
- A Knight Bachelor, £20.

The rates according to property were:

- £5 for those who could dispend £100 a year.
- £2 " " " " £50 " .
- 5s. " " " " £20 " .
- 1s. " " " " £1 " .
- 6d. all other persons.

wealth. All we can say is that a Liveryman was rated on the same basis as those who could dispense £100, that is at £5; and thirty-one Liverymen are given as paying that sum, though six members of the Livery paid more than this, and are stated to have been 'rated in land' 'or in goods'. The freemen according to the Act were to be rated somewhat higher than those who could dispense £50 a year (viz. at £3, instead of £2). One hundred freemen paid this sum. Of one hundred and seventy-eight freemen we are told that they could not pay more than £2. This presumably meant that their expenditure was about £50 a year. Ninety-four freemen did not answer the summons of the Wardens. Of these, as well as of the remaining eight hundred and eighty-six, the yearly expenditure was probably less than £50, and they were not assessed by the Wardens because, as was stated in 1660, they were not known, and were to be assessed by their Wards.

The value of money at that time was at least twice what it is now; but even so, inasmuch as only one hundred freemen pay more than those who could dispense £50 a year, and one hundred and seventy-eight at most the same amount as those who could dispense £50, it would seem that the majority of the freemen were poor men.

Quis dives sapiens, quis pauper stultus inersque:
Si sapio ergo brevi tempore dives ero.
Quis sapiens dives, quis stultus pauper inopsque:
Ergo si dives non ero stultus ero.¹

I have already cautioned my readers against the errors into which the unwary might fall in dealing with the accounts of the Renter and, more especially, of the Wardens. It is true that the Renters' Accounts give us a clear presentation of the rents of the lands and tenements held by the Company. From thence we learn that the rents, excluding arrears, were in the financial year ending at Midsummer 1648 some £300 more than they had been at the accession of Charles I.² About half of this increase,

Financial
position
during the
reign of
Charles I.

¹ This motto is written on the first page of a Receipt Book 1625-73, + 372.

² The evidence for this will be found in the abstracts of the Renters' and

however, is accounted for by the new benefactions to charitable uses received during the reign.¹ It does not therefore appear that the actual rental of lands and tenements in London had much grown. As I have however already noted, the value of land or tenements was not decided by the annual rent alone. Under the system of beneficiary leaseholds, which was then customary, fines were always paid whenever a lease was granted or renewed, and the amount of these fines was, if we take into account the fines due as well as those paid, over £2,700 in the year 1648.² It must not be forgotten that these fines were not paid annually, but only on the granting or the renewal of leases, the numbers of which varied from year to year. Nevertheless a glance at the abstracts given in the Appendix will show that there was a steady advance in the amount of the fines. We may therefore take it that the value of these lands and tenements had, in spite of the evil days, very materially increased.³

Apart from the rents, the receipts of the Renter came from corn sold, the amount of which varied according to the orders of the Mayor.⁴ Though the disbursements of the Renter, as was

Wardens' Accounts given in the Appendix No. XXIII A-B. In 1633 it was ordered that no arrears of rents should be brought into the annual account. Rep. + 131, p. 279 b.

¹ Namely, those of Sir W. Terry and John Rainey. Cf. Appendix XLVII. These benefactions added to the trust, and not to the corporate property, of the Company, which had apparently not very much increased since the end of the reign of James I. Other sums were left in trust to be invested in lands. But until that was done these sums appeared in the Wardens' Accounts.

² The fines are found in the Wardens' Accounts.

³ There is a curious notice in 1629 of a relief due by the Company of £1 0s. 5d., 3 hens, and 30 eggs, on the death of R. Buck, for lands left by him on trust for charitable purposes. Rep. + 131, p. 211 b. In the year 1634 a claim was made by the Crown for fealty and homage for the Hall and lands adjoining, and for the dues arising therefrom. The claim was, however, resisted by the Company, and, after a process before the Court of Exchequer, abandoned. Rep. + 131, pp. 286 a, 303 a. In 1639 the Company were ordered to pay a rent-charge of 17s. a year to the Master, Brethren and Sisters of the Hospital of St. Katherine's near the Tower for lands in the parish of St. Margaret's, Pater Noster, which dated from the reign of Edward II. Rep. + 131, pp. 324 b, 328 a.

⁴ The other variations in the receipts are due to the amount of the balance handed over from the previous year, and to the payment of past arrears, which in the year 1647-8 amounted to £187 15s.

natural, tended to increase with the receipts, they were liable to considerable fluctuations. This is to be explained by the varying sums spent on charity, dinners and other festivities, and on the purchases of corn. They reached their highest point in the last year of the reign. Nevertheless the Renter, besides handing over £244 to the Wardens, had in that year a substantial balance of £262 13s. 8d.

The Wardens' Accounts are unfortunately much more complicated than those of the Renter. We can, however, arrive at a definite view of the ordinary receipts of the Wardens in each year. These are limited to the fees for enrolling of apprentices, and for entrances into the freedom and the Livery and the fines on the renewal of leases. If to these items from the Wardens' account we add the rents from the Renter's account we shall find that the total ordinary receipts steadily grew during the reign.¹

The rest of the receipts of the Wardens and many items in the extraordinary disbursements are wholly misleading. Among the receipts are found, not only the amount of the legacy money repaid, which, as before mentioned, is no index of the financial situation, but sometimes also the debts owing to the Company which are repaid, and sometimes money which is borrowed by the Company. Again, among the disbursements are included the repayment of debts owed, and payment of moneys lent, by the

Wardens' Accounts.

¹ Thus:—

	1624-5.	1634-5.	1643-4.	1647-8.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Rents	805 14 4	917 3 4	1103 0 4	1104 17 8
Fines on leases due	271 13 4	811 13 4	1180 13 2	1708 6 8
Fees for enrolling Apprentices	16 10 0	21 7 6	7 12 6	18 12 6
Presentment to the freedom	10 16 8	14 10 0	4 6 8	11 10 0
Fines for non-enrol- ment	4 7 4	4 1 10	1 14 8	4 5 4
Fees for entrance into the Livery	27 2 6	7 6 8	0 0 0	5 19 2
Total ordinary receipts	<u>1136 4 2</u>	<u>1776 2 8</u>	<u>2297 7 4</u>	<u>2853 11 4</u>

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Company.¹ The accounts are in short merely a record of the ready money which has passed through the hands of the Wardens, and of their actual disbursements; the balances being a record of how their account stands at the end of the financial year. The only way of arriving at the true financial situation is therefore by taking into account the debts owing *to* and *by* the Company, and thereby correcting the Wardens' Balances.² If this is done, it will be seen from the table below³ that the financial position would have steadily improved, especially between the years 1634 and 1648, if the loans lent to the King and Parliament had been repaid. Unfortunately this was never done, as will appear later.

An unsatisfactory Renter Warden and Renter.

The Company had some trouble with regard to their Renter Warden and their Renter, which is of importance as illustrating the great care taken by the Company in the matters of finance. In July 1628, Goodyear, the Renter Warden, was accused of 'ill husbanding' the money of the Company. He had, contrary to custom, kept great sums of money in his house, and converted them to his own use, in spite of the great demand to pay £4,508 to the Chamber of London for his Majesty's use; which had forced the Court to borrow needlessly to meet the said demand.

¹ For the explanation of this system of lending and borrowing cf. *supra*, p. 100.

² The Drapers continually lent money to the East India Company and to the Merchant Adventurers. In 1636 they were owed £846 10s. by the Merchant Adventurers, and £5,180 by the East India Company. Wardens' Accounts, 1635-6, fo. 22. Very possibly the reason why the East India Company was specially favoured was because several important Drapers were members, e. g. Sir Morris Abbot and Sir H. Garway, who were both of them twice Masters of the Drapers, were also Governors of the East India Company, Abbot in 1624-37, Garway 1641-3; cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 60. Cf. Rep. + 121, pp. 193 b, 228 b, 272 a, 276 b, 291 a; Rep. + 132, pp. 11 a, 12 a, 15 b. Other Companies also lent to the East India Company. Cf. Nicholl, Ironmongers, p. 216.

	Debts owing to the Company.			Debts owing by the Company.			Balance in favour of the Company.			Balance of Wardens' Account.			Balance of Renter's Account.			Total prospective Credit Balance.			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
1624-5	2071	6	6				2071	6	6	Deb.	54	8	1	395	11	2	2412	9	7
1634-5	10703	3	0	7622	10	0	3080	13	0	Cr.	23	14	7	227	1	9½	3331	9	4½
1643-4	15781	5	0	11481	15	0	4299	10	0	Cr.	431	8	11½	68	6	11	4799	5	10½
1647-8	21316	17	2*	6798	1	7	14518	15	7	Cr.	325	0	7	262	13	8	15106	9	10

* Of this sum, £17,908 was owing to the Company for loans lent to the King and the Parliament with interest accrued, which was never repaid.

Goodyear was accordingly asked to pay something to the Company to make up for the loss they had thus sustained. As he for some time refused, he was removed from his place on the Court. In November 1631, however, he offered to pay £12. The resolution was accordingly rescinded, and eventually £6 of his fine was returned to him.¹

To prevent such inconveniences in the future, the following regulations were suggested by a Committee and approved :

1. The Renter Warden was to keep a cash book with all the payments and receipts duly entered ; the said cash book was always to lie on the parlour table, and his account was to be examined every quarter by the youngest Warden.

2. Without the leave of the other Wardens, he was never to keep in his custody more than £400, which was the amount of the security he had to find on entering office. The remainder was to be kept in the Chest in the Book House, and locked with four keys, which were to be in the keeping of the four Wardens.²

The position of the Renter Warden as being the acting Warden was so important that, in 1642, the Court passed a further resolution ordering that if any person, who held the office, was prevented from coming to town, another Warden should be chosen in his stead.³ In January 1635 the Court in an unwise moment appointed Richard Trimmell to the office of Renter. He had twice served as Warden, but had of late fallen into poverty and received the charity of the House.⁴ Probably this was considered

The Renter.

¹ Rep. + 131, pp. 225 a, 227 b, 232 b, 253 b, 259 b. I have not included the Bachelors' Account, because that was kept separate. Cf. *infra*, p. 209.

² Rep. + 131, pp. 220 b, 229 b. In future these Cash Books with these resolutions were kept ; cf. + 471, Cash Book 1630-31. In 1644 Mr Geare, the Renter Warden, was unable to pay £200 of the balance of the year, and did not do so completely till the year 1647-8 ; cf. Wardens' Accounts, fo. 38.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 25 a. One of the duties of the youngest Warden was to look after the plate, pewter and linen, and keep an inventory. In 1645 he was ordered to give these out by tale, and see that all was properly collected, when the dinner was over. More care was also to be taken in selecting the waiters. Rep. + 132, p. 58 b.

⁴ Rep. + 131, p. 295 b. He had been granted £20 quarterly in 1634 ; cf. Rep. + 131, p. 291 a.

a good way of finding him a living and saving the Company's purse. The experiment was not successful. In December 1636 his accounts were considered unsatisfactory, and an order was made that they should be examined.¹ In February 1646 he was blamed for having allowed rents to fall into arrear, and ordered to keep a careful book of all receipts for perusal at every Court Day. He was also forbidden to keep more than £40 in hand at any one time. This order he neglected, for in October 1646 he held as much as £110 8s. Further trouble was prevented by his death early in the following year.² The history of Richard Trimmell reminds one of the danger of appointing an impecunious man, who had mismanaged his own affairs, to hold the responsible position of Renter to the Company.

The Bachelors' Box.

A description of the general items of the expenditure of the Bachelors' Box has already been given.³ The four years which I have selected for the reign of Charles I happened to be very lean ones. Not only was no Draper elected to the Mayoralty in any of them, but no one was called to the Livery, and no one was fined for declining to serve as Master Bachelor. Apart, therefore, from the balances of the previous year, the amount of which depended on whether any exceptional demand had lately been made on the resources of the Company,⁴ the receipts were derived exclusively from the Quarterage money, and we know how difficult that was to collect. In this item, however, there is during the

¹ Rep. + 131, p. 305 b. Exception was made to his accounts for having surcharged £30 in disbursements for the garden, above the usual allowance of £21, and for having paid the widow of the late Renter for certain fixtures and other articles, which belonged to the house in the garden, the Renter's residence. It is interesting to note that these items do not appear in the actual account preserved, which was not audited till 1628.

² Rep. + 132, pp 62 b, 63 a, 68 a b, 75 a. For the contract entered into by the Renter on his appointment at this date cf. + 301, Reverse, fo. 2.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 102.

⁴ The balance, which had amounted to £596 7s. 5d. in the year 1637-8, had been depleted by the expenses of the Mayoralties of Sir Morris Abbot and Sir H. Garway. In the year 1643-4 it had risen again to over £64, but was then reduced by the expenses of the Mayoralty of Th. Adams, with the result that the balance at the close of the financial year 1644-5 was but £3 1s. Cf. + 178, Bachelors' Accounts.

reign a continuous though slight rise. The disbursements were also much reduced by the omission of the Great Dinner to the Yeomanry at election time.¹

As in the reign of James I the Company, being an owner of much land in the City, chiefly building land whether actually built on or no, were involved in several disputes with adjoining owners,² especially in these times of trouble, when, as is often the

BACHELORS' ACCOUNTS.

	Receipts.		Disbursements.			Balance.		
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1624-5								
Balance from last year	298	6 5	} 329 19 5		13 10 0	} 316 9 5		
Interest on the same	14	18 0						
Quarterage	16	15 0						
1634-5								
Balance from last year	212	0 6	} 240 14 6		8 10 0	} 232 4 6		
Interest on the same	8	0 0						
Quarterage	20	14 0						
1643-4								
Balance from last year	50	11 0	} 73 2 4		8 15 0	} 64 7 4		
Interest	0	0 0						
Quarterage	22	11 4						
1647-8								
Balance from last year	42	19 2½	} 66 11 2½		8 15 0	} 57 16 2½		
Interest	0	0 0						
Quarterage	23	12 0						

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 55 a. The most important of these disputes were as follows:—

(a) An encroachment on the wall of the almshouse at Tower Hill by the tenant of Lord Rivers. This was not settled till 1649, when the Company granted a lease of the encroachments for twenty-one years at 10s. a year. Rep. + 132, pp. 73 b, 76 b, 84 b, 98 a; A. 51 (1) (2). The dispute was again revived in 1661; cf. Rep. + 132, p. 256.

(b) An encroachment of the Plumbers' Company on a wall belonging to the Herber. This was compromised by the two companies sharing the expense of the necessary alterations and the rebuilding of a stable. Rep. + 131, pp. 330 a, 334 b, 337 b; Rep. + 132, p. 2 b.

(c) Question of the ownership of a house and a plot of ground, part of Wm. Russell's gift, which was claimed by the parishioners of St. Edmund, Lombard Street, as a churchyard. Finally settled by the Drapers paying £120 and a rent of £4 4s. for the house on a ninety-nine years lease, and receiving a rent of 13s. 4d. for the plot of ground used as a churchyard. Rep. + 132, pp. 20 a, 38 a.

(d) Question of a house in Lombard Street. This had been granted to the parishioners for charitable uses in the reign of Henry VII; forfeited to the Crown

case, a litigious spirit appears to have been more rife than usual. The Court therefore made an order in 1645, that all the lands belonging to the Company should be carefully measured, and the exact limits recorded in a book and inserted in every lease.¹

The Garden. In spite of the regulations passed in the reign of James I with regard to the garden,² the abuses still continued. It was the usual resort of persons of all sorts and conditions, especially on Sunday evenings, when they stayed to gamble till after dark, whereby much scandal and inconvenience to the better sort was caused. In 1637 this concourse was considered especially undesirable, because of the danger of infection from the Plague. New regulations were therefore drawn up. No one was to enter on Sundays except those in the clothing and citizens of worth and quality. Shortly after the privilege was confined to those in the clothing. The garden was to be closed on quarter-days. On week-days none but those of good quality were to be allowed to 'play at tables' or bowls, and all gaming by brethren was to be moderate, so as neither to be offensive to God, nor punishable under the statute of 33 Henry VIII. Servants, lodgers, children and maids with children in arms were to be rigorously excluded. As the abuses still continued, it was further ordered in 1645 that the gates should be locked, and a grating made in the gate, so that those who knocked might be seen from within. No one was to be allowed to enter except those of quality, and all gaming in the morning and by candle-light was forbidden, while on all meeting-days the garden was to be closed for greater privacy.³

under the Chantry Act, and granted to patentees; and finally devised to the Company by John Torkington. Rep. + 131, p. 329 a.

¹ This book no longer exists.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 108.

³ Rep. + 131, pp. 279 a, 304 a; + 132, pp. 7 a, 8 b, 57 b, 58 b, 59 a.

CHAPTER V

THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE DRAPERS DURING THE COMMONWEALTH



(1)

F the Company offered no active opposition to the Government, whatever it might be, during the period of the Commonwealth, its attitude was certainly apathetic and unsympathetic.² Thus the decisive victory of Worcester over the young King is only commemorated by the expenditure of £1 18s. 9d. on 'cakes and wine'.³ The Protector (Cromwell) is only mentioned twice in the minutes of the Court of Assistants. His procession through the City in

Attitude of
the Com-
pany during
the Com-
monwealth.

February 1654, after his appointment as Protector, is thus coldly referred to: 'In regard it is conceived that the Company shall be commanded to attend in their standings at the cominge of the

¹ The initial comes from Rep. + 133, p. 116 a.

² In December 1649, a John Rushworth, probably the historian, was elected a freeman, 'of love'; and in August 1652, Major-Gen. Thomas Harrison was admitted freely. This was probably as a step towards the Freedom of the City, which, unless a man was a freeman by birth, could not otherwise be obtained. Rep. + 266, p. 90; + 267, p. 61.

³ Renters' Accounts, 1651-2, fo. 11. The victory was on September 3, but the thanksgiving day on October 24. Sharpe, vol. ii, p. 341.

Lord Protector through this City on Wednesday nexte to dinner at Grocers Hall, and that it will be fitt for the Assistants and Livery after their long attendance to have a meeting and some repast, it is ordered that Mr. William Witherden and Mr. Thomas Chandler, according to their course and turne, be sent unto to be stewards for a dinner that day to be made by them';¹ and the measure of the enthusiasm of the Company may be estimated by the money expended on the procession, which only reached the paltry sum of £11 9s. 6d.²

The reticence of the Drapers' Books during the critical years of 1654-6 which followed is the more remarkable because three influential Drapers, Thomas Adams, Theophilus Biddulph and Christopher Pack, were the City Burgesses in the Parliament of 1656. All of them were also at some time Masters of the Company, and Christopher Pack, a great supporter of Cromwell, was both Master and Lord Mayor in 1654-5.³ Yet there is no reference

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 150 b.

² Renters' Accounts, 1653-4, fo. 9. Chandler was a strong Parliamentarian, and became Master of the Drapers' Company in 1658, but died shortly after his election. Cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 86. The Stewards would bear the expense of the dinner. The expenses therefore were for their 'standing' at the procession. Although the Protector was entertained at Grocers' Hall, it was at the expense of the City, and the reference to the procession in the Grocers' records is equally cold: 'Whereas it was notified that something would be expected of this Company among others' 'for the gracing of this entertainment in their standing railles', for which it was supposed some express would be issued in writing, it was agreed 'that if any express shall come, the managing of the said business shall be referred to the care of the Wardens; they to order at the charge of the Company whatever shall be required by expresse'. Heath, Grocers, p. 19.

³ Thomas Adams had been Colonel of the Blue Regiment of the London Train Bands, 1642-5; Master in 1640-1, Mayor in 1645-6, and M.P. for London 1654-5, 1656-8. He was created Baronet 1660, and was Governor of the Irish Society 1662-8. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 64. On the Train Bands cf. Appendix XXII B. Theophilus Biddulph was called to the Court of Assistants in 1653-4. He was M.P. for London, 1656-8 and 1659; Master of the Drapers, 1657-8; on the Committee of the East India Company, 1657-61; Deputy Governor of the Irish Society, 1662-3; knighted May 1660, and created Baronet November 1664. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 75. Christopher Pack was twice Master of the Drapers, in 1648-9, and again 1654-5, when he was also Mayor. He was Governor of the Merchant Adventurers, 1657; on the Committee of the East India Company, 1657-9. He was knighted by the

to the election of Pack as Mayor in the Minutes of the Court. There was no pageant, and the charges for his procession only amounted to £263 11s. 8d.,¹ a sum which marks a strong contrast to the lavish expenditure on these occasions in the reign of James I. One would also have expected some reference to the future conduct of Sir Christopher Pack, when he took the lead in petitioning the Protector to assume the title of King and to restore the House of Lords, of which he became a member.

The only other time that Cromwell's name occurs is incidentally, in a reference to the restoration of the Irish Estates; a good deed, which one might have expected would have evoked some expression of thanks;² but, as we shall see, the Company was not at first very eager to resume possession. Even the death and funeral of the great Protector are left unrecorded. The solitary reference to his son Richard is as follows: September 3. 'Paid two souldiers that watched one night and a daie at proclayming new Protector, 5s.'³ Of the repeated attempts to re-establish constitutional rule there is not a word.

Scanty
reference to
public
events.

We obtain indeed a little more information from the accounts of the Wardens and the Renter. But these give us only bare statements of expenses incurred. Thus, in 1651, we are reminded of the license of the soldiery in the following somewhat humorous entry: 'To a file of soldiers who came to plunder for it, 1s.'⁴ We hear of the sum of £1 2s. 7d. spent when Major-General Harrison was invited at some date between July 22 and August 1653, but to what kind of entertainment, or of the reason, we are not informed.⁵ The many thanksgiving and humiliation days,

Protector in September 1655; was M.P. for London in the first Protectorate Parliament, 1656-7; and a member of the new House of Lords, 1657, 1660. After the Restoration he was deprived of his office of Alderman. Beaven, *Aldermen*, vol. ii, p. 68; *Dict. National Biography*.

¹ Bachelors' Accounts, +178, fo. 133. The Company, however, paid him the usual fee for 'trimming his house', lent him their plate, and took measures for attending the procession. Rep. +132, p. 160 a.

² Rep. +132, p. 204 b.

³ Renter's Accounts, 1658-9, fo. 11.

⁴ Renter's Accounts, 1650-1, fo. 12.

⁵ Renter's Accounts, 1652-3, fo. 11. Harrison had taken part in the expulsion of the Rump in April 1653, and was president of the Council of Thirteen that ruled England at the moment. He had been admitted to the freedom of the Company in 1652, cf. p. 211, note 2. Cf. *Dict. National Biography*.

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which were ordered by the Government on every possible occasion,¹ appear chiefly in the Accounts, but in no one case is the reason given, nor are there any expressions either of approval or disapproval. The expenses incurred on these occasions, whether festal or not, were for 'cakes and wine' in the mornings to support the members in the proceedings of the day which were 'gowne carrying days', and rarely exceeded £2 10s.² The expenditure on cakes and wine on Humiliation Days sounds rather inappropriate, but no doubt the proceedings were exhausting! February 20, 1657, having been declared a thanksgiving day, the Court decided that if the Company were summoned to St Paul's there should be a dinner for the Assistants and the Livery.³

It is possible that the reason why the records of the Drapers'

¹ Of these I have counted no less than nineteen thanksgiving and ten humiliation days between August 1649-59.

² The instances in which this sum was seriously exceeded were:—

		Cost.			Probable reason, though it is not given.	
		£	s.	d.		
1649.	Aug. 29.	Thanksgiving Day Dinner at the Three Tuns	10	1	3	Defeat of Ormond in Ireland.
	Nov. 1.	Thanksgiving Day Dinner at the Three Tuns.	10	2	7	The acquittal of John Lilburne, which certainly caused great rejoicings. Cf. Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, ed. 1894, vol. i, p. 189.
1652.	June 9.	Humiliation Day at Pead's	5	9	11	Engagement between Blake and Tromp in time of peace, which led to war. Gardiner, vol. ii, p. 118.
1653.	April 12.	Thanksgiving Day	12	4	8	Victory over the Dutch in the Channel.
	June 23.	Thanksgiving Day	12	6	10	Victory of June 3 and 4 over the Dutch; and proposals of Dutch to negotiate a peace. Gardiner, vol. ii, pp. 337-40.

Cf. Renter's Accounts, 1649-50, fo. 11; 1651-2, fo. 11; 1652-3, fo. 11.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 194a. The thanksgiving was probably because of the rejection of the Militia Bill by Parliament, January 29, which was a great blow to the Army. Cf. Firth, Last Years of the Protectorate, ed. 1909, vol. i, p. 125.

Company during the Commonwealth are of so non-committal a nature was that its members were, as before, much divided in opinion; but a more probable explanation is to be found in the hostility of the majority towards the rule of the army, a hostility which was shared by most of the Livery Companies and the greater part of the more wealthy citizens.

That there was much sympathy, at least, with the Presbyterian party among the Drapers seems to be proved by a somewhat interesting notice. In 1647 Major-General Browne, who, after active service on the Parliamentary side, had broken with the army and led the Presbyterian party in London, was elected Sheriff. According to the usual custom, some of the members of the Drapers' Company, in common with those of other Companies, had invited themselves to his official dinner as 'benevolent guests'. The dinner, had been prevented by the Sheriff's arrest on a charge of confederating with the Scots and the secluded Members of Parliament. When, however, the Wardens and some others made their excuses in person for not attending, they had received a loving and free entertainment from his wife, and had assured her on their part that the Company would not be unthankful. Because 'of the danger that might ensue by reason of the times and the continuation of the said Mr. Browne in prison', the Court had 'hitherto forborne to make any such expression of their intended love and respects': but when, in 1654, the General had at last been released, the Court not only voted him a present of £60, in respect of his great charge in providing the said dinner, but gave a cup of the value of £17 10s. to his wife, while the General in return sent a present of two-and-a-half dozen gilt spoons.¹

Presbyterian leanings of the Company.

As the hopes of a Restoration began to materialize, more interest was evidently taken in public events. 'In regard to the imminent danger the City was in' at the close of the year 1659 and the opening of the following year, soldiers and others were hired to

References to the Restoration.

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 90 a, 151 a, 157 a; Wardens' Accounts, 1653-4, fo. 38; 1654-5, fo. 40. £2 was also paid for 'exchange into gold', and 1s. 6d. for a purse to put the present in. Browne became Lord Mayor in 1660. For his life see Dict. National Biography.

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watch the Hall.¹ In September 1659 Alderman Love, the Sheriff-elect for the coming year, in anticipation of his having to make 'great entertainments', was granted the use of the Hall, because the guests might perchance be too many for his own house.² In the following February the Company offered the use of the Hall to General Monck, who took up his quarters in the Hall and in the adjoining house, which belonged to the Company but was then in the tenancy of Alderman Wale.³ In March, the Court 'unanimously' agreed that an entertainment should be made for his Excellency the Lord General, who had just been put in command of the City's train-bands, and was supporting the demand for a free Parliament. His lady and son, the Council of State and the field officers of the army, the Master's wife and Alderman Wale were also to be invited, and the Livery were to have a dinner on the same day. The charge was to be borne by the Company out of the fines of those to be admitted to the Livery.⁴ The entertainment was held on March 25; and the large sum of over £417,

¹ Renters' Accounts, 1659-60, fos. 11, 12.

² Rep. + 132, p. 234 b. Love was Alderman of the Portsoken Ward. He was appointed a Counsellor of State in 1660; was Master of the Drapers, 1660-1; Burgess for London, 1661-81 and 1689; on the Committee of the East India Company, 1657-62, and Deputy-Governor of the Levant Company, 1661-2. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 89.

³ Cf. Life of Monck, by Thomas Gumble, one of his chaplains, ed. 1671, p. 255. It is curious that we find no reference to this in the Drapers' Records. But we know that Alderman Wale's house adjoined the west side of the Great Hall, and that some of his rooms ran over the porter's lodge, and other parts of the Hall. Cf. Rep. + 132, p. 240 b; + 133, p. 12 b. Appendix XLVI.

⁴ Renters' Accounts, 1659-60, fos. 11, 12; Rep. + 132, p. 240 b. Eight were admitted to the Livery in October 1659; and eight more between August 1660-1. In each case the sum received by the Company was £213 6s. 8d. for entry, and £3 13s. 4d. for Livery money. Rep. + 132, p. 240 b; Livery Book + 301, Reverse, fos. 57, 58; Wardens' Accounts, 1659-60, fo. 27; 1660-1, fo. 28. Alderman Wale was a Vintner and Colonel of the Yellow and subsequently of the White regiments of the London train-bands (for which cf. Archaeologia, vol. lii, part 1, pp. 129, 130; Raikes, Hist. of the Hon. Artillery Company, vol. i, pp. 136 ff.). He was knighted by Charles II in May 1660, and became purveyor of wine to the Court. According to Mr. Pepys the Alderman was a somewhat hard drinker, being on one occasion 'almost fuddled' in Pepys' company. Diary, ed. Bright, 1875, vol. i, p. 267; cf. Dict. National Biography.

which was expended, reminds one of the old days of the monarchy.¹ When the return of the King was assured, the Company took its part. Theophilus Biddulph, who had been elected Burgess for the City after the Rump had been recalled, and Thomas Adams, another prominent Draper, were on the deputation appointed to visit Charles at the Hague.²

Meanwhile certain events had occurred, which, as they touched the interests of the Company somewhat closely, are dealt with in greater detail.

The question as to the restoration of the Irish lands confiscated by Charles I had been raised as early as January 1650, when a committee had been called by the Mayor to deal with it. The Court of the Company consented to send two representatives, but were evidently shy of the whole matter. Considering 'that in the then condition of the Company, in respect of the great debts they are owed, it was not safe to intermeddle in the plantation', the representatives were forbidden to consent to any proposal without previous reference to it.³ A letter from the Council of State in February implies that the other Companies were equally apathetic. The Council stated that it had not heard anything of the City's claim that it was entitled to the lands or fishings in Ulster, and that possibly the City was sick and tired of the business, and resolved to look upon their money spent in Ulster as lost.⁴ The

Restoration
of Irish
Estate,
1656.

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 240 b, 241 a; Wardens' Accounts, 1659-60, fo. 39. The cook was given £15 for his extra expenditure, and £5 for his and his servants' pains. Monck was also entertained by other Companies. Cf. Bodleian MS., Wood 398, for the doggerel verses written on the occasion, termed A dialogue between Tom a countryman and Dick a citizen, to the tune of 'I'll never love thee more' by T. Jordan. It must be confessed that the loyalty of the author was better than his verse. Cf. also a speech made to the General by the same author.

² Sharpe, London, vol. ii, p. 379. The 'Rump' was recalled by the army in May 1659. In February 1660 the Presbyterian members who had been excluded by Pride's Purge were readmitted. In March 1660 the Parliament finally dissolved itself, and the 'Free Parliament' then chosen recalled King Charles the Second.

³ Rep. + 132, pp. 100 a, 102 b. The actual deeds, counterparts of leases, and writings concerning the Irish Estate, which had been delivered by the Company, by order of the Star Chamber, to Sir Ralph Whitfield, Serjeant at Law, were recovered by the Company as early as January 1649; *ib.*, pp. 87 b, 88 a.

⁴ State Papers, Domestic, Interregnum, i. 63, p. 618.

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effect of this letter was, however, to reawaken interest in the matter. Negotiations were entered into, and the Companies finally accepted the offer.¹ In March 1657 the Protector, on the advice of his Council of State, restored the estates to the Irish Society by Letters Patent, in the terms of the original charter of James I; and in August 1658 that Society made re-conveyances of their respective Proportions to the Livery Companies.² No sooner had this been done than the Drapers considered the question of renewing the lease of their Manor to Sir John Clotworthy their late tenant.³ There were, however, three several estates in freehold, which were set out, or intended, for demesne lands of the Manor, and these were granted to trustees to hold to the use of the Company.⁴ At the same time a resolution was passed by the Court, which has an important bearing on the case which subsequently arose between the Irish Society and the Skinners' Company. The Irish Society, in its original grant to the Companies, had reserved all the fishings and woods, as well as the towns of Londonderry and Coleraine, with the customs and ferry dues; it being understood that the profits should, after payment of all expenses, be divided among the Livery Companies. The Society, however, held that it would not be bound by law or equity to give an account of the profits arising therefrom, unless there were a deed under the seal of the said Society declaring the trust. On

¹ State Papers, Ireland, vols. 285, 286; State Papers, Domestic, I. 75, pp. 193-6, 265-8.

² State Papers, Irish, Bundle 286, Lease and release from the Irish Society to the Drapers' Company of the Manor of Drapers, August 1658, B. 1747, Ma. Dr. 215. They were also granted the estate of Carrenah in Londonderry: B. 39, Ma. Dr. 211.

³ The lease was not finally granted till 1664, and then to Mary Clotworthy, the sister-in-law of Sir John (who had then been created Lord Massareene), and Robert Fitzgerald, who had married her after the death of her first husband, James Clotworthy. Rep. + 132, pp. 250 b, 293 a; B. 28, Ma. Dr. August 1664, 220.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 202 b, 204 b; B. 41, Ma. Dr. 1658, 213; B. 1748, Ma. Dr. 1658, 214. The three freeholds were: Ballygone, formerly in the occupation of John Elcocke; Gortatawry and Cloughfin, formerly in the occupation of Robert Russell; Monisholin and Annah (al. Anugh) Longe, formerly in the occupation of Sir F. Cooke.

hearing this the Court of the Drapers passed the following resolution :

‘Considering that the Companies of London have been originally at the charge of purchasing and planting of all the lands and Cittie’s plantation in Ireland, and at all losses and expenses incident thereunto or occasioned thereby ; also of the losses, and at the sole charge of procuring the new patent from His Highness the Lord Protector for the same ; and that the Society doth really stand seized of the premises only in trust for the Companies, the Court doth judge it most mete and reasonable that the Society do make a deed of declaration under their common seal . . . wherein it shall be expressed that the said Society doth stand seized of all the towns, fishings, customs, woods and premises not granted to the said Companies, to and for the use and behoof of the several Companies of London, and that the profits thereof . . . shall, after the necessary charges touching the same thereout deducted, be divided and paid to and amongst the several Companies proportionately.’¹

In June 1649 an ordinance was issued inviting the Livery Companies to double the loan of £100,000 which they had contributed towards the defence of Ireland in 1642. The loan was to be secured on the Deans’ and Chapters’ lands in Ireland. No Company, however, appears to have responded. Indeed, the Drapers² had so little prospect of being repaid their share (£7,500) of the said £100,000, that they had empowered a Committee to accept 10s. in the pound.³ Shortly after, however, the Government proposed that one-tenth of the said loan should be repaid out of the lands in Ireland forfeited from the rebels of 1641. The Company, after much debate, agreed with the other Companies to accept this offer, and a joint Committee was appointed to receive the said lands, which lay, half in the Barony of Demifore in Westmeath, and half in that of Skreene in Eastmeath, valued respectively at £5,000.⁴ The question then arose whether the

The Adventure lands received in part payment of the Loan of 1642.

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 204 b. Apparently no such deed was ever executed. The Irish Society paid a dividend to the Companies in 1659 ; cf. Wardens’ Accounts, 1659-60, fo. 27.

² Cf. Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, ed. Firth and Rait, vol. i, p. 192 ; vol. ii, p. 140.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 148 b. As to other Companies see Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii, pp. 52, 57, 64, 69, 71, 76 ; Jupp, Carpenters, p. 110.

⁴ Rep. + 132, p. 159 a. Mr. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii, p. 64, gives *Demistra* for *Demifore*.

lands themselves should be apportioned and handed over to the twelve Companies, or whether they should be sold and the proceeds divided. After some consideration the latter course was adopted. Two Aldermen of Dublin made an offer of 11*s.* in the pound on the nominal value of the lands.¹ The offer was, however, declined, and eventually the lands were sold for £6,666 13*s.* 4*d.* to a Mr. Edward Carey of the Middle Temple.² Of this sum, the Drapers' share came to £537 10*s.*³ There remained, therefore, of the original sum of £7,500 which the Drapers had lent, a balance of £6,962 10*s.* We have come across two incidental notices of private adventurers in Ireland. In 1654 Samuel Pennoyer, a Draper, left lands in Ireland, which he had received as an adventurer, in trust to the Company; and in 1655 Anna Banister, a sister of the Company, is given £2 towards her journey to Ireland for the purpose of securing the lands allotted to her in return for 'a great sum of money owing to her husband, now deceased, for his services as a Captain in the Parliamentary service'.⁴

Other State
loans not
repaid in
1654.

The Irish debt was not the only one concerning which the Drapers, in common with the rest of the Livery Companies, were anxious. As early as May 1649 a petition had been presented to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen by the twelve Companies repeating a demand, made two years before, that the Court of Common Council would take speedy care for their help and prevent their utter ruin. In September of the following year a joint committee was formed to further their aims,⁵ and in March 1654 the Companies, in answer to an Act of Parliament, presented a schedule of all such debts. According to this the total of the money still owing to the Drapers came to £9,592 5*s.* exclusive of the interest.⁶

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 153 b.

² *Ib.*, p. 164 a, where a copy of the Deed of Grant is given. Wardens' Accounts, 1658-9, fo. 14.

³ Wardens' Accounts, 1654-5, fo. 4.

⁴ Rep. + 132, pp. 154 a, 167 a b, 179 b; Penn, Nos. 2, 7, 10; Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Adventurers, i, pp. 64, 346.

⁵ Rep. + 132, pp. 107 b, 132 b; Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. i, pp. 257, 276; Jupp, Carpenters, p. 109; Nicholl, Ironmongers, p. 286.

⁶ Rep. + 132, pp. 151 b, 152 a b, 153 a. Wardens' Accounts, 1658-9. This does not include the debt of £2,437 10*s.* owing on the loan of £3,750 made in October 1640, because it had been borrowed on the bond of certain Peers,

The efforts of the Companies met with little success, for in August 1659 the Drapers had only been repaid some further part of the loan lent on the bonds of the Peers, and nothing else; and finally the Drapers in 1678 abandoned these claims as desperate.¹

The bare reference to the election of two Lord Mayors and several Sheriffs given in the Renters' Accounts of 1652-3² requires explanation. Owing to the depletion of the finances of the City, caused by the Civil War, the Common Council resolved to cut down the expenses. Henceforth

Mayor and
Sheriffs
declining to
serve:

'it was to be unlawful for any Lord Mayor or Sheriff to be served at dinner with more than one course, nor were they to have at any time any more sundry dishes of meat at that one course (i. e. to a mess of ten or twelve persons, upon the Lord's Day, Tuesday, Thursday, or any ordinary festival day) than seaven, whether the same be hot or cold. . . . On Monday, Wednesday, Friday or Saturday the course was to comprise not more than five sundry dishes of meat or six of fish.' . . . Hors d'oeuvres such as 'brawne, callups with eggs, sallettes, broth, butter, cheese, eggs, herings, shrimps and dishes serveing onely for settinge forth and furnisheinge the table at any of the said dinners or feasts, and not there to be cutt or eaten, were not to be accounted among the dishes thus limited.'

Similar restrictions were placed upon the diet of the members of the household of the Mayor and Sheriffs, and no Lord Mayor or Sheriff was to make any feast on entering or leaving office.³ The ordinary fare, it must be confessed, was sufficiently liberal, but the forbidding of any feast on entering or leaving office was no doubt galling to the worthy men who held these high offices, and were accustomed to much feasting. Nor was this all. They were no longer to defray their expenses by selling places and offices as they had of old. Their other perquisites were cut and not on the security of the State. This brings the debt up to £12,029 15s. The Merchant Taylors' Company have an order in MSS. of the Protector and his Council that no proceedings should be taken against the Earl of Northumberland and others in respect of their bond, Parliament having declared the same to be a public debt of the Commonwealth. Cf. Hopkinson, Records of the Merchant Taylors' Company, p. 19.

¹ See next page.

² Renters' Accounts, 1652-3, fo. 11.

³ Sharpe, London and the Kingdom, vol. ii, p. 320, quoting from the City Journal.

NOTE I TO PAGE 221.

	<i>Original Loan.</i>			<i>Repaid.</i>			<i>Owing and declared desperate.</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Oct. 1640.	Lent on security of Peers	3,750	0	0	Sept. 1644	375	0	0	
					July 1646	375	0	0	
					" 1651	187	10	0	
					Nov. 1652	93	15	0	1,312 10 0
					Jan. 1653	46	17	6	
					June 1654	93	15	0	
					" 1655	46	17	6	
June 1642.	For the defence of Ire- land, at 8% interest	7,500	0	0	Jan. 1658	93	15	0	
					1654. $\frac{1}{10}$ th given in land in = £750 Ireland (which when sold fetched only £537 10s.)				6,750 0 0
Sept. 1642. March 1643.	Arms valued at Levied by assessment, $\frac{2}{3}$ th to be repaid	198	5	0					198 5 0
Sept. 1643.	For the defence of the City and Nation, at 8% interest	3,750	0	0	Interest Nov. 1643	£50			
					" Apt. 1645	£50			
					Capital Apr. 1644			1,250 0 0	2,500 0 0
								Total	£11,885 15 0

or with the £144 not mentioned in the Accounts of March 1654.

* This item, $\frac{2}{3}$ of £240 = £144, was apparently never paid. It disappears from the Accounts of March 1654.
 N.B.—No interest was paid on any of these loans except the last, and on that only up to 1645. The interest on the first amounted in 1648 to £2,268 5s., after which no record was kept. Cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1647-8, fos. 14, 15; 1658-9, fos. 14, 15; Rep. + 132, pp. 51 b, 151 b, 153 b. For the debts owed to other Companies cf. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. II, p. 57; Nicholl, Ironmongers, p. 283; Jupp, Carpenters, p. 110.

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down, and they were to content themselves with a monthly allowance of £205 6s. 8d. if they were Mayors, and £150 if they were Sheriffs. Although some slight modifications of these stringent regulations were made in 1652,¹ Simon Edmonds, a member of the Haberdashers' Company, who was elected Lord Mayor in the September of that year, declared that he could not undertake the charge of the office without 'the accustomed encouragements and allowances', and submitted to a fine of £600 to be discharged, being also subsequently dismissed from his office as Alderman. John Fowke, a member of the same Company, who was elected in his place, quarrelled with the Common Council and was accused of 'making an open assault upon the custom house and seizing the rights and profits of the City to his own use'. In the following year the Common Council gave way, the Mayor being again allowed to enjoy 'all the perquisites and profits which any Lord Mayor hath enjoyed for twenty years last past'. At the same time the old difficulty of finding persons to serve as Sheriffs and Aldermen was experienced, though, here as in the case of Simon Edmonds, the City gained by the fines they paid to be excused.²

In the year 1650 opposition arose in the Drapers' Company against the rule, made in December 1647, that any member, who 'fined' for the place of Sheriff or Alderman, and was an Assistant or was subsequently invited to be an Assistant, should pay a fee of £50 on admittance. The Court at first was obdurate, and threatened to deprive any person refusing to pay his fee of his privileges even as a Liveryman. When, however, in 1652 three members, who had fined for the place of Aldermen and had been asked to become Assistants, remonstrated, the matter was further considered, and finally in 1659 the rule was repealed on the grounds that the Court 'was desirous of the advice' of such eminent members.³

Fees of those who had 'fined' for Sheriff or Alderman on admission to the Court.

¹ Sharpe, vol. ii, pp. 321, 333, 336.

² *Ib.*, pp. 337, 338. The fines were very heavy, but varied from £200 to £800. It was not often that a Mayor refused to serve. Five Drapers refused the office of Sheriff, and as many as twenty-seven the office of Alderman, during the Commonwealth. Cf. Appendix XLII B.

³ Rep. + 132, pp. 104 b, 106 a, 131 a, 148 b, 149 b, 266 a b. The three men were Robert Dicer, Theophilus Biddulph and Thos. Essington. About the same

Attempt to place the election of the Mayor and Sheriffs and the Burgesses in the hands of the Freemen, 1650.

It was only to be expected that at a time when some extremists were advocating manhood suffrage for the Parliamentary elections¹ an attempt should have been made to take the right of electing the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs out of the hands of the Liverymen of the Companies, and to give it to all freemen. The proposal, however, at once aroused serious opposition among the Companies, who forthwith prepared petitions, of which that of the Drapers ran in the following words:—

‘Whereas it appeareth that heretofore for divers yeares many greate differences did arise within this City touchinge the elecion of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs to the greate disturbance of the peace thereof the said elecions being made divers and severall waies and with continuall alterations and so often disturbances. . . . Untill the 15 yeere of Edward IV the elecion was settled by authority of [the] Honourable Court of Common Counsell by an Act then made, that ye Masters and Wardens of the Misteries of this City, meeting in their halls or other fitt places and associating with ye good men of their Company clothed in their laste livery, should come together to ye Guildhall of this City for ye elecion . . . and that noe others but the good men of the Common Counsell of the Citty should be present at the said elecions. Which course and custome hath ben ever since yearly used and continued to ye honor, peace and happiness of this Citty, and the well settled government of the same. That the said Companies have in obedience to Parliament and for the honor, service and safety of ye commonwealth and Citty, and in their good affections to bothe, have from time to time hazarded their persons, exhausted their meanes, and freely undergone all services taxations and charges imposed upon them; and that so great a parte of this Citty is now settled in the severall Companies as that if a disturbance thereof be made it may be feared in time to bring a ruyn on ye whole. And forasmuch as the petitioners are given to understand that there is an endeavouringe to deprive and take from them that their ancient and lawful right. . . . Their humble desire and request therefore is that this Hon. Court will be pleased to take their just cause into serious consideration that, as they are for the most parte the ancientest and most able citizens of this Citty, and doe undergoe as alwaies they have done the greatest parte of the charge and service in the same, soe they may not be putt from that their right, . . . as they and their predecessors . . .

time it was decided that if two people ‘fined’ for Sheriff or Alderman, he who was first on the list, and not he who ‘fined’ first, should have precedence in the Court. *Ib.* 149 a.

¹ Cf. Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ed. 1894, vol. i, p. 53.

have without alteration or disturbance lovingly and peaceably held and enjoyed ever since the said act of the 15th of Edward IVth being neere two hundred yeares, . . . or be discouraged from bearing charge, giving attendance and performing services as they have alwaies done for the honor and good of this Citty.’¹

In the face of the opposition the proposal was dropped, and the elections of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs remain to-day as they then were.

The Parliament had during the Civil War substituted monthly assessments on the annual value of land, tenements and chattels for the old Tudor subsidies, and this system was continued during the Commonwealth. A fixed monthly sum was demanded from the whole of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland being both separately treated. The sum varied according to the financial necessities of the moment. Falling as low as £60,000 and rising as high as £120,000,² the assessments were popularly known as the £120,000 or £60,000 Tax. The sum assessed on England was then partitioned among the respective counties and towns, some towns being included in the county in which they were situated, as was the case with the liberty of Westminster, which was assessed with the county of Middlesex; while others, like the City and Southwark, were assessed separately. London’s proportion was as much as one-fifteenth of the total sum raised on the whole of England. The assessment was levied primarily on the tenants by the Ward in which their land or tenement lay, and the tenants were empowered to deduct the sum they paid from their rents. The method of collection was practically the same for Scotland and Ireland. This tax met with considerable opposition in London. The citizens complained that the quota demanded from London was too high, especially in view of the

The Monthly Assessments.

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 108 a b. It is interesting to note that at this date the freemen of the several Companies, especially those of the inferior industrial Companies, were also attempting to gain the right of voting for the election of their Wardens. Cf. Prideaux, *Goldsmiths*, vol. ii, p. 10. Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, pp. 202, 205 ff., mentions the Skinners, the Pewterers, the Stationers, Weavers, Founders, Saddlers, Clothworkers and Clockmakers.

² We also hear of the £90,000 Tax. *Renters’ Accounts*, 1649–50, fos. 12, 13; *ib.*, 1650–1, fo. 12.

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losses the merchants had sustained of late by the interruption of foreign trade and the piratical practices of Prince Rupert; and also because the wealthier classes were leaving London for the suburbs to escape this heavy assessment.¹ They also pointed out that the method of levying the tax primarily on the tenant caused great trouble to the landlord, who had to deduct the sum paid by the tenant from the rent. In May 1649 certain tenants of the Drapers refused to pay their rents until the Company had agreed to make this deduction. The Company brought the case before the Committee of assessment, who decided against them. Upon this the following petition was presented to the Lord Mayor and Common Council; other Companies following suit.²

‘That for the preserving of the State and rents of the Companies, for performance of works of charity and piety for which they are entrusted, and for making such necessary provisions for ye publicke, as wheate for the poore and other like things, and for preventing of divers inconveniences and future evils, which may happen and fall upon the said Companies, some course may be taken that hereafter the assessments within this city touching the petitioners and their tennants may not bee made as of late it hath bin upon ye yeerely value of their houses in London, whereby ye petitioners are taxed at greate sums to be paid and allowed to their tennants out of their rents, but, as formerly it hath bin, upon the Cos. onely in the place where their respective Halls are scituated and upon their tennants’ particular estate; and onely upon ye rents of out landlords.’³

The petition, however, met with no response, and these taxes continued to be levied on the tenants.⁴

These monthly assessments by no means exhausted the financial demands of the Government. Sometimes additional taxes were raised by assessment for the year, as well as for Ireland and for

¹ Sharpe, London, vol. ii, p. 331.

² Rep. + 132, pp. 91 a, 93 a b, 94 b, 96 b, 100 b.

³ Cf. Rep. + 132, p. 93 b, August 1649. By the ‘particular estate’ of the tenant I presume is meant his own property freehold and personal, and by an ‘out landlord’ an absentee not living in London.

⁴ Dowell, History of Taxation, vol. ii, pp. 4 ff.; vol. iii, pp. 82 ff.; Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, ed. Firth and Rait, vol. ii, pp. 1029, 1050. For the method adopted by the Renter in keeping his account cf. Renters’ Accounts, 1649–50, fo. 7; 1650–51, fo. 7.

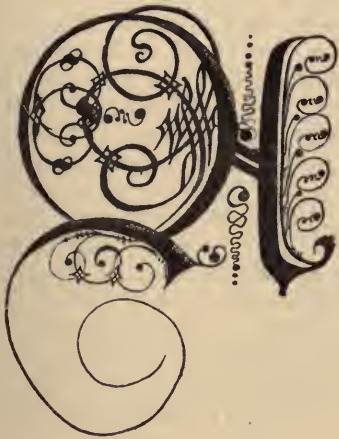
the army;¹ and, apart from these direct taxes, there were the customs and excise, which were largely increased. But as these fell on the consumer there is no mention of them in the Drapers' records. And, if the money contributions of the Companies towards these assessments were heavy, at least they were not, as they had been in the past, asked for any further loans until the return of Charles II.

¹ e. g. cf. Renters' Accounts, 1649-50, fo. 7; 1650-51, fo 7.



CHAPTER VI

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE DRAPERS' COMPANY DURING THE COMMONWEALTH



(1)

At a meeting of the Court of Assistants held in December 1652, a letter was read from the Committee for Corporations ordering the Company to present their Charter 'for alteration and renewal, to the end that it might be held under the power of the present State and Government'. The Livery, being called, assented to the delivery of the said Charter, but said that if any new, or augmentation of, privileges be asked, a committee of the Livery should be consulted.²

Question of renewal of the Charter.

The matter, however, went no further, and it was not till the reign of Charles II that the Company obtained a confirmation of their old Charters.

A few matters of importance concerning the constitution of the Society were, however, settled during the Commonwealth. In February 1648 an Act of Parliament had framed a new oath to be taken by those admitted to the freedom of the City, but had not insisted on any oath being taken on admission to a Company, although that had been the usual method of obtaining the

New oaths on admission to the Freedom of the City.

¹ The initial letter comes from the Poor Roll, 1601-88: + 385.

² Rep. + 132, p. 134 a. The same order was sent to the other Companies.

freedom of the City.¹ The Drapers at first followed the procedure of other Companies. They ceased to ask for an oath on admission to the freedom of the Company, contenting themselves with an undertaking on the part of the person admitted that he would 'be conformable to take such an oath, as upon further consideration shall be appointed'. Considering however the inconvenience which might ensue by a continuance of this omission, the Court, in November 1658, decided to revise the old oath, and enjoined the Wardens to administer it to all who should in future be admitted.² The oath ran as follows:

'You shall swear that you shalbee faythfull and lovinge to the Guild or fraternity of the Drapers London. You shall obey all manner of sumons of the Master and wardens of the sayd Guild or fraternity by them or theyre officers for the tyme beinge; or else you shall paye the paines and amerçiements ordayned therefore. You shalbee Compertioner, and to your power beare all manner of costes and charges of the sayd Guild or fraternity. The counCELLS of the sayd Guild or fraternity honeste and lawfull you shall conceale and keepe privy. And to all causes and matters for the weal and worshipp of the said Guild or fraternity, when you shalbee summoned thereunto, You shall give your beste advice and counCELL; and all the lawfull Rule and ordinances made, or in tyme cominge to bee made, by the Discreete counCELL of the sayd Guild or fraternity you shall well and truly to your power observe and keepe, or beinge convicte thereof by ye Defaulte, you shall pay the paynes and amerçiements ordayned therefore upon Demand thereof made by the Master or Wardens of the sayd Guild or fraternity soe helpe you God.'

And Master Wardens are 'intreated and appoynted to administer the sayd oathe as aforesayd.'

It will be observed that the wording of this oath differs very slightly from that enjoined by the Ordinances of 1576, except

¹ Cf. Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, ed. Firth and Rait, vol. ii, p. 2. It should be remembered that, unless a man was a freeman of the City by birth, he could only obtain that freedom through a City Company. On the other hand, it was not necessary that a freeman of the Company should take up the freedom of the City unless he wished so to do. I have come across three cases of members of the Drapers' Company who were not freemen of the City under the Commonwealth: Rep. + 266, pp. 4, 61; + 267, p. 4.

² Rep. + 132, pp. 90 a, 223 b.

that the earlier one includes an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign.¹

We have often noticed² that the smaller Companies, which were composed for the most part of handicraftsmen, had been eager that all those who were working at the special craft of their Gild should be translated to it, while the larger and especially the trading Companies, like the Drapers, rarely insisted upon translation.

Attempt of inferior Companies to get all those using their trade to become members.

In July 1650, a committee of the Common Council for grievances concerning trades asked the Company, at the instigation, no doubt, of the upholsterers, whether the Drapers would translate all their members who were following the trade of upholstery to the Company of Upholsterers 'as a thing reasonable and likely to remedy the many deceits and abuses practiced' in the said trade? This request was refused on the ground that the Drapers' Company, 'unlike others, doth consist of men of several trades and professions, . . . there being scarce one Draper of tenne within London using the trade of Drapery, who are free of the Company; but free of the Merchant Taylors, Cloth-workers and several other Companies;' and that, if all those members, who pursued other trades than that of drapery, were taken away from their Company, it 'could not subsist in undergoing charge and performing service for the publike and the honor of this Citty, as it hathe done and as time may require;' especially as several members of the Company using upholstery were of the Livery and 'of especial concernment for the good of the same.'³

That there were only three actual instances during the Commonwealth of individual members asking to be allowed to 'translate' to other Companies because they were molested⁴ is

¹ Cf. vol. ii, of this work, p. 329, and Appendix XXX A. ² Cf. *supra*, p. 199.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 105 a. This important passage has been used in dealing with the question of the functions of the members of the Drapers' Company in the seventeenth century. Cf. *supra*, p. 95, note 1.

⁴ Viz. Two to the Woodmongers: Rep. + 132, pp. 92 a, 179 a. One to the Vintners: *ib.*, p. 186 a. The request of Robert Doyly in July 1651, to be translated to the Mercers for causes which he alleged might be to his profit, was refused, because it is 'not thought fit to depart from him,' 'but to keepe him as a member . . . for the better service and benefit' of the Company. The hopes of the Company do not appear to have been realized. He had only been admitted

probably to be explained by the fact that the inferior Companies were at this time attempting to attain their end by a more effective and general measure;¹ and for that purpose approached the Common Council in 1653. The petitioners pointed out that the object of the Government in incorporating the Gilds had been to correct evil workmanship, and to avoid deceit in the several arts and manufactures, and that this purpose was frustrated by the present loose system of apprenticeship, whereby persons came to belong to Companies, who had neither ordinances to regulate them nor skill to judge of their wares or workmanship. Further, they complained that under the present system many, who were working at some particular craft, did no service and bare no charge for the Company which represented the trade whereby they gained their subsistence. They therefore asked for an order insisting that, when a master bound his apprentices, he should bind them to that Company whose trade the master followed, and not to the Company of which the master was a member.²

In answer to this petition the Drapers in the same year formed a Committee 'to act with Committees of such other Companies as shall stand together in maintaining their right to bind their apprentices to themselves.'³ The Committee were not entirely successful in their efforts, for in August 1658 the Common Council

by apprenticeship in the preceding April, and he never even paid quarterage. Cf. Rep. + 132, p. 124 a. On the other hand, there is one instance of translation to the Drapers, that of James Smythe, an accomptant in the Treasury in the Guild hall, translated from the Joiners. *Ib.*, p. 128 b.

¹ The inferior Companies mentioned are the Weavers, the Upholders (Upholsterers), and the Carpenters. Cf. Rep. + 132, pp. 223 a-313 b. A list (given at the end of a Petition in Jupp, Carpenters, p. 311) omits the Upholsterers but adds the Joyners, Bricklayers, Feltmakers, Tylers, Plaisterers, and Hatband makers. Cf. also Merchant Taylors' Court Minutes, vol. ix, fo. 418 b.

² Cf. for the Petition, Jupp, Carpenters, p. 310, and for the fuller petition of 1681, p. 313.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 146 a, August 1653; Wardens' Accounts, 1653-4, fo. 38. I have not discovered an exhaustive list of the Companies who stood by the Drapers; but the Goldsmiths and the Merchant Taylors did: cf. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii, p. 38; Merchant Taylors' Court Minutes, vol. ix, fo. 418 b. The Haberdashers, the Blacksmiths and the Pewterers were asked to say whether they objected to the Petition; but their answer is not given.

passed an Act, which imposed a fine of £20 on all Weavers who belonged to any other Company.¹

On hearing of this Act the Court of the Drapers, considering that other Companies might be 'induced to follow the like example and so to rend and disturb all the Companies of London', ordered the Clerk to draw up queries to be submitted to counsel;² and, as he declared the Act to be against law, because it was contrary to the custom of London, whereby any freeman of any Company might pursue the trade he preferred, it was decided that steps should be taken to get it repealed.³ In November 1658 the Drapers were requested by the Committee of the Common Council for trade to bring their objections in writing. This they prepared to do in conjunction with other twelve great Livery Companies.⁴ And so the controversy ended for the time. It was to be renewed under Charles II.

But while the Drapers opposed the attempt of the inferior Companies to return to the old restrictions of the Gild system, they still shared the mediaeval dislike of foreigners, a dislike in which they were not peculiar. Thus in 1657-8 they received 4s. 6d. from the Chamberlain, one-half of a fine received of a member of the Company 'for setting foreigners on work in the City.'⁵

Mr. Unwin⁶ tells us of the democratic movement which affected many of the Gilds during the period of the Commonwealth, and of the attempt of the journeyman freemen to regain the control of the government of the Gilds which they had long lost. It should be, however, noted that this was almost exclusively

Abolition of
the Office of
Warden of
the Yeo-
manry,
1657.

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 313 b.

² *Ib.*, p. 213 b.

³ *Ib.*, p. 217 b.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 223 a. That all the Greater Livery Companies took part is proved by a reference kindly given to me by Miss Martin: 'Expended with the clerks of the 12 chiefe Companies for Councillours fees, drawing up the report against the Act of Common Council obtained by some inferior Companies for binding of all apprentices useing their trades at their Halls. xxiii s. vi d.' Merchant Taylors' Wardens' Accounts, 1658-9.

⁵ Wardens' Accounts, 1657-8, fo. 26. Cf. the petition of the Goldsmiths, Prideaux, vol. ii, p. 46, and of the Ironmongers, Nicholl, p. 245.

⁶ Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, ch. viii, pp. 197 ff.

confined to the smaller and industrial guilds, and that even among them the attempt was not successful. The larger and trading Companies do not appear to have had much trouble of this kind, or at all events to have easily succeeded in overcoming it.¹ As for the Drapers there was less cause for such an agitation, inasmuch as the smaller member was himself rather a small master than an artisan. Nevertheless, the abolition of the office of Warden of the Yeomanry or Master Bachelors in 1657 marks the further decline in the importance of the ordinary freemen. For some years the position of the Wardens of the Yeomanry had been unsatisfactory. It was difficult to find persons to serve,² while those who did serve rarely performed their duties properly. They had been remiss in collecting the Quarterage of the freemen, and in presenting eight fit persons yearly, out of whom the Master Wardens were to elect the four succeeding Wardens of the Yeomanry. In short, the office appeared to be a useless one, and accordingly, in October 1657, it was decided that it should be abolished.³ It was pointed out that their Charters had never sanctioned the existence of the office and that 'most of the chiefest companies' had either never had such Wardens, or had ceased to have them; and that a 'considerable profit would arise to the Company by the fines of persons to be hereafter taken into

¹ Sir Walter Prideaux, the Clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company, tells me that the freemen of that Company had no Wardens or Officers of their own. Nor apparently had the Grocers. The organization of the Yeoman Tailors of the Merchant Taylors' Company was never a very strong one, and it was abolished in 1661. Cf. Clode, *Merchant Taylors*, pt. i, pp. 60 ff.

² In May 1649 we hear of a Mr. Smith who had never paid his fine for being excused from holding the post of Warden of the Yeomanry, and who was, if he were still recalcitrant, to be summoned before the Mayor. Rep. + 132, p. 91 a. In October 1650, two others paid fines of £40 and £50 respectively to be excused from being in the future elected Warden of the Yeomanry, or from being called to the Livery, or to any place of charge or attendance on the Company; and one of these did this on his being admitted to the freedom. *Ib.*, p. 108 b. In 1654 two freemen, who had been chosen Wardens of the Yeomanry, asked to be excused without paying a fine. Although this was refused, they were promised that they should never be called upon again, nor be called to the Livery without their consent. *Ib.*, p. 160 a.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 201 b.

the Livery', who had not served as Wardens of the Yeomanry.¹ As for the Quarterage, it was ordered that the Wardens of the Company should for the future take care that all those who bound apprentices or entered them into the freedom duly paid, and that, although these were, as the minute says, the only persons who 'on the matter' paid Quarterage at all, the two youngest of the Livery should be entreated to sit in the Hall on every Quarter Day to receive the Quarterage from any that might appear and deliver the particulars thereof to the Wardens.²

Payment of
Quarterage.

The abolition of the office of Warden of the Yeomen involved the closing of the Bachelors' Box. Accordingly instructions were given that the balance of the account should be handed over to the Renter Warden. In spite of objections, which were held to be 'very inconsiderable', this was finally done, when the linen and other goods and chattels belonging to the Yeomanry were also surrendered.³

By this measure the organization of the Bachelors, or Yeomen, as a semi-autonomous society within the larger Company, which had lasted since the later part of the fifteenth century, was destroyed, and the Bachelors' Box disappears.⁴ Henceforth active membership was confined to the Livery, and the ordinary freeman rapidly lost touch with the life of the Company,⁵ unless in the opinion of his betters he was a fitting person to be called to the

¹ Those who had served as Wardens of the Yeomanry only paid 9s. 2d. for their Livery. The others, beside their Livery money, paid a fine of £26. 13s. 4d. each.

² Rep. + 132, p. 201 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1658-9, fo. 30; 1659-60, fo. 28. Inasmuch as the Wardens of the Yeomanry had only levied the Quarterage from freemen, it would seem that this resolution applied only to freemen. Whether the Liverymen who bound apprentices or entered them into the freedom paid Quarterage at this date is doubtful. I believe that they did not, and certainly they had ceased to do so by 1660.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 202 b. The sum came to £41 18s. 4d. Wardens' Accounts, 1657-8, fo. 25.

⁴ Cf. vol. i of this book, p. 149; vol. ii, pp. 75, 76, 196; Bachelors' Accounts, + 178, fos. 139, 141.

⁵ In 1660 the Court declared that, of freemen who could not dispense £500 a year, 'they were not acquainted with their habitation or estate for the most parte.' Rep. + 132, p. 246 b.

Livery. In a word the Company, which in its earlier days had been a popular society in which all freemen had a share in the government, had now become a close body of persons nominated by a self-elected group, consisting of the Court and the Livery; and of these the Court alone had any real power. The change, however, does not appear to have excited any serious discontent. Indeed, of late the difficulty had rather been to find persons who were willing to accept nomination as Liverymen. This is partly at least to be explained by the fact that admission to the Livery, and still more to the Court, or to the position of Warden, or Master, brought with it responsibilities and expense,¹ from which the freeman was at least free.

Number
of the
Freemen.

Nor did the decline in the importance of the Yeomen seriously deter people from entering the freedom. In spite of the evil days through which the country had passed since the year 1641, we learn from the Quarterage book that, in the year 1651, the freemen numbered 1,390, and 1,386 in the year 1653, or only forty-one less than it had been in 1641.² We have no means of discovering the exact number of the freemen in the years immediately after the destruction of their semi-autonomous organi-

¹ The duties of the Master and Wardens have been given in vol. ii of this work, p. 217. The Liverymen had to pay for entry, and for their liveries. Cf. vol. ii, p. 193. They were from time to time appointed Stewards at the Stewards' Dinners, the charges of which they had to bear, and they further were expected to take part in the civic processions, and to contribute to the demands made by the State in the way of gifts and loans.

² Cf. Quarterage Books + 266, 267. In making this calculation, the same method has been adopted as before; cf. *supra*, p. 88. These years have been taken because 1651 is the last year in one Quarterage Book, and 1653 the first of the other. From the names found in 1651, all those marked dead have been deducted, while the list of those who had entered up to 1653 are presumably the freemen of that date. In the course of the year 1653, four were called to the Livery; cf. Livery Book + 301. The number of admissions to the freedom from 1649-59 were 788, or an average of $71\frac{7}{11}$ a year. Cf. Freedom List + 279. Most of these were admitted through apprenticeship; a few were, however, elected after the election dinner by special favour and paid no fee: e. g. 1651, Richard Jones and Sam. Rowe; 1652, Lord Monzon, Major-General Harrison, Ed. Harris, Thomas Forthe. Rep. + 301, pp. 240, 252, Appendix to this volume, XXV. iii.

zation under their Master Bachelors, but, as we shall see, in 1665 there was only a further decline of some thirty.¹

In one respect the Court made haste to allay any apprehensions of the freemen that they would suffer materially. Conceiving that the Yeomanry might fear 'lest they should be utterly deprived of their dinner', especially as it was some years since, owing to the times, one had been held, it was ordered that such a dinner should be held at the accustomed date (Tuesday after Michaelmas Day), and that the accustomed fee of 12*d.* should be remitted for the future.² The Court desired that the dinner should be one that befitted the credit of the Company and yet 'as frugally as conveniently it may be'. It cost £94 4*s.* 8*d.*³

But while the ordinary freeman was thus becoming of less importance, the size of the Livery was increased. In the year of Charles's execution, the Livery (exclusive of the Assistants, who numbered with the Master and four Wardens 34), was composed of 69, and in the following year of 65; a number which we are, however, told was small when compared with that of other Companies.⁴ In September 1650 therefore it was resolved that whereas 'divers of the Yeomanry ancient in freedom, and of good worth and hability, have been of long time neglected and forgotten to be called, . . . whereby much discontent had arisen amongst them by seeing others, their juniors, preferred and called before them', the Wardens should at their discretion call any such

Increase in
Numbers of
the Livery.

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 320. The following table shows the fluctuations in the number of the freemen since the reign of James:

Numbers of Freemen.		Numbers paying Quarterage.
1617	2106	617
1641	1427	576
1651	1390	??
1653	1386	564
1665	1356 or 1359	382

For admissions into Freedom from 1649-59 cf. Appendix XXV. iii.

² Rep. + 132, p. 213 a.

³ Wardens' Accounts, 1658-9, fo. 39. The fare was to be seven good substantial dishes without a second course for one messe in the Hall, where the better sort sat; and five dishes for each messe in the parlour. Cf. Rep. + 132, p. 216 a.

⁴ Cf. Rep. + 132, p. 159 a.

Admissions into the Livery to be every fourth year, and to be twice as many as they had been of late.

to the number of twelve, and this not only 'for the continuance of unity', but because thereby money might be raised towards the payment of the Company's debts.¹ In the next year ten persons, who had served the office of Wardens of the Yeomanry, and twenty-four others were called.² In 1654, in anticipation of the election of Sir Christopher Pack, the Master, to the office of Lord Mayor in the following September, the Wardens were asked to carefully peruse the Quarterage book, and find at least forty fit to be chosen to the Livery.³ Accordingly as many as forty-three were called.⁴ In the following year only one was admitted.⁵ On the abolition of the office of Warden of the Yeomanry, it was decided that in future freemen should be taken into the Livery every fourth year, as had been the custom of late, and that a Committee consisting of the Master, the Wardens and others should carefully peruse the Quarterage book and choose double the number hitherto taken.⁶ Finally, in August of the following year, twelve, of whom eight had served as Wardens of the Yeomanry, were called, and it was resolved that 'for ever hereafter there shall be a yearly addition to the Livery of eight and no more, unless for any extraordinary emergency the Court decide otherwise'.⁷ In the year of the Restoration the number of the Livery (including the Master, the Wardens, and twenty-eight Assistants) was one hundred and eighteen.⁸

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 107 a.

² Wardens' Accounts, 1651-2, fo. 35. Those who had served as Wardens of the Yeomanry paid only 9s. 2d. for their livery. The others paid £26 13s. 4d. in addition to the livery money.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 159 b.

⁴ Viz. the four Wardens of the Yeomanry; eleven who had previously served as Wardens of the Yeomanry, twenty-eight who had not. Wardens' Accounts, 1654-5, fo. 28.

⁵ Rep. + 132, p. 168 b.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 201 b.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 213 a. Roger Hatton, who had served as Warden of the Yeomanry, at first declined to enter. But as the Court had a good opinion of him, his friends prevailed upon him to accept the Company's love in offering him the Livery. Rep. + 132, p. 222 a.

⁸ Cf. Livery List + 301, and Appendix. In 1650 the Goldsmiths ordered that none but those exercising the trade of a goldsmith should be admitted to the Livery, lest the government should fall into the hands of persons ignorant of the

One reason for increasing the number of the Livery was that the fees, which were heavy, helped the Company to pay off its debts.¹ Another reason was, perhaps, the slender appearance of Liverymen at Quarter Day and other meetings. In 1653 an attempt was made to check this irregularity by imposing a fine of 1*s.* 8*d.* for non-appearance.²

In July 1659 the Court also decided to do away with the office of Renter. The last two Renters, Ralph Sheppard and T. Cartwright, had neither of them proved satisfactory. Both of them had made mistakes in their accounts, and Cartwright, who had been a freeman of the Company and a Woollen Draper, had also been forced to borrow of the Company. In October 1657, being unable to make his account good, he had declared himself to be 'unfit to continue in office', and the Clerk, George Inice, had been asked to temporarily undertake his work at an extra fee of £10 a year. The Court had, however, allowed Cartwright to continue his salary, and to live in the house in the Garden, which of late had been appropriated to the Renter, on condition that he found security for the payment of the balance of his account, and also of the £86 he had borrowed. In the following June he had been given £10 to find him clothes and coals against winter, and in 1659 he was given £2 in his sickness.³ On Cartwright's death, which occurred in July of the following year (1659), no new Renter was appointed. The Clerk continued to do the work, receiving the salary of the Renter (£32 6*s.* 8*d.*) and his fees, as well as his own. The Beadle was allowed to occupy the house in the Garden, while the widow of Cartwright was given a

The Office
of Renter
abolished,
1659.

mystery. Prideaux, *Goldsmiths*, vol. i, p. 272. The Drapers had no such rule, as persons of all professions were in the clothing.

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 107 b.

² *Ib.*, p. 149 b.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 131 a, 136 a, 201 a, 210 b, 215 b; Renters' Accounts, 1658-9, fo. 12. The deficit in Cartwright's account was not entirely his fault. The Company had of late renewed all the leases they could and levied fines, so as to provide ready money to meet their debts. In spite of this, the annual receipts of the Renter did not suffice to meet the current expenses, and the Renter had been forced to borrow from the Wardens. Moreover, the deficit was found to be less than was supposed. Cf. Rep. + 132, pp. 132 a, 171 a, 217 a b.

gratuity.¹ From this time forward the work of the Renter was taken over by the Clerk, although the Renter's Account continued to be kept separately from that of the Wardens.

The Beadle and Porter to be annually elected, their fees stopped but salaries increased, 1657.

One year before, the Court had thought it necessary to dismiss the Beadle and the Porter, or Under-beadle. They had exacted more and larger fees from those admitted to the freedom than was lawful, and had otherwise in various ways miscarried themselves by receiving fees from the poor who received the charity of the

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 229 b. The salary and fees of the Clerk at this time were :

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Original Salary	66	13	4	} 99	0	0
Renter's "	32	6	8			
Fees, under Bequests for administering the same	92	6	0			
Gift of the House :	£	s.	d.	} 115	12	10
For a Livery gown	2	10	0			
" Clerk's "	2	10	0			
For candles	8	1	6			
Eight Livery fines, calculated on average number of admissions to the Livery	2	13	4			
Solicitation Fee	2	0	0			
Fee for keeping Accounts, &c.	5	12	0			
	23	6	10			

Extra Fees and Perquisites :

For drawing leases since February 1604. Reasonable fees.

For Bindings, 1s. 6d. since 1604 (Rep. + 131, p. 23 b).

For Freedoms through Apprenticeship or Patrimony, 3d.

For Freedoms by Redemption, 3s. 4d.

For the Clerks' Mess at every Hall Feast, commuted for 16s.

Pieces of candles left after dinners.

So many chaldrons of coals, coke, and wood billets.

Fees when Ward motes were held in the Hall 2 2 0

Fees when Distillers held their courts in the Hall 8 0 0

N. B. These fees for the Hall stopped in 1827, when it was resolved that the Hall should only be used for the business of the Company.

Subsequent additions :

1756. In lieu of fees for Balls and Feasts which were no longer to be held in the Hall 28 4 0

Salary raised in 1803 £200 } 400 0 0

" " 1827 £200 }

For management of Irish Estate when the Company took over the management in 1817 350 0 0

He is now paid a fixed salary.

House. To prevent abuse in the future it was decided that these two offices should be filled by election every August, instead of being held during the pleasure of the Court, and, to remove all colourable reason for exacting unwarrantable fees, the salaries were increased.¹

We have already noticed that the old difficulty of getting persons who were willing to fill the office of Sheriff was a serious one during the Commonwealth.² The same difficulty was experienced with regard to the Wardenship of the Company. No less than fourteen excused themselves during the ten years of the interregnum. Among the reasons given were sickness and infirmity, losses, absence from London, being elected an Alderman,³ and employment in the service of the State. The usual fine for declining to serve was generally enforced, but was returned if a person who refused accepted office at a later date.⁴ There are, however, only two instances of persons declining to accept the office of Master. In 1659 Ambrose Brunskill was excused on the ground that he was indisposed and had settled in the country. Mr. Crofte, who was chosen in his place, though desirous to serve, was excused because he was 'ill by reason of a distemper'. Mr. Brunskill paid his fine of £20, but it was remitted in the case of Mr. Crofte.⁵

Wardens and Masters refusing to serve.

The conditions of the City were not well fitted for feasting and merriment. 'Trade was dead, taxation great, provisions extremely dear, the poverty of the poor extreme.' Above all, there were continual 'fears of troubles that might happen'.⁶

Reduction in the number of Dinners.

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 203 a. The Beadle was to receive £16 instead of his old salary of £6 in addition to the £6 13s. 4d. he had hitherto received from the Wardens of the Bachelors. The Porter was to receive £13 6s. 8d., instead of £7 salary and £3 annual pension.

² Cf. *supra* p. 221.

³ It appears that at that time an Alderman need not serve as a Warden; cf. Rep. + 132, pp. 104 b, 108 a.

⁴ Rep. + 132, pp. 95 a, 107 a, 147 a b, 170 b, 179 a, 184 a, 200 a, 205 a, 238 a.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 233 b. It may here be noted that since January 1651 the meetings of the Court, which had been early, were now very frequently held after noon.

⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 107 a, 110 a, 239 a. The winter of 1657-8 was also a very cold one. *Ib.*, p. 205 a.

The Court therefore decided to reduce the number of the dinners, as it had during the Civil War. Throughout the period of the Commonwealth the Election Day dinners were only intermittently held, and the allowance seriously reduced.¹ Of the Quarter Day dinners only one was held every year, and that in December. The Stewards' dinners were also curtailed.

In 1651 divers Liverymen, who had newly entered the Livery, presented a petition that, as they had borne heavy charges on coming on to the Livery and times were bad, four instead of two stewards should be appointed to every Stewards' dinner, and that an allowance should be made them by the House. This was refused, on the grounds that if four were appointed the list of the Livery would be soon exhausted, and that the diet had been reduced to eight or nine dishes to every mess. There were, however, to be only two such dinners, one when the Mayor took his oath at Westminster, and the other on the 5th of November to commemorate the failure of the Gunpowder Plot;² and this rule was henceforth generally adhered to. The private dinner of the Assistants at election time was usually held, but the Great Dinner rarely. The Yeomanry dinner at election time was also only held occasionally, and then generally in spite of a protest from the Wardens,³ and, if the two usual View Day dinners were generally kept, the fare was a very modest one.

¹ In 1647, 1648, and 1651, the allowance was only £13 6s. 8d. instead of £40. In 1652 it was raised to £20 'in respect of extraordinary charges in going to church and paying the ringers'. In 1654 it was £26 13s. 4d., 'in respect of extraordinary provisions for the Mayor's Messe'. In 1660-1 it was £20. Cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1648-9, fo. 46; 1650-1, fo. 43; 1652-3, fo. 35; 1654-5, fo. 36; 1660-1, fo. 35.

² Rep. + 132, p. 110 a. The policy of the Court with regard to Stewards' dinners had varied very much. Apparently, when an allowance was made it was by special grant, and I have found no instance since 1639. In 1658, however, it was decided to grant an allowance of £10 for every Stewards' dinner. *Ib.*, p. 221 b. Even after that we find instances of Liverymen refusing to act as Stewards. Those who did were not to be summoned to any meeting of the Livery. *Ib.*, p. 236 a. These were the usual Stewards' dinners. Exceptional ones were appointed from time to time, e. g. for Coronation Day, or a Day of Thanksgiving.

³ Rep. + 132, pp. 94 a b, 169 a, 170 b.

With regard to the fare generally, an order of November 1645¹ was in the year 1654 confirmed, in the following somewhat quaint terms: Fare at dinners regulated.

‘In respect that, notwithstanding’ an order of November 1645, ‘divers of this Company making dinners or feasts within the Hall, and not taking notice of the said order, have, in their love and to show their bounty, exceeded in number of dishes and fare and bin at greater charges than they might have bin else, by whose example others, though of meaner estate, for their credit sake and avoiding unkind censures did expende their monies with lesse delight, comfort and love than otherwise they would have done, thinking muche that they, as Members of this Company, should bee putt at so greate expence; this Court therefore taking consideration of the premisses and of the present time, together with the greate taxes and expences imposed beyond what hath formerly bin, doth not only approve, . . . ratife and confirme the said . . . order, but do hereby order and appointe that the same be hereafter in all respectes duly kepte and performed from time to time by all whom the same may anie waie concerne. And for the better taking notice hereafter of the said order, it is thought fitt and appointed that the clarke . . . shall deliver . . . a coppie thereof to such as shall make anie dinner or feaste in his house or for this Companie.’

At the same time the cook was dismissed for many misdemeanours, especially for being unpunctual, sending up the meal ill-cooked, and for demanding too high rates for his provisions.²

In the following September the allowances for some of the dinners and their number were definitely fixed.³

¹ For this order cf. *supra*, p. 164.

² Rep. + 132, p. 160 a, b.

1 Court Dinner	. . . . .	£13 6s. 8d.
2 View Dinners	}	
2 Search Dinners	}	£4 each.
1 Audit Dinner	}	
3 Dinners at distribution of charity	. . . . .	£2 10s.

Rep. + 132, p. 173 a. The allowance for the Election Dinner was now generally only £20 instead of £40, as it had been. For the Quarter Day and Stewards' dinners (now two) £10, although an extra allowance was given for the Mayor's Mess, when he appeared at an Election or Quarter Day dinner. All extra charges had to be borne by the official or officials responsible. These allowances, with the exception of that for the Election Dinner, were higher than in the reign of James I. Cf. *supra*, p. 14, note 5. In September 1658 it was ordered

In every case where a dinner was omitted, the officers responsible for the same were expected to contribute a 'fine' towards the relief of the poor, which exceeded the allowance they received from the Company. The orders made from time to time that no one should go as 'benevolent guests' to the Sheriffs' dinners were also due to a desire to save the fee, which the Company provided on such occasions.¹

Abuses
remedied.

Regulations were also made to put a stop to 'great and intolerable abuses' committed by the under officials and other hangers-on, who intruded themselves into the Hall and parlour at dinners, under colour of attending on some Liveryman, and 'took dishes unmannerly from the tables, their children and wives standing with baskets near the Hall to receive the same, or hid food in bags till the dinner was finished'. Already in the reign of Charles I an attempt had been made to check these abuses. Nothing was to be taken from the side tables, where the Aldermen's men, the beadle, and others sat, till they had dined and risen, except a dish of meat, which was to be sent by the Master Cook to the under-cook and scullion in the kitchen. When the table had risen, the beadle, the butler and the porter might divide the remains, allowing something for the scourer. From the other tables nothing was to be taken.²

These regulations had not cured the evil, and accordingly, in 1654, they were replaced by others.³ No Liveryman was to give anything during dinner to any person, and no Assistant except to his particular servant, and that for present eating and not to be taken away. No Liveryman, not being an Assistant, was to bring in any one to attend him at dinner, but a convenient number of waiters were to be appointed at a fee of 12*d.*, which was to be forfeited for bad behaviour. No servant was to cut or carry away any meat, especially from sirloins of beef, from the side table during dinner. The punishment for all such offences was a fine of 2*s.*

that the Yeomanry dinner should consist of seven good substantial dishes without seconds for one mess to be served in the Hall, where the better sort sit; and five for each mess in the parlour; *ib.*, p. 216 a.

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 126 b. This policy had been resorted to in 1642, and at other times, both before and after that date.

² Rep. + 132, p. 230 a.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 161 a.

to 2s. 6d. for the first offence, which was to go to the poor, with the threat of exclusion from all dinners till the fine was paid, and of suspension in the event of the offence being repeated. Further, to prevent the purloining of the linen and pewter, which had occurred of late, they were to be taken from the custody of the beadle and placed in that of the youngest Warden, who was to give them out by tale to the butler when they were required.¹

But if the Court did their best to cut down all unnecessary expense and waste with regard to their dinners, they were unwilling to neglect their Garden, in which they had always shown great interest. It is true that in 1650 they decided not to make up the bowling gallery, and it was not till 1653 that they ordered it to be renewed. After that it was repaired in every Spring at a cost of some £3 10s. to £4 10s. To meet this and other expenses a fee was charged from players.² In 1656 some indeed remonstrated. They pointed out that 'scarce any person of quality' played, but only young men 'more fit to be employed in their callings than to spend the whole afternoon at the game', and that the regulations, which had often been passed with regard to the Garden, were not kept. These objections did not prevail, and the Court 'after dinner!' took a more genial view, the Renter promising to put up the rules in a room hitherto used for 'gameing'.³ In 1659 the Court also ordered the rugged stone pavement in the entries to the Garden to be replaced by purbeck stone.⁴

The Garden.

Nor was the Court unmindful of the necessity of maintaining the honour and dignity of the Company, more especially towards the close of the Commonwealth, by which time we may well believe a reaction had set in against the license and disregard of proper ceremony, which was one of the least lovable tendencies of Puritanism. Thus, in 1657, it was ordered that all members of the Court, except those who had held the office of Mayor or

Revived importance attached to ceremonial.

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 161 a ff.

² *Ib.*, pp. 102 b, 137 b, 208 b. Renters' Accounts, 1652-3, fo. 12, and later Renters' Accounts. A pair of bowls cost 5s.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 179 a.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 237; Wardens' Accounts, 1659-60, fo. 41.

Sheriff, should attend the processions of the Company when they went to St. Paul's, or to the election of the civic magistrates, and that proper gowns should be worn at meetings of the Court instead of cloaks, as of late had been adopted by some. This last regulation, however, was resisted because of the expense and inconvenience of the said gowns, and the Wardens were requested to find some remedy. Smoking in the parlour, being considered 'inconvenient' and dangerous, was also forbidden, on pain of a fine of 2s. 6d.¹

Charity.

It is evident, from the amount of charity dispensed, that there was during the Commonwealth a great deal of distress.² The nature of the relief was much as it had been before. In the first place, the usual distribution of £20 at Easter and at Christmas among the poor of the Company was frequently increased from the fines paid by the Wardens and the Stewards in lieu of their dinner charges; from the contributions of the lease holders of the Company, who were asked to put their moneys in the poor box;³ and from charitable gifts or bequests.⁴ Then came direct doles; loans, for the repayment of which sureties had to be found, and which were often given to set the applicant up in business; assistance to release members and others from the debtors' prisons; and grants towards putting out children of applicants as apprentices or in service.⁵ There are also two instances of annuities, for

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 199 b, 202 a, 203 a b.

² In 1650 the Common Council raised £4,000 on the Wards to find work for the poor. Sharpe, London, vol. ii, p. 323. The winter of 1657-8 was one of heavy snow and hard frost. Wardens' Accounts, 1657-8, fo. 36.

³ This way of raising money had been first tried in 1646-7. It then only produced £1 10s. It was used three times during the Commonwealth; In 1650-1 it produced £3 8s. 2d.; in 1652-3, £7; in 1653-4, £3; in 1659-60, £10 11s. 9d. Cf. Wardens' Accounts for the respective years, under General Receipts.

⁴ The gifts or bequests made during the Commonwealth were: A. Almshouses, two sets. B. Lands producing rents of some £315 17s. 8d. C. Money, £585. The total disappearance of bequests of money to be lent out to young men is noticeable. There was one of £50, but it never accrued to the Company. Cf. Appendix, Benefactions XLVII.

⁵ The references are too numerous to give. They will be found chiefly in the Wardens' and Renters' Accounts, or in the Repertory. There is one grant of £2 to a poor brother to go to the Barbadoes. Rep. + 132, p. 91 b.

which the receivers paid down a lump sum.¹ It is noticeable that the gift of £5 towards repairing the steeple of All Saints, Barking, is the only instance of a contribution to the reparation of churches,² and that there was only one small dole of £1 to a 'poor minister and preacher of good words'.³ The benefaction of Rainey towards the preaching of sermons at St. Paul's Cross and at Cornhill was also only intermittently paid. In several years the sermons were not preached, because the Lord Mayor had sent no warrants. But from time to time they were revived, and then the Company were ordered to pay arrears for the years when they had been omitted.⁴

As to the sermons to be preached, according to Rainey's will, at St. Michael's, Cornhill, on Holy Days, at Easter and Whitsuntide, we have a characteristic and humorous notice. The preacher, in 1653, pleaded as an excuse for not preaching an ordinance of Parliament forbidding the observance of Holy Days, which he 'dared not adventure' to disobey. The Court accordingly advised him to announce the day of the week, and not call it an Holy Day!⁵ The divine service to be daily read by the Curate of St. Christopher's at 6 a.m. at the Great North Gate of St. Paul's was for some years inhibited by public authority. In January 1658, however, the Court requested the Curate to resume the service, informing him that otherwise they would find some other fit person, and that the people should be encouraged to constant attendance and worship.⁶ These two incidents may be taken as a proof that the Court did not share the anti-church prejudices of the Puritans, while the last seems to show a reaction towards the Established Church at the close of the Interregnum.⁷

¹ In 1656 Sarah Cullimore, who had hitherto held an annuity of £4, paid £50 to have the annuity doubled, with a promise that she should have a share in future charitable allowances. *Ib.*, p. 182 b. In 1657 Sarah Pomfret, widow of a Liveryman, pays £50 and receives an annuity of £8. *Ib.*, p. 204 a.

² *Ib.*, p. 235 b.

³ *Ib.*, p. 90 b.

⁴ *Rep.* + 132, pp. 101 b, 105 a b, 142 b, 230 b; *Wardens' Accounts*, 1653-4, fo. 39.

⁵ *Rep.* + 132, p. 141 b.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 205 a.

⁷ In 1651, £39 is assessed on the Hall for repairing the Parish Church of St. Peter-le-Poor. *Ib.*, p. 262 b.

Among the contributions of the Company, beyond the Exhibitions at Oxford and Cambridge,¹ and the gifts to students who were proceeding to their degree, the following are interesting as showing that the Company still continued to be patrons of literature and learning.

Gift to
Pembroke
Hall.

In 1654, £10 was given to John Ogilby for 'a faire large book with Maps of Virgil translated in English Meter with annotations', and in 1657, £3 to James Howell, who had presented his book 'Londinopolis or a Survey of London' and was 'now poor'.² In the following year the Company gave £150 for the repairing of the Hall of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. The letter of the Master and Fellows asking for help is interesting as a specimen of the style of the day. It runs thus:³

'To the Right Worshipfull the Master, Wardens and Assistants of the Company of Drapers. Right worshipfull, It may seeme happily not only strange and uncouth, but alsoe little agreeable to those lawes of modesty, which should be held sacred, especially with us in these places of education, That wee, who have not had the good hap to bee any wayes known to you, should notwithstandinge addresse to you in this manner, as the sequell of this paper will importe. Nor have wee any other Defense or Apology for ourselves herein, but the necessity of the case on the one hand, and the knowne goodnesse and piety of this famous citty on the other. For, Gentlemen, it is a manifeste truth, for which you and the Nation in you, and for you, have much Reason to blesse God, That your large Heartes and publique spiritts, particularly celebrated for the universail Patronage of those twoe most publicke interestes of all others Religion and Learninge, have from tyme to tyme furnisht us with more Reall Arguments wherewith to confronte the Romish braggs of theyr good workes, than any Protestante Citty in the world besides.

¹ Some of the Exhibitions were provided out of moneys left by private benefactors, others by the House.

² Rep. + 132, pp. 158 a, 199 a. For these two worthies cf. Dict. National Biography. James Howell was subsequently appointed Historiographer Royal by James II. The Goldsmiths were not so generous; they only gave him £2 for the book, but £10 to Ogilby. Prideaux, vol. ii, pp. 68, 119. The Ironmongers gave 30s. to Howell, and 20 nobles for Ogilby's Book. Nicholl, Ironmongers, p. 296. Ogilby was a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company: cf. Clode, Memorials, p. 187. It was the common practice of the day for authors to present books to patrons who would be likely to respond.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 211 b.

Upon this confidence therefore, and the single encouragement thereof, wee shall crave leave with your good favour and allowance to recommend to you an objecte of your charity, and such an one, whereon wee hope it will appeare to you, you have an opportunity, not only of bestowinge, but of improvinge with the beste advantage some of that store, which accordinge as God hath prospered you, you lay by you for pious uses. It is the Antient and Religious Foundacion (as Queene Elizabeth taking speciall notice of the eminente Lightes of the Church which sprange thence was pleased to stile it) of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, of which seminary of good Learninge (although It might bee but an acte of justice to our predecessours and gratitude to God to enlarge a little in magnifyinge his particular blessinge on it, yet) wee shall only say thus much; That for these many ages paste it hath not bene a barren womb nor borne Drybreasts. For without feare of envy or suspition of vanity wee may boldly affirme thus much of our poore old colledge, That now, for above these three hundred years, it hath borne its parte in supplyinge the Church and nacion with able and usefull Ministers, and such many of them, as have been accounted among the worthyes of theyre generation; yea, if wee should say, that it hath afforded more than a Ratable Contribution to these publike services (although happily it may not soe well become our mouths, yet) wee are well assured, That all those who have knowne or heard of those many martyrs, Rogers the firste, Ridley the moste Learned, Bradford the holiest of that glorious army, which abode the fiery tryall in Queene Maryes daies; those many Reverend Fathers and eminente Pillars of the Church; those many, Grindalls, Whitgiftes, Andrews, Feltons, Fulks, Greenham, Fenner, (of which wee might give large Catalogues) who all had theyr educacion here, will abundantly testify for us, that herein wee should not use any overreachinge expression to excite your charity, but sufficiently keepe ourselves, within the bounds both of truth and modesty.

‘But now, soe it is, that the very antiquity of this anciente seed plott of Religion and Learninge is become the presente matter of our griefe and complaynte, because thereby this house is well nigh Disabled from being any longer a seate of Religious educacion. For havinge, as wee sayd, stood for above these three hundred yeares, and never yet craved assistance from abroad for the Repayringe of it, (which we know none of ye like Antiquity can say) it is at length become so universally Decayed and Ruinous, that the very walls thereof are ready to fall downe at every beholders feete to implore theyr assistancē to keepe them upp. In order to which good end wee the presente Master and Fellowes, as we are most particularly obliged, soe can wee truely say, that to our ability yea and beyond it too, wee Have Layd out ourselves.

‘For, be pleased further to understand, that at our owne charge wee have compassed the purchase of a considerable quantity of good and

substantiall stone, enough in the judgement of skillfull workemen completely to Repayre the Ruine of our Colledge. But alas! the settinge them upp, together with other necessary materyalls, as of Lead, Timber, etc. will yet require a greate sum of money, which wee are noe way able to procure unles it shall please God to stirre upp, such publicke spiritts, such Lovers and Patrons of Religion and Learninge as yourselves to contribute your worthy assistance to soe good a worke.

‘Gentlemen, This is the objecte and this is the case of it, which we desire to presente to your pious consideracion, And wee doubt not, but that wisdome, which governes your charyty, will preferre it before many of those every Day occasions, which offer themselves to you. For if the receivinge of one Prophett in the name of a Prophett bee of soe greate accounte with God, as to entitle us to a Prophet’s Reward for soe Doinge, then what Reward may they expecte, who out of a single eye to the supplying of the church of God from age to age with Prophetts and Prophetts’ children shall contrybute to the upholdinge of these houses, which our pious Ancestors have provided for the constante Recepcion and entertaynemente of them; A worke that seemes to bee of such indispen- sible necessity, that God was once pleased to put himselfe to the charge of a miracle (and wee find him not workinge miracles in flighty and triviall matters) for the carryinge of it on, makinge Iron to swimme for the buildinge the schooles of the Prophetts and Doubtles, if charity admit of any Arte of improvement, if bounty be capable of any kind of good Husbandry, if there be any way more compendious than other to be rich in good workes it is this of foundinge and maynteyninge places of good and Religious education, whereby our Liberality doth not only Relieve the outward necessities of many poore students, but also reach the good of soules, and that to all succeedinge generacions. Sure wee are, there is noe way better to perpetuate the precious memory of good men; As an earnest whereof our predecessors by a very Laudable example have bene wonte to embalme the Names of their benefactors in a Leaf of Lawrell, the Emblem of Immortality. In which that wee may have occasion of Recordinge Youres, as it will be the greate Honour, soe it is the good hope of Gentlemen your very Respectful friends to serve you.
The Master and Fellowes of Pembroke Hall.’

The gift was acknowledged in appropriate terms, and the money, by the request of the authorities of the Hall, paid over to Mr. Edmund Calamy minister of St. Mary Aldermanbury and Dr. Roger Drake, minister of Peter’s Cheape, both of whom had graduated from the Hall.¹

¹ Edmund Calamy was the noted Presbyterian and the author of ‘The Saints’ Rest’. Roger Drake, another eminent Presbyterian, was a doctor of medicine

The number of persons receiving relief during the period under review, who had held high position in the Company, was considerably less, but the relations of such persons much more numerous than they had been in the reign of Charles I.¹

As usual the Company was not neglectful of its old officers, servants and their relations. Thus the son of their late Renter, Ralph Sheppard, was given £6 towards his discharge out of the debtors' prison; Cartwright, who succeeded him, was on his retirement, lent £80, and in the following year granted £10 to supply him with clothes and coals against winter.² The widow of Humphrey Downes was 'treated kindly with regard to a small house' she rented of the Company.³ The two sons of Richard Minors, their late porter and under-beadle, were given £10 each; one to go to the East Indies, the other towards his apprenticeship.⁴ Part of the fine on her lease was remitted to the widow of their cook, and to the widow of the schoolmaster at Bow was granted £4, as well as £5 towards placing her daughter.⁵ Goodman Goodrich, the Warden of Queen Elizabeth's College, received £18 for coals against winter; and Adrian Littlejohn, who had fulfilled the duties of reading prayers and the scriptures at St. Christopher's Church, but was then old, £3.⁶

Charity to late Officers and Servants and their relations

The total amount of charity dispensed in 1658-9 among the poor of the Company came to over £560, while £804 odd was

and a member of the College of Physicians, who subsequently took orders. For the lives of these two men cf. Dict. National Biography.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>¹ Viz. two as compared with eight in 1647-8.</p> | } | <p>Wm. Perry, a liveryman, Rep. + 132, p. 133 a.
Stephen Burton, once Warden, Ib., p. 158 a.</p> |
| <p>Viz. eleven as compared with two in 1647-8.</p> | } | <p>3 Widows of Wardens, Ib., pp. 102 a, 183 b, 209 b.
1 Widow of an Assistant, Ib., p. 182 b.
5 widows of Liverymen, ib., pp. 150 b, 165 b, 178 b, 196 a, 236 b.
1 daughter of an Assistant, Ib., p. 182 b.
1 son of a liveryman, Ib., 135 a.</p> |

Cf. *supra*, Charity under Charles I, p. 177.

² Rep. + 132, pp. 197 a, 210 b, 226 b, ³ Ib., 128 a.

⁴ Ib., pp. 89 a, 102 a.

⁵ Ib., pp. 88 b, 137 a, 180 b.

⁶ Ib., pp. 123 a, 228 b.

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Howell's
Charity.

distributed among outsiders, making a total of £1,364 18s. 6d.¹ as compared with £801 18s. 4d. dispensed in 1647-8.

As usual the Company had some difficulty in administering Howell's Charity. By a decree of the Court of Chancery in the first year of Queen Elizabeth it had been ordered that a certificate from the Bishop of Llandaff as to the fitness of applicants for the Charity should be received by the Company before the marriage portions were granted.² After the abolition of episcopacy and the establishment of the Presbyterian system in 1648 there was no one appointed to undertake his duty, and the Company having no means of testing the validity of the claims, for a time declined to grant the portions. In June 1649, however, on a motion being made in Chancery on behalf of divers orphans of Howell's kindred, the Company decided that they would for the future be satisfied with the certificates of the Mayor, of the Bailiff of Monmouth and of five Justices of the county. Accordingly after some delay the Company paid, in the year 1651, the sum of £756 (i.e. the arrears of £84 per annum for nine years).³ As might be expected the granting of so many marriage portions in one year⁴ exhausted

1 Thus:	To Poor of the Company	£	s.	d.
	By Will or Gift	345	18	4
	By Gift of the House	264	16	6
	To Poor not of the Company			
	By Will or Gift	641	3	8
	By Gift of the House	163	0	0
	Total	1414	18	6

The total is certainly correct. But I cannot be quite certain as to the exact proportion distributed to poor of the Company and to outsiders. My estimate may however be taken as approximately accurate. Cf. Appendix XXVIII c.

² For the certificates of the Bishop of Llandaff and his acknowledgement of monies received cf. Rep. + 301, reverse. This was confirmed in 27th year of Elizabeth cf. Rep. 133, p. 283, pp. 283-4. I have not succeeded in finding the original decrees. The troubles with regard to the applicants had been continuous. In 1556 one Wm. Jones and a woman were condemned to the pillory, and Jones' ears nailed to the said pillory, for a fraudulent attempt to obtain the portions for two wenchens. Cf. Rep. B, pp. 159, 164; Wardens' Accounts, 1555-6, fo. 9 b, 10 a.

³ Rep. + 132, pp. 91 b, 92 a, 99 b, 123 b, 124 b.

⁴ Apparently forty, for besides the arrears they also paid £84 for four maidens for the year. Cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1651-2, fo. 43; Renters' Accounts,

the supply of marriageable maidens of Howell's kin, and, taking advantage of this, two ladies attempted to get their portions twice over!¹

The Company had for some time been in the habit of borrowing money from Queen Elizabeth's College, Greenwich, the interest being applied to the relief of the alms-people in the said College. When, in 1650, the College accounts showed a balance of £105, the Company agreed to add £100 of that sum to the £300 they had already borrowed in 1646; but, whereas the current rate of interest was now only 4 per cent. or 5 per cent. instead of 6 per cent., as it had been in 1646, they only consented to pay £20 or 5 per cent. interest on the whole loan of £400. As a further justification for the low rate of interest they proposed to pay in future the Court pointed out that the Company received no benefit from the College, but was £6 out of pocket every year for the expenses of the Visitors. To this sum £5 a year was added out of a gift of Mr. Rookesbye, the said sum to be spent in clothing for the poor of the College against the winter.²

Money
borrowed
from Queen
Elizabeth's
College,
Greenwich.

In 1658 the parish of Greenwich was empowered to proceed against the parishioners of Charlton to recover arrears of 1s. 6d. a week for a poor inhabitant of that parish, on the grounds that they had promised so to do; and that the founder had expressly provided that Greenwich parish should not be chargeable for persons admitted from other parishes.³ In the same year the lands of the College, which had been leased to Sir Multon Lambard the son of William Lambard the founder, were now re-let to Thomas, the founder's grandson. Meanwhile measures were taken to see that the Court of the Manor of Cryeley, in which the lands lay, was duly kept.⁴

Although the continued misconduct of the inhabitants of the

1651-2, fo. 18. In the years when the portions were not paid, the item is entered as 'to be paid'.

¹ The names of these ladies should not be lost. They were Margaret Rynald and Anne Morgan! Rep. + 132, pp. 140 a, 206 a.

² *Ib.*, pp. 187 b.

³ *Ib.*, p. 216 a, b.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 130 a, 142 b, 224 a, b.

Almshouses
founded by
The Clerk,
John Walter.

almshouses¹ might, one would have thought, have taught the Drapers that this form of relief was not very satisfactory, additional houses were founded by John Walter, the Clerk. The donor gave as reasons for his benefaction, that many 'had lately perished by lying abroad in the cold for want of habitation to the great dishonour of God'. Accordingly 'for God's glory and partly for the comfort and relief' of the poor he built eight almshouses in the parish of St. George's, Southwark, and eight in that of St. Mary, Newington, on sites granted by the City. The donor expressed a wish that his name should not be divulged during his life time, but in recognition of this and other benefactions, and of his long and faithful service as Clerk for above forty years, he was, in 1656, admitted as a Member of the Court, a very unusual honour. Unfortunately he did not long survive.²

The almshouses were to be called the Drapers' almshouses. They were to be kept in repair by the parishes; but for the maintenance of the almsfolk he left messuages in trust to the Company producing rents to the amount of £194. The almsfolk, thirty-two in number, were to be men, widows or spinsters, partly of the said parishes, partly of others. They were to be elected, some by the parishioners, some by the two youngest Wardens who were to be the Governors and have the right of dismissal if the parishioners neglected to keep the houses in repair. The Wardens were to choose pensioners at their discretion.³

He also left by will a sum of money to build other eight houses in or near London, as some of his relations and friends should decide. St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, was eventually chosen 'on account of its abounding with poor'. The parish furnished the

¹ One almsman was expelled from the almshouse in Crutched Friars for marrying; and one almswoman deprived of her pension for misbehaviour. A widow's request that she might have some one to live with her, because she was old and sick, was refused; and the almspeople were reminded that they should be helpful to one another and watch the sick by turns. An almswoman at Bow was accused of countenancing her daughter in assaulting another almswoman whereby she was in 'great danger of being slain'. In 1654 all pensioners of the Company were ordered to appear before the Wardens when any misconduct was to be reported to the Court. Rep. + 132, pp. 92 a, 159 b, 163 a, 167 a.

² *Ib.*, p. 189 b.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 110 b, ff., 190 a, b, 192 a.

site and was to keep the houses in repair. His widow subsequently gave a further sum of £500, the interest of which was, with the exception of some small fees to the Wardens and the clerk, to be spent on the alms-folk. Six of the houses were to be reserved for widows or spinsters of the parish, to be elected by the authorities of the parish; the other two were to be filled by the Wardens, who were to have general control and power of dismissal. If the parish failed to fulfil their trust the pensions were to go to members of the Drapers' Company.¹

In 1653 the Court opposed the idea of forming a meal-market under the School House at Bowe, on the grounds that Sir J. Jolles had obtained a licence of the Lord of the Manor to build his School on the land, which was then on the waste;² and, when the Governors of Thomas Russell's School at Barton applied for a contribution towards repairs, the Court granted £5, but reminded the Governors that, as the ordinary expenses of the School practically absorbed the receipts, they expected the town, which derived much benefit from the School, to undertake these extraordinary charges.³ These details are given because they prove how scrupulous the Court was in the administration of their trust funds, and that nevertheless it was composed of careful business men.

Schools at
Bowe and
Barton.

The reserve of corn which the Company was expected to keep was generally 750 quarters. It was bought as far as possible when it was cheap. When the stock was larger than was necessary it was sometimes disposed of to merchants, on condition that they should deliver the same amount at some fixed date, plus a certain percentage. The sale price in the market was fixed from time to time by the Wardens, for unground wheat usually at about 7s. the bushel.⁴ In times of special distress, however, the Mayor ordered that it, or meal should be sold to the poor in small quantities at a lower price. On this point the Court had a slight disagreement with the Mayor in 1659. He had ordered twelve

Corn
Money.

¹ £19. 4s. *od.* to the alms-folk; £5. *os. cd.* for coals; 10s. to the Wardens; 6s. to the Clerk. Rep. + 132, pp. 206 b, 214 a, 218 b.

² *Ib.*, p. 137 b.

³ *Ib.*, p. 137 a.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 106 a, 132 a, 145 a, 151 a, 186 b.

quarters to be sold weekly at 5s. 6d. a bushel. The Court, however, declined to sell more than ten quarters, alleging as their excuse, that this was as much as ever the Company had sold, and that the corn had been bought at a much higher price.¹ They also complained that the corn porters demanded more than they ought for handling the corn of the Company, and that the fee of 2d. charged by the Clerk of Leadenhall was excessive, since the Company sold at a loss. At the same time they granted their granary keeper a gratuity of £9 beyond his usual fee of 2s. a quarter, because, the corn being light in that year, the overplus in weight of the meal by which he should have been recompensed was less than usual.²

Money raised by renewing leases at high fines.

In the early days of the Commonwealth the Company had, owing to the large amount of money it had lent to the State during the late reign and its own indebtedness,³ some difficulty in finding the cash necessary to meet current demands and fulfil their trusts. Accordingly, in February 1651, the Court suspended the rule that no lands should be re-let until within two or three years of the expiration of the lease, and asked the tenants of their principal houses to renew their leases for terms of forty years at low rents, but heavy fines. If they declined other tenants were to be looked for, who should enter on the expiration of the existing leases.⁴

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 226 a, 228 a, b.

² *Ib.*, pp. 137 a, 231 b.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 110 a, 129 a, 132 a. In 1652 the Clerk reminded the Court that while the Company was owed about £20,000, principal and interest, by the State for loans made in the late reign, it was itself responsible to the amount of £4,642 6s. 7d. Thus:

	£	s.	d.
Legacy money not lent out	1,830	16	8
To John Smith	1,250	0	0
Part of Rainey's Legacy to purchase lands; the rents thereof to be given to the Poor	200	0	0
Weaver's Legacy for the Poor not yet invested in land	200	0	0
Butler's Legacy for the Poor ditto ditto	100	0	0
Queen Elizabeth's College loan	300	0	0
To buy plate sold in 1642	561	9	11
To executors of Mrs. Eliz. Daniell	200	0	0
	£ 4642	6	7

⁴ This was an expedient adopted by other London Companies at the time. As I have always given, when possible, the names of the tenants of the chief

In spite of the disturbed and anxious times through which the country had passed, the financial position of the Company at the close of the Interregnum was sound. The trust lands had been increased¹ and, in the year 1654, £537 10s. of the money, which had been lent for the relief of Ireland in 1642, had been repaid. Their title to the lands left by Sir John Jolles for the alms houses was indeed disputed in 1652,² but the Company apparently succeeded

Financial
position,
August
1659.

messuages, it may be here noted that the lease of the great tenement next the Draper's Hall, which had been held by Alderman Garway, was by him assigned to a Mr. R. Woodward in 1649. An amusing condition was inserted that he was not to dry his clothes in the garden. Rep. + 132, pp. 92 b, 94 a. In 1653, it passed into the possession of Alderman Wale, who took it for forty-one years at a rent of £9 and a fine of £350. He was to enjoy the right of a passage into the garden, but the great chamber lying over the gate of the Hall was to be reserved for the use of the Company. Rep. + 132, pp. 139 a, 142 a. Some dispute arose between him and the Company; *ib.*, 143 a, 145 b. He had planted trees in the passage, which he was, after negotiation, allowed to leave, on condition that he would remove them on demand. In 1660 the Company were asking him to allow them to take the Gallery of his house which adjoined the south-west corner of the great parlour; *ib.*, 240 b. General Monck resided in his house when he occupied London just before the Restoration; *cf. supra* p. 216.

The lease of the capital messuage in Austin Friars was, in 1659, renewed to a Mr. Peter Barr on a small fine, because he had 'done much for the House'. Rep. + 132, p. 232 a; *cf. p.* 319 a.

In 1650 the Court decided that when the lease originally granted to Sir Francis Drake should fall in (1659) they would break up the capital messuage of The Herber at Dowgate, let the great House by itself, and build convenient houses on the rest. Apparently this was not done. In 1656, Alderman Chiverton, who was inhabiting the house as assignee under Drake's lease, and John Chevall and James Burton, two liverymen of the Company, applied for a new lease. Chiverton became Mayor in 1657-8, but, apparently because he would not accept the terms offered by the Company, the new lease was granted to Mr. Burton for forty-one years at a rent of £40 and a fine of £2,400, and subsequently to him and John Chevall jointly.

The Checker at Dowgate was in the possession of Mr. Wm. Wakefield; *ib.*, p. 135 b.

In 1656 the Court had a dispute with the Court of Aldermen about certain supposed encroachments at the Bell Wharf, Southwark. I only mention this because the Wharf is probably that now known as Chamberlain's Wharf in Tooley Street, a part of which belongs to the Drapers. *Cf. Rep. + 132*, pp. 184 b, 197 b.

¹ For the gifts or bequests made during the Commonwealth *cf. Appendix, Benefactions XLVII.*

² Rep. + 132, p. 130 b. A warrant was served on the Company from the Surveyors of the Manor of Hackney, appointed by the Trustees authorized by

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in vindicating their right, as the benefaction appears in later accounts.

Renter's
Account.

At the end therefore of the financial year, August 1659, the balance of the Renter's Account came to something over £153.¹

Wardens'
Accounts.

In the return presented by the Wardens, the receipts are given as £5,813 3s. 8d., the disbursements as £2,877 11s. 3d., and the credit balance as £2,940 17s. 5d. But, as explained before, this return is misleading. In the first place the amount of receipts in any given year depended to a considerable extent on the sum received in legacy parcels returned by the borrowers, and not

Parliament for the sale of lands forfeited for treason. The Wardens were ordered to bring their title to lands left by Sir J. Jolles for his almshouse in the said Manor; the said lands having been purchased by Mr. Rowland Wilson. A committee was appointed to confer with Mr. Wilson and report. Rep. + 132, p. 130 b. This was probably a case of alleged concealment. The Manor had been granted to the Earl of Northumberland on the dissolution of the Monasteries. The Earl died without heirs in 1537. His only brother Thomas had been beheaded a few months before, for taking part in Aske's rebellion. The Earldom became extinct, but was revived in favour of a son of Thomas, who himself was beheaded 1572. As the reversion of the Earldom had been granted to his brother Henry, his honours were not forfeited. We hear no more of the claim, and the lands remained in the possession of the Company. They were protected by the Acts of James I for confirmation of defective titles; cf. *supra* under James I.

¹ RENTER'S ACCOUNT, 1658-9. Cf. Appendix XXVIII A.

<i>Receipts.</i>	£.	s.	d.	<i>Disbursements.</i>	£.	s.	d.
Balance of previous year	66	0	0½	Quit Rents and other			
Rents	1188	4	0	rents	30	11	8
Arrears	13	15	0	Taxes abated from			
Meal sold	78	11	11	rents	27	11	2
Contributed by the				Expenditure on lands			
Wardens	75	0	0	and tenements	1184	19	8
				Corn Expenses	24	14	6
					1267	17	0
				Credit Balance	153	13	11½
					1421	10	11½
	<u>1421</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11½</u>				

Besides this there were arrears still unpaid of £97. 8s. 4d. (£72. 8s. 4d. of which were never likely to be paid), as well as hopes of recovering the benefaction of Sir Wm. Terry, which had been declared forfeited after a suit in Chancery, in 1652. Cf. Renter's Account, 1652-3, fo. 35, and for the Will, + 417, p. 7 a. These hopes were not however realised.

lent out again; on the debts repaid; on the money borrowed by the Company itself; and on the balance handed over from the previous year. If this were omitted we should find that the normal receipts of the Wardens came only to £1,432 3s. 6d.¹ On the other hand the disbursements were abnormally swollen by several items, and came to nearly £2,000. If we leave out these exceptional receipts and disbursements the balance sheet for the current year would stand thus:

WARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

			£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.	
Receipts as in Account	.	.	5813	3	8	Disbursements as in Account	2877	11	3			
Less exceptional receipts:						Less exceptional disbursements						
	£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.			
Legacy Parcels returned	. 1328	5	4	} 4381	0	} 1995	2	8				
Balance from last year	. 2958	19	10									
Repaid by the Chamber of London	93	15	0									
						Purchase of plate to replace that sold in 1642	. 449	16	0			
						Howell's Charity Arrears	. . . 105	0	0			
						Gift to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge	150	0	0			
						Fees returned to two Assistants for admission to the Court	. . 100	0	0			
						Legacy Parcels lent out	. . 1190	6	8			
						Ordinary Disbursements	. . . . . 882	8	7.		
						Credit Balance	. . . . . 549	14	11		
Ordinary receipts	.	.	<u>1432</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>					<u>1432</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>

If to this, the balance on the Renter's Account of £153 13s. 11½d. be added, the total credit balance on the normal receipts and expenditure of the year would be £703 8s. 10½d. If, on the other hand, we take the stated balance of £3,089 6s. 4½d., which represents the actual amount of ready money in the hands of the Wardens (including the actual balance on the Renters' account), we must remember that the Company was owed debts to the

¹ The amount of fines on leases also varied very much from year to year, but I have included them in the year's receipts.

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amount of £1,947 10s. 0d., which it might hope to recover,¹ as against which the Company itself owed £1,479 19s. 4d. Thus the actual financial position in the year 1659 would stand thus:

	£	s.	d.
Warden's Account Stated Balance	2935	12	5
Debts owed to the Company which were likely to be repaid			
<i>less</i> debts owed by the Company	467	10	8
Renter's Account Balance	153	13	11½
Total	3556	17	0½

Besides this £2,500 in the Chest.

	£	s.	d.
¹ Owed by the State	11885	15	0
These were never repaid and were declared 'desperate' in 1678. p. 95 b.	Rep. +	133,	

	£	s.	d.
Owed by individuals, likely to be recovered	325	0	0
Fines for leases unpaid	1460	0	0
Arrears likely to be recovered	25	0	0
Arrears on Mr. Terry's lands forfeited in 1656; of the recovery of which there was some hope	137	10	0
Total	1947	10	0

Debts considered desperate.

	£	s.	d.
a. Lent to Cartwright late Renter	80	0	0
b. Owed by individuals	72	8	4
Total	152	8	4

	£	s.	d.
Total sum owing to the Company	13985	13	4
Sum likely to be recovered	1947	10	0

Money owed by the Company.

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Rainey's and Mr. Hibbens' Legacies; interest to be paid to poor of Company till lands were purchased	400	0	0
Money borrowed from Queen Elizabeth's College; interest to be paid to poor of the said College	400	0	0
Legacy money not lent out	679	19	4
Total	1479	19	4

CHAPTER VII

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE COMPANY DURING THE REIGNS OF CHARLES II, JAMES II, AND WILLIAM III



(1)

EREMONIES and Entertainments were the order of the day at the restoration of the Merry Monarch, and in all these the Drapers took their part along with the other Livery Companies of the City. They were present when he passed through the City on his first entry (May 29, 1660), and again at his subsequent procession from the Tower to Whitehall before his Coronation (April 23, 1661), as well as at a later passage of the King and the new Queen by water from Hampton Court to Whitehall (August 1662).²

Entertain-
ments by
the Drapers
at the
Restoration.

Towards the charges of these ceremonies and the festivities which accompanied them, the Companies were expected, according to custom, to contribute. Hence frequent precepts of the Mayor with which the Company complied, although on two occasions they demurred to the peremptory language he employed. Thus, when in May 1660, a demand was made for a sum of £900 (the

¹ The initial letter comes from the Charter of Charles II to the Irish Society.

² Rep. + 132, pp. 241 a, 242 b, 254 a, 255 b, 270 a. On the last occasion it was ordered that no women, children, or servants should be permitted on the Company's barge, 'to the end the Company might be better accommodated'.

For a contemporary account of the Coronation cf. Relation of John Ogilby, with engravings by Holler. Bodleian Library, Gough London 4.

Drapers proportion of £12,000 according to their corn assessment)¹ as a present to Charles and his two brothers² in answer 'to his gracious letter and declaration lately sent', the Court while unanimously agreeing to pay the sum, yet 'protested against any power in the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen or the Common Council to dispose or require any of the Company's money on any account whatsoever'. They answered a further demand for a loan of £225 (the Company's proportion of £3,000), made by the Mayor and the Common Council towards defraying the expenses of entertaining His Majesty at the Guildhall, by insisting on the condition that the words 'desire' or 'request' should be substituted for the peremptory terms of the original precept.³

The entertainment, which was held on July 5, was a sumptuous one. The King, the two royal Dukes and other great personages were invited, as well as representatives of the two Houses of Parliament. Inasmuch as large quantities of provisions would be required, the Mayor issued a precept enjoining the Companies of London to make no solemn feasts at their Halls on that day 'for the better accomodation of the entertainment both in respect of provisions and cooks'. The Drapers accordingly limited the cost of their own dinner to twenty marks (£13 6s. 8d.).⁴

An account of the ceremonies and pageants at the King's coronation was written by John Ogilby, the King's cosmographer and geographic printer. In acknowledgement of a copy presented to the Drapers, a present of £2 was given to him and 2s. 6d. to his man for bringing the book.⁵ Finally, in August 1661, the

¹ Heath, Grocers, p. 71, says wrongly that the money was to be spent in corn and given to the King.

² The Duke of York, subsequently James II, and the Duke of Gloucester, who died shortly after.

³ Rep. + 132, pp. 240 b, 242 b. For similar conduct on the part of the Goldsmiths and the Skinners cf. Prideaux, vol. ii, p. 134: Wadmore, Skinners, p. 176.

⁴ Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii. p. 135; Rep. + 132, p. 242 b. The total expenditure on that day, however, came to £37. 6s. 3d.; Wardens' Accounts, 1659-60, fo. 41.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 256 a. The pamphlet is no longer in the possession of the Company, but there is a copy in the Bodleian Library (Gough London 4). For John Ogilvie or Ogilby cf. Dict. National Biography.

Company gave £200 to the King. This was in virtue of the Act 13. Car. II. 4, which authorized the King to issue commissions for receiving subscriptions on the grounds that 'the speedy supply of money necessary for the King's great occasions could no ways be so readily raised, as by a free and voluntary gift from those able and willing to aid his Majesty'. The total sum granted by the Company, apart from the loan of £225 to the City, came to £1,775.¹ Besides this their expenses in connexion with the festivities exceeded the sum of £422. The Restoration of the Monarchy was indeed somewhat costly to the Company. But these contributions to the Crown were no new thing, and the Company had fared little better under the Commonwealth.

It was not long before further demands were made on the Company. In November 1664, the Court consented to lend £2,000 (their proportion of £100,000 raised from all the Livery Companies) at 6 per cent. to the Chamber of London towards the naval preparations, which were necessary owing to the war with the Dutch.² Unfortunately in the following April a man-of-war named *The London* was blown up at the Nore, and this led to a further precept from the Mayor, urging the Livery Companies to start a voluntary subscription among its members towards the building of a ship to replace *The London*. It was to be an

Further contributions towards the Navy, 1664-1666.

¹ Thus—

1. May 1660. Present of £900 (proportion of £1,200) to the King and his brothers. Rep. + 132, p. 240 b.

2. June 1660. Loan of £225 at 6 per cent. (proportion of £3,000) to the City towards the charges of entertaining the King on July 5. Ib., p. 242 b. Repaid with interest, Wardens' Accounts 1661-2, fo. 28.

3. February 1661. Gift of £450 (proportion of £6,000) towards defraying the expenses of the Coronation ceremonies on April 23. Ib., p. 254 a.

4. April 1661. An additional gift of £225 (proportion of £3,000) for the same purpose. Ib., p. 255 b.

5. August 1661. Gift of £200, under the Act 13 Car. II, c. 4.

The Company also spent over £200 on their 'standing' in Cheapside, and other charges at the first entry of the King (Wardens' Accounts, 1659-60, fos. 40-41); and £132 17s. 8d. on the pageants and other charges, in attending the progress of the King and Queen by water, in August 1662. Renter's Accounts, 1661-2, fo. 12. They also built a new barge at the cost of £90, Wardens' Accounts, 1660-1, fo. 37.

² Rep. + 132, p. 301 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1664-5, fo. 38.

80-gun three-decker, and to be christened the *Loyal London*.¹ To this appeal the Court zealously responded. It met twice a week to receive subscriptions, and the Assistants were urged to use their utmost endeavours in persuading the brethren 'to a liberal subscription, answerable to the importance and reasonableness of this service';² On June 20 the Company commemorated a thanksgiving-day for the victory over the Dutch off Lowestoft (June 3) by a dinner to the Assistants and the Livery, in the hope perhaps of thereby stimulating their patriotism.³ The subscriptions received from all the Companies, which came to £4,253 13s. 2d., did not, however, suffice, and in the following May, 1666, the Mayor informed the Companies that, as there was an utter unlikelihood that way to raise the necessary funds, the Common Council had decided to demand a contribution from the corporate funds of the Companies according to their usual proportions. Once more the Drapers protested against the form of the precept 'not conceiving themselves liable to be compelled', but agreed nevertheless to pay their share (£750) 'considering the great importance of the concern in this juncture of affairs'.⁴ The total subscription of the Drapers came therefore to £1,121, by far the highest contributed by any one Company.⁵ The total subscribed by all the Companies and by other individuals including some Merchant Strangers was £8,933 6s. 2d. The City gave £9,421 13s. 10d., some of which was raised on mortgage. The total cost therefore of the ship was £18,355.⁶ The career of the *Loyal London* was unfortunate. After a year's service, during which, however, she gave a good account of herself, she was burnt by the Dutch during their raid up the Medway. We have no other important reference to the interesting, though complicated, course of foreign policy during

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 306 b.

² Ib., pp. 306 b, 307 b. The Clerk, the Beadle, and the Under Beadle received gratuities amounting in all to £10 13s. 4d. for the trouble they were put to in collecting subscriptions (p. 309 b). Wardens' Accounts, 1664-5, fo. 40.

³ Wardens' Accounts, 1664-5, fo. 40. The cost was £28 8s. 6d. Probably it would have been better spent on the frigate.

⁴ Rep. + 132, p. 314 b.

⁵ The Grocers, who came next, subscribed £700. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii, p. 154.

⁶ Cf. MS. 289 in the Guildhall, fos. 21 a to 225 a.

the reign of Charles II, and only hear of the 'Frigate' because the Drapers subscribed to the building thereof.¹

In addition to these loans and gifts the Company had, of course, to contribute to the various taxes imposed by Parliament. Such were the assessments on the annual value of land which took the place of the old subsidies, and the annual assessment to the poor rate, which came to £8 13s. 4d. To the unpopular hearth-tax of 2s. for every hearth or stove in every house with the exception of cottages, first imposed in 1662, the Company had to pay 32s. for sixteen hearths 'in and about the Hall'.² Although the Poll Tax of 1660, which was also disliked, was not levied on the Drapers as members of the Company, but as citizens, the Court was ordered to assist in its collection by making a return of the names and dwellings of all members. While complying with this demand with regard to members of substance, they declared that of the greater part of the freemen they neither knew the habitation nor the estate, and therefore left them to be returned by their wards.³

¹ The following are all the references to such matters, and to domestic troubles :

1. 1662 or 1663. A dinner on the occasion of the visit of the Spanish Ambassador, cost £23 3s. 4d. Wardens' Accounts, 1662-3, fo. 35.

2. October 1662. Precept from Mayor for *immediate* provision of gunpowder, match, and bullet, according to their proportion, for the service of the State and the safety of the City. Wardens ordered to see to it. Rep. + 132, p. 274 a. This was possibly on account of the projected rising of Ensign Tongue, which had been detected in June.

3. October 1678. The Wardens ordered to provide arms for the use of the Company in time of danger. Rep. + 133, p. 96 a. No doubt because of the alarm caused by the 'Popish Plot' of that year.

² Renters' Accounts, 1662-3, fo. 10. The Goldsmiths were charged for thirty-three hearths in 1665: Prideaux, Goldsmiths, ii. 153. The tax was especially disliked because the visits of the 'Chimney men' were deemed invasions of the homes of Englishmen. It was abolished in 1692 by 1 Will. and Mary, c. 10.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 246 b. The Court were ordered by the Mayor to certify the names and dwellings of—1. Those who were, or had been, Masters or Wardens, or had refused the said offices. 2. All who had served as Alderman or Sheriff, or had refused the same. 3. Those in the Livery. 4. The Freemen. 5. All other persons, who could dispend yearly in lands, leases, money, stock, or otherwise above £5 per annum, and how much every of them could dispend. 6. All widows of freemen, stating the highest degree held by their husbands in the Company. The Court agreed to make the said return with regard to all those

Besides these regular taxes we also get notices of some exceptional assessments made during the reign. Such were: the assessment on the salaries of the Clerk and the Beadle, for the relief of the indigent royal officers in 1663, which however was to be repaid by the Company;¹ that of £7 10s. made on the Hall in 1677-8 for the building of ships;² two more made in 1678-9 and 1679-80 for disbanding the army;³ several for the maintenance of the militia and for 'trophy money',⁴ towards providing harness, drums, and colours for the same, as well as those raised for local purposes, such as having the streets paved by the Commissioners of Sewers.⁵

New Charter to the Irish Society, April 10, 1662.

Although the Protector had restored to the Irish Society and the Companies the estates in Ireland which had been declared forfeited by Charles I, his acts were not considered to be valid unless confirmed by royal authority. In 1662 therefore Charles II, declaring 'that he found they dealt honestly with him and would deny him nothing',⁶ issued a new Charter to the Irish Society.⁷ The Charter re-granted all the lands which had been conferred by early patents, and reconstituted the Society as a Body Corporate 'for the better ordering, directing and governing all and all

in the three first categories, and also of the widows. But of the freemen they declared they were acquainted neither with their habitation nor their estates.

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 277 a; cf. 13-14 Car. II, c. 8.

² Wardens' Accounts, 1677-8, fo. 36.

³ *Ib.*, 1678-9, fo. 36; 1679-80, fo. 37.

⁴ See Wardens' Accounts, 1679-80 to 1683; and for 'trophy money', Renters' Accounts, e.g. 1662-3, fo. 10; 1674-5, fo. 6; 1680-1, fo. 7; 1688-9, fo. 7. 'Trophy money' was the contribution to the Militia under the Militia Act (cf. 13-14 Car. II, c. 3), a relic of the old train-band system. In the debate on the Militia Bill in 1689, Mr. Boscawen complained that trophy money for two or three years had been collected together in contravention of the Militia Act, which had limited it to £70,000 a year; cf. *Parl. History*, v. 54. It was paid by the tenants, but refunded by the Company.

⁵ Rep. + 133, p. 61 a.

⁶ State Papers Domestic, Charles II, vol. xviii, No. 49.

⁷ Cf. Letters Patent, April 10, 14 Car. II; Clarke and Finnely, Reports, vol. xii, p. 445. Among those to whom the Charter was granted, the names of two Drapers, Sir Theophilus Biddulph and Charles Lloyd, are found (Rep. + 132, p. 249 a); and Sir Thomas Adams, who had been the Master of the Drapers, 1640-1, and Mayor, 1645-6) was Governor from 1662-8.

manner of things'. This was followed on April 7, 1663, by a fresh licence in Mortmain. In the same year the Irish Society renewed the grants to the Livery Companies,¹ and recreated the manor made under the original charter of James I.

Meanwhile the request of Sir John Clotworthy their former tenant, who had recently been created Viscount Massereene, to purchase the whole Proportion had been declined. Instead of this a new lease was granted, according to his wish, to his sister-in-law, Mary Clotworthy a widow, to whose husband, James Clotworthy, Lord Massereene had assigned the remainder of his original lease; Captain Fitzgerald, her present husband, was included in the grant. The term was increased from thirty-two years, which were yet to run under the old lease, to forty-five beginning with the year 1655, and the rent was to be £200 a year. No fine for renewal was demanded. £600 of the £1,000 arrears due for rent since the year 1656, when Cromwell had restored the Irish lands, was to be remitted 'for taxes and other contingent charges', and also in consideration of the loss suffered by their tenant during the rebellion and the period of confiscation.² The remainder, amounting (with arrears of £42 15s. due under a bond of 1636) to £442 15s., was treated as profits and distributed as dividends amongst the representatives of the original subscribers, whose shares had not been surrendered to the Company. Only eight are mentioned.³ There were, however, four other shareholders who for some reason did not participate, probably because they were absent at the time.⁴

Renewal of
Lease of the
Manor and
Proportion,
January,
1661.

This was the last dividend distributed. The policy of the

¹ Cf. B. 27, Ma. Dr. 1663, 218, Appendix LIX.

² Rep. + 132, pp. 250 b, 251 a; B. 28, Ma. Dr. 1664, 220. In 1672 the sum of £81 6s. 6d. was also remitted for '12 subsidies and £13 13s. 4d. in the nature of a subsidy according to the Act of Settlement.' Cf. 14-15 Car. II, chs. vi, vii. Lord Massereene subsequently requested the Company to revoke the lease to his sister-in-law, saying that he had changed his mind, but the Court declined so to do. Rep. + 132, p. 292 b. Apparently he ceased to have any connexion with the Drapers' Proportion. We are told in 1690 that he had a house at Ballyaghy in the Vintners' Proportion. Cf. Records + 133, p. 207 b.

³ Wardens' Accounts, 1661-2, fo. 38.

⁴ We often find instances of persons who are paid their dividends at a later date than that of declared dividends, e. g. Goddard, Rep. + 132, p. 32 b.

Company was now to buy up the few remaining shareholders. Accordingly the Clerk was 'authorized to treat and conclude' with such persons 'for the selling and conveying of their respective interests to the Company'.¹ The terms offered were that the shareholders should be paid the sum originally subscribed, less the total amount of dividends they had at any time received. Although this seems hardly a fair arrangement, inasmuch as it meant that those who surrendered got no return in the way of interest for the sum originally ventured, the terms were accepted. By the year 1679 all the individual shares had been surrendered,² and

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 300 a.

² Thus in 1664-5 the shares of:—

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Michael Warner, who had subscribed	9	0	0	were bought for	5	9	6
John Nevill " "	15	0	0	" "	8	5	8
John Taylor " "	30	0	0	" "	16	8	4
Rich. Husbands " "	37	17	10	" "	24	12	6
Wm. Meggs " "	48	0	0	" "	26	5	0
Mr. Poole " "	30	0	0	" "	16	8	4
John Saunderson " "	30	0	0	" "	16	8	4
John Withers " "	24	0	0	" "			?
In 1667 the shares of:							
Bryan Janson, who had subscribed	60	0	0	" "	39	16	8
In 1668 the shares of:							
Rich. Archedaile, who had subscribed	45	0	0	" "	24	12	6
In 1678 the shares of:							
the son of Thos. Muns, who had subscribed	6	15	0	" "	6	15	0

In 1679 the shares of Samuel Baker, who had subscribed £15, were bought for £13 15s.; his representative stating that he had only received £1 5s. in dividends. Wardens' Accounts, 1664-5, fos. 38, 39; 1668-9, fo. 33; 1676-7, fo. 37; 1678-9, fo. 36; 1679-80, fo. 37; Receipt Book Ireland + 701, pp. 8 b, 16 a, 18 a, 24 a, 34 a, 35 b, 142 a; Rep. + 132, p. 147 a; Rep. + 133, pp. 87 a, 101 a b.

As will be seen from the abstract in the Appendix, the actual surrenders of all the original shareholders or their representatives have not been preserved; but that they ceased to hold their shares is evident from the fact that they ceased to receive dividends, and the date when this happened may be taken as the date of the surrender or abandonment. In many cases, no doubt, the shares lapsed to the Company because the owners died intestate and without heirs.

I learn from Mr. Hopkinson that, by the opening of the eighteenth century, the same thing had happened with regard to the Irish estate of the Merchant Taylors. In 1698 Peter Bradshaw, a member of the Merchant Taylors, sued for

the whole of the Irish Estate, as well as any interest which might be paid by the Irish Society, became corporate property. While then the original adventure had been no source of profit, at least to those individuals who long retained their shares,¹ the Company gained, especially when matters in Ireland had quieted down, and the receipts both from Moneymore and the Irish Society increased.²

In 1676 Captain Fitzgerald, who was presumably the only survivor of the grantees of the Manor, assigned his lease to Thomas Dawson of Moylough for good consideration. This assignment was at first demurred to, because no notice of the assignment had been given, and because two years' rent was in arrear.³ The Company, however, subsequently consented.⁴

Assignment
of Lease
of the
Manor to
Mr. Dawson,
1676.

As might be expected, considering the many changes through which Ireland had passed of late, there were several contested questions concerning the other tenants, which caused the Company considerable trouble. In 1664 Hugh Rowley made a request that he should be estated in the freeholds of certain persons to whom they had been originally granted, and who had assigned them to him. The Court agreed to comply as soon as the arrears of the rent on the whole Proportion had been paid by Mary Clotworthy.⁵ In 1675 Rowley made a like demand for the

a return of the money his grandfather had subscribed, declaring that an agreement had been made that the money should be returned when demanded. This the Company denied, but eventually repaid it on his surrendering his share. Cf. Merchant Taylors' Misc. Doc. A. 11-16, Hopkinson, Ancient Records of Merchant Taylors, p. 37.

¹ In the earlier cases of purchase by the Company, the interest received had not been deducted from the purchase money.

² In 1660 the Irish Society, for the first time since the restoration of their lands by Cromwell, distributed a dividend out of its profits on Londonderry and Coleraine. The Drapers' share was £35. Henceforth a yearly distribution was made until the Revolution with the exception of the year 1661. Cf. Appendix LXA. In the eighteenth century, however, this was discontinued, on the ground that there was no balance, and, as noted elsewhere, the Society refused to present a balance-sheet, holding that they alone were the judges of what expenditure was desirable.

³ Rep. + 133, p. 80 a.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 114 a. We are told that he gave some £400 to Fitzgerald for it; Rep. + 133, pp. 130 b, 211 b.

⁵ These were the townlands of Cullmoore, Moyesset, Moneshenare, Brackah-lisleah, and Cloughfin. Rep. + 132, pp. 293 b, 294 b, 296 b; B. 42, 262,

freehold of Gortatawry, which, as he alleged, he had bought from Robert Russell, to whom it had been originally granted.¹ As, however, his claim was disputed by John Dawson, who said that it had escheated to him as the then holder of the Manor, the Court declined to accede to his request until the suit between him and Dawson had been decided, but eventually consented unless John Dawson succeeded in his suit within twelve months.² A further complaint of Dawson that Rowley had, as ranger of the woods belonging to the Irish Society, done injury to him was referred to the Society itself.³ Finally, in 1672, the freehold in the townlands of Monisholin and Annah or Annahlong was confirmed to Thomas Church of Kilrea.⁴

The only remaining question of importance arose out of the lands which had been granted to Samuel Pennoyer,⁵ one of the private adventurers in Ireland, and which had, in 1654, been left by him to his wife for life, with remainder to the Company in trust to carry out the provisions of his will. In 1665, after the decease of Pennoyer, Sam. Disbrow, who had married Pennoyer's widow, obtained, 'for the better encouragement of planting', the promise of a lease of the lands for thirty years and a rent of £60 after his wife's death, and the lease was finally granted in 1665. As, however, under the provisions of the Act of Settlement, Disbrow had only succeeded in obtaining some 74 acres, out of

Ma. Dr. 1664, 205; B. 35, Ma. Dr. 1664, 206. I have not discovered whether Hugh Rowley was any relation of the Rowleys who gave so much trouble in the reign of Charles I, but in all probability he was. Moneshenare and Brackahisleah had been claimed by William Rowley, but finally given to Nathaniel Godwin. Cf. *supra*, p. 127. Culmoore and Moyesset were in the hands of Daniell Hall in 1638, and Cloughfin in those of Robert Russell. Cf. Appendix LIV.

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 126.

² Rep. + 133, pp. 64 a, 73 b, 82 a, 87 a, 94 a, 103 a, 166 bis a, B. 1748, Ma. Dr. 1697, 227.

³ Rep. p. 103 a b.

⁴ B. 1743, Ma. Dr. 1672, 222. These in 1638 were in the hands of Sir Francis Cooke, of Desart Martin. Cf. Appendix LV. In 1689 a conveyance of the townland of Ballygone, sometime in the tenure of John Elcock, was made to Sir R. Staple, with reservation of the old rent and usual covenants, he having been in long possession, and being the rightful owner. Rep. + 133, p. 191 b.

⁵ For Samuel Pennoyer's adventure cf. *supra*, p. 220.

the 1,623 originally granted, he received in 1678 an abatement in his rent of £20, and an extension of the term to fifty years.¹

The condition of the Plantation when it was restored to the Company was very bad. We are told that all the houses had been burnt down. As late as 1676 we find the Court asking leave of the Irish Society to cut down timber, which was specially reserved in the grant, for the purpose of rebuilding the castle, for building a market-house and other repairs;² but I can find no statement as to how much was spent, nor of the extent of the rebuilding and repairs. In any case, Ireland was before long disturbed by the attempt of James II to raise Ireland against England, and Ulster suffered severely.

Although, as above mentioned, a thanksgiving day was held on June 5, 1665, to commemorate the victory of the Duke of York over the Dutch fleet, the news caused but little joy, for already the Great Plague of that year had begun. It is a strange coincidence that the scourge appears to have spread from the very country whose fleet we had just defeated. In the preceding June, the Lords of the Council had instructed the Lord Mayor to insist that all persons and merchandise coming from the Netherlands, and other places infected with the Plague, should be subjected to strict quarantine.³ But these precautions were of no avail. The first cases seem to have appeared in the early days of June 1665.

The Great
Plague,
1665.

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 154 a, 167 b, 179 b, 307 a; Rep. + 133, pp. 93 b, 100 a. These grants to adventurers had been made out of the lands forfeited by the rebels in the reign of Charles I. But as the term 'rebel' had been extended to all those who had fought against the Parliament before the Cessation of Arms in 1643, and included many Royalists, an attempt was made by the Act of Settlement and the Act of Explanation (Irish Stats. 14-15 Car. II, c. 27, and 17-18 Car. II, c. 2) to restore some of them to part of their lands at least, with a result that it was necessary to deprive the adventurers of part of their original grant. The settlement pleased no one, but, as has been said, it would have required two Irelands to have done that. Cf. Hallam, *History of England*, ed. 1854, vol. iii, p. 390.

² Rep. + 133, p. 82 a. In 1678 the Irish Society made a curious order that the Drapers should send two youths into the County of Londonderry, with an allowance of £16 per annum for their education and maintenance. The Court decided to consider the matter, but we are not told whether it complied. Rep. + 133, p. 29 b.

³ Sharpe, London, vol. ii, p. 410.

Charity
of the
Drapers.

On July 27 the Court of the Drapers ordered that 'in regard of the present visitation in and about the City, which is feared doth and will increase, there shall be no public Election Dinner' (in August).¹ They also decided that in addition to the sum of £60, which the Wardens were to give to the poor, in lieu of their charges for the said dinner, the House was to add a sum of £70 to the £20 usually allowed for the same object.² The £150, thus made up, was not given to the poor of the Company, as was usual in these cases, but to the general relief of poor families in the City visited by the Plague. £50 was sent to the Chamberlain of the City in pursuance of a precept by the Mayor, to be dispensed by him. The rest was distributed by the Company among the following parishes:—St. Sepulchre's, St. Giles's in the Fields, St. Giles's Cripplegate, St. Andrew's Holborn, St. Botolph's Aldgate, St. Botolph's Bishopsgate, and St. Leonard's Shoreditch.³ In August they voted twenty marks (£13 6s. 8d.) to the parish of St. Olave's Southwark; while between that date and December, Mr. Burton, the Renter Warden, contributed a further sum on his own responsibility to the three parishes of St. George's Southwark, St. Mary Newington and St. Mary Overies, because these parishes had been 'greatly visited' since the meeting of the Court in August, and because, contrary to custom, no Court was to be held till December. Not only was this measure of the Warden, though contrary to rule, approved of at the December meeting in regard 'to the extraordinariness of the occasion, and the acceptableness of so charitable a service', but the Parish of St. Thomas's Southwark was added to the list.⁴ The amount of relief given to each parish was in proportion to the severity of the visitation, and varied from £20 to £3. Meanwhile the members of the Company were not neglected. In July 1665 £20 was granted to poor members visited by the sickness. One of these, Mr. Kendrick, it

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 309 a.

² Rep. + 132, p. 309 a.

³ Wardens' Accounts, 1664-5, fo. 40.

⁴ Rep. + 132, pp. 310 b, 311 b, 312 a; Renter Warden Cash Book, 1665, fo. 13. The total amount came to £39 8s. 4d., but some part of this was given to the poor of the Company. Besides these contributions the Company were, during the years 1665-6, assessed £26 for relief of poor infected with the plague. Renters' Accounts, 1664-5, fo. 10; 1665-6, fo. 11.

may be noted, was the son of the Lord Mayor of 1652-3.¹ A short time after, the Renter Warden made a further grant on his own responsibility of something like £20,² and in December the Court also added £70 to the £40 usually dispensed among the poor of the Company at Christmas.³ In the following May (1666) the Court lent £100 to carry on Mr. Walter's almshouses, because the rents of the lands left to support them fell short 'by reason of the late grievous contagion', which had caused trade to languish, several houses to lie vacant owing to the death of the tenants, and rents to fall into arrears.⁴ It was also owing to the Plague that a resolution was passed in 1665, ordering a servant porter who was admitted to the Company of the Tackle-house porters to pay his entrance-fee to them, because they were in debt owing to the sickly times and want of work.⁵ Finally £10 apiece was given to the Beadle and the Under Beadle in regard 'to the great expense they had been at in maintaining some of their families abroad' during this long visitation, and £30 to the Clerk in view of the great pains he had been put to.⁶ As we should expect, the acute distress was chiefly confined to the freemen or their families. Only one Liveryman and five widows of Liverymen were found in 1665 to claim the charity of John Smith.⁷ We have, unfortunately, no definite statement as to the number of the members of the Company who fell victims to the

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 309 a; Wardens' Accounts, 1664-5, fo. 41.

² *Ib.*, p. 311 b. The amount is not definitely stated.

³ *Ib.*, p. 311 a. Total extraordinary relief owing to the Plague: to poor of the Company, £215; to poor not of the Company, £168 6s. 8d. It must be remembered that this was in addition to the ordinary charity dispensed by the Company. For this cf. *infra* under the year 1687-8. Nor does it include the assessment to the Poor Rate, which was increased from £8 13s. 4d. to £17 6s. 8d. both this year and the next. Renters' Accounts, 1664-5, fo. 10; 1665-6, fo. 12.

⁴ Rep. + 132, pp. 311 a, 313 b. In spite of this gift, the pensions had to be reduced in October 1666. *Ib.*, p. 317 a.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 311 b. The fee was usually paid to the widow or children of the deceased Master Porter whom the new-comer succeeded. But in this case there was neither a widow nor children.

⁶ Rep. + 132, p. 312 b; Renter Warden's Cash Book, 1655, fo. 15.

⁷ Rep. + 132, pp. 311 a, 318 b, 319 a. The names of the widows are: Pomfret, Perry, Garway, Bagwell, and Gibbon. For Smith's charity cf. Appendix XLVII, Benefactions. The name of the Liveryman was Richard

Plague. As to the freemen we know nothing, and even with regard to the Liverymen the evidence is not conclusive. There are no Livery Lists between the years 1663-7. All we can say is that thirty-two names (9 Assistants, 23 Liverymen) found in the list of 1663 are not in that of 1667, but whether they died of the Plague, or even in the year of the Plague, we know not.¹

No sooner had the virulence of the Plague begun to abate than the City was almost entirely devastated by the Great Fire which broke out on the night of September 1, 1666. London had often suffered from this scourge. As late as 1655 the Drapers' records tell of a great fire in Threadneedle Street.² Precautions had always been taken. We constantly hear of buckets, ladders, and other apparatus being furnished by the Company.³ But the number of houses built chiefly of wood was very great, and, fanned by a strong east wind, the fire soon outran control. The

Jeenes. Kendrick, the person mentioned above as receiving relief, though the son of a late Mayor, was not a Liveryman, at least in 1662-3, which is the nearest list we have.

¹ Cf. Livery List + 301.

Names which are in the Livery List of 1662-3 but not in that of 1667-8.

Assistants.

Sir Thomas Cullum: he died April 1664.	William Stubbard.
Sir Robert Dicer: he died August 1667.	Thomas Speed.
Matthew Hardy.	Jonah Peck.
John Ledgingham.	Christopher Clarke.
John Clark.	Clement Pung.
Tobell Aylmer.	Thomas Rose.
William Cutler.	Robert Earle.
John Shorte	Samuel Baker.
John Snow.	Jonathan Ashe.
	Samuel Fowle.
	Nicholas Lawrence.
	William Nicholl.

Livery.

Bartholomew Newcombe.	Roger Hatton.
William Shaw.	Thomas Rastall.
Edward Sadler.	Richard Jeenes.
Barnaby Meire.	John Coxe.
Abraham Babington.	Wildebore
	Joseph Dorney.

² Wardens' Accounts, 1654-5, fo. 40.

³ e. g. Rep. + 132, pp. 9 b, 26 b.

conflagration lasted from Saturday till Thursday; 13,200 houses, some four-fifths of the buildings in the City, and 89 parish churches, besides St. Paul's, are said to have been destroyed, and only some 75 acres about Aldgate and Tower Hill, out of a total of 373 within the City walls, were untouched.¹

The Great
Fire, Sep-
tember 1-6,
1666.

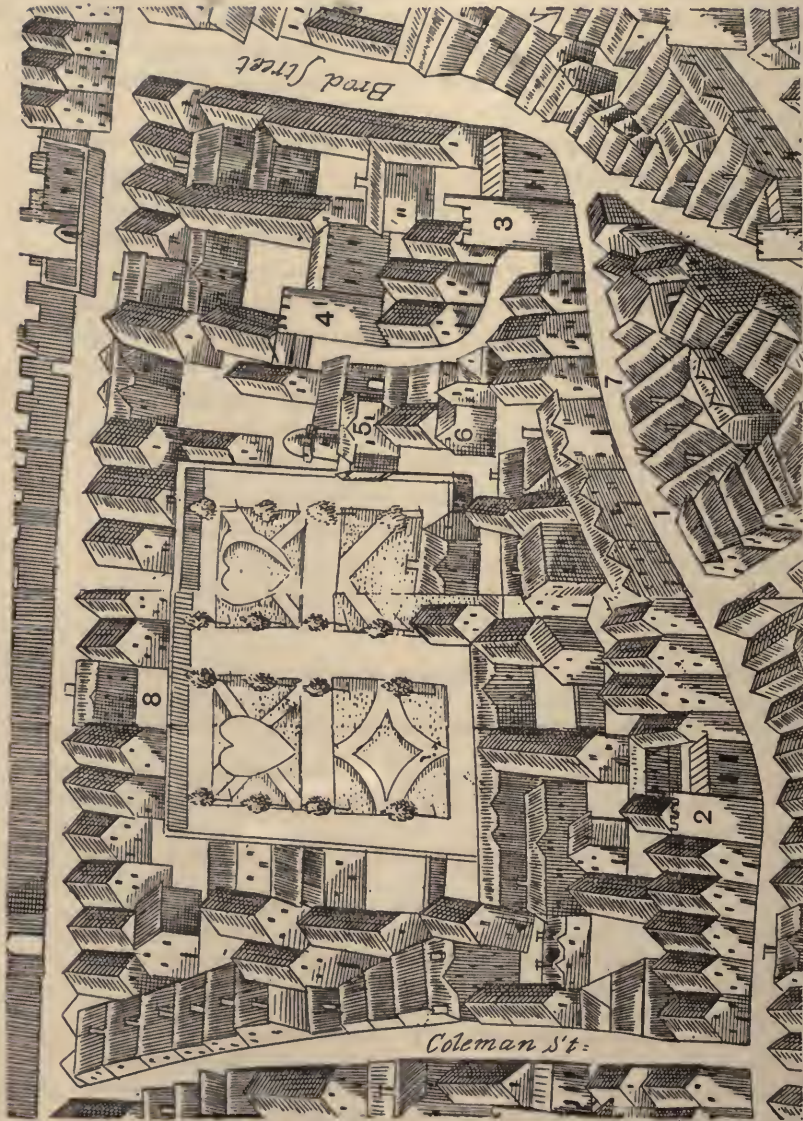
The losses of the Company were very serious. Besides the Hall itself and the Old Hall in St. Swithin's Lane, the capital messuages at Austin Friars in the tenancy of Sir William Wale and Mr. Cockaine, the Herber at Dowgate, and certainly not less than one hundred houses out of a total of some two hundred owned by the Company in various parts of the City, including the Vicarage of St. Michael's,² were destroyed, or blown up in the efforts to stay the fire. The Church of St. Michael's, of which the Company held the advowson and where the services of the fraternity were held, was also demolished.³ Silver coin to the amount of £446, which had been deposited by the Renter Warden in the 'Book-house or Treasury', was either defaced or melted, and a silversmith was employed to refine the remains and extract what he could. The weight of the silver extracted from the rubbish was 116 oz., and the total amount received for it and for the defaced silver £115 os. 5d.⁴ The plate, however, which had been put into

¹ Sharpe, London, vol. ii, p. 417. The fire did not extend northwards beyond Drapers' Hall and its precincts, as will be seen from the Map, p. 277. For a detailed account of the Fire and the conduct of the Mayor, Sir T. Bludworth, cf. W. G. Bell, *The Great Fire*, ed. 1920.

² It is impossible to give the exact number, either of the houses owned by the Company or of those destroyed, but the estimate in both cases is probably somewhat under the actual figures.

³ The references are too numerous to give. They are to be found in the Repertories +132 and +133.

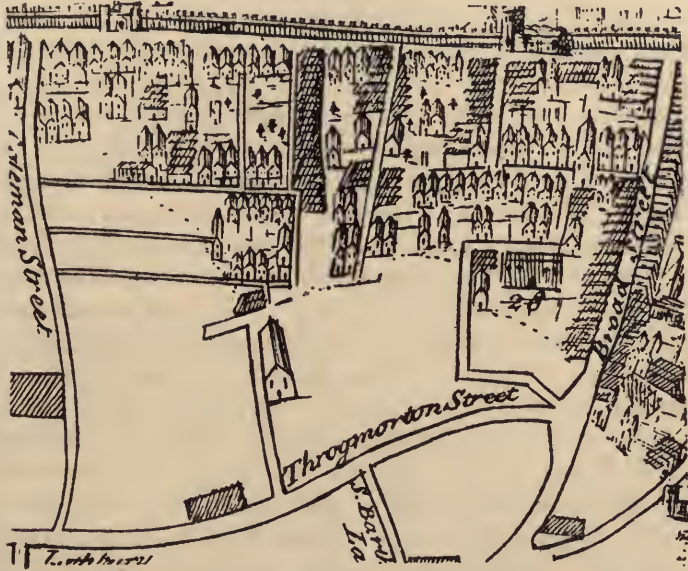
⁴ Rep. +132, p. 317 a; Renter Warden's Cash Book, 1666, fo. 12; Renters' Accounts, 1666-7, fo. 8. The refining of the silver cost £6. We do not know what the amount of the defaced silver was, and therefore cannot tell exactly what price it fetched. The Merchant Taylors got 5s 6d. to 5s 8d. per oz. for their melted plate: Clode, *Memorials*, p. 57. No gold coin is mentioned. The armour in the armoury was also destroyed; the remains fetched £1: Renters' Accounts, 1697-8, fo. 35. The barge was also saved, though the barge-house was much damaged: Renters' Accounts 1666-7, fo. 8. As the barge-house was not large enough, nor well situated, they did not renew the lease, but in 1674 rented another of the Barber Surgeons at Stangate in Lambeth, on land belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury: Rep. +133, pp. 6 b, 59 a.



THE MAP OF DRAPERS' HALL AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS BEFORE THE FIRE.

From Faithorne, Map of London 1658, in Pepys, ed. Mynors Bright, 1877, Vol. iv, frontispiece.
 1. Drapers' Hall and Sir Wm. Wale's House. 2. Church of St. Margaret in Lothbury. 3. Church of Peter the Poor. 4. Dutch Church in Austin Friars. 5. Alderman Cockaine's House? 6. Peter Bar's House? 7. Thomas Thynn's House? 8. Hall of Carpenters' Company.

a well of the common sewer in the garden, was saved. Most fortunately, owing to the exertions of the Clerk, G. Inice, most of the Records of the Company were preserved. In reward for this important service and for saving the plate, as well as for the



MAP OF SITE OF DRAPERS' HALL AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS AFTER THE FIRE.

From Maitland, *History of London*, ed. 1756, i. 432. This map is not very accurate.

additional work caused by the fire, he was given a gratuity of £60.¹ The loss of life in the City appears to have been very slight,² and I have not come across any notice of a member of the Company who perished, but many were reduced to poverty.

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 317 b. In November 1667 he was given a further gratuity of £50, and, in October 1668, £60, for his extraordinary services: Rep. + 133, pp. 3 b, 14 b. The Wardens' Accounts for the years 1665-6, 1666-7, no longer survive, nor do those of the two years after the fire, 1667-8 1668-9. For these years we have the Cash Books of the Renter Wardens, which give some information.

² Maitland, *History of London*, ed. 1760, vol. i, p. 437, says that only six persons perished in the whole city.

The distress was increased by torrential rains in October and a very severe winter.¹

Economies
and Charity
of the
Company.

As was to be expected, the December Quarter-Day dinner was forborne for the year 1666 and until the year 1671.² It was indeed decided to hold the Election Dinner in the following year (August 1667) for 'the better preserving of unity'. But there was to be 'no high feasting'; only one course of moderate fare was to be provided, and 'in respect of the charge thereby saved' it was decided that the usual allowance to the Wardens of £20 should be spared and devoted to the relief of the poor of the Company, a policy which was also adopted when the Quarter-Day dinners were abandoned.³ In spite of the serious loss sustained by the Company, 'wherein almost all the houses given and belonging to the Company for maintaining charitable uses had been utterly consumed', it was decided that 'there should be a continuance of the payment of all charitable and pious gifts chargeable to be paid' so far as the rents of the said houses would allow. The only exception made to this decision was in the case of the almshouses founded by the late Clerk, John Walter. He had particularly provided for 'a proportional abatement' of the moneys to be paid 'in case of any decay of rents by fire or otherwise'; and accordingly the pensions were reduced from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 4*s.* a month, until it should 'please God by some means to supply the loss'.⁴ In cases where the reading of prayers or of lectures provided for by charitable bequest had been suspended owing to the fire, the Court paid up the arrears when they were renewed.⁵

¹ Cf. Bell, *The Great Fire*, p. 266.

² Rep. + 133, p. 38 b. The City also curtailed expenses. There was no pageant at the initiation of the Lord Mayor, Sir Wm. Bolton, in October 1666 much to the grief of Mr. Pepys, cf. *Diary* ed. Mynors Bright, 1877, vol. iv, p. 138.

³ Rep. + 132, pp. 318 b, 323 b. In 1669 the allowances to the Stewards' dinners were also forborne: Rep. + 133, p. 17 b. But this was partly to meet the expense of rebuilding the Hall. These allowances were not renewed till February 1672: *ib.*, p. 41 a.

⁴ Rep. + 132, p. 317 a. This means that the charitable uses should be a first charge on the rents.

⁵ e.g. in 1671 and 1673, in the case of Kendrick's bequest to the parish of St. Christopher's for reading of prayers and for poor prisoners. *Ib.*, Rep. + 133, pp. 34 b, 52 b; *Renters' Accounts*, 1671-2, fo. 23. In 1672, £36 arrears since 1666 of £6 per annum, due for morning lectures at St. Antholin's according to

Although the loss caused by the cessation of rents was serious,¹ it was in some measure temporarily mitigated by the policy adopted by the Court. All arrears up to the date of the fire were demanded, and for the future the tenants who undertook to rebuild in accordance with the Act passed for the purpose² were given an extension of their leases at the old rents, and without the payment of any fine.³ Those who were unable or unwilling

Policy adopted with regard to tenants.

Mr Parker's gift; this to go towards 'purchasing a yearly revenue to be laid out towards maintenance' of the said lecture. Rep. + 133, p. 42 b. In 1673, arrears of Lady Bailie's charity to Whittington College in the parish of St. Michael Royal. *Ib.*, p. 55 b.

¹ The rents fell from £1,257 13s. 5d. to £584 10s. 2d. Cf. Renters' Accounts, 1665-6, 1667-8.

² 19 Car. II, c. ii. A Court of Judicature touching houses burnt or demolished, erected.

c. iii. All ground to be rebuilt upon within three years, or to be sold by the Corporation, the proceeds being paid to the owner.

Buildings to be of four sorts:—

- a. Houses fronting by-lanes, two stories.
- b. „ „ streets and lanes of note, three stories.
- c. „ „ High and principal streets, four stories.
- d. Mansions, four stories.

All houses to be built of brick or stone of prescribed thickness.

Surveyors, or Supervisors, to be appointed to see that the Act was enforced.

The Court of Aldermen to fix wages, and no combinations, either of dealers or labourers, to be allowed.

Foreigners to be allowed to work, and after seven years to obtain the privileges of freemen.

Streets to be enlarged at the discretion of the Common Council, with compensation to owners of lands taken.

Parish churches to the number of thirty-nine to be rebuilt (as well as St. Paul's), with approval of the Archbishop and the Bishop of London. Sites of those not rebuilt to be sold, and proceeds devoted to cost of building the others.

An octroi on coals of 1s. a cauldron, subsequently raised to 2s., to be established to pay for these improvements, and owners of houses to be assessed according to the benefit received.

Penalties threatened for any contravention of the Act. Cf. Bell, pp. 242 ff., 357.

For Regulations issued by the Common Council cf. Maitland, *History of London*, ed. 1760, vol. i, p. 443. A plan for rebuilding the City was prepared by Sir Christopher Wren (*ib.*, p. 446), but it was abandoned, and the part he took in the restoration has probably been exaggerated, cf. Bell, 260 ff.

³ e.g. Rep. + 132, p. 320 a; Rep. + 133, pp. 19 a, 32 a. The length of

to rebuild were offered the option of surrendering their leases.¹ To avoid the inconvenience of having to refund the taxes levied on the lands, the rents were in future to be clear of such taxes or assessments in respect of improvement,² but tenants were allowed to sub-let a parcel, though not all, of their tenements, without obtaining the consent of the Wardens.³ This method of meeting the financial difficulties, which was adopted by other Companies,⁴ was, however, considered by Counsel in 1704 to have been unwise. He held that the more prudent course would have been to have appealed to the Court of Judicature for powers to reduce the charities in cases where the rents, owing to the fire, would not suffice to meet the charges.⁵

The destruction of so many houses gave an opportunity for the

leases varied. Some were for as long as eighty years. For fear that the title of the Company as ground-landlord might be forgotten, the Wardens were ordered to have the arms of the Company cast in lead and put on the outside of the houses, where they were held on long leases (Rep. + 133, p. 41 b). None of these survive. Indeed, the Clerk informs me that all the houses belonging to the Company in the City and now standing are of a later date than the seventeenth century. Where there was no house to be rebuilt, a fine on renewal of the lease was demanded (ib., pp. 28 b, 30 a). In the case of John Cullum the amount of the fine was left to him. He put £5 5s. into the Poor Box (Rep. + 133, p. 18 a). In some cases, however, when the expense of rebuilding was great, or to encourage the tenant to build, the rents were reduced, e.g. the Herber (Rep. + 133, p. 1 a; and cf. Rep. + 132, p. 320 b). In 1671 the rent which G. Inice, the Clerk, owed to the Company for houses he held was reduced from £50 to £30, because he had rebuilt at his own charge (Rep. + 133, p. 37 b). But this was a special favour granted to the Clerk.

¹ The surrender of leases under these circumstances was enforced by the 'Court of Judicatory touching burnt houses sitting at Clifford's Inn'. If the houses were not rebuilt, the Act, 19 Car. II, c. 3, § xi, empowered the City authorities to sell the land to those who would build. Thus Ellen Hawkins refused to come to any agreement for rebuilding, or to pay any rent since the fire, in spite of a judgement of the Sheriff's Court for recovery, 'And there being a certificate . . . of the Court of Judicatory sitting at Clifford's Inn touching burnt houses . . .' it is ordered that 'for the prevention of sale of the said ground by the City for want of rebuilding, the ground shall be disposed of to some person who will undertake to build'. Rep. + 133, p. 32 a. Cf. Appendix XXIX for some decisions of the Court of Judicatory.

² Rep. + 132, p. 319 a.

³ Rep. + 133, p. 29 b.

⁴ e. g. the Goldsmiths. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii, pp. 160, 162.

⁵ Rep. + 133, p. 306 a.

widening of some of the narrowest streets and lanes in the City. The Act had therefore authorized the municipal authorities to compound with the owners of land thus vacant for the purpose.¹ Land sold for widening streets.

After some negotiations the Company agreed to surrender certain plots for the total sum of £993 3s. 6d. They also granted land in Honey Lane for a new market, for which they received £565.² As in the opinion of the Court these sums were to fall to the Company and not to the tenants, they inserted provisos to that effect in the leases. In special cases, however, they made concessions. Thus, in the case of one tenant in the parish of St. Margaret Pattens, a lease for eighty years of the remainder of the ground, which was not to be absorbed in the new street, was granted to him for a peppercorn rent for the first year and £10 per annum for the rest of the term, and all arrears of rent were discharged on his paying £170, allowing the Company to enjoy all the money received from the City, and undertaking to build;³ while Mrs. Mabb, the executrix of a late tenant, was granted £30 out of the £43 17s. 6d. received by the Company from the City for land laid into the street at the east corner of St. Mary-at-Hill. The Court, however, expressly stated that the concession

¹ For a list of the streets and lanes enlarged see Maitland, History of London, ed. 1760, vol. i, p. 443.

² Thus—

	£.	s.	d.
For land set out in the street			
at St. Nicholas' Shambles.	255	16	6
into Smithy Lane, Love Lane, Thames Street in Petty Wales, Abchurch Lane, New Fish Street, and Blowbladder Street.	531	17	0
in Queen's Street and Watling Street.	141	12	6
in Cheapside at Bowchurch Yard.	20	0	0
at St. Mary-at-Hill over against Rood Church.	43	17	6
Total	£993	3	6

Cf. Wardens' Accounts for the years 1668-9, 1670-1, 1671-2, 1683-4; Rep. + 133, pp. 33 b, 132 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1669-70, fo. 25. It appears from Ogilby and Morgan's Map of 1677 that the restoration of the City was nearly completed by that date. Mr. Bell points out that the restoration was almost entirely the work of the City and the Companies, that the Government did very little, and that the fines imposed on those who declined to serve as Sheriffs and Aldermen, which were numerous, were applied to this purpose, pp. 269, 285.

³ Rep. + 133, p. 32 a. The name of the street is not given.



MAP OF DRAPERS' HALL AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS IN 1755.

This Map, from Maitland, *History of London*, ed. 1756, ii. 838, is practically identical with the Map by Ogilby and Morgan, 1677 (cf. the facsimile published in 1895 by C. Welch), except that in the earlier map there are no buildings. It therefore gives us the condition of things in 1677.

1-4. 29, 28, 26, and 25 Throgmorton Street. 5. 70 Broad Street.
6-10. 29, 28, 27, 26, and 25 Austin Friars.

was due to the great losses she had sustained in the fire.¹ These details might be indefinitely multiplied. It should be remembered that the rearrangement of leases led to much negotiation, to many surrenders and consolidation of tenancies, and to many controversies with troublesome and needy tenants, some of which were brought before the Court Judicatory above mentioned.² Enough, however, has been said to convince the reader of the enormous amount of work which was thrown upon the Company and the Clerk, of the business-like way in which the difficulties were grappled with, and of the generosity shown to those in trouble.

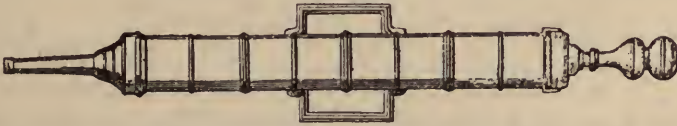
As was to be expected, measures were taken to reduce the danger of future fires. By the Act of 19 Car. II. c. iii, houses were no longer to be built of wood, and by the widening of some streets something was done to destroy the 'rookeries', which were likely to contribute to the spread of a fire. The City authorities also bestirred themselves. In 1677 the Common Council passed an Act for the prevention and suppression of fire. By this Act each of the four quarters of the City were to provide eight hundred leathern buckets, fifty ladders, two 'engines for spouting water' for each parish, twenty-four pickaxes, and forty shovels. The Companies and each alderman and principal citizen were also ordered to provide themselves with the like implements according to their ability. Engineers were also appointed, who should superintend the blowing-up of houses to stop any fire which might break out.³ London has, indeed, never suffered so heavily again,

Measures
taken to
cope with
future fires.

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 33 b, 37 b.

² Cf. Appendix XXIX for some decisions of the Court.

³ Cf. Nicholl, *History of the Ironmongers*, pp. xx, 459; Rep. + 133, p. 35 a; Maitland, *History of London*, ed. 1760, vol. i, p. 450. The following drawing of 'the engines for spouting water' is of interest. They were made of brass and



were like a syringe. The tubes were 9 inches in circumference and $27\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with two handles. The total length of the engines was $33\frac{1}{2}$ inches. They would each contain a bucketful of water. They apparently cost £34. Wardens' Accounts 1670-1, fo. 31; 1671-2, fo. 32.

but even as early as 1682 we hear of another fire at Wapping which consumed 2,500 houses.¹

Destruction
and rebuild-
ing of the
Hall.

Since the Restoration extensive alterations and embellishments had been undertaken in the Hall and the Garden at a cost of over £1,000, and as late as February 1666 further additions, including a gallery for musicians, had been decided upon.² The fire had not only put an end to these designs, but had reduced the whole structure to ashes. To rebuild it was an imperative necessity. The Hall had been the centre of the Company's activities and the symbol of the common brotherhood of the members. On September 10, therefore, four days after the fire had been quelled, the Court met in the Garden House, the late residence of the Beadle, which, though partially destroyed to stay the conflagra-

¹ Hardwicke Papers + 346, fo. 5.

² We learn incidentally that the Company paid 'hearth or chimney tax' for sixteen hearths in and about the Hall. This gives one some idea of the size of the old Hall. The Goldsmiths paid for thirty-three. The Drapers had hoped to take in a gallery from Sir William Wale's house, but the negotiations broke down. Rep. + 132, pp. 241 b, 252 a, 254 a, 255 a, 263 a, 266 a, 274 a, 313 a; Wardens' and Renters' Accounts for the years 1659-60, 1662-3. The chief improvements had been the black and white tiles, 'according to the best mode', in the fire-places of the Parlour and the Ladies' Chamber, as well as new andirons; Turkey-work chairs for the uppermost table in the place of forms, 'which are not found so easy'; new 'carpets' for the tables; a new floor for the Great Parlour, and the abandonment of rushes as being inconvenient, 'as well in regard of the danger of fire and making of dust and that they are not much used elsewhere'. The order against smoking in the Parlour had been confirmed. A fine of 2s. 6d., to be given to the poor, was imposed on those who smoked in the Parlour. This order is also found in the Grocers' Books, with this comment, 'If any person have a desire to refresh himself by a pipe of tobacco or cup of drink he is to withdraw into some retiring room more suitable for the purpose.' Heath, Grocers, p. 26. These details are of interest as illustrating the growth of luxury. The following notice, 'Pd. for two pictures of the King and Queen's Majesties hung up in the Ladies Chamber £3' (Wardens Accounts, 1662-3, fo. 37), presumably refers to the framing or fixing, otherwise the remuneration of the artist was indeed low. More than £250 had also been spent on the Garden, in regard that it was 'not so decent as is desired in a place of greate resorte and of such concern to the honor of this City and Company'. A new Summer House and comely pedestals to the tops of the three old summer-houses, a maze, purbeck pavements for the path into the Great Gardens and five statues were the most important embellishments.

tion, still stood,¹ and a Committee of influential members was formed to carry through the business.

The old Hall had been mixed up in a most perplexing way with the adjacent houses, more especially with those of four of their tenants, Sir William Wale, Mr. Thynne, Mr. Bar, and Mr. Clarke. In consideration of this and the 'vast expense' of buying them out, and of the rents which might be procured by letting the site of the old Hall, it was at first proposed to build the new Hall at the west end of the Great Garden.² Finally, however, satisfactory arrangements were made with the above-named tenants,³ and the new Hall was built practically on the old

¹ Subsequently the Court held its meetings in the house of John Morris and Robert Clayton, who took a lease of what remained of the ground hitherto held by Sir William Wale. In return they were allowed to open a door from their precincts into the paved passage to the Garden (Rep. + 132, p. 317 b). There also the plate-chest and other valuables were deposited. For this service the Company granted Clayton the use of their plate during his year of office as Sheriff, 1671-2, although this, according to ancient custom, was only done when the Sheriff was a member of the Society (Rep. + 133, p. 39 a). Clayton was a Scrivener, but was translated to the Drapers' Company in 1679; was Mayor in 1679-80, and Master in 1680-1. John Morris was also a member of the Scriveners' Company and Alderman of Cheap. Beaven, *Aldermen*, vol. i, p. 353. Mr. Jupp, in his *History of the Carpenters*, pp. 247, 248, 503, states that, as their Hall escaped, they leased the use of it to several Companies; and that the Drapers hired it on every alternate Wednesday for the year 1667 at a rent of £30, the Drapers being allowed to open a doorway through the wall which divided the Gardens of the two Companies. He also says that Sir Samuel Starling, the Draper Mayor of 1669-70, hired it for the year of his Mayoralty at a rent of £150, as three previous Mayors had. It is curious that I have found no notice of this in the Drapers' Books. But the Wardens' Accounts of the two years after the fire have been lost, and presumably Sir Samuel would pay the rent out of his own pocket.

² Rep. + 132, p. 321 b.

³ Sir William Wale surrendered 'all the interest he had in rooms over the late porter's lodge and the gate, and all the site and rooms running westwards, with the said lodge from the north part of that lodge to the utmost extent of his ground, including the site of his green parlour', on condition that his lease of the rest was increased to seventy-one years and that he received £400 (Rep. + 133, p. 12 b; A. iii. 143). Mr. Thynne surrendered his lease altogether for a sum of £320 (Rep. + 133, p. 29 a), and the land, less those parts which were needed for the enlargement of the Hall, was let out to Mr. Cartwright, the mason who rebuilt the Hall, for sixty-one years at a rent of £5, clear of taxes, and a fine of £250. Cartwright undertook, under pain of forfeiture, not to project his new

foundations, though with considerable enlargements. The 'model' for the New Hall was drawn by Mr. Edward Jarman (Jerman), one of the Surveyors appointed by the City authorities, and carried out by Cartwright, his head mason,¹ but we have no details as to the character of the erection. The main part at least of the building appears to have been finished by the year 1671, since we hear that a View Dinner was held in the new parlour for the first time in the April of that year, while in the following December a Quarter-Day was kept at the Hall for the Assembling of all the Company, and a dinner given 'according to custom'.² It was, however, a long time before the interior decorations and the furnishing were completed.³ In 1674 we learn that the Company were obliged

building beyond the New Hall to the north-east, nor to raise it higher than the roof of the Hall. He further agreed to pay a higher rent for so much of the new tenement as should be used 'as a tavern, ordinary, victualling, or coffee house' (ib., p. 31 a). Mr. Bar surrendered some of the land held by him to the north-west of the Hall for the enlargement of the parlour. The term of his lease was extended, on condition that he built a 'substantial house convenient for a merchant'. He was also to have the lease of the warehouse under the parlour. Committee Book +380, p. 1; Reverse, pp. 7, 10. John Clarke also surrendered part of the land held by him (A. iii. 143). The remainder of the site hitherto held by Sir William Wale was let on a building lease to John Morris and Robert Clayton. Cf. Appendix, No. XLVI.

¹ Rep. +133, pp. 1 a, 2 b, 6 a, 19 b; Sharpe, London, vol. ii, p. 428. Jarman's fee was £20. In 1669 his widow was given a gratuity of 20 marks. He also designed the Fishmongers' Hall.

² Rep. +133, pp. 30 a, 35 b, 38 b. A public election dinner was given in August 1670, but, inasmuch as a heavy bill for building was paid in 1671-2, it is probable that this was held elsewhere, as, almost certainly, was that of May 29, 1669, given to those who met at church on the day of the King's nativity and coronation (ib., p. 19 b). Only £100 was borrowed (Rep. +133, fo. 21 a). The rest of the money was provided, partly from the loans repaid by the East India Company (£1,000 being repaid in 1669; £2,000 in 1671; and £800 in 1672-3), partly, in all probability, borrowed from the Legacy money, a very considerable amount of which was, at that time, not lent out; cf. Wardens' Accounts for the year mentioned. It should also be remembered that lands were sold to the City for enlarging streets to the amount of nearly £1,000; cf. *supra*. We are also told incidentally that a Mr. Aldus, one of their tenants, helped the Company to obtain materials at a reasonable rate, and that for this service his rent was reduced (Rep. +133, p. 18 a).

³ The Committee Book on rebuilding the Hall, +380, ends in February 1673.

to forbear wainscoting their rooms for want of funds. By 1678 this had been done in the Hall and the Parlour, the latter at the charge of Sir Joseph Sheldon, but the other rooms were still unfinished.¹ As to the total cost it is impossible to speak with accuracy, because the accounts do not distinguish between the charges for restoration and those for maintenance, and at times mix up expenditure on the Hall with that on other parts of their property, but certainly somewhere about £13,000 was spent on the Hall before the end of the reign, while the restoration of the Garden accounted for about another £1,000.² That we have no definite description of the building is unfortunate,³ inasmuch as

¹ Rep. + 133, pp. 55 b, 93 a, 94 b, 124 b. A statue was put up to Sir Joseph in hopes that 'his influence will be good in exciting others to finish the ornamental part of the remaining rooms'. At the same time it was decided to replace the statues of other benefactors, which had been destroyed by the fire. Mr. Pemel, an Assistant, presented a pendulum clock for the Parlour as an expression of his affection for the Society (ib., p. 46 a). In 1682 the Hall was insured with the City authorities for £5,000 (Rep. + 133, p. 119 a). This is the first notice of the Company's insuring their property.

	£	s.	d.	
In 1667-8	1712	10	0	was spent. Renter Warden's Account Book, 1667-8, fos. 17, 18.
In 1668-9	2793	11	5	„ „ Wardens' Accounts, 1668-9, fo. 34.
From that date to Feb. 1673	8161	12	6	„ „ Committee Book, fos. 17-37.
Total	<u>12667</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	

As to subsequent years we cannot be certain.

³ I have, however, collected the following details from incidental notices. The ceiling of the Hall was richly moulded, that over the staircase in fretwork; the walls panelled. The Ladies' Chamber and the Gallery were to be 14 feet high. The Ladies' Chamber as well as the Parlour was furnished with Colchester bayes on the wall, and curtains. The Gallery ceiling was in square panels and plain 'ballexian' mould. The doors generally were of deal painted; the chimney-pieces in marble, that in the Ladies' Chamber black and white diamond pattern. The chairs were of three kinds: Turkey-work, Russia, and bayes-covered. There were also forms for the side-table in the Hall, and three tables, 'Spanish table fashion,' for dinners in the Hall, and 'Spanish tables' for the Ladies' Chamber. Cf. Committee Book + 380, and Wardens' Accounts. Maitland, London, ed. 1760, vol. ii, p. 845, gives a description of the Hall as it existed in 1756. For the meaning of 'Spanish tables' cf. *infra*, p. 314 note 4.

a considerable part of Jarman's buildings was destroyed by another fire, which broke out in the vaults in 1772.

Restoration
of the
Garden.

Much care, as usual, was taken with regard to the Garden. We are told of a long walk paved with freestone, leading from the Hall to the Garden, and of an agreement with their tenant, Mr. Thomas Neale, who was building a capital messuage adjoining this walk on the west. His house was not to be higher than two stories, and he was only to make two windows in his cellar through the wall which divided the plot he held from the Garden. For this concession he was to pay a peppercorn rent of 2*s.* a year, and to make a present of £20, with two fat bucks.¹ The Company was very jealous of windows opening on the Garden. None were allowed to do so except by special consent; several applications were refused, and those to whom the privilege was given paid an acknowledgement of 3*s.* 4*d.* a year, and £1 to the poor-box.² Little, however, was done towards the embellishment of the Garden till the Spring of 1671. At that date the Bowling Alley was once more prepared for the Summer, and continued to be so annually. In 1672 a pair of large folding-gates, with handsome piers, was put up at the entrance; the summer-houses were repaired, the statues in the Garden repainted; while a little later a sun-dial was set up and a paving of Purbeck marble was laid down on the west side.³ No sooner had the Garden been restored than the old complaint was raised that it was frequented by 'idle and lewd people and rude boys'. It was therefore decided to close it to the general public, keys being given only to Assistants, and to Liverymen who applied for them.⁴

In 1684, at the request of the Lord Mayor, the Company also set up a gilt statue of King Edward VI in one of the niches of the Royal Exchange, other Companies undertaking to replace those of other kings and queens of England. This statue was designed by

¹ Rep. + 133, p. 16 b.

² *Ib.*, pp. 43 a, 46 a.

³ Rep. + 133, pp. 35 b, 41 b, 59 b. I presume that the Summer-houses and statues had escaped the fire. I have met with no notice of their having been set up anew.

⁴ Rep. + 133, pp. 107 b, 109 b.

Grinling Gibbons, the famous carver, who at that date was a member of the Company.¹

Sir William Prideaux, in his history of the Goldsmiths, says that, in consequence of the destruction of the granaries by the Great Fire, the old system of Corn Money was abandoned.² This appears to have happened to many of the Companies, but the granary of the Drapers at the Bridge-house evidently survived. In August 1673 we are told that they still had a store, which, from having lain for a long time, had depreciated, and that, since scarce any Company had any store, the little quantity in their possession would be of little use to supply the market and keep down prices, it might be well to sell it before it became worse, especially as the market was advancing. The Wardens were further instructed to inquire how the other Companies, who kept no store, managed to supply the markets. The Court, however, eventually decided not to sell at the moment, but the question was raised whether, since the amount lying in granary was only one-fifth of the usual amount, the salary of the Keeper should not be reduced.³ In the April of the following year they finally decided to sell it all in small parcels to the poor, and the Keeper was dismissed.⁴ Shortly after, on the Mayor issuing his usual precept, the Wardens were instructed to find out what the other Companies were doing.

Corn Money discontinued.

Meanwhile, in the year 1665, the Mayor had ordered the Companies to apply the same system to coal,⁵ and in 1679 made an attempt to continue it, as well as Corn Money. The Court decided to consider the matter, and, as that is the last notice we have, we may take it that both Corn and Coal Money fell into disuse.⁶

Coal Money.

¹ Rep. + 133, p. 139 a. It cost £50, and £2 10s. for the gilding of the same (Wardens' Accounts, 1685-6, fo. 39). Grinling Gibbons was entered by patrimony in January 1673 (Freedom Book + 280, fo. 29), and was called to the clothing in 1685, just after the Revocation of the Charter. Cf. Rep. + 133, p. 143 b.

² Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. i, p. 361.

³ Rep. + 133, pp. 50 b, 52 b. We, however, hear no more of the Granary at Bridewell. Presumably it was burnt.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 58 b, 59 b. They, however, granted a pension of £1 to his mother.

⁵ Herbert, vol. i, p. 130.

⁶ Rep. + 133, p. 102 a.

The Mayor's
Pageants
continued.

In spite of the disasters caused by the Plague and the Fire, the City soon resumed its accustomed gaiety, and of the Mayor's Pageants, which reappeared, some were not less splendid than those of former days. In these civic festivities the Drapers took their share. In the period from 1670 to 1685 no less than five Drapers held the office of Mayor. None of them, however, except the last, James Smith, were originally members of the Company, but were translated on their election,¹ and, the fact that the Drapers' Company was chosen by these four prospective holders of the Chief Magistracy of the City is good evidence of the reputation of the Society at the time.

Of the Show at the election of Samuel Starling we have but little information. To judge from the cost, which only amounted to the sum of £271 13s. 6d., it was on a modest scale, probably because of the late Plague and Fire.² But of the four others we have a much more detailed account. They were all designed and written by Thomas Jordan, and printed copies of them still survive.³ That of Sir Joseph Sheldon, in 1675, was called 'The Triumphs of London', and cost the Company more than £643, as well as £66 13s. 4d. for 'beautifying of his house'.⁴ The expense was, as usual, met in part by the fees of those called to the Livery, and by those freemen who were appointed to serve as bachelors in foynes and in budge.⁵

The Show at the inauguration of Sir Thomas Davies in the

¹ Samuel Starling, 1670-1, translated from the Brewers.
Joseph Sheldon, 1675-6, translated from the Tallow-Chandlers.
Thomas Davies, 1676-7, translated from the Stationers.
Robert Clayton, 1679-80, translated from the Scriveners.
James Smith, 1684-5, Member of the Drapers' Company.

² Wardens' Accounts, 1669-70, fo. 33.

³ Cf. Herbert, *Livery Companies*, vol. i, p. 461.

⁴ The House also paid £6 13s. 4d. for the Mayor's messe whenever he dined with the Company. Wardens' Accounts, 1675-6, fos. 34, 35, 36.

⁵ Forty-three freemen, who served in foynes as rich bachelors, paid a fee of £3 each. Four, who declined to serve, were fined £6 each. Sixty-four, who served as bachelors in budge, paid 30s. each. Twelve, who declined, were fined £3 apiece. Wardens' Accounts, 1675-6, fo. 25. In 1676, when Thomas Davies was Mayor, one paid £1 to be excused from being Gentleman Usher (*ib.*, 1676-7, fo. 25). For the meaning of bachelors in foynes and in budge *cf. supra*, p. 7.

following year was less costly.¹ Nevertheless the repetition of these charges led the Court to pass a Resolution (December 1675) that the Company would not in future bear these expenses, nor give the usual present of 100 marks to any Mayor, unless he was at the date of his election either a member of the Company, or had been a member and had translated to another Company. This resolution was, however, repealed in August 1679, in anticipation of the translation of Sir Robert Clayton from the Scriveners on his election as Mayor.² The pageant then presented was once more of peculiar splendour. It was called 'London in Luster', and was composed of characters dressed to represent the twelve months of the year, and numerous other allegorical personages richly dressed, who marched in front of a moving stage, on which stood a golden ram, in allusion to the mystery of the Drapers, 'backed by a beautiful boy with such features of face, curiosity of complexion and symmetry of limbs, that he would have been an excellent original to draw an angel by, and might have prevailed with Medea, as Jason did, when he obtained the golden fleece at Colchis'. Then a shepherdess of princely rank, superbly habited and bearing in one hand a golden crook, in the other the City banner, made an appropriate speech to the Mayor. The concluding pageant exhibited a landscape of Salisbury Plain, where rustic shepherds and shepherdesses fed and folded their flocks; 'and, for the future exaltation of the Drapers' delight, here were several trades met together, all pertinent for making of cloth; as corders, spinners, dyers, wool-combers, shearers, dressers, fullers, weavers; which were set without order, because the excellence of this scene did consist in confusion. Although their number and weight were too cumbersome and ponderous for all of them to work according to their distinct arts and mysteries, yet they were here met in their persons to rejoyce and express their frolics in dancing, jumping, tumbling, piping and singing, and all such jovial actions and movements of agility as might express

¹ It cost £484 18s. 9d. Wardens' Accounts, 1676-7, fo. 36. The libretto of this Pageant composed by Jordan is in the possession of the Company. Shelf mark 000.

² Rep. + 133, pp. 78 b, 103 a, 105 a. Sir Robert was also Burgess for the City. He built for himself a fine house in Old Jewry, where he and his lady gave entertainments vying with those of kings. The house was for some time used by successive Lord Mayors (Bell, *The Great Fire*, p. 278). The Mayor had no official house till the Mansion House was built in 1753.

their joy and exultation in their compliments to the new Lord Mayor, and their service to the Drapers' Company.'

It is curious that although, as we have shown, the Drapers' Company had long abandoned direct connexion with the manufacture or even the sale of cloth, the fiction was still kept up.

The procession consisted of the Master, the Wardens, twenty-six Assistants, sixty gentlemen ushers in velvet coats and chains of gold, some two hundred Liverymen, sixty Bachelors, twenty in foynes and forty in budge, the Company's pensioners in gowns and caps and bearing banners, and one hundred poor freemen in azure gowns and caps, with javelins and targets bearing the arms of benefactors. These, together with the City Marshal and other officials, with trumpeters, drummers, fife players and others, formed a procession of above five hundred. And the total cost of the triumph came to £513 2s. 4d.¹

That there was some discontent among the freemen at the charges imposed upon them for the Mayors' triumphs is proved by the fact that three of them declined to pay their fee on being appointed 'rich Bachelors', and that in December 1681 others were summoned before the Mayor for the same offence.² This, however, had been experienced before, and must not be taken as evidence that the Company as a whole was refractory, though this might well have been the case had they known the King's designs.

Forfeiture of
the Charters,
1681-3.

Shortly after Sir Robert Clayton's show, the King proceeded to act in a way which revived the worst memories of his father's unconstitutional rule, and did much to forfeit the loyalty of London. In the year 1680 the Bill to exclude his Roman Catholic brother James from the throne had passed the Commons without a division. It had indeed been thrown out by the House of Lords, but it was revived in a somewhat altered form in the Parliament of 1681, which was held at Oxford to escape from the Whig influences of London, and was only stopped by a dissolution. Since then Charles, in violation of the Triennial Bill, had ruled without a Parliament. As such a policy could not be long main-

¹ Cf. 'London in Luster' set forth at the cost and charges of the Worshipful the Drapers' Company. Devised and composed by Thos. Jordan, gent. City Library, Guildhall. Wardens' Accounts, 1679-80, fo. 37.

² Rep. + 133, pp. 108 a, 138 b.

tained, the King made an attempt to place the control of the municipal offices in the hands of those who would support him, and to secure a more subservient House. Already something had been done in this direction by the Corporation Act of 1662. Thereby all existing holders of municipal offices were to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; to declare on oath that it was unlawful to resist the King, and to repudiate the Solemn League and Covenant.¹ That Act had, however, been passed amidst the Royalist enthusiasm of the Restoration, and had been acquiesced in, because the Roundheads were at that time out of favour, and because it was also directed against the Roman Catholics. Thus in 1672 the Mayor, when issuing a precept to enforce the Act 'on all persons in or under any degree of trust or profit in any Corporation', said that the purport of the Act was 'to prevent the dangers arising from the growth of Popery', and the Drapers, on information that other Companies did 'generally give notice of the substance of the said precept by tickets in print to their Liveries, Master and Wardens', proceeded to do likewise.² In 1681 a bolder move was made. If, argued the advisers of the Crown, the towns had received their privileges by royal Charter, these privileges could, if sufficient reason were found, be taken away by the Crown.

In December 1681, therefore, a writ of *Quo Warranto* was obtained from the King's Bench against the City to inquire into the tenure of its liberties, and to discover a justification for their forfeiture.³ As, however, the legal procedure under the Writ

The
Writ *Quo*
Warranto,
December
1681.

¹ 13 Charles II, Stat. ii, c. 1. I believe W. Eardley, Anthony Poole, and William Witherden were degraded from the position of Liverymen in August 1662, because they refused to take this oath, although no reason is given. Rep. 132, p. 272 b.

² Rep. + 133, pp. 49 b, 107 a. That some of the Companies were suspected of Puritan tendencies is proved by the Precept of the Mayor to the Ironmongers in 1677, forbidding the holding of Conventicles in their Hall (Nicholl, Ironmongers, p. 313). But of this precept there is no mention made in the Drapers' books. Apparently the Testament used for administering the oath suffered from the frequent use to which it was put, since we are told that it had to be rebound and refitted with silver clasps at a cost of £1 15s. 8d. Wardens' Accounts, 1664-5, fo. 41. The same treatment was applied to all the Companies, e. g. Grocers (Heath, p. 121).

³ The misdemeanours adduced were chiefly the imposition of tolls on goods

Interference
with the
election of
Sheriffs,
June 1682.

would be necessarily long, a more speedy method was devised. In the preceding November a bill of indictment against Shaftesbury, the Leader of the Whigs, for treason had been thrown out by a London Grand Jury, composed of civic officials. The best way of preventing a repetition of such conduct was to secure the appointment of subservient Sheriffs. Sir John Moore, a member of the Grocers' Company, once a Nonconformist, who had of late gone over to the King,¹ happened to hold the office of Mayor in the year 1682.² He was accordingly induced to exercise an ancient privilege of appointing one of the Sheriffs, and nominated Dudley North, a Turkey merchant of the Mercers' Company,

brought to the City markets by an Ordinance of the Common Council, and the presenting of a petition by the same body to the King in December 1679, asking for the calling of Parliament, which was published by their authority. Cf. Hallam, *English History*, 10th edition, vol. ii, p. 453.

¹ Burnet, *History of My Own Time* (ed. Airy, Oxford, 1900, vol. ii, p. 335), says Sir J. Moore was 'a flexible and weak-hearted man; a Nonconformist till he grew so rich that he had a mind to go through the dignities of the City.'

² The following list of Lord Mayors and Masters of the Company at the time will be found useful:

<i>Lord Mayors.</i>	<i>Masters of the Company.</i>
October 28 to October 28.	August 1 to August 1.
Sir John Moore. Nonconformist turned Tory. 1681-2	Joseph Dawson.
Sir William Prichard. Reappointed by the King, October 13, 1683. Tory. 1682-3	Richard Alie.
Sir H. Tulser. Tory. 1683-4	Sir James Ward.
Sir James Smith. Tory. 1684-5	Sir James Smith. Tory.
Sir Robert Jeffery. Tory. 1685-6	Sir R. Adams.
Sir John Peake. Tory. 1686-7	Thomas Tyther and H. Dixon.
Sir John Shorter. Whig. He died September 4, 1688. when Sir J. Eyles (Tory) was appointed by the King till the ensuing October. 1687-8	Sir Peter Vandeput (Whig) and Sir F. Clark.
Sir John Chapman (Tory) till March 1689; then Sir T. Pilkington (Whig). 1688-9	John Rayley.
Sir T. Pilkington. 1689-90	Sir Peter Vandeput (Whig).

who came of a Tory family.¹ When, however, the Common Hall was assembled, the members declined to confirm his nomination, and elected Thomas Papillon, another Mercer, and John Dubois. On the ground that the proceedings were accompanied by riot, and that the Mayor had been assaulted, the outgoing Sheriffs, Pilkington and Shute, were arrested, as well as Alderman Cornish the Haberdasher, and an Order in Council ordered a fresh election. The Mayor then insisted on his nomination of North without confirmation, and, by declaring all who had voted for Papillon and Dubois to be disqualified from voting, also secured the election of Ralph Box. As he prudently declined to serve, and paid his fine, Mr. Peter Rich, another Tory, was elected and, with North, was sworn before the Mayor. Pilkington and Shute were then tried by juries impanelled by the new Sheriffs, and condemned to pay heavy fines, the one for libelling the Duke of York, the other for riotous conduct, while Alderman Cornish was subsequently condemned and executed for High Treason.² At the same time the Mayor, Sir John Moore, removed the names of three Assistants (Sir R. Clayton, Sir James Smith, and Sir T. Gold) and nine Liverymen from the Livery List. The three Assistants and all the Liverymen except John Blunden were restored in 1683.³

The Tories also succeeded in electing another of their party, Sir Wm. Prichard, a Merchant Taylor, to the Mayoralty for the

¹ North was brother of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who was subsequently created Lord Guildford, and of Roger North, the author of 'The Examen', a clever defence of Tory views. The privilege of nominating one of the Sheriffs had been exercised by the Lord Mayors without challenge till 1640. In that year the Mayor made no nomination. But the privilege was again exercised by the Lord Mayors from 1641 to 1651, and their nominees elected, although under protests. From 1652 to 1660 or 1661, the custom fell into abeyance. It was revived in 1662, and continued till the date of this controversy.

² T. Pilkington, a Skinner, became Lord Mayor for part of the year 1689 and for 1690-1. Box belonged to the Grocers' Company, Dubois to the Weavers, Rich to the Saddlers, Shute to the Dyers. Cf. Beaven, Aldermen. Cornish was subsequently condemned and executed for complicity in the Rye House Plot. Shaape, London, vol. ii, p. 512.

³ Cf. Appendix XXXI A. It is noticeable that of those who were approved by the Mayor two Wardens, fourteen Assistants, and two Liverymen were discharged, while one Assistant and three Liverymen surrendered their positions, apparently because they were annoyed at the conduct of the King.

ensuing year. Thus the three chief magistracies of the City were in the hands of persons favourable to the King.¹

Rye House
Plot, June
1683.

The Char-
ters of the
City and of
the Com-
panies de-
clared for-
feited, June
1683.

In the following June the discovery of the Rye House Plot, in which some of the more violent Whigs were implicated, led to the trial and execution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, two of the most devoted of English patriots, and emboldened the King to proceed with his attack on the City. He hoped by overthrowing its right of electing its officials and its burgesses, to obviate the necessity of an annual repetition of the struggle. On June 12, 1683, therefore, the Court of King's Bench declared the Charter of London to be forfeited to the King. The execution of the judgement was however delayed, in expectation that the City would come to terms and voluntarily surrender it; but, as the Common Council remained obdurate,² the judgement was formally entered and the City was deprived of its Charter. Many other towns, cowed by the humiliation of the City, made haste to surrender their Charters; while those who were obstinate were coerced by writs of *Quo Warranto*, enforced by the notorious Judge Jeffreys, who 'made the Charters fall down before him like the walls of Jericho'.

Charles had, however, no intention of altering the framework of municipal government. All that he desired was to substitute his royal nomination of municipal officers for the right of election, and to secure the return of loyal subjects as the borough representatives.³ This he proceeded to do. In a short time all obnoxious Aldermen were dismissed, and others nominated by

¹ Maitland, *History of London*, ed. 1760, vol. i, p. 474. No eminent Draper was mixed up in this quarrel. But it cannot be said that any Company in their corporate capacity supported either party. The prominent men, who were Gildsmen at all, belonged to several Companies.

² 'Some were for their compliance, that so they might prevent the prejudice that would otherwise arise. On the other hand it was said that all freemen took an oath to maintain the rights of their Corporation; so that it was perjury in them to betray these. They said it was better to leave the matter to the King than by any act of their own to deliver all up. So it was carried not to do it, only by a few voices.' Burnet, *History*, ed. Airy (Clarendon Press, 1900), vol. ii, p. 396.

³ It should be remembered that the Borough Members at that time formed about four-fifths of the House of Commons.

Royal Commission, and the new Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and the Recorder were appointed to act during pleasure (October 1683).¹ Even this did not suffice. If the municipal officers and the parliamentary burgesses of the City were to be permanently persons well affected to the Crown, it was necessary to obtain a subservient Common Hall, which formed the electoral body, and at that date was composed of the Liverymen of the City Companies. The Writ of *Quo Warranto* was therefore extended to the Companies. On receipt thereof the Court of the Drapers addressed a petition to his Majesty declaring that 'in all humility they cast themselves at his Majesty's feet and submitted themselves to his Royal wisdom and pleasure' (April 1684).² The King assured them that he 'designed not to intermeddle or take away the rights, property, or privileges of the Company, nor to destroy their ancient usages and franchises, but only to regulate the governing part so as his Majesty might, for the future, have in himself a moving power of any officer therein for misgovernment', and that, on compliance with his wishes, he was 'graciously inclined to add in his new grant such further benefits and privileges for the good of the Society as were reasonable'. Upon this the Drapers in common with other Companies decided to surrender their Charter,³ and proceeded to pass the following resolution:

The Lord Mayor, Sir Henry Tulse, the Sheriffs, and the Recorder appointed by the King's Commission, October 1683.

'Considering how much it imports the Government of our Company to have men of knowne loyalty and approved integrity to beare offices of magistracy and places of trust, the Masters, Wardens and Brethren and Sisters of the Guild or Fraternity of the Blessed Mary the Virgin of the Mistery of Drapers . . . doe by these presents graunt, surrender and yield upp unto his most Gracious Majestie . . . his heirs and successors all and singular the powers, fraunchises, liberties, privileges and authorities whatsoever, and howsoever graunted to be, or to be used, or exercised by the said Masters, Wardens and brethren and sisters . . . by virtue of any right title or interest vested in them by any Charters, Letters

¹ The Mayor appointed was Henry Tulse, a Grocer, who had been one of the informers against Pilkington. He was, however, the senior Alderman, and therefore the person who would probably have been elected. The Sheriffs were Peter Daniel, a Haberdasher, and Samuel Dashwood, a Vintner. The Recorder was Sir T. Jenner. Maitland, *History of London*, ed. 1760, vol. i, p. 483. The Mayor had already, in 1682, removed some of the Assistants and Liverymen from the Livery list. Cf. *supra*, p. 295. ² Rep. + 133, p. 129 a. ³ *Ib.*, p. 130 a.

Patent, Customs, or Prescriptions in force of, or concerning, the electing, nominating, constituting being, or appointing of any person, or persons, into and for the severall and respective offices of Master, Wardens, Assistants and Clerk of the said Fraternity. And the said Masters, Wardens and brethren and sisters . . . humbly beseech his Majestie to accept of this their surrender; and doe, with all submission to his Majesty's good pleasure, implore his grace and favour to regrant to the . . . said Fraternity the nameing and choosing of the said officers and the said liberties and franchises, or soe many of them, and in such manner, as his Majestie in his great wisdom shall judge most conducing to the government of the said Fraternity, and with and under such reservations, restrictions and qualifications as his Majestie shall be pleased to appoint.'¹

About the same time the Court committed a further act of gratuitous humiliation. They invited Chief Justice Jeffreys, who had taken a prominent part in the late arbitrary proceedings, to a Stewards' dinner, and decided to admit him as a guest to all their public dinners.²

The Company no longer possesses the original of the New Charter. It was probably destroyed as worthless after the Revolution. But the substance of it may be guessed from that granted to the Grocers.³ After reciting the instrument of surrender, the

¹ Rep. + 133, p. 129 b.

² Jeffreys had been admitted to the freedom of the Company *ex amore* in August 1675 (Freedom Book + 280, p. 37). This was probably a step towards the Freedom of the City. He was a tenant of premises belonging to the Company in Coleman Street, where he resided. Cf. Renters' Accounts, 1687-8, fo. 1. In Rep. + 133, p. 139 b, he is spoken of as if he were one of the Assistants, and his name appears among those present at the Court Meeting of January 1685 (Rep. + 133, p. 139 b). He was certainly given a general invitation to all the dinners (Rep. + 133, p. 134 b). But his name does not appear in the list of Assistants of that year, in the Livery Book + 301, p. 92, nor of any other year. Presumably he was allowed to appear, because of the business in hand. The conduct of the Drapers was not, however, peculiar. The Merchant Taylors gave Jeffreys a piece of plate worth £100. Herbert, vol. i, p. 215; Rep. + 133, p. 134 b. Charles had the effrontery to enrol himself a Member of the Grocers' Company, as a proof that they might assure themselves of all the kindness and favour he could, *according to the laws*, bestow upon them. Heath, Grocers, p. 145. This he did, because Sir Henry Tulse, the Mayor appointed by the King, was a Grocer.

³ Heath, Grocers, p. 147. The Merchant Taylors and the Dyers also have the original Charter. The purport of all these is practically the same. That granted to the Skinners is by James II, 1685. Wadmore, Skinners, p. 284.

Charter proceeds to state that His Majesty is graciously pleased to grant them another Charter under such restrictions as he shall think fit. It incorporates them by their ancient name, and gives them power to elect their officers yearly, with the proviso that they must hold communion with the Church of England, receive the Sacrament according to the form prescribed by the Church within six months before their election, and after election take the several oaths and subscribe the declaration appointed by the Act of Parliament, which condemned the Solemn League and Covenant.¹ The names of the Master, Wardens and the Clerk are by a special clause to be first presented to the King, and, if they be not approved under the sign manual or privy signet, the Court of Assistants is to elect others, and so on until his Majesty is satisfied. Every election made contrary to this clause is to be null and void. To the King is also reserved the power of removing by an order of the Privy Council any Master, Warden, Assistant, or Clerk. The Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen are to approve of all persons admitted to the Livery. The Charter ends, in bitter irony, with a confirmation of all previous Charters, grants, usages, and privileges; so that the Company 'shall not be troubled or molested by the King, his heirs or successors for or by reason of any abuse or misusage in the past'.

The new Charter was accepted by the Court in grovelling terms. They professed their 'most humble thanks for his Majesty's most gracious Letters Patent and grant of incorporation'. Forthwith the King put his new powers into execution. In August 1683 the Master, the Wardens, the Assistants and the Livery were nominated² and in September George Inice, who had been Clerk of the Company for nearly forty years, was removed. His post was filled by Richard Graham with his son as his deputy.³

¹ It ran as follows: 'I . . . declare that I hold there lies no obligation on me or any other person from the oath commonly called the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this Realme against the known Laws and Liberties of this kingdom.' Mr. Hopkinson informs me that the Merchant Taylors' Company have a book containing as many as 113 such disclaimers by members of the Company.

² Appendix XXXI B.

³ Rep. + 133, pp. 139 b, 140 a. The cost of obtaining the Charter was £197.

The Company, possibly as a feeble protest against this arbitrary conduct, continued to employ Inice in collecting and abstracting the wills of benefactors and other work which was found for him. For this he received a gratuity of £150 (September 1684).¹

Sir James Smith, Master of the Company, elected Lord Mayor, September 1684.

It was in the very midst of these exciting days that the Drapers saw, for the fifth time during the reign, a member elected to the Mayoralty in the person of Sir James Smith, who was at that time the Master of the Company. The title of the Pageant they then presented is illustrative of the want of courage they, with the rest of the Companies, displayed, although perhaps the title of the Pageant, 'London's Royal Triumph for the City's *Loyal* Magistrate', may be explained by the fact that the Mayor was at that time in the royal favour.² It was devised, as the other pageants during the reign had been, by Thomas Jordan.³ The real sentiments of the Court of the Drapers may, however, be gathered from the absence of all mention in the Minutes of the death of Charles II and the accession of James II, an omission for which there had been no precedent.

Further measures of James II, 1685-8.

After the accession of James II a still more serious attack on the officers and the Liverymen of the Company was attempted. On May 6, 1685, he directed the Lord Mayor to issue precepts to the Companies for the return of such members as might, on account of their unquestionable loyalty, be judged worthy and fit to be by the Mayor and Court of Aldermen approved as Liverymen, and to elect members to serve for the City at the approaching Parliament.⁴

¹ Rep. + 133, pp. 137 b, 138 a, 145 a, 152 a, 177 a. The Crown had often recommended persons for the office of Clerk and others, and as late as 1678 Charles II had recommended a candidate as Clerk to the Merchant Taylors' Company. But this was the first time, as far as I know, of a Clerk being removed, and another nominated without election. Cf. Herbert, *Livery Companies*, vol. i, p. 213, note.

² Sir James Smith had been removed from the Court by the Mayor, Sir J. Moore, in 1682, but was restored in 1683, and was one of those approved of in the scrutiny of May 1685. Cf. Appendix XXXI B.

³ Cf. Herbert, vol. i, p. 461. It cost £513 3s. 10d. (*Wardens' Accounts*, 1684-5, fo. 41.) The pamphlet is in the Bodleian (Gough Add. London, 4^o. 6).

⁴ Rep. + 133, p. 142 b.

As will be seen from the list approved of by the Mayor,¹ three Wardens were removed, and, in their places, one was appointed from the Assistants, and two from the Liverymen. Of the thirty-three Assistants, one was made Warden, thirteen were re-nominated, and nineteen were removed, their places being taken by fourteen, of whom twelve were raised from the Livery and two from the freemen. Of the one hundred Liverymen, two were made Wardens, twelve were raised to the Court, thirty-eight were re-nominated, forty-eight were removed, and in their places fifteen were called from the freemen instead of the usual eight. The number of the Livery was reduced from one hundred to fifty-three, and that of the Assistants from thirty-three to twenty-seven. A like system of purgation was applied to the other Companies, and as a result four men of staunch Tory principles were returned as burgesses at the election held at the Guildhall on May 13.²

As the King had now obtained his object, there was no interference with the election of the officials of the Company nor with the callings of freemen to the Livery in the years 1685-6 and 1686-7, but we do not exactly know how many were called to the Court, or to the Livery in those years. All we are told is that, in October 1686, Sir Peter Vandeputt, who had lately been taken into the freedom, was called to the Court.³ Care, however, was

¹ Cf. Appendix XXXI c. The list of freemen to be called to the Livery differed somewhat from the one they had previously selected, probably because they wished to satisfy the King; yet, even so, one Francis Peake was not approved. Those degraded to the position of freemen were ordered to pay Quarterage, when they bound apprentices or made them free, as if they had never been of the clothing. Rep. + 133, p. 148 a. It is strange that the Company should have passed this order. The Livery Book + 301, pp. 99, 100 gives 17 other persons as 'of the Livery in 1685'. That would make the number of the Livery 70. But there is no mention in the Repertory of their being called.

² Rep. + 133, p. 144 a. They were: Sir John Moore, the Tory Mayor of 1681-2, Grocer; Sir William Prichard, the Tory Mayor of 1682-3, Merchant Taylor; Sir Samuel Dashwood, Vintner; Sir Peter Rich, Saddler. Cf. Beaven, Aldermen, under their names.

³ Rep. + 133, p. 155 b. Appendix XXXI d. Sir Peter had been admitted into the freedom *ex amore* in September 1686. Freedom List + 280, p. 73. He was called to the Court without having been called to the Livery. He was removed by the King in February 1688, and again recalled as an Assistant after the Restoration

taken to choose 'fit persons', and for this reason the beadle and the porter were ordered to visit the houses of all freemen residing in the City or suburbs who had not come to the Hall to pay Quarterage, and to collect the same, a policy which had been abandoned of late.¹ That the arbitrary conduct of the King had caused much discontent is shown by the fact that it was found difficult to find members of the Company to dine with the Mayor and Sheriffs as benevolent guests (June 1687).² In the following October, however, the King once more thought it necessary to intervene. In that month and in the following February and March orders were issued by which the Master, Sir Peter Vandepüt,

Altered
policy of
James II,
Oct. 1687.

of the Charter by James II, just before he fled. Livery List + 301, fo. 100. He became Master of the Drapers in 1689-90, without having previously served as Warden, as was the custom. Sir Peter was a rich merchant and financier. He is mentioned by Pepys in his Diary (cf. edition by Mynors Bright, 1877, vol. v, p. 264), and is among those who were reported to hold large amounts of Dutch money (cf. Hist. MS. Commission, vol. viii, p. 134).

Ten persons were, during the years 1686-88, enrolled as freemen of the Drapers by order of the Mayor and Aldermen, no doubt as a means of giving them the freedom of the City. This is an unusual number, but as they were not nominated to the Livery before the Revolution, and they do not appear to have been persons of influence or importance, it is doubtful whether this act of the Mayor had any political end. Their names were: Lawrence Courtney, John Parry, Christopher Peake, Joseph Long, Gilbert Gaudiat, John Otter, James Shelding, Ed. Huson, William Wrag, H. Burton (Rep. + 280, pp. 70, 71, 73, 74, 78, 82).

¹ *Ib.*, p. 157 a. As mentioned above (cf. p. 235), the enforcing of the payment of Quarterage from the freemen had been given up as a hopeless task, except when any freeman came to bind apprentices or enter them into the freedom. In the Wardens' Accounts for 1660-1, those paying Quarterage on enrolling apprentices or entering them into the freedom are called 'Yeomanry' (cf. fo. 29). In all the later accounts, up to the Revolution, the phrase is the 'several members'. But in the cash-book of 1669 all those paying Quarterage are freemen except Henry Steed, who was called to the Livery in that year, presumably after he had paid Quarterage; and I have found no instance in the reign of Charles II of a Liveryman who paid Quarterage on binding apprentices or entering them into the freedom. This evidence (which may be verified by comparing Renter Wardens' Cash Book 1671, Bindings and Freedoms + 280, 290, and the Livery List + 301) seems to prove conclusively that at that date no Liveryman paid Quarterage. It is also confirmed by a statement in Rep. + 133, p. 148 a, to the effect that those degraded from the Livery are to pay Quarterage, as if they had never been called to the Livery.

² Rep. + 133, p. 161 b. Sir John Peake was Mayor.

two of the Wardens and nine-six Assistants and Liverymen, were degraded to the position of freemen.¹ Here, however, we notice a complete reversal of the policy hitherto adopted. James was now bent on exercising his suspending power to evade the Test and Corporation Acts in favour of the Roman Catholics, the step which did more than anything to forfeit him his throne, and found himself opposed by those very 'Church and King men' whom he had hitherto favoured, but whose devotion to the Crown was subordinate to their attachment to the Established Church and their dread of Popery.² Thus, of those removed at this moment, sixty-two had been approved in 1685, and the Master, Sir Peter Vandeput, in 1687. Practically all those who had been excluded, either by his brother or himself, since the surrender of the Charter were restored to their positions (except those just removed by the late order); the King declaring that he was 'well persuaded of their loyalty and duty' and 'fully resolved to encourage and countenance all his subjects of dutiful behaviour'. Only five, however, are recorded as having availed themselves of his act of grace; while the suspicious assertion of the Court on admitting the said men³ is significant. A resolution was passed, that they did not understand that they were restrained from administering the oaths prescribed by their Charter (that is, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which implied adherence to the Established Church), and that they were therefore ready now and at all times hereafter to administer the said oaths to such as should at day time desire to take them.³ To replace the gaps in the list of Assistants, eleven Assistants who had been removed in 1685 were recalled, and eighteen of the Senior Liverymen were called; the Court passing a resolution, that none of these were to be excused from serving as Wardens in their several turns.⁴

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 166 a-169 a. For their names cf. Appendix XXXI E.

² *Beaven, Aldermen*, vol. ii, p. lvii.

³ *Rep.* + 133, pp. 168 b, 169 a b, 170 a. The five who availed themselves were Edward Anthony, John Rayiey, Sam. Harwar, Joshua Pordage and Thomas Major.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 172 a b, 173 a. This resolution was no doubt passed because of the great difficulty of finding persons to serve as Warden of late. Thus in

Opinion on these arbitrary acts of the two last Stuart kings will, I suppose, vary according to one's predilections. Strype, in his edition of Stow, says: 'Many of the citizens did make a matter of sport of it, as though the City was well enough met with, because of the want of loyalty in some of its members, and for the standing up so strenuously for their pretended rights and privileges; and songs were sung at entertainments in the City'.¹ That such was, however, by no means the universal opinion he clearly shows by proceeding to enumerate the numerous hostile tracts and pamphlets which the whole incident called forth. To many, none of the unconstitutional acts of Charles I seem worse than this insidious attempt to destroy the privileges of the towns of England and to rob them, under a pretence of legality, of their right to elect their municipal officers and their burgesses. The subservience of the City and of the Companies of London, a subservience which was mainly due to fear of the consequences, is as surprising as it is humiliating. Fortunately James had, by his other arbitrary measures, roused the country, and seven months later he finally fled the kingdom, which he had so justly forfeited. At the last moment a vain attempt was made to conciliate the City. Calling for the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, the King declared his determination to restore their liberties, and Judge Jeffreys, coming at his command to the Guildhall, handed back the Charter. At the same time orders were given to the Drapers that all those

Vain attempts of James II to conciliate the City.

1687 no less than four persons declined to serve as Wardens; of these, two pleaded business and absence in the country, one could not be found at his ordinary place of abode, and one, Sir. E. Barkham, pleaded serious indisposition. All except Barkham paid their fine of £40; cf. Rep. + 133, pp. 163 a-165 a. Sir John Shorter, who was nominated Mayor by James II in 1688, was not even a freeman of London.

¹ Especially the following:

You freemen of London and prentices mourn,
 For now you are left with your Charles forlorn;
 Since London was London I dare boldly say
 For your riots you never so dearly did pay.
 In Westminster Hall
 Your Dagon did fall
 That caused you to riot and mutiny a

Strype's Stow, ed. 1755, Book v, p. 454.

who had been removed from the Livery and the Court of Assistants should be restored. This attempt 'to sweeten' the City did not, however, succeed.¹

No sooner had William of Orange landed than the Lord Chancellor informed the Master that it was William's intention to cancel all the acts of James with regard to the Company; delivered back their surrender of April 1684, and stated that it had never been enrolled on record.² Upon this the Court, having for further security obtained Counsel's opinion that the Company stood 'in the same plight and condition' as it was before the surrender, unanimously confirmed the present Master and Wardens for the remainder of the year, and recalled their Clerk, George Inice.³

William III restores the forfeited Charters.

One of the first acts of the new King was the publication of a proclamation for the 'restoring Corporations and members of bodies politique to their state and degree, in which they were in' previous to the writ of *Quo Warranto*. The Act 2 William and Mary, c. 8, declared that all the judgements obtained upon the late writ, and all the consequent proceedings, were illegal and arbitrary; and enacted that the Lord Mayor, Citizens and Commonalty should, for ever thereafter, remain a Body Corporate and politic, without any seizure or fore-judger, or being thereof excluded or ousted, upon any pretence of forfeiture or misdemeanour whatsoever.⁴

¹ Rep. + 133, pp. 180 b, 181 a, 182 b; Strype's Stow, Book v, p. 455.

² Rep. + 133, pp. 183 a b.

³ William landed at Torbay November 5, 1688. The Chancellor sent for the Master on November 20. The Court sat on November 26. James left London December 11, but returned on the 16th and did not finally leave the Kingdom till the 23rd. William arrived in London December 19, 1688. The rapidity with which the Drapers reasserted themselves after their humiliation is significant.

⁴ The Act 1 William and Mary, c. 8, abrogated the old oaths of allegiance and supremacy imposed on all who held office, and substituted a simple oath of allegiance and a declaration that no foreign prince, civil or ecclesiastical, had or ought to have any jurisdiction within the realm. Office holders had also to declare that they did not believe in Transubstantiation (cl. x). Cf. Appendix XXX A for the new oath. There are in the Record office the names of 17 Assistants, 105 Liverymen, 95 freemen, and 6 others whose position is uncertain, who took the oath to

On October 22, 1689, William condescended to be enrolled as a Master of the Grocers' Company, and to take upon himself the office of its Master for the ensuing year. In December 1690 he was admitted as a freeman of the Drapers' Company.¹

Party
struggles in
London.

Some trouble, however, arose after the restoration of these privileges, which were caused by party controversies in London. In April 1690 the Mayor, Sir Thomas Pilkington, a Skinner, and three Aldermen, all Whigs,² presented a petition to the House of Commons, alleging that the Sheriff had declared four Tories to have been elected as burgesses, in spite of the fact that on a scrutiny being held, the majority of votes were found to have been cast in favour of the petitioners. As nothing came of this move, the Lord Mayor, for the purpose of revising the scrutiny, issued precepts to the Livery Companies, demanding returns to be made of the names of those who had been members of their Liveries since the 'Writ of *Quo Warranto*', and of those who had died, or were absent, or who had omitted to take the prescribed oaths for a freeman or Liveryman. The result was, however, to affirm the decision of the Sheriffs, and the Tories were declared duly elected.³

The same party rivalries were also seen at the time of the election of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and City Chamberlain in the following May, when, according to the Statute for the Restoration of the Charter, these officials were to be elected, not only for the remainder of the current year, but also for the ensuing one.

William III in 1696 (cf. Petty Bag $\frac{171}{3}$, Appendix XXXVI) and we have the signatures of the Master and Wardens to this declaration from 1689 to 1876. The necessity of taking the declaration was removed in 1866 by 90-1 Vict. c. 62.

¹ Heath, Grocers, p. 153; Freedom Book + 280, fo. 20.

² They were: Sir R. Clayton, the Mayor of 1679-80, who had been then translated from the Scriveners' to the Drapers' Company; Sir P. Ward and Sir William Ashurst, both members of the Merchant Taylors' Company. Ward had been Mayor 1680-1, and Ashurst became Mayor 1694-5. Sir R. Clayton was subsequently chosen M.P. by his own pocket borough of Bletchingly. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. i, p. 302.

³ They were: Sir William Turner, a Merchant Taylor; had been Mayor in 1668-9. Sir S. Dashwood, a Vintner; became Mayor 1702-3. Sir William Prichard, a Merchant Taylor; had been Mayor 1683-4. Sir T. Vernon, a Haberdasher.

Sir T. Pilkington, the Lord Mayor, the two Sheriffs, and the Chamberlain who were elected were all Whigs.¹ Further, in the elections to the Common Council, in the following June, several disputes arose; and these were aggravated by party dissensions. The Tories complained of various irregularities, and their indignation was increased when the Mayor refused to allow the question of petitioning Parliament to be put in the Common Council, and dissolved it. The petitioners then addressed themselves directly to the House, declaring that Pilkington and the Chamberlain had not been duly chosen by the Common Council, and asking for explanations of some doubtful points arising out of the late Act. The petition was received, and witnesses on either side heard, but Parliament was probably afraid of losing the support of the Whig City Magnates, and the case, being then adjourned, was for the time shelved.²

It is remarkable that no notice of these dissensions is found in the Drapers' Books, especially as Sir Robert Clayton, one of the important members of the Court and late Mayor and Master of the Company, was concerned³; the Company, however, did not, as was the case with some others, associate itself with either the Whigs or Tories.⁴

As Parliament declined to intervene, the controversy continued

¹ They were: Edward Clarke, Mercer } Sheriffs. Both subsequently became
Francis Child, Goldsmith } Mayors: Clarke in 1696-7, Child in
1699-1700.
Leonard Robinson, Chamberlain.

² My information is drawn chiefly from Sharpe, London and the Kingdom, vol. ii, pp. 555 ff.; Maitland, History of London, ed. 1760, vol. i, p. 495.

³ Sir Robert had been a Scrivener. In the part of Dryden's 'Absalom and Achitophel' written by Tate, he is accused under the name of 'Ishban' of being a usurer, and of offering to turn Tory in return for a peerage, which was refused (Dryden's Works, ed. Scott, 1808, vol. ix, p. 328). He was Master of the Drapers in 1680-1, Governor of the Irish Society 1692-1706, Director of the Bank of England 1702-7 (Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, pp. 105, 191).

Of the petitioners given by Maitland, History of London, vol. i, p. 495, none, with the exception of John Johnson, who may be the later Alderman of that name, was a member of the Drapers' Company.

⁴ Thus the leanings of the Goldsmiths and the Merchant Taylors were Tory, those of the Fishmongers Whig.

until, in the year 1725, an Act was brought forward for regulating elections within the City. Although it was severely criticized as interfering with some of the ancient privileges of the citizens, it finally passed and ended these dissensions.¹

¹ Stat. xi George I, c. 18. Clause 15, which confirms to the Aldermen their right to negative the acts of the Common Council, was however repealed by Stat. xix George II, c. 8. Maitland, *London*, vol. i, p. 534. Dr. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. iii, p. 28, says that many of the Livery Companies petitioned against the Bill. But again I can find no notice of this in the *Drapers' Books*.

CHAPTER VIII

INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE COMPANY DURING THE REIGNS OF CHARLES II, JAMES II AND WILLIAM III



HE Restoration seemed to the Court of Assistants a fit occasion on which to revise the Ordinances of the Company. 'Whereas', runs the resolution, 'some of the old ordinances are scarcely understood by many, by reason of the alteration of the times and the state of the Company, and many have become of little use, and there is a necessity of some new ordinances for the better carrying on of the government of this Company, it is thought well to appoint a Committee to revise and report.' The Report of the Committee was con-

New
Ordinances,
December
1662.

(1)
firmed, and the New Regulations received the confirmation of the Chancellor and the two Chief Justices on July 16, 1663.²

The Ordinances³ dealt chiefly with the election of the Master and

¹ The initial comes from the Re-creation of the Manor of the Drapers in Ireland, B. 27.

² Rep. + 133, pp. 275 a, 276 b, 279 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1662-3, fo. 32. The Clerk was given £40 for his pains and his servants £5. Counsel's fees amounted to £62 5s.

³ Cf. Appendix XXX B.

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the Wardens, the Election Dinner, the Wardens' Accounts, the composition of the Court of Assistants, the method of calling to the Livery, the Quarter days, View days, and Search days and dinners. Rules were also drawn up with regard to the attendance at public ceremonies, and the forms of oaths which were to be taken by officers on assuming office, and by the freemen on admission. These ordinances are substantially the same as those of 1576, and, where they differ, the differences are small. It should, however, be noticed that in the oath of the freemen the old wording omitted during the Commonwealth is restored.¹ Subsequently a few more orders were made dealing more especially with the wearing of gowns at dinners and burials, and the allowances for certain dinners; while in 1674 new regulations respecting the Garden were drawn up.²

Reduction
in the
number and
expense of
dinners.
Election
Dinners.

Owing to the general depression caused by the Plague and the Fire, the public Election Day dinners were, during the earlier years of the reign, often omitted, a private dinner alone being held. In 1667 indeed, it was decided to hold a public dinner 'for the better preserving of unity, yet in regard to the sadness of the times' and the fact that the Hall had been burnt down, it was not expected that there should be that high feasting, which had formerly been indulged in, but only 'one course of moderate fare without any seconds'; and, in respect that the expense would be thereby reduced, the usual allowance made by the Company was not granted.³

Quarter
Day
Dinners.

A similar policy was pursued with regard to all other dinners. Thus of the Quarter Day dinners, that held at Christmas was alone retained,⁴ while in 1667 and 1668, the two years following

¹ The omissions in 1658 had been (a) 'Sainte Marie'; (b) 'And, if you know things at any time which should be slanderous, or hurtful, to any of the said guild or Fraternity, to your power you shall let it, or else anon the Master, or one of the Wardens, you shall warn thereof, or do to be warned; ye shall also conceal and keep privy the reasonable counsels of your Master that you serve, or have served.' Cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 329; Rep. + 132, p. 223 b., and Appendix XXX A.

² Cf. Appendix XXX B.

³ Rep. + 132, p. 323 b; Rep. + 133, p. 17 b, 41 a.

⁴ Rep. + 132, p. 270 b.

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the Fire, none were given. The money which the Wardens would have spent was, as in the case of those Election Dinners which were omitted, usually devoted to the poor of the Company, being added to the £40 (£20 at Easter and £20 at Christmas) given every year by the House.¹

Of Stewards' dinners three only were given in 1661: one on May 29 in memory of the King's birthday and Restoration; the second on October 29, the Lord Mayor's Day; and the third on November 5, to commemorate the frustration of the Gunpowder Plot. Stewards' Dinners.

The normal number of View Day dinners had been two: one in Lent, which was called the Fritter Dinner, and one in July. Of these the Fritter Dinner was frequently omitted. View Day Dinners.

The only exception to the attempt to reduce the expenditure on dinners was with regard to the Yeomanry dinner. This was not, indeed, given every year, but, when given, it was on a generous scale, in order, as we are told, to better preserve love and amity; and although the Wardens were entreated to take care that 'the dinners should be performed with as much frugality as was consistent with the honour of the Company, they cost something like £100 apiece.'² The Yeomanry Dinner.

As we draw near the end of the reign, the exceptional reasons for economy no longer existed. The dinners were accordingly for the most part resumed,³ and we find that, in the year 1687-8, the Company spent £150 on dinners and wine, an expenditure which recalls the more festive days of Charles the Second's earlier years.⁴ Dinners resumed towards the close of the reign.

¹ The two Junior Wardens were, however, relieved from the fine of £10 in lieu of the Midsummer Quarter-day dinner. Rep. + 132, p. 270 b.

² Rep. + 132, p. 269 b; Wardens' Accounts, 1662-3 fo. 34, 1677-8 fo. 35.

³ Of the Quarter Day dinners, that held in December was alone retained.

⁴ In the year 1614-15, when Sir Thomas Hayes was Mayor, the Wardens spent £174 14s. 10d. on dinners and wine; while the Bachelors' Election dinner cost £10. In the following year, 1615-16, when Sir John Jolles was Mayor, the total expenditure came to £139 2s. We have no records of the two years after the Fire, but in 1668-9 the outlay on such festivities had fallen to £81 11s. 11d. Cf. Wardens' and Bachelors' Accounts for the said years.

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In 1672 the allowances for the dinners on the Election Day and the Quarter Day (December) were fixed at £20, and that for the Public View Day dinner at £10.¹

In the year 1687 the expenses of the Public View dinner were limited to £12, and those of the private Election dinner and the Fritter dinner to £10 each; but in the following March this regulation was suspended till further orders.²

Unwillingness to undertake the office of Steward.

Although there was no increase in the number of the Stewards' dinners, which remained at three, there were four instances of Liverymen preferring to pay the fine of £20 to £30 rather than accept the onerous duty which fell on them in turn. The

DINNERS AT CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Name.	Number yearly.	By whom attended.	How provided.
<i>Public Dinners.</i>			
Election Day	One; first Tuesday in August till 1699, then Thursday	Court and Livery	By the Wardens, plus allowance of the Company, £20.
Quarter Day	One, in December	Court and Livery	By the Wardens, plus allowance of the Company, £20.
Stewards'	Three: May 29, October 29, November 5	Court and Livery	By Stewards with allowance of £5 till 1695; then by the Company.
Public View	Two: (a) in Lent, 'Fritter dinner'; (b) in June, or July	The Court	By the Company after 1674; not to exceed £20 for each dinner.
<i>Private Dinners.</i>			
Election	One, Monday, the day before the Election	The Court	By the Company, £12.
View, e.g. visiting almshouses	Varied	The Wardens	By the Company; allowance varied, £2 10s. to £3.
Gift Days, after distributing charities	Varied; generally two, Easter and Christmas	The Wardens	By the Company; allowance £2 for each dinner.
Fair dinners after measuring yards at the St. Bartholomew's Fair and Lady Fair in Southwark	Two, August and September	The Wardens	By the Company; allowance £5 for each dinner, plus charges of the day.
Audit	One	By Auditors, generally the Wardens	By the Company; allowance £6.

Cf. Rep. + 133, pp. 41 a, 56 a, 65 a, 156 b, 237 a, 177 a; Wardens' Accounts, *passim*. Most of the private dinners were held at Taverns, e.g. the Rumer or Roomer in Queen's Street, until 1827, when it was resolved that they should be held at the Hall. Cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1685-6, fo. 39; 1688-9, fos. 39, 40; Records + 138, pp. 636-7; + 139, p. 577.

¹ Rep. + 133, p. 41 a.

² *lb.*, pp. 171 a, 173 b.

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Stewards were indeed generally given allowances, but as these did not cover the charges of the said dinners they had to defray the remainder out of their own purses.¹ To meet this difficulty, the expense of the dinner in commemoration of the King's birthday and Restoration was taken over by the Company in 1690, and no guests were to be asked except those who attended the Service.² Meanwhile several new provisions were made to lighten the charge of these Stewards' dinners. In 1671 it was decided to appoint three instead of two Stewards for every dinner, so that 'the honour of the Company might be preserved with the least charge that may be' to the Liverymen, especially as all allowances had been stopped since the Fire.³ In 1674 and 1675 an endeavour was made to equalize the charges. The fare was cut down; there was to be no music; the guests were to be confined to the Assistants and the Liverymen; all friends or relations of the Stewards were to be excluded; and whereas the dinner on the last Mayor's day had been much less numerously attended than those of the two other Stewards' dinners, because some dined at the Guildhall and others were wearied with the tediousness of the Services before the dinner at the Drapers' Hall, a special allowance of £5 was made towards the other two Stewards' dinners.⁴ This special allowance was not however continued.

¹ Rep. + 133, pp. 82 b, 93 b, 96 a, 181 b. Besides these Wm. Langhom in 1678 paid £40 to be discharged of holding any office: *ib.*, pp. 101 a, 103 a.

² *Ib.*, p. 201 a.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 38 b, 201 a.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 64 a, 65 a. There were to be not more than four substantial eating dishes to one mess, and three messes for each table (except for the Mayor's mess when, being a Draper, he dined; for this an extra 20 nobles was allowed). The fine for entertaining those excluded was £1 to the poor box. In June of 1675 the Stewards were, however, given special leave to invite Sir Joseph Sheldon and Alderman Dannel Forth to these dinners. Sir Joseph was at that date still a member of the Tallow-chandlers. He was translated to the Drapers in October, as Mayor-elect. Dannel Forth had been a member, but was translated to the Brewers in 1661. He was Sheriff in 1669-70, and Master of the Brewers' Company 1670-1. He was a Nonconformist, the brother of John Forth who married the daughter of Sir H. Vane. Dannel's daughter married the son of Oliver St. John, Chief Justice during the Commonwealth, and by him was the ancestress of the Dukes of Manchester. Cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. 170.

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Stewards no longer appointed. The Company undertakes the charge of all Stewards' dinners.

In 1685, in consequence of the reduction of the Livery owing to the interference of the Crown, only two Stewards were appointed for the dinner on the Mayor's day of that year.¹ In 1690 the Stewards were relieved from the charge of the dinner to commemorate the Restoration, which was taken over by the Company, and four Stewards were appointed for the two remaining dinners, those on the Lord Mayor's Day and November 5. Finally, in 1695 it was resolved that, after those at present in the Livery had served the office of Steward, no others subsequently called to the clothing should have to serve as Steward, and that the Company should undertake the charge of the only two 'Stewards' dinners which remained. The cost, however, was by a resolution of 1700 'to be as little as may be'.²

In the year 1675 it was decided that the charge for the View Day dinners should be undertaken by the Company, instead of being borne by the youngest Warden. The expense was not to exceed £20 for each dinner, while, in order that there might be 'opportunity for free discourse', no one was to be invited (under pain of fine of 20s. to the poor box), except the Master, the Wardens, the Assistants, and the wives and ladies of the Master, the Wardens, and of such of the Assistants as had 'fined' for the place of Alderman or Sheriff, or had been Masters of the Company.³

At the same time, care was taken to maintain ancient and decent usages, which had of late been by some neglected. To this end, all Assistants and Liverymen were ordered to wear their gowns at dinner, unless by leave of the Master and Wardens, on pain of a fine of 2s. 6d. to the poor box.⁴

It was found even more difficult throughout the reign to fill

¹ This reduction in the number of Stewards was not continued. Rep. + 133, p. 144 a.

² Rep. + 133, pp. 237 a, 267 a.

³ *Ib.*, p. 56 a.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 126 b. The order does not seem to have been well observed: cf. *ib.*, p. 103 b. The same order was made with regard to funerals: *ib.*, p. 121 b. There are several notices of 'Spanish tables' and 'Tables Spanish table fashion' for use at dinners in the Hall and the Ladies' Chamber. Wardens' Accounts, 1669-70, fo. 34; Committee Book Hall + 380, fos. 32, 37. Professor Firth has furnished me with a reference to them in a manuscript at Christ

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the place of Warden, because of the far heavier duties and charges of the office. The excuses given for declining were various. Sometimes it was residence in the country; sometimes infirmity; sometimes pressing business;¹ often inability to support the office to the honour of the Company. The ordinary fine for declining was £20; a fine which was, however, returned in the event of future acceptance.² If the office refused was that of one of the two youngest Wardens, posts which were, as before mentioned, filled by a person called from the Livery, and the fine was remitted, the person was degraded from the position of Liveryman.³

Difficulty of finding persons to accept the office of Warden.

In the year 1662 alone as many as five persons declined the proffered honour. Accordingly, in 1664 the fine for refusing was raised to £40, although for a few years only half was in some cases demanded.⁴ The alteration had a temporary effect. Only four refusals occurred between that date and the year 1679. But after that the trouble recurred. In the years 1675, 1679, 1680, and again in 1686, respectively, no less than three persons, and in 1687 four, declined. Probably the explanation of refusals in 1687 is to be found in the irritation caused by the forfeiture of

Church, Oxford, published in Bullen's 'More Lyrics from the Song Books of the Elizabethan Age', p. 145 :

'Set me fine Spanish tables in the Hall,
See they be filled all;
Let there be room to eat,
And order taken that they want not meat'.

I have, however, failed to discover exactly what they were—perhaps small movable tables on trestles. Yet three dozen borrowed for the dinners on Election Day and the Lord Mayor's Day is a large number. Possibly therefore they were wooden platters placed on the tables.

¹ Thus Francis Wellington, merchant and farmer of the Customs, who had been specially called to the Livery in 1668, was, on account of the business of his office, excused from ever being called upon to be Warden, on payment of £20 or so much in plate (Rep. + 133, pp. 16 a, 110 b); and Mr. Hiller was excused because he was steward of the Hospital at Bridewell (ib., p. 90 b).

² Rep. + 132, p. 303 a; Rep. + 133, p. 90 a.

³ Rep. + 133, pp. 75 a, 79 b.

⁴ Rep. + 132, p. 310 a; ib. + 133, pp. 118 a, 179 a.

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the charter, and the arbitrary interference of the Mayor with the internal government of the Company.¹

The office of Master rarely declined.

Of refusals to accept election as Master there are only three instances, probably because the office was a very honourable one, and did not involve heavy expense. Of the three who did refuse, Sir James Smith was excused because of his great employments as Sheriff; and Mr. Tusher by reason of very great age and infirmity.² In no case was any fine exacted. The City found the same difficulty in filling the places of Sheriff and Alderman; and the number of Drapers who 'fined' for these two offices respectively during the period from 1660 to 1688 was eight.³ This, however, was no new experience.⁴

¹ The total number of refusals between 1660-80 was 33. The references are too numerous to give. They will be found in Rep. + 132, + 133.

It may be useful here to state the rules with regard to the Election of Wardens.

(i) The two junior Wardens were elected from the Livery or from the freemen.

(ii) The second Warden, from those who had been junior Wardens.

(iii) The upper or Master Warden from those who had held the place of second Warden, or had fined for the position of Alderman or Sheriff. Cf. Rep. + 133, p. 131 a. (N. B. These rules still hold, except that having fined for the position of Sheriff or Alderman is no longer a qualification for election as upper Warden, and, as a matter of fact, the Master Warden is now by custom always elected to the office of Master for the ensuing year.)

In 1673 a very nice question arose whether Messrs. Grosvenor and Tyther, who had held the post of second Warden first, or Messrs. Dixon and Cooke, who were called to the clothing and had paid their fines to be excused the Wardenship before the others had held office, and had also subsequently held the office of second Warden, should have precedence in being nominated for election to the position of Master Warden. The Court 'proceeded in all tenderness, anxious to maintain union and love', and tried to shift the responsibility of deciding the knotty question on the whole Company, but, failing in this, finally cut the Gordian knot by putting up Mr. Grosvenor and Mr. Dixon for election. On Mr. Grosvenor being elected Master Warden, the Court decided that Mr. Grosvenor and Mr. Tyther should in future take precedence of the other two. Rep. + 133, p. 50 b.

² Rep. + 132, p. 259 a; ib. + 133, pp. 47 b, 153 a. Sir James was subsequently Mayor and Master in the year 1684-5.

³ That is, eight for each office; cf. Appendix XLII. Six served as Sheriffs and twelve as Aldermen during the same period.

⁴ For duties, charges, and allowances before the reign of James I, cf. vol. ii of this work, pp. 56, 217, note.

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The trouble was not, however, confined to the offices of the Company and the City; it was also experienced with regard to the Livery, which was shunned because of the general depression and, as we are expressly told, from 'fear of charges' to which they might be put. It was to meet this difficulty that, as above mentioned, the Court resolved, in 1695, that all persons called to the Livery after that date should be relieved of the charge of Stewards' dinners.¹

Refusal to enter the Livery.

The Drapers' Hall, as well as those of other Companies, was used by members for their private entertainments, when there was often high feasting. John Verney describes a wedding repast given in the Hall in 1675 by the Widow Marisco for her daughter, who had £10,000 or £11,000 for her portion, and married the son of Alderman Fredericks.²

Private dinners in the Hall.

'The first day there were 600 dishes, and the second and the third days were also great feasting at the same charge. And then Sir John Fredericks entertained them with 400 dishes. And this day the six Bridesmen entertain the Company. . . . To-day is another great Wedding kept at Cooper's Hall between Kisting's son and Dashwood the brewer's daughter, both anabaptists.'

Owing to the disinclination to take office, and other reasons, there was considerable fluctuation in the number of the Livery during the reign of Charles II. Thus between 1663 and 1677,

Variations in number of Liverymen.

¹ This exemption did not, however, extend to those already in the Livery: Rep. + 133, p. 237 a. Those refusing escaped the 9s. 2d. to be paid for the Livery gown. Those who had entered and paid their fees were sometimes, for some special reason, given back their fees, and allowed to degrade again to the position of a freeman: Rep. + 133, p. 124 a. This was in all probability the reason for not summoning Wm. Eardley, Wm. Witherden, and Anthony Poole to the Livery in 1662: Rep. + 133, p. 272 b. Wm. Eardley, we know, became a bankrupt: *ib.*, p. 314 a.

² *Memoirs of the Verney Family from the Restoration*, vol. iv, p. 224. This must have been Thomas Fredericks (Frederick), who was elected Alderman in 1687, but it is not known whether he was a member of any Company, and I cannot find his name in the Drapers' Books. His father, Sir John, was a Barber Surgeon, who was translated to the Grocers 1661, and was Mayor 1661-2. He was a strong supporter of the Restoration, but was removed by Charles II in 1683. The Widow Marisco was presumably the relict of Charles Marisco, a Clothworker; cf. *Beaven, Aldermen*, vol. ii, pp. 53, 112, 185.

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no less than twenty-two declined to answer the call to the Livery.¹ The difficulty was, however, met by presenting sixteen, twice the number required, as fit persons, from whom eight were annually chosen²; and also in some cases by increasing the number called when a Draper was Mayor.³ A more effectual remedy was found in 1678 by the reduction of the fee for entrance from 40 to 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.).⁴ Other measures were also adopted which finally ended, as before mentioned, with the freeing of the Liverymen from the office of Steward in 1695, and the taking over of the charges of the Stewards' dinners by the Company, although this measure of relief was accompanied by an increase of the entrance fee to £22 10s. 4d. and fees to the officials of £2 9s. 8d.⁵

The result of all these expedients was that, when once the Company had recovered from the effects of the Plague and the Fire, the size of the Livery increased steadily from 81 to 125 in the year 1683, and this although in 1678 two, and in 1679 three, declined the call. Shortly after, by the forfeiture of the Charter and the nomination of its members by the Mayor, the whole composition of the Livery was altered. In 1683-4 the number was reduced to 103, and in 1684-5 to 53.⁶ As for the years which intervened between that date and the Revolution, it is impossible to speak with certainty, since many who had been recalled did not

¹ The experience of the Grocers was the same; cf. Heath, *Grocers*, p. 134.

² Rep. + 132, p. 247 a, repeated every year.

³ The main object of this custom, which had long obtained, was that the fees of those called, or their fines in the case of refusal, should go towards the expenses of the Mayor's Show. It should be remembered that five Drapers filled the office of Mayor during the reigns of Charles II and James II. In preparation for the Mayoralty of Sir S. Starling in 1669, it was resolved to admit twenty to the Livery, though eventually only nineteen were found fit and willing: Rep. + 133, p. 23 a. For the Mayoralty of Sir J. Sheldon in 1675, only eight, the usual number, were called (*ib.*, p. 77 a); for that of Sir Thos. Davies in 1676, sixteen (*ib.*, p. 84 b); for the Mayoralty of Sir R. Clayton again only eight (*ib.*, p. 105 a); in 1687 sixteen for the Mayoralty of Sir J. Smith (*ib.*, p. 138 a).

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 94 b. A proviso was, however, added that none should be called but those 'of good repute'.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, under Dinners, p. 310, and Rep. + 133, p. 237 a.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, under *Quo Warranto*, p. 293.

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respond,¹ but in April 1689, just after the Accession of William III, the number, exclusive of the Master, Wardens, and Assistants, stood at 110 and in 1690 at 125. This increase is explained by the fact that the list includes those who had at any time been called by the Company, as well as those nominated by the King or the Mayors since 1682.

The usual way of entering the Court of Assistants was by election to the post of one of the youngest Wardens, or by holding the office of Alderman or Sheriff, or fining for the same.² Occasionally others were called to the Court for some special reason. This was the case with Sir Peter Vandeput, who, having been taken into the freedom in September 1686, was called to the Court in the October of the same year, without having been a Liveryman.³ The number of the Assistants was, at the Restoration, thirty-two, including the Master and the four Wardens. It increased gradually, in spite of the Plague and the Fire, until it stood at forty-four in 1682. Then, owing to the interference of the Crown, it was reduced by three, and in 1684 by eleven; to rise to forty-seven with the fall of James II.⁴

Variation in the size of the Court of Assistants.

¹ Livery List + 301, p. 95, + 264; cf. Appendix XLIII B. The numbers were:

In 1660	85	1677	118
1667 after the Plague	80	1680	119
1668 after the Fire	81	1683	125
1670	92	1684	53
1672	100	1689	110

In February 1690, the number of the Livery, including the Master, the Wardens, and the Assistants, was 170. We do not know exactly how many of these were Assistants, but as they were probably about 45, this would make the approximate number of the Livery 125.

² Rep. + 133, pp. 75 a, 83 a, 106 a; Ordinance Book + 796, fo. 98. A freeman who had declined the office of Sheriff or Alderman before he was called to the Livery or Court was, before he could be called to the Court, or be elected to the post of Senior Warden, to pay a fine of £50 in respect of the charges he would have incurred as a Liveryman or Junior Warden. Rep. + 133, p. 52 b. A person once admitted as an Assistant held his position for life. The fine for non-attendance at a Court meeting was 3s. 6d. Widows of Assistants were, so long as they remained unmarried, invited to all public Election and Quarter Day dinners (Rep. + 133, p. 67 b), but they were never called to the Livery or to the Court.

³ Rep. + 133, p. 155 b.

⁴ Cf. + 301 Livery Lists; Rep. + 133, p. 187 a, Appendix XLIII B. The number was 48 in 1690, cf. + 264.

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Decline in
the number
of the
Freemen.

It was, however, with regard to the numbers of those admitted to the freedom that the variations were the most significant. In the year 1665 the freemen, though they had decreased since 1653, still numbered about 1359.¹ In 1674 the number had fallen to 1239. No doubt this decline was partly the result of the Plague and the Fire. But that these were not the only causes is proved by the continued decrease. In 1678 it is expressly stated that 'men of quality' were 'shy of taking up their freedom'; and the reasons given were the decay of trade, the charges of the offices they might have to bear, and the fees to be paid on entrance into the Livery. To meet the last scruple these fees were, as above mentioned, reduced,² but the concession does not appear to have had much effect; while the treatment of the Company under the Writ of *Quo Warranto* must have added another reason for declining the freedom. In 1684 a committee made various suggestions with the object of keeping up the number and preserving a succession of members to discharge the Services of the Fraternity.³ Nothing, however, came of this proposal. In 1687 there were renewed complaints of the falling-off of membership, and in 1690 the number had fallen as low as 1,118, nearly one-half what it had been in the reign of James I.⁴

¹ i. e. from 1386 to 1356 or 1359, of whom only 382 paid Quarterage. Cf. Quarterage Books + 262, 267. We cannot be quite certain of the numbers in 1665, because, having no Livery List of that year, we do not know how many of those entered in the Quarterage Book were Liverymen. The Poll Tax return of 1660 does not help us, because, as we learn from the Repertory + 132, p. 246 b, 'of the freemen who cannot dispend £500 a year' the Wardens 'are not acquainted with the habitation or estate of the most parte, and leave them to be returned by their wards'. And the same statement applies to the later Poll Taxes; cf. 18, 29-30 Car. II.

² Rep. + 133, p. 94 b. Freemen were also liable to be called upon to serve 'in foynes' or 'in budge' when a Draper was Mayor. The fee for the first was £3, and 30s. for the second, while refusal to serve led to a fine of double the amount. For meaning of 'foynes' and 'budge' cf. *supra*, p. 7, note 2.

³ Rep. + 133, p. 133 a; cf. under Translations.

⁴ The evidence for this has been obtained:

(a) For 1665, by counting all who entered before the August of that year (with the exception of those stated to be Assistants, or of the Livery), on the assumption that, as the Quarterage Book begins with that year, all names in it are those of living people.

(b) For 1674, by counting all who entered before January 1675, omitting

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Some interesting facts with regard to the entries into the freedom from 1660 to 1688 are disclosed in the accompanying table.¹ It will be observed that by far the larger number of entries are still through apprenticeship, and that the number of those admitted 'ex amore' or 'gratis', as well as that of the

those stated to be Assistants or of the Livery, or dead. Cf. Quarterage Books + 262, 264. For the year 1690 we have a complete list of Appendix XXXV A.

The following table shows the fluctuations since the reign of James I:

	Number of Freemen.	Number paying Quarterage.
1617	2106	617
1641	1427	576
1651	1390	?
1653	1386	564
1665	1356 or 1359	382
1674	1239	183
1690	1118	245

¹ The number of apprentices held at the same time by any one master appears to have been much the same as it was in the reign of Charles I. Cf. *supra*, p. 195.

Entries into the Freedom, May 29, 1660 to December 11, 1688. Freedom Lists + 280, fos. 1-82; + 301, fos. 308-43.

I. In the ordinary way.

By apprenticeship	1142	(5 of these women).
By patrimony	184	(8 of these women).
By redemption	117	(1 of these a woman).
Ex amore	13	
Gratis	2	

II. By Order of the Court of Assistants.

A woman, Barbara Hardy, Jan. 11, 1680.

III. By Order of the Court of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

Ed. Brackwell	March 7, 1682.
Peter Deleave	May 12, 1685.
Lawrence Courtney } John Perry }	March 31, 1686.
Christopher Peate	May 19, 1686.
Josias Long	July 23, 1686.
Gilbert Gaudiat	Nov. 26, 1686.
John Otter	Jan. 12, 1687.
James Shelding	Feb. 9, 1687.
Ed. Huson	Jan. 11, 1688.
Wm. Wrag } Henry Burton }	Sept. 12, 1688.

IV. By translation, 4.

1603:3

T t

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women, is high. Of the fifteen women admitted, five enter through apprenticeship, which is unusual, and one by special order of the Court of Assistants.¹

The twelve who between 1685-8 entered at the order of the Court of Aldermen did so during the forfeiture of the Charter. No doubt these men were on their way to obtain the freedom of the City, which, unless it could be claimed by patrimony, could only be attained by admission to a City Company, and were in all probability persons whose vote could be depended upon by the King in the election of the Aldermen of the City.

Functions of
the Drapers
at this date.

Not only had the Company long ceased to be composed exclusively of Drapers, but those few who were wholesale Drapers were no longer exclusively concerned with the buying and selling of cloth. Nor had the Company anything to do with the control of Blackwell Hall² or with alnage.³ Nevertheless, Drapers still bought and sold at Blackwell Hall,⁴ and the Company still retained its old privilege of measuring yards at the fairs.⁵ The

¹ The Quarterage Book of 1690 gives us very much the same results. Thus:—

	Admitted by Patrimony.	Redemp- tion.	Apprentice- ship.	Ex Amore.	Translations.
Court . 48	6	5	36	0	} 1. Clayton on his way to the Mayoralty.
Livery . 125	16	13	96	0	
Freemen 1,111	132	92	885	2	

² Thus there is no mention of the Drapers' Company in the Act of the Common Council of 1665, made for the regulation of Blackwell Hall and of the handling and sale of cloth. Cf. Stow, ed. Strype (1755), vol. ii, p. 379. The other markets for cloth at this date besides Blackwell Hall were Leadenhall and the Welsh Hall. They appear to have been under the control of the Governor of Christ's Hospital.

³ Alnage had long become a mere revenue affair, the length and breadth being no longer insisted upon. In 1669 the 'farm' of it was renewed to the Duke of Lennox for sixty years; on his death in 1672 it passed to his widow. In 1693 a petition was presented to Parliament urging that alnage should be abolished and the loss to the Crown made up by increasing the customs on woollen clothes. Cf. House of Commons Journal, 1693, xi, p. 16. Alnage finally came to an end on the termination of the Lennox 'farm'.

⁴ Cf. Maitland, vol. i, p. 463; cf. Stat. 11-12 Will. III, c. 20 ii.

⁵ Wardens' Accounts, 1663-4, fo. 35.

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Company was also sometimes consulted when legislation with regard to cloth was contemplated. Thus in February 1661 a Committee was appointed of those members who were 'most knowing in the trade and mystery of Drapery', for the purpose of expressing their opinion in writing to a Committee appointed by the King on the following questions:—

1. The cause of the importation of great quantities of fine Dutch cloth, especially 'Blacks and Whites'.
2. The abuses in the English manufacture of the same.
3. Why Dutch cloth outsold the English, and what might be the most effectual way to prevent this.¹

We have, however, no report of the findings of the Committee, nor any reference to the Petition of the Clothiers in 1664 asking for the prohibition of the export of wool, wool fells and fullers' earth, nor to the Statutes passed in 1666 and 1677, enacting that, for the encouragement of the cloth trade, all persons should be buried in woollen cloth.²

As to the smaller draper, who conducted the retail business, they had, according to Defoe, become practically the same as the draper of to-day. They had, he says, abandoned St. Paul's Churchyard, and kept their shops like the Mercers, in the high streets such as Cheapside, Ludgate Street, Cornhill, &c., where customers were more likely to be found.³

The small
Draper.

¹ Rep. + 132, p. 254 b.

² Cf. 18 Car. II, c. 4; 30 Car. II, c. 3; 32 Car. II, c. 1; Dom. State Papers, Charles II, 1664, vol. xcv, pp. 20, 22, 24.

³ Defoe, *The Complete Tradesman*, ed. 1727, vol. i, pp. 81, 86. It may here be noted that London is not mentioned in his list of towns where cloth is made (vol. ii, p. 61); but we know that the cloth industry had left the City long ago. The evidence from the Drapers' Books is not conclusive, as there are so few drapers on the books. But from the Quarterage Book of 1690 we learn that the one Liveryman, who is given as a draper, lived in Cornhill, and a linen draper in Bishopsgate Without. Of the freemen the habitations were as follows:

Drapers, 4. St. Paul's Churchyard; Southwark; Fenchurch Street; Chalwood, Surrey.

Woollen Drapers, 2. St. Paul's Churchyard; Cambridge.

Linen Drapers, 2. Cheapside; London Bridge.

Of the 19 Tailors, who were close akin to the Drapers, 18 lived in Great

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Relations
with the
Trading
Companies.

Meanwhile, if we except the East India Company, to whom they were in the habit of lending their balances, and perhaps the Levant Company,¹ the relations of the Drapers with the Great Joint Stock Companies founded in the Elizabethan days, as well as with the Merchant Adventurers, had become much less intimate. Nor do foreign countries appear to have attracted the

Spur Street; Holborn Bridge; Butcher Lane; Gutter Lane; Jun Street; Lombard Street; Bride Lane; Cloth Fair; Chiswell Street; Thames Street; Duke Place; Wallbrooke; Play House Yard; Beare Garden; Tower Royall; Whitecross Street; Long Lane; Gracechurch Street.

Those who were engaged in other trades likewise lived in various parts of the city. Cf. Appendix.

The Quarterage Book of 1690 + 264 tells us the trades or professions of 9 Liverymen and of 155 out of 1,111 freemen (of the Assistants unfortunately we learn nothing). Of the Liverymen, two are silkmen, while of the following trades there is one respectively: Draper, Linen Draper, Hosier, Laceman, Leatherseller, Timber Merchant, Upholder.

The 155 Freemen are thus distributed:

		<i>Trades</i>							
Tailors	19	Cutlers	}					
Merchants	}	9	Grocers						
Carpenters			Tallow Chandlers						
Upholders	8	Weavers			}	3		
Upholsterers	. . . .	2	Gardeners					
Silkmen	. . . .	7	Boddicemakers					
Oilmen	. . . .	6	Victuallers					
Salesmen	5	Barbers					}	2
Drapers	. . . .	4	Coffeemen					
Woollen Drapers	. . . .	3	Cooks					
Linen Drapers	. . . .	2	Hosiers					
Cheesemongers	. . . .	4	Mercers					
			Milliners						
			Ironmongers						
			Jewellers						
			Butchers						
			Other trades	38				

It is noticeable that there are no esquires or gentlemen. They are therefore for the most part business men.

¹ Sir Christopher Pack was Governor of the Merchant Adventurers in 1657, and on the Committee of the East India Company 1657-9. Five members of the Company were on the Committee of the E. I. C., and one was Governor during the period between 1660-89:

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attention of members of the Company so much as they had in earlier reigns.¹

This may, so far as the Merchant Adventurers and the Eastland Company are concerned, be explained by their decline. During the Commonwealth the Charter of the Merchant Adventurers had been suspended, and interlopers had been allowed; and, although the Company was reinstated at the Restoration, its importance rapidly declined. In the vain hope of increasing the membership, the entrance fee was reduced. In 1693 the Company offered to allow any Englishman, not being a handicraftsman, to enter on payment of a fee of £2 and to trade within the limits allowed, but the statute of 1 Will. III. c. 32, by allowing freedom of trade, finally destroyed its privileges. The fate of the Eastland Company was much the same.²

We gather from the number of translations from the Drapers Translations.

William Williams	from 1643-62
William Love	„ 1657-62
Theophilus Biddulph	„ 1657-61
Sir Francis Clarke	„ 1660-73
James Smyth	„ 1687-88
Andrew Riccard, <i>al.</i> Ricaut, Governor	„ 1660-62
	1666-68
	1670-72

As to the loans to the East India Company cf. *infra*, p. 340, note 1.

Three Drapers were on the government of the Levant Company:

Andrew Riccard, <i>al.</i> Ricaut, Governor	1654-72
William Love, Deputy Governor	1661-62
Sir Francis Clarke, Assistant	1664-65

Cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, pp. 90-117. We also hear of a freeman, Arthur Dukeyne, who was a Turkey Merchant: Quarterage Book + 262, p. 39.

¹ I have only found two members of the Company who are said to be abroad between 1660 and 1688: Robert Taylor, a Liveryman 1661-2, in the Barbadoes; Elnathan Negus, a freeman, in Holland. Quarterage Book + 267, pp. 81, 109; Livery Book + 301, fo. 59. But John Peel, Warden in 1661-2 and 1671-2, who founded an almshouse, chiefly for mariners, says in his will that 'most part of his estate which God had pleased to grant him had been made by trading in parts beyond the sea'. Cf. Wills, 2. A, p. 27. In the Quarterage Book of 1690, one Merchant is given as living in Rotterdam.

² Lingelbach, Merchant Adventurers, p. xxxiii; Sellers, Ordinances of Eastland Merchants, Preface, and p. 139. Cf. also Surtees Society, vol. 129, p. lxxi ff.

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after the Restoration that some of the less important and industrial Companies were still insisting that Citizens who pursued their craft should belong to their gild.¹ No less than eight members of the Drapers' Company were allowed to translate, two to the Brewers and the Woodmongers respectively, and one to each of the following: the Bakers, the Tallow-chandlers, the Carpenters, and the Barber-surgeons.² It is noticeable that one of those translated to the Brewers was not a freeman, but a Liveryman. This is unusual.

It will be observed that none of these translations took place in the later years of Charles II's reign nor in those of James II. This leads us to the conclusion that the said Companies had nearly succeeded in their aim, for after searching the Quarterage Books I have only found two chandlers, one brewer, one baker, and one barber on the list of the Drapers' Company between

¹ See, for instance, the Carpenters, who in 1693 finally obtained from the Common Council an Act ordering all those carrying on the trade of Carpentry to bind their apprentices in their Company. Jupp, *Carpenters*, pp. 268, 309, 310, 312.

² The reasons given for the translations were as follows:

To the Brewers, Dannett Forth, a Liveryman, because he had left his calling of a woollen draper and taken to that of the Brewers, and that he was likely to be cast in the suit which the Brewers were threatening. Rep. + 132, pp. 248 a, 251 b. Forth was a somewhat important person (cf. *supra* p. 313, note 4, and Beaven, vol. ii, p. 196). When he was elected Sheriff in 1670 the Company lent him their plate, in spite of a resolution, passed two years before, that this should not be done for any Mayor or Sheriff who was not a member of the Drapers' Company at the time; cf. Rep. + 133, pp. 14 a, 30 b. G. Russel, because he had taken to brewing without having served his apprenticeship with a brewer. Rep. + 132, p. 264 a.

To the Woodmongers: Two, because the Woodmongers claim the right of licensing carrs and 'carroomes'. *Ib.*, pp. 243 b, 248 a.

To the Tallow-chandlers: one, because he had been apprenticed to the Tallow-chandlers. *Ib.*, p. 269 b.

To the Carpenters: one, because, although he had bound himself as a journeyman to a freeman of the Drapers' Company, he had previously been apprenticed to a 'forraigne' carpenter, and had the trade of a carpenter. *Ib.*, p. 279 b.

To the Bakers: one, because he had married a widow who used the trade of a baker, and had not stock enough of his own to pursue his own trade, that of a linen-draper. *Ib.*, p. 243 b.

To the Barber-surgeons: one, because he was keeping a barber's shop. Rep. + 133, p. 25 b.

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1675 and 1688.¹ On the other hand, we find that, when in 1684 it was proposed to grant a new Charter in the place of the old one forfeited by Charles II, the Drapers themselves, contrary to their usual practice,² made a belated attempt to enforce the same rule with regard to their own calling. 'Whereas', runs the report of a Committee of the Court,

'anciently all persons using the Mistery or trade of Woollen drapers were free of this Fraternity, and now many using the same are free of severall other Companies, to the great decay of this Company, and endangering the want of successors of members to discharge the services of the said Fraternity; that for reducing the said Mistery to its ancient order, and preserving a succession of members as aforesaid; and to the end that all persons using the said mistery, or factors at Blackwell-hall, may be subjected and made liable to such reasonable orders and ordinances as shall be made for promoting the said manufacture, it would be to the benefit of the Company to sue for the following privileges in the intended new Patent. First that all persons using the trade, or mistery of woollen drapers, and all woollen factors at Blackwell-hall, who were freemen of London, but not of the Drapers Company, should bind their apprentices to one free of the Drapers Company. Secondly that all such persons should hereafter be made free of the Company. Thirdly, that all apprenticed to a Merchant, or Warehouse keeper of the Fraternity, should become freemen of the City and of this Company, before they be allowed to use merchandise or keep a warehouse within the liberties of the City.'³

No such privileges were however granted, and, even if they had been, it is doubtful whether the Drapers themselves would have benefited. The attempt could only have succeeded if the Drapers

¹ Cf. Quarterage Books + 263, 267.

² The translations to the Drapers during the reign were due to the custom that the Mayor should belong to one of the Greater Livery Companies. They were:

Sir S. Starling, translated from the Brewers	. . .	1669
Sir J. Sheldon	„ „ „ Tallow-chandlers	. . . 1675
Sir T. Davies	„ „ „ Stationers	. . . 1676
Sir R. Clayton	„ „ „ Scriveners	. . . 1679

³ Rep. + 133, p. 133 a. The continued opposition to foreigners is noticeable. In 1663 or 1664 two members of the Company were fined 15s. by the Chamberlain of London for setting foreigners to work. Wardens' Accounts, 1663-4, fo. 29.

had confined their membership to those engaged in the cloth trade, and had been willing to see the same policy adopted by the other Companies. For such a return to the conditions of the Middle Ages they were not prepared. Even in the heyday of the guilds the theory of gild restrictions had never been completely realized. To attempt to restore them in the later seventeenth century was bound to fail. The trading guilds at least had long ceased to exercise effective control over their peculiar industries, and were no longer capable of organizing industries and trades which had now become international. Before long the industrial and smaller Companies shared the same fate, and fell before the domestic and the factory systems, which were to dominate the future economic development of England.

Charity dispensed by the Company.

But if the Company was ceasing more and more to represent the interests of any especial trade or industry, its work as a friendly benefit society was very prominent during the distress, which was widespread. For this, no doubt, the hard and long winters of 1664-5 and 1666-7, the Plague, and the Great Fire were largely responsible, but the dislocation of business by the Civil War and during the uncertainties of the later days of the Commonwealth had its share in causing the general slackness of trade which is constantly mentioned in the Drapers' Books.¹ We should therefore expect to find that the amount of charity dispensed among members of the Company during the period from 1660-88 would be considerable; ² while for this reason, and because of the great expenditure caused by the destruction of their Hall and so many of their houses in the City, the Company were unable to be generous to outsiders. Thus in 1674 the Court even declined to assist the parishioners of St. Michael's to re-pew and re-adorn their own especial church on the grounds that 'for want of monies' the Company had been 'constrained to forbear the wainscoting of their own roomes'.³ Such language, however,

¹ Cf. Hist. MS. Commission, vol. viii, p. 133. The competition of the Dutch in the carrying trade is also given as a cause. The hard winter of 1664-5 is specially mentioned in Wardens' Accounts, 1664-5, fo. 39.

² For the charity dispensed during the Plague and after the Great Fire, cf. *supra* p. 272.

³ Rep. + 133, p. 55 b.

implies a certain lack of religious enthusiasm, which was characteristic of the age, and possibly this may be the reason why we find none of those gifts towards the rebuilding of churches, nor of those pensions or other relief to distressed ministers, which had often been given in previous times.¹ That there were nevertheless some of the brethren who were good Churchmen and had the cause of religion and learning at heart is shown by the benefaction of Mr. Colbron, to which we shall return, and by that of Sir Thomas Adams of an annuity of £40 issuing out of the rents of a farm for the endowment of an Arabic Lecture at Cambridge. This trust the Company 'freely and lovingly' accepted, considering that the design of the same 'hath a great tendency to the advancement of learning and the propagation of the Gospel.'² Sir Wm. Boreman also built the Green Coat School at Greenwich for the sons of seamen, and endowed it with a sum of £500.³ In any case the number of bequests to charitable purposes made during the period from the Restoration to the Revolution proves that the sentiment of charity at least was as strong as ever.⁴

The table given in the Appendix shows how numerous were the demands made on the Company by its members, many of whom had seen better days.⁵ At no previous date had the number been so great, and it will be observed that the list includes descendants of three wealthy benefactors, who had held high position in the Company.⁶ It should also be remembered that the benefaction of Mr. Smith was to be given by preference to twenty Assistants and

¹ Cf. *supra* p. 185. Only one minister received relief, and he was the son of an Assistant. Rep. + 133, p. 24 b. In 1670, however, they paid an assessment on the Hall of £11 13s. 4d. towards the repair of the Church of St. Peter Le Poor. Ib. + 380, fo. 25.

² Rep. + 132, p. 315 b. Sir Thomas Adams had been the Royalist Mayor of 1645-6. He died in 1660, and the preacher of his funeral sermon called him 'the darling of the City' and 'an oracle' among the Aldermen. Cf. Dict. National Biography, and Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, Index. The lecture is given to this day.

³ Cf. Appendix, Benefactions XLVII, and p. 334.

⁴ For a summary of these bequests cf. next page. ⁵ Cf. Appendix XXXIII B.

⁶ Sir Richard Champion, who had been three times Master, and was Mayor 1565-6; Sir Allan Cotton, who had been Master 1616-17, and Mayor 1625-6; Mr. Buck, who had been Warden 1614-15. All had been benefactors.

Liverymen or their widows,¹ and that when, in 1669, there were not sufficient applicants to exhaust the fund, the remainder was given to freemen or their widows who had 'lived in fashion.'² A somewhat novel feature with regard to the charitable contributions is worth noticing. The tenants of the Company and the Tackle House Porters are found contributing to the Poor Box.³ As will be seen in the table in the Appendix,⁴ the total amount of charity dispensed among brethren or their relations in the year 1687-8 was over £609, of which £158 9s. 6d. was by the gift of the Company; while only some £300 was distributed among outsiders, and of that only £12 6s. by the gift of the Company. If we add to this the sums expended on Schools, Lecturers, Preachers, and Annuities, the total will come to over £1,645.⁵

The practice of undertaking to pay annuities to members of the

¹ For Smith's Bequest cf. Appendix XLVII.

² Rep. + 133, p. 23 b. In 1661 three Liverymen and six widows of Liverymen received the charity. In 1667, one Liveryman and five widows of Liverymen. In 1669, one Assistant, two widows of Assistants, and three of Liverymen. In 1670, one Assistant and seven widows of Liverymen. Rep. + 132, pp. 263 a, 318 b; + 133, p. 32 b.

³ The sum was, however, only 50s.: Wardens' Accounts, 1663-4, fo. 40. The tenants contributed from £13 to £7: Wardens' Accounts, 1659-60, fo. 27; 1669-70, fo. 33.

⁴ Cf. Appendix XXXIII A. The total amount of charity distributed out of benefactions came to £1,007 12s. 7d. Most of this came from the interest on money left to be lent out to young freemen. The actual gifts and bequests made during the reign were:

	£	s.	d.
A. Money	11,233	6	8
B. Lands producing rents of some	444	6	8
C. Annuity	40	0	0
D. Boreman's School at Greenwich	500	0	0
E. Money to be lent to young freemen	1,060	0	0

We do not know exactly how much rent the messuages left in Whitechapel by C. Clarke produced, nor what the one-third of the residuary estate of Mr. Bloomer amounted to. The reappearance of bequests of loans to young freemen of the Company starting life, after their disappearance under the Commonwealth, is noticeable. Cf. Appendix, Benefactions XLVII.

⁵ Strype's *Stow*, 6th ed., vol. ii, p. 173, says that the sum of all charitable donations expended by the Company in 1720 amounted to some £2,000. This considerable increase is due to the bequests of Harwar, Edmanson, Deade, Sir Wm. Langhorne, Hollis, and Walrond. Cf. Appendix, Benefactions, XLVII.

Company in return for a lump sum paid down was still continued. In the last year of James II's reign there were two such annuitants, who received between them £60 a year.¹ From the very generous terms on which some of these annuities were granted, it is evident that they were in some cases really a form of charity.

Although the Almsmen and Almswomen continued to give considerable trouble,² the Court decided in the year 1661 to build two other almshouses at Tower Hill on a piece of waste ground adjoining the old one. The reason they gave does honour to the Company. The profits of the lands left by Sir J. Milburn, the founder, had much improved since they first came into its hands more than 100 years ago. The Court was, however, careful to record their opinion that the Company was in no way obliged to thus spend the balance which had accrued by the rise in the rents.³ In 1676 the Company also accepted a trust under the will of H. Lucas, of lands to the value of about £7,000, to found a hospital for almspeople at Wokingham in Berkshire, 'though there be no manner of profit redounding to the Company'.⁴ In 1681 John Pemell left £1,200 in trust to build and endow another almshouse in Stepney, chiefly for the widows of mariners;⁵

Alms-
houses.

¹ Kath. Emmett, who had paid £200 in 1661, received £40 till 1690 (cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1661-2, fo. 37; 1689-90, fo. 35); and Ann Garway, who had paid £160 in 1675, received £20 till 1712 (Wardens' Accounts, 1711-12, p. 36; Rep. + 133, p. 77 b). Richard Woodward paid £200 in 1663, on condition that a life annuity of £20 should be given to his son, then eleven years of age. Fortunately, however, for the finances of the Company, the annuitant died in 1677. Cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1676-7, fo. 35.

² e. g. Widow Evans, almswoman at Bow, was after much difficulty expelled for 'several great misdemeanours', and especially for harbouring her daughter and her husband in the said almshouse, cutting a vine tree maliciously, and threatening to take the heart's blood from another almswoman (Rep. + 132, pp. 248 a, 252 b, 261 b, 295 b). An almsman at Tower Hill was expelled because he married contrary to regulations (ib., p. 293 b). On the other hand we hear of an almsman whose pension was augmented, because, 'as he saith', he was over 100 years old. On his death his widow was allowed to continue as an inmate (ib., p. 247 a).

³ Ib., p. 260 a.

⁴ Rep. + 133, pp. 75 a, 115 b, 122 a. For the regulations cf. pp. 87 a ff., 121 b. The Master was to be an M.A. of Cambridge 'ordained and orthodox'; and a prayer-book, chained to the pew, was to be provided for every almsman.

⁵ Ib., p. 120 b.

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while in 1690, Anne Mills, daughter of their late Clerk, John Walter, granted tenements to produce £60 a year towards the said charity, and in 1699 gave £120 on condition that the pensions might be increased by 1s. a month.¹

Queen
Elizabeth's
College.

Of Queen Elizabeth's College at Greenwich there is little of importance to record. The Company had been in the habit of borrowing money from the foundation, and paying the interest thereof to the inmates, and at one time during the reign the amount borrowed came to £900. In 1660 Mr. Rookeby left a legacy of £5 to be spent in clothing for the almspeople in the College, and in 1684 the Master of the Rolls gave £20 to be distributed among them.² In 1671 Wm. Lambard, the grandson of the founder, asked that the provision in the founder's will, to the effect that the lands of the College should always be leased to his heirs, should be departed from, because the heir of the petitioner was the son of a loose woman, whom he had been induced to marry. After consultation with the Master of the Rolls, the Court decided that the petition could not be granted, and accordingly after Wm. Lambard's death in 1681 the lease was renewed in the name of his son.³

The Com-
pany's
Schools,
Barton.

The condition of the Company's schools continued to be somewhat unsatisfactory. Barton School had declined under the mastership of Mr. Birch, who died in 1670. His successor, Mr. Aitken, did much to retrieve its ancient good fame, and, in acknowledgement of this, the Court added an annual gratuity of twenty nobles. His successor, however, after a few years' service, was reported as being old, while the usher was negligent; and when the Visitors suggested that the gratuity should be continued for the new master, because it was difficult to find a competent person to fill the post at the salary, the Court made answer that although they promised to 'shew themselves diligent and kind as occasion offered',⁴ they were in no way bound to continue it, inasmuch as it had been paid out of corporate revenue. Nor was the condition of the schools at Bow and Worsburgh any better.

Bow and
Worsburgh.

¹ Rep. + 133, pp. 200 b, 263 b.

² Rep. + 132, pp. 248 b, 287 a; + 133, p. 134 a.

³ Rep. + 133, pp. 39 b, 118 a.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 30 b, 53 a, 130 a, 138 a.

At both there were complaints made of the schoolmaster, and at Worsburgh they were so loud that for a time the Court decided to forbear paying the master his salary.¹ When we remember that the Master at Barton and Worsburgh only received £13 6s. 8d. and the Master at Bow £20, we shall probably be of opinion that the Visitors of Barton were right in their opinion that this was one cause at least for their inefficiency; when therefore, in 1665, the Court proceeded to administer the trust of Henry Colbron at Kirkham, in Lancashire, this mistake was avoided. The upper masters of the School were to receive £45 and £25 respectively, and to prepare the boys of the parish for the Universities gratis. The under-master, who only received £16 10s., was to teach boys of an inferior degree. The upper schoolmasters were to be University men, and were to be well qualified and obliged to preach once a month in the parish church or in some of the chapels in the township.² In the regulations which were drawn up by the Court, the wishes of the benefactor were loyally carried out. The children were to be brought up in the fear of God and in the way of good literature, so that they might be serviceable to the Church, useful to the Commonwealth, a comfort to their parents, and a credit to their masters. 'And', as one of the orders runs, 'since most Comedies be full of ribaldry and scurrility, and most Tragedies full of cruelty and villainy, to all which the fallen nature of man is too prone, we will and ordaine that the schollars . . . never act any play, but such as not only the masters, but likewise the Vicar of Kirkham and some of the neighbouring ministers, shall approve of.' The parishioners expressed their thanks not only 'for the education of their children in good literature', but also 'for the spiritual benefit of them; all which had been greatly wanting.'³

Endowment
of Masters
at Kirkham
School,
Lancashire,
1665.

That the Company still believed in the value of education for

¹ Rep. + 133, pp. 24 b, 28 a. Barton School had been founded by Thos. Russell in 1593, Bow by Sir J. Jolles in 1620. Moneys had been left for the salary of the schoolmaster at Worsburgh in Yorkshire by I. Rainey in 1631.

² Wills + 435, p. 30; + 2 A, p. 23. For certain questions arising out of the Will, cf. Rep. + 132, pp. 244 b, 248 a, 277 a; + 133, p. 35 a. The school was finally established by a decree of the Court of Chancery in 1673.

³ Rep. + 133, pp. 68 b, 71 a.

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Sir Wm.
Boreman's
Green Coat
School.

the sons of the poor is proved by their acceptance of Sir Wm. Boreman's trust in 1689. Like good business men, however, the Court had not done so without careful consideration. By his will, Sir William had left to the Company in trust his Green Coat School at Greenwich for the education of the sons of seamen, watermen, and fishermen, and also an almshouse for four poor widows. Inasmuch, however, as the rents of the lands left for the maintenance of the trust were not sufficient, the Court only consented to undertake the responsibility after reference to the Chancellor, who gave an opinion that the trust should be accepted so far as the income allowed.¹

Careful ad-
ministration
of trusts
by the
Company.

Any one who studies the documents of the Drapers' Company will, I think, agree with Mr. Harwar, long a member of the Court, who in 1702 gave as his reason for entrusting the Company with the performance of a trust, that he had observed the faithful way in which such trusts had been managed.² It may, however, be well to give a few instances during the reign of Charles II in proof of this statement.

When, in August 1660, the Churchwardens of certain parishes in London complained that the tenant of a messuage, who held by the will of Robert Cooper, a member of the Company, on condition that he should deliver coals to the poor of the said parishes, had failed to fulfil his obligation, the Court informed

¹ The rents were held to come to £207 3s. 6d., and the sums to be spent on the school and almshouse were limited to that amount. Any residue or further income was to be formed into a fund for purchasing lands, wherewith to increase the trust funds. Boreman's Account + 337, fos. 20-28; Rep. + 133, pp. 159 b, 176 b, 185 b, 188 b. The scheme was not, however, completely carried out till 1709, and shortly after was closed for want of funds. Cf. *infra*, p. 478.

² Rep. + 133, p. 275 b. He left £1,700 to erect and endow almshouses; cf. Benefactions, Appendix XLVII. By the irony of fate, the Company at a later date got into trouble over this trust; cf. *infra*, p. 499 note. Erasmus tells us that Dean Colet, the founder of St. Paul's School, when asked why he had made the Mercers' Company the Governors and trustees of his beloved foundation rather than any great Minister or even a Chapter or a Bishop, answered that he had done so because he had found less corruption in married citizens than in any others. Cf. Letters of Erasmus, ed. 1642, Book xv, letter 14, p. 705. The words 'cives conjugatos' have been by some taken to mean 'citizens united in a gild'. This seems unlikely. Nevertheless it is clear from the context that when speaking of 'married citizens' Colet was thinking of the Mercers' Company.

him that unless he did so it would take over the trust, as it was authorized to do by the testator. So again in 1675, on information that endeavours were being made to suppress a will of Godfrey Harrison, by which a considerable sum had been left to the Company for charitable purposes, the Court ordered an inquiry to be made. In 1676 they took legal measures against the executors of Robert Winch, who had been remiss in paying certain legacies left under his will.¹ Counsel was also to be consulted as to whether those lands, which were still held in the names of individual trustees, some of whom were dead, could not be settled on the Company.²

Nor was the Court less scrupulous with regard to the trusts definitely imposed upon it. Thus in 1661 the Court agreed to pay the marriage portions of four orphans of Howell's kin, although the certificate as to their qualifications had only been signed by two Justices of the Peace instead of five, as had been ordered by a decree of Chancery in 1651. As careful men they first obtained the opinion of Counsel that this could be safely done.³ In 1653 the Court gave instructions that care should be taken to find out poor cloth-workers and their widows as recipients of Kendrick's charity.⁴ In other cases the Court often went beyond its legal obligations. Of the generous way in which the trusts were carried on at the charge of the Company when, after the Great Fire, the rents no longer sufficed, I have already spoken.⁵ In 1675 it was decided that, although Robert Winch had left no instructions in his will as to how the interest on £200 to be lent to young men should be expended, it should be distributed among the poor of the Company, and not appropriated by the Company, as it legally might have been.⁶ In 1683 a Committee was appointed to make careful inquiry into all trust monies held by the Company, to invest as much as possible in the purchase of land, and to see that the rest was properly secured.⁷

It is true that in the year 1684 the Court of Chancery held

¹ Rep. + 132, pp. 245 a b, 248 b; + 133, pp. 77 a, 82 a.

² Rep. + 133, pp. 67 a, 126 b.

³ Rep. + 132, pp. 256 b, 257 b.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 149 a.

⁵ *Cf. supra*, p. 279.

⁶ Rep. + 133, p. 65 b.

⁷ Rep. + 133, p. 126 b.

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the Company responsible for not having seen that the debts of Theophilus Royley were paid by the testator's descendants and beneficiaries, on whom that duty had been imposed, and to whom all the rents were to be paid for the first eight years. The grounds of this decision were that, although the Company was not to derive any benefit therefrom till thirty-two years from the testator's death, the lands had been left in trust to it and accepted by it. Here possibly the Court had been somewhat negligent, but at least there was no imputation of fraud.¹

Financial
Conditions

The finances of the Company were at the Restoration in a satisfactory condition.² They were soon to be reduced to a low ebb by the losses and expenses caused by the Plague and the Great Fire.

Renter's
Account.

In the year 1667-8, one year after the Fire, the rents had fallen by more than one-half,³ and, although they had somewhat recovered in the following year, there was nevertheless even then a deficit in the Renter's Account of over £87.⁴ However, with the addition of £184, which the Renter received from the Wardens, his actual credit balance stood at £96 12s. 2½d.

The Renter had throughout the two reigns of Charles II and James II much difficulty in recovering the rents due. Consequently the Wardens had often to make him grants to meet his charges,⁵ and in 1685 the Court decided to take legal proceedings against defaulters.⁶ These, however, do not appear to have been

¹ Cf. Rep. + 132, p. 180 b; + 357, fo. 63 ff.; Drapers' Hall, g. 17; Roy. 1840-1, 154.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 257.

³ From £1,257 13s. 5d. to £584 10s. 2d. This decrease in the rents is no doubt partly to be accounted for by the sale of land to the City for the purpose of widening the streets.

⁴ Other Companies suffered in the same way: cf. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii, p. 160; Heath, Grocers, p. 126.

⁵ e. g. Wardens' Accounts, 1664-5, fo. 38; 1667-8, fo. 39. The contribution to Howell's charity, which is frequently made by the Wardens, was in payment of arrears for the period during the Commonwealth, when no portions had been granted: cf. Wardens' Accounts, *passim*. From the year 1665-6 the Renter showed in his accounts the rents due and the rents received, so that the amount of the arrears might be clearly seen.

⁶ Rep. + 133, p. 147 a; cf. also Rep. + 132, pp. 254 b, 266 b, 287 a, 288 b.

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very effectual, for in the last year of James II's reign the arrears for the year were over £90, and unpaid arrears just upon £350. Apart from the difficulty of recovering rents, the Company was, however, fortunate in escaping from any serious disputes about their property.¹

Turning to the Wardens' Accounts of 1668-9,² we find on Wardens' Accounts.

¹ The most important were: (a) Question of ownership of the wall to the west of the almshouses at Tower Hill, claimed by Lord Rivers. This was an old dispute, which was finally settled in 1661 by the Company giving way. Rep. + 132, p. 260 a. (b) Dispute as to ownership of land at St. Mary-le-Bow, claimed by the parson as belonging to the churchyard. This was eventually settled by the Company paying £250 for an assignment of the lease for fifty-six years. Rep. + 133, p. 31 b. The important houses belonging to the Drapers were in the following hands: The Herber, re-let to Messrs. Burton and Cheval for fifty-one years from 1660 (Rep. + 132, p. 346 a). The Capital messuage in Austin Friars, leased to Mr. Cokaine, and on his death granted to his son-in-law Sir Thomas Rich for twenty-one years from 1665, at the old rent of £9 and a fine of £800 (Rep. + 132, pp. 275 a, 276 b). It is worth noting that Thomas Montague, 'Chief Master' of Eton School, and Chancellor Jeffreys were among the tenants of the Company. Montague held a messuage in St. Botolph's Lane; Jeffreys held a garden plot in Coleman Street, and was at times in arrears with his rent. A Mr. Richard Pepys was tenant of a house in Cornhill from 1664 to 1678. He probably was the son of Richard Pepys, the Chief Justice of Ireland, cousin of the immortal Samuel. Rep. + 133, p. 27 a; Renter Warden's Account Book, 1667, fo. 10; Renter's Account, 1674-5, fo. 1; 1684-5, fo. 1.

² I have taken this year because the accounts of the previous year no longer exist. They were probably destroyed in the Fire.

1668-9.

RENTER'S ACCOUNT.

<i>Receipts.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>	<i>Disbursements.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>
Rents (less Quit Rents and other rents paid by the Company)	1032 11 8	Excluding Quit Rents and other rents, but including taxes	1119 19 5½
Received of the Wardens	184 0 0		
Total	1216 11 8		1119 19 5½
Debit Balance on the year's account		£87 7s. 9½d.	
Actual cash Credit Balance		£96 12s. 2½d.	

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the ordinary receipts and expenditure a deficit of as much as
£2,249 14s. 11d., although that was partially met by a sum of

WARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Disbursements.</i>		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Ordinary Receipts for the year . . .	1095	6	4		Ordinary Disbursements	3345	1	3	
Exceptional Receipts					Exceptional Disbursements				
Debts repaid	£.	s.	d.		Howell's marriage	£.	s.	d.	
Corn sold	1733	12	10		portions, paid for				
Sale of House	213	16	0		instead of by				
Sale of building	50	0	0		Renter with ar-				
site to the City	255	16	6		rears	184	0	0	
Borrowed towards				3765	6	11			
rebuilding of					Purchase of the				
Hall	100	0	0		leases	638	15	0	1205
Legacy money not	951	0	0		Purchase of share				14
lent out					in Irish estate .	24	12	6	2
Balance from pre-	461	1	7		Legacy money lent				
vious year					out	358	6	8	
				<u>4860</u>					<u>4550</u>
				13					15
				3					5

Debit Balance on ordinary Receipts and Disbursements £2,249 14s. 11d.
Actual Credit Balance £309 17s. 10d.

Total	Actual Credit Balance	£.	s.	d.
	Renter's Account	96	12	2½
	Wardens' Account	309	17	10
	Total	<u>406</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0½</u>

Debts owed for loans made for public purposes declared 'desperate' in October 1678 (Rep. + 133, p. 95 b).

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>Sum ordinarily lent.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For disbanding the Scotch army, lent 1640	2437	10	0	.		3750	0	0
For Arms, lent 1642	198	5	0	.		198	5	0
For relief of Ireland, lent 1642	6750	0	0	.		7500	0	0
For defence of City and Kingdom, lent 1643	2500	0	0	.		3750	0	0
	<u>11885</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>			<u>15198</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>

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£461 1s. 7d., which had been handed over by the Wardens of the preceding year. Fortunately, however, the Company had been repaid debts to the amount of £1,733 12s. 10d., and this, with other exceptional receipts, enabled them to meet their charges, including the exceptional disbursements, and to present an actual cash balance of £309 17s. 10d. If to this the actual cash balance on the Renter's Account be added, the total cash balance came to £406 10s. 0½d. It should also be remembered that, apart from the loans given for public purposes in the reign of Charles I, of which the greater part was never repaid, the Company owed £6,423 13s. 4d. to sundry creditors, as against £4,477 16s. 8d. it was owed by sundry debtors. Thus the Company was really in a poor way, since its total indebtedness came to more than £1,539.

Again, at the audit of the Wardens' Accounts in December 1680, it was found that the expenses much exceeded the income, and a Committee recommended that certain measures should be taken to reduce some of the charges.¹ Even in the last year of

Recoverable debts owed to the Company.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
By the East India Company and others	4357	16	8}	4477	16	8
Fines owing	120	0	0}			
Debts owed by the Company				6423	13	4
Adverse Balance				1945	16	8
<i>Summary:</i>						
Adverse Balance on Debts				1945	16	8
Credit Cash Balance				406	10	0½
Debit Balance				<u>1539</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7½</u>

¹ Rep. + 133, pp. 112 a b, 113 a.

(a) The interest paid on the £400, borrowed from Queen Elizabeth's College, and given to the poor of the College, was reduced from 5 per cent. to 3 per cent., and the fee of the Wardens for visiting the said College was cut down from £6 to £3.

(b) The pensions to the Almsmen in Mr. Walter's Almshouses were reduced from 5s. to 4s. a month; the salary of the two readers cut down from 6s. to 5s.; and the fees to officers of the Company, who visited the almshouses, reduced.

The pensions had already been reduced from 6s. 8d. to 5s., and the salary of the readers from 8s. 4d. to 6s., in consequence of the loss of rents owing to destruction of the houses left by Mr. Walter in the Great Fire.

(c) The Committee also recommended that the two exhibitions of £6 13s. 4d.

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Financial position in 1687-8.

James II's reign the two accounts of the Renter and the Wardens together showed a debit balance of £426 15s. 5d. on the receipts and the expenditure for the year. But, supplemented by the balance of the previous year and the repayment of a loan of £305 by the East India Company, the accounts of the Renter and the Wardens together showed a credit balance of £1,219 0s. 1d. in actual cash. To appreciate the true financial position we must further take into account the debts owed to the Company by those to whom money had been lent, and those owed by the Company.¹ These in 1687-8 came respectively to £3,649 12s. 7d. owed to the Company, as against £3,930 3s. 11d. owed by the Company, leaving a balance of indebtedness against the Company of £280 11s. 4d. If this sum is deducted from the credit balance of £1,219 0s. 1d. on the annual account, it leaves the Company with credit balance of £938 8s. 9d.² That the balance of 1687-8

each, given by the Company at the Universities, should be discontinued as they fell vacant. This recommendation was, however, not adopted.

¹ Whenever the Company had a balance they frequently lent it out at interest, especially to the East India Company (Rep. + 132, pp. 270 a, 299 a b; + 133, p. 66 b). The interest had been 6 per cent. But in 1684 the East India Company demurred to this, and offered only 3 per cent. Eventually they paid 4 per cent., and later, again paid 6 per cent (ib., pp. 115 a, 118 b, 132 b). When in need of money the loans were withdrawn (ib., p. 149 a), and sometimes money was borrowed, e. g. from Queen Elizabeth's College, or others, while the capital of trust money was also borrowed.

²

1687-8.

RENTER'S ACCOUNT.

<i>Receipts.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>	<i>Disbursements.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>
Rents	1076 7 8	Including Quit Rents and other rents due by the Company . .	1135 6 11
Balance from previous year	845 7 9		
Granted by the Wardens	200 0 0		
Total	2121 15 5		1135 6 11

Debit Balance on the year's Account £58 19s. 3d.
Actual Credit Cash Balance £986 8s. 6d.

Besides there were arrears for the year of £457 12s. 6d.

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was not larger than it was is to be explained by the serious loss of loans¹ lent for public purposes during the reign of Charles I and the Commonwealth, and to the heavy expenditure necessitated by

WARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

<i>Receipts.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>	<i>Disbursements.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>
Receipts for the year	709 11 10	Including £200 given to the Renter	1077 8 0
Balance from previous year	295 7 9		
Loan repaid by the East India Company	305 0 0		
Total	1309 19 7		1077 8 0
Debit Balance on the year's Account		£367 16s. 2d.	
Actual Credit Balance		£232 11s. 7d.	
		<i>£. s. d.</i>	
Renter's Account actual Cash Credit Balance		986 8 6	
Wardens' " " " " "		232 11 7	
		1219 0 1	

Debts owing by the Company.

(a) Borrowed from Queen Elizabeth College, the interest paid to almsmen of the College	£. s. d. 400 0 0
(b) Trust money left to the Company to be dispensed among the family of the testators, when the children or grandchildren reached a certain age; interest mean- while to be paid to the trust	1667 9 0
(c) Trust money left for charitable purposes to be invested in lands; the interest meanwhile to be dispensed in the said charitable purposes	1862 14 11
	3930 3 11

Debts owing to the Company.

For loans to the East India Company and others	3649 12 7
Balance of indebtedness against the Company	280 11 4

<i>Summary:</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>
Total Credit Balance	1219 0 1
Less adverse Balance of indebtedness	280 11 4
	938 8 9

¹ viz. £11,885 15s. These declared 'desperate' in 1678.

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the Plague and the Fire. Nevertheless the revenues of the Company had much increased, partly owing to the numerous benefactions,¹ but also to the increase of the annual income.

Relative amount of Trust and Non-Trust Property.

Unfortunately we have no definite statement as to the relative amount of the property in land and money, which was at the disposal of the Company, and which was held on trust. But by following the same method as was applied in 1624-5² we may arrive at the following approximate estimate: The capital value of property held by the Company on trust was, in lands about £23,490, and in money £8,417; while, free from trust, it held lands of the capital value of some £1,190, and money to the amount of about £7,100. Thus since the reign of James I the Company's trust property in lands had increased by £15,356, and that in money by some £5,868. The capital value of the lands it held free of trust had been increased by £1,158, and the money free from trust by over £1,355.

The enhancement in the annual income derived from lands was not apparently caused to any extent by a rise of rents, as the table

¹ At no period did the Company receive so many benefactions. Most of these, except the gifts of plate, were, however, saddled with trusts, and the actual grants to the corporate funds did not amount to more than some £15 a year, in addition to a small gift of £50. Thus:

	£	s.	d.
Loan Money interest to be distributed among the Poor of the Company		960	0 0
Gifts or Bequests of money for charitable purposes		9183	6 8
Family Trusts—Winch and Parker		2650	0 0
Gifts or Devises of Lands to charitable uses producing rents of about a year.	£471		

Gifts or Devises to the Company:

By R. Wilson, £50.

By Thos. Cullum, residue amounting to about £11 a year.

By Sir S. Starling, £4 a year.

Of course any residue after fulfilling a trust would always fall to the Company.

Plate: Three pairs of candlesticks, snuffer, and snuffer pan; and £240 to be spent in purchase of plate.

On the other hand, Thomas Shalcross's lease of lands to charitable uses came to an end in 1671. Cf. Renters' Accounts, 1670-71, fo. 25. One curious bequest was that of an 'alligator', but whether alive or stuffed we are not told. Rep. + 133, p. 78 b.

² Cf. p. 103 of this volume.

below shows.¹ It is to be explained by the benefactions which had been made, and by the fines on the renewal of leases, a rise which would often be justified by the expenditure on the maintenance or rebuilding of houses, although in some cases the houses were let on repairing or building leases. Meanwhile the very considerable increase in the corporate property of the Company, more especially in investments or money, can be thus explained. It was the usual custom for those who granted or bequeathed money for the purpose of carrying out some trust to reserve at least a small balance to the Company.² Indeed the Court was naturally shy of undertaking a trust unless they were certain that the income amply sufficed to fulfil the trust. They never accepted one without careful inquiry;³ they frequently stated that they expected some residue for the trouble which would be incurred;⁴

¹ Comparisons of rents on Houses and Clonne's Lands, Howell's, Russell's and Dumer's Lands.

1605-6	1625-6	1649-50	1658-9	1687-8
Rents paid.*	Rents due.	Rents due.	Rents due.	Rents due.
£619 9s. 8d.	£691 14s. 0d.	£691 14s. 4d.	£704 9s. 0d.	£695 8s. 0d.

* In this account the rents paid only are given.

So, again, the rents from lands belonging to Queen Elizabeth's College, after having been raised in 1617 by some £20, remain much the same during the period under review. Cf. 356, fo. 37 a; + 131, pp. 128 a, 883 b. It appears, however, from a note at p. 1 of the Renter's Accounts for 1687-8, that about that date the Company contemplated a considerable raising of the rents in future; and the rents from the lands of Queen Elizabeth College, which in 1684 came to £102 6s. 8d., were estimated at £185 in 1703 (cf. 883 b; + 133, p. 277 b); while the rents of lands held on Boreman's trust had risen from £209 1s. 4½d. to £216 14s. 5d. (cf. Trust Accounts + 367, fo. 43). It is difficult to give definite proof of the increase of the fines. But there is no doubt that they did increase as time went on.

² e. g. Sir Thos. Cullum, 1662. Livery Commission Report, 1884, vol. iv, p. 139.

³ Cf., for instance, the benefaction of Sir Wm. Boreman's Trust (1688), which they only accepted on condition that they should only be responsible as far as the income would allow (Rep. + 133, p. 176 b); of John Stock (1782) (Rep. + 136, p. 332); of Wm. Clavill (1818) (ib. + 138, p. 652).

⁴ For instance, Sir Wm. Capel's obit (1515), vol. ii of this work, p. 35; Sir John Milborne's benefaction (1534) (ib., p. 83). For similar cases in the Merchant Taylors Company, cf. Hopkinson, History of Site of the Hall, p. 60.

and there are many instances of their refusing to undertake trusts on those grounds.¹

Then again, in cases of family trusts, the interest on the capital was sometimes temporarily at its disposal. The balances which thus accrued to the Company were naturally invested, as well as those in the annual accounts, when they were substantial enough to make it worth while so to do.

¹ For instance, the case of Samuel Harwar's benefaction (1704), which they refused at first (Rep. + 133, p. 297); the benefaction of Ann Smith for building almshouses (1734), which the Court declined, because there was not sufficient provision for the trouble and necessary expense of the Company in the due execution and management of the trust (Rep. + 134, p. 263 b).

CHAPTER IX

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE COMPANY FROM 1688 TO 1815



(1)

GENERALLY speaking, the Company of the Drapers had by the close of the seventeenth century assumed its modern form. Under these circumstances I do not propose to follow its history in any detail, and shall content myself with a brief account of its activities, and of any important changes in its internal constitution.

The Drapers' Company under its modern form.

The Company had become a society chiefly indeed, though not exclusively, composed of business men, of whom however very few were connected with the cloth trade

at all. It retained some picturesque symbols of its ancient control of this trade, such as its coat of arms and its searches for short yards, which were still carried on as a matter of form.² Of any special interest in the cloth trade, however, or indeed in any matter directly concerned with the trades or industries of London,

¹ The initial letter comes from Letters Patent of Geo. II, confirming the will of J. Bancroft, ch. vii.

² So unimportant were these that they are not recorded in the Minute Books; cf. the statement of the Company in 1818. Records, +138, p. 663. The search at the Cloth Fair on the eve of St. Bartholomew's Fair was continued till 1854. The Merchant Taylors' Company participated in it. Cf. Clode, Memorials, pp. 110 ff. Elsewhere apparently the last search was made in 1852; cf. Livery Commission Report 1880-84, vol. i, p. 343.

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I have not found one single instance in the Records of the Company.¹

Fewer
municipal
offices held
by members
of the
Greater
Livery Com-
panies.

Fewer members of the Company are to be found filling the municipal offices of the City than had been formerly the case.² This change, which is more or less applicable to all the greater Livery Companies,³ is to be explained in various ways. In the first place, some of the minor Companies began to follow the example of the greater Companies and to admit persons who were not pursuing the particular industry connected with the Company, and who were of higher social or commercial standing.⁴ Such men would feel themselves qualified to hold civic offices without the patronage of one of the greater Livery Companies.

It followed that the number of the Aldermen belonging to the smaller Companies increased,⁵ while fewer belonged to the greater Companies, and already, by the close of the eighteenth century, the custom that Aldermen should belong to several Companies had begun.

The rule
that the
Lord Mayor

Meanwhile in 1742⁶ the customary rule that the Lord Mayor must be a member of one of the Greater Livery Companies was

¹ e. g. When in 1814 the Secretary of the Association of masters, journeymen and manufacturers of London addressed a letter to the Company protesting against the repeal of the Statute of Apprentices (5 Eliz. c. 4), the Court made no order. Cf. Records, + 138, p. 427.

² Members of the Company who were (between 1600-1700) Mayors 16, Sheriffs 20, Aldermen 37, Burgesses of the City 8, Chamberlains 0; (between 1700-1918) Mayors 7, Sheriffs 14, Aldermen 16, Burgesses 5, Chamberlain 1 (Benjamin Hopkins the opponent of Wilkes, cf. p. 359). Only one Draper had held the post of Chamberlain before 1600, viz. Thomas Thorndone, from 1454-63.

³ Especially with regard to the Mercers and Grocers, while the Merchant Taylors and Fishmongers, the Goldsmiths and the Haberdashers, have been better represented; cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. ii, p. xlvi.

⁴ This was especially the case with the Loriners and the Spectacle Makers, and in quite recent years with the Fruiterers and the Gardeners (*ib.*, p. xlvii).

⁵ This had already happened in the seventeenth century. Cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. i, p. 332. The number of Aldermen belonging to the twelve Greater Companies elected since 1750 inclusive have been: Goldsmiths 22, Fishmongers 16, Haberdashers 12, Merchant Taylors 11, Clothworkers 11 (none since 1883), Grocers 10, Salters 9, Vintners 9, Drapers 8 (none since 1817), Skinners 5 (only one since 1804), Ironmongers 5 (none since 1821), Mercers 2 (none since 1774).

⁶ By R. Willimott: cf. Beaven, Aldermen, vol. i, p. 333.

broken, and after that the number of translations from the lesser Companies of those who were to be elected to the Mayoralty is very small.¹ As a natural consequence, the Greater Companies took less interest in municipal affairs, and the connexion which had hitherto existed between them and the City became less close. Thus as early as 1711 we find a committee of the Goldsmiths' Company recommending that no Lord Mayor should hold pageants at the public charge of the Company, and in 1721 Sir William Stewart, the Mayor-elect, contributed £60 as a moiety of the charges of his procession. Financial difficulties were given as an excuse for this apparent want of generosity on the part of the Company, and in 1729 it was determined to retake the charge. The incident, however, shows that the Goldsmiths were less careful of the dignity of the Mayor's procession than they had been.²

Nor was the conduct of the Goldsmiths peculiar. Although the Drapers' Company made no objection to bearing the charges or the expenses of the Lord Mayors and the Sheriffs when they had entered the Company in the ordinary way,³ the Court in 1719 resolved that the Company should no longer bear the expenses of those Lord Mayors and Sheriffs who might in the future be translated to the Company before being elected to the said offices.⁴ When, in the year 1783, James Sanderson was admitted to the freedom of the Company by redemption, in view of his having been elected Alderman, he signed an agreement that if elected to either of the offices of Sheriff or Mayor he would indemnify the Company from all expense, unless the Court should otherwise decide; it being also resolved that a like undertaking should be

should be a member of one of the twelve Greater Livery Companies abandoned. Unwillingness to undertake the charges of the Mayor's installation.

¹ Only one (F. Cockayne, a Farrier translated to the Vintners) has since then been translated in view of his election to the Mayoralty. Three more in the nineteenth century, and two in the twentieth century, have been translated, but all of them some time before their election as Mayor.

² Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii, pp. 184, 201, 210.

³ Cf. the case of Sir Henry Marshall in 1744, when the expenses were met as usual by the fees of those called to the Livery and those nominated as foyne and budge bachelors (Rep. + 135, p. 24). The charges came to £351 17s. 10d. (Journal, + 500, p. 347). In 1709, however, the Court resolved not to pay the customary 100 nobles to the Sheriffs who were members of the Company, unless they lived in the City (Rep. + 134, p. 42).

⁴ Records, + 134, p. 147.

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asked from all those who might in future be entered by redemption.¹ Accordingly, when in 1792 Sanderson became Lord Mayor, the Court only consented to pay about one-third of his charges;² while in the case of Sir William Curtis, elected Lord Mayor in 1795,¹ who again had been admitted by redemption, the contribution of the Company was only £37 11s.³

The whole question was again raised in 1817, on the occasion of the Mayoralty of Christopher Smith, a member of the Company who had again been admitted by redemption. The Mayor-elect had omitted to address the Court as to the details of the ceremonial at his inauguration. A motion was therefore proposed that the Company should not show him any especial honour, but only do that which was customary when the Mayor was not a member of the Company. The motion was not however carried, and a letter was addressed to the Mayor stating that while they regretted his silence, sixteen members of the Court would attend him on his procession and give such orders as should cause his Lordship the least expense consistent with the dignity of his office. As no answer was vouchsafed, a special Court was summoned, at which the Mayor-elect appeared, apologized for his silence, and pleaded press of business.⁴

The last Draper to hold the office of Mayor was John Thomas Thorp, elected in 1820, and as he had entered the Company by apprenticeship the Court decided to follow the procedure adopted in the case of Sir H. Marshall in 1744, and the charges came to £670 19s. 5d., a larger sum than that expended on any Draper Mayor during the eighteenth century.⁵

¹ Records, + 136, pp. 340-42. In 1721, the Company even resolved to discontinue their usual present of 100 marks to the Mayor, and the 100 nobles to the Sheriffs, when they were members of the Company. But this resolution was repealed in 1740. Records, + 134, pp. 164 a, 365 b.

² i. e. £34 8s. 8d. out of £92 8s. 8d.: Records, + 137, pp. 55, 97. For the procedure at his inauguration cf. Appendix XL A.

³ Journal, + 523, pp. 538-9. Some original letters of Sir Wm., &c., are in the possession of the Company, cf. 000.2.

⁴ Records, + 138, pp. 621 ff., 626. The only reference to the ceremony on the Lord Mayor's Day is the following: 'Paid for advertising in sundry papers notices to the Livery that the dinner on Lord Mayor's Day is postponed £10 13s. 4d.' Journal, + 528, p. 920.

⁵ Records, + 139, pp. 126-28; Journal, + 531, pp. 106-8.

This unwillingness on the part of the Companies to be charged with heavy expenses in connexion with the Lord Mayor's show is probably one reason why the Pageants began to decline in splendour, and why they were for a time given up. The last Pageant prepared for the Lord Mayor's Day was in 1708, when the libretto was written by Elkanah Settle, but owing to the death of Prince George, the husband of Queen Anne, it was never performed.¹ From that date until quite recently, although there was some revival after 1761, the proceedings were on a very modest scale.²

Decline in the splendour of the Lord Mayor's Pageant.

We have a detailed account of the procedure at the inauguration and procession of John Thomas Thorp, the last Draper Mayor in 1820, which I give in the Appendix. It will be observed that the only two Companies represented at the swearing-in of the Mayor at the Guildhall were the Drapers and the Wheelwrights, of whom the last Mayor, George Bridges, was a member, and that apparently the Drapers alone took part in the procession to and from Westminster on the following day.³

The Gentleman's Magazine of 1751⁴ describes a curious procession of the Drapers to a sermon at St. Peter's, Cornhill, which was attended by the Master, the Wardens and the Court of Assistants, followed by a number of the poor of the Company, each carrying a pair of shoes and stockings and a suit of clothes, the annual gift of the Company. This must have been an ancient ceremony, but there is no notice of it in the Records, nor do I remember having ever seen it mentioned at an earlier date.

The Court had been accustomed to make summer excursions in their barge, accompanied by ladies.⁵ Nevertheless the Court was

¹ Percy Society, x, 1844, p. 122. Sir Charles Duncombe, a Goldsmith, was the Mayor. The Pageant, 'The Triumphs of London', was written by Elkanah Settle. He had also prepared the Pageant for the Draper Mayor, Sir Thomas Stampe, in 1691. He was the last City Poet whose duty it was to draw up the programmes and write the librettos for the Pageants.

² Cf. the account of the procedure at the inauguration of Sir Thos. Thorp in 1820, Appendix XL B.

³ Records, + 139, pp. 126, 128. Thorp was elected again in 1831, but declined to serve.

⁴ Gentleman's Magazine, 1751, p. 474.

⁵ e.g. in 1794, 1795, 1796, and 1797. Records, + 137, pp. 151, 199, 255, 320.

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not an enthusiastic supporter of regattas. This is shown by a somewhat amusing refusal in 1775 to grant the use of the barge for the accommodation of some of the nobility and gentry at an intended 'regatta or water race' on the Thames, 'with respect to the many accidents and inconveniences that may very well attend and arise from such an entertainment'.¹ Possibly an apprehension of such accidents caused the Court to abandon their summer excursions. However that may be, when in 1809 and 1812 the Lord Mayor, who was proposing to go to Richmond in his state barge after holding a Court of Conservancy, invited the Company to attend him in their barge, they declined on the ground that they never made summer excursions.²

Silence of the Drapers' Records on matters touching the municipal constitution in the eighteenth century.

Another sign of the loosening of the connexion between the Company and the municipal constitution and of the decline in the interest taken in civic matters is to be found in the almost entire absence of any reference to the somewhat serious controversies which arose within the City during the eighteenth century.

1718.

Repeal of the Corporation Act of 1661.

In the year 1718 the Court of Aldermen expressed in a petition addressed to the King the apprehensions of the civic authorities that they might be 'disquieted in the execution of their offices by pretence of not subscribing a declaration against the Solemn League and Covenant at the time of their admission into office' as enjoined by the Corporation Act of 1661, a subscription which had of late been disused. They therefore humbly prayed his Majesty to take such steps as might quiet their fears and enable them 'to proceed with cheerfulness in the execution of their duties'. The petition was graciously received by the Crown, and led to the Act of 5 George I, c. 6, by which the officials of the City of London and other boroughs were relieved of any disabilities for neglect of subscribing the said declaration.³

Question as to settlement of disputed

More contentious matters were those regarding the qualification of the electors of the Mayor and other civic officers and of Burgesses.⁴

¹ Records, + 136, p. 133.

² *Ib.* + 138, pp. 190, 252.

³ Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. iii, p. 11; Maitland, *History of London*, ed. 1760, vol. i, pp. 521 ff.

⁴ Many of these questions had arisen during the reign of William III; cf. Maitland, *History of London*, ed. 1760, vol. i, pp. 495, 499.

In the year 1704 the Lord Mayor issued a precept to the Livery Companies, stating that several persons not of the Livery of the Companies of the City had of late presumed to be present at the election of public officers of the city, whereby the elections were rendered disorderly and uncertain; and that, contrary to custom, persons had of late been admitted to the Livery of certain Companies without having been admitted to the freedom of the City. He therefore gave notice that in future no Liveryman would be admitted at the Guildhall for the purposes of election unless he wore his gown and hood, and demanded that the Companies should send a list of all their Liverymen for scrutiny.¹ Apparently the last order was not complied with by some of the Companies, including the Drapers, for we find it repeated in 1713 and 1719.²

elections,
qualification
of voters,
and powers
of the Court
of Aldermen
with regard
to elections.

Closely connected with this question were those of the proper qualification of voters for the election of Aldermen in their Wardmotes and of members of the Common Council; and, further, the right of the Common Council to defend, at the expense of the City, suits of law relating to the elections of Aldermen and Common Councilmen.³ In the year 1719 the House of Lords addressed themselves to this last question, and passed a resolution that the Court of Common Council had exceeded its powers in thus maintaining such suits of law in cases of disputed elections; that it had been guilty of great partiality, had violated the freedom of elections in the City, and, by defraying the costs of such actions out of the City chamber, had misspent the City revenues. Sixteen peers, however, entered a protest against this indictment.⁴ In 1724 a petition from the citizens at large was presented to the House of Commons setting forth that at the elections by the Liverymen of the Common Hall and by the freemen in the Wardmote elections many had voted who were not qualified,⁵ and

¹ Records, + 371, pp. 10 a b.

² *Ib.*, pp. 21, 26 a b.

³ Maitland, *History of London*, ed. 1760, vol. i, p. 522.

⁴ Sharpe, *London*, vol. iii, p. 12; Maitland, vol. i, p. 525. The Court of Common Council was composed of 206 members elected by the freemen in their wards.

⁵ The Liverymen of the Common Hall were summoned to the Guildhall to elect the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, the Burgesses, the Bridge Masters, and the Auditors of the Bridge Masters' accounts; cf. Precepts, + 371, pp. 8 b, 9 a, 11 b,

praying the relief of the House for preserving the liberties, quieting the minds of the citizens, and settling their elections upon a just and lasting foundation. In answer to this petition, the Bill for regulating elections in the City was brought forward.¹ By this Act the qualification for the vote of the freeman was declared to be the holding of the freedom of the City, the paying of scot and bearing of lot, and the tenancy of houses of the annual rent of at least £10; while the right of voting in the Common Hall was confined to those freemen of the City who were at the time on the Livery of some Company, and had been on the Livery for at least a year, had paid their fine for entry into the Livery, had during the previous two years paid their rates and taxes, and had not received alms within that period. Clause xv also enacted that no act or ordinance was to be passed in the Common Council without the assent of the Mayor and Aldermen present at the said Common Council, or the major part of them, nor without the assent of the Commons present at such Common Council, or the major part of them.

The dissensions which accompanied the passing of the Bill, both in Parliament and the City, were mainly influenced by party considerations. The majority of the Court of Aldermen, who were of the Whig party, were in favour of the measure; while the Common Council, where the Tories were in strength, petitioned against it, mainly because of the power of stopping legislation given to the Aldermen under clause xv of the Act—a power which they declared to be an infringement of the rights of the Commoners. Inasmuch as the only notice of these matters to be found in the Drapers' books is in the precepts of the Mayor seems to indicate that the Court was opposed to the Act.² Three

13 a, 14, &c. The freemen in their Wardmotes elected the Aldermen and the members of the Common Council. Among other qualifications, the holding of the freedom of the City was one. This many were unwilling to take, because by the custom of the City a freeman could not freely dispose of the whole of his personal estate by will, but was obliged to leave one-third to his wife and one-third to his children if he had any.

¹ 1725, 11 George I, c. 18.

² Probably opinion was divided. We know, however, that Henry Marshall, then a Liveryman, who was M.P. for the Tory borough of Agmondesham 1734-54, Master 1738-9, and Mayor 1744-5, was a strong Tory. He belonged

Members for the City also stoutly resisted it in Parliament, the only one who supported it being Sir Richard Hopkins, a Fishmonger and a Whig.¹ Twenty-two peers also protested against the measure. In spite of the opposition the Bill was passed,² but owing to the agitation which continued, the obnoxious clause xv

to a high Tory club called 'Benn's', a description of which is to be found in *Prideaux, Goldsmiths*, vol. ii, pp. 242, 338.

Mr. Beaven has kindly furnished me with the following classification of the elected Aldermen who were members of the Drapers' Company from the period of the rise of the Whig and Tory parties at the end of Charles II's reign. It shows that the two parties had during the period an equal number of adherents among the Draper Aldermen.

Whig.

- *Sir A. Clayton (1670-1707).
- Sir T. Gold (1676-1683).
- †Sir T. Strupe (1688-1711).
- †Sir S. Stainer (1705-1724).
- *Sir H. Furnise (1711-1712).
- Sir E. Becher (1718-1732).
- *R. Heysham (1720-1723).
- J. Heywood (1746).
- R. Oliver (1770-1778).
- *B. Hopkins (1773-1776).
- *J. T. Thorp (1817-1835).

Tory.

- Sir J. Sheldon (1666-1681).
- Sir J. Smyth (1674-1689).
- Sir P. Vandeput (1684-1687).
- J. Johnson (1696-1698).
- *Sir A. Crowley (1711-1713).
- *J. Crowley (1727-1728).
- *Sir H. Marshall (1737-1754).
- A. Master (1758-1766).
- *Sir J. Sanderson (1783-1798).
- *Sir W. Curtis (1783-1829).
- *C. Smith (1807-1835).

Those marked * sat in Parliament, and those marked † contested parliamentary constituencies.

With regard to B. Hopkins there is no recorded parliamentary vote by him which would indicate his politics, but Mr. Beaven infers that he was a Whig from the fact that he gave his vote for Wilkes at the Mayoral election in 1773, the other Aldermen who supported him being all Whigs.

Mr. Beaven has been unable to find any evidence as to the politics of T. Rigby (Alderman 1802-3).

R. Heysham voted with the Tories while M.P. for Lancaster, before becoming M.P. for the City.

¹ The other members were Francis Child, Head of Child's Bank, Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths in 1723-4, M.P. for London 1722-7, Mayor 1731-2; Richard Lockwood, a Mercer; and John Barnard, a Glover, translated to the Grocers in 1737, and Mayor in the same year: cf. Beaven, *Aldermen*. They received a formal vote of thanks from the Common Council for their opposition to the Bill. Maitland, *London*, ed. 1760, vol. i, p. 534.

² Cf. Sharpe, vol. iii, pp. 26 ff.; Beaven, *Aldermen*, vol. ii, p. xlvi; Maitland, *History of London*, ed. 1760, vol. i, pp. 536 ff.

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was repealed in 1746,¹ and the 'negative' power of the Mayor and Aldermen in matters of legislation abolished.

Powers of
the Mayor
as to
summoning
the Com-
mon Hall,
1769-70.

Later on in the century the question arose whether the Mayor had the power to summon the Common Hall² for other purposes than those of election, and to punish those who refused to appear. The contention arose at the moment when the City³ and the country were disturbed by the agitation caused by the Middlesex election.³ At that time the Lord Mayor and the majority of the Common Council⁴ were of the Whig persuasion. Accordingly the Lord Mayor, Samuel Turner, a Clothworker, summoned a meeting of the Common Hall, at which a petition to the King was drawn up praying for redress of grievance (June 1769). As the petition was not answered, the famous William Beckford,⁵ who had been elected Lord Mayor in the autumn of 1769, sent a precept to the Masters and Wardens of the Livery Companies summoning another meeting of the Common Hall. At this meeting a violent address and remonstrance was drawn up, accusing the Ministry and Parliament of depriving the people of their just rights, and of violating the freedom of election. The remon-

¹ 19 George II, c. viii. It may be noted that the words in the old oath of a freeman of the City, that he would not deal with any foreigner within the City without informing the Chamberlain, and also the words forbidding him to take any bondsman's son or child of an alien as apprentice, were omitted in the act of George I, cl. xix.

² The Common Hall was formed of the Liverymen of those Companies who had Liveries. For the method of summoning the Common Hall and of elections by it cf. Maitland, *History of London*, ed. 1760, vol. i, p. 499.

³ Wilkes had been elected for Middlesex in 1768, but was expelled. In 1769, on his being re-elected without opposition, the House of Commons resolved that Wilkes was incapable of sitting in the House (a resolution which was wholly unconstitutional, since it was practically an attempt to pass an Act of disqualification without the consent of the House of Lords and of the Crown). He was forthwith re-elected, upon which the House resolved that the election was void; and on his re-election immediately afterwards declared Col. Luttrell, the opponent of Wilkes, elected, although he had only polled 296 votes as against 1,143 cast for Wilkes. Cf. Lecky, *History of England*, ed. 1882, vol. iii, p. 141; Robertson, *Select Cases*, ed. 2, 1912, p. 473.

⁴ The Common Council was formed of the Mayor, the Aldermen, and of Councillors elected by the Wards out of those who were Liverymen.

⁵ For William Beckford cf. *Dict. of Nat. Biography*. He was a member of the Ironmongers Company: cf. *Beaven, Aldermen*, vol. ii, p. 131.

strance declared that the Commons had 'done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles I, or the exercise of the dispensing power by James II', and petitioned the King to dissolve the Parliament, which did not represent the people, and to dismiss the Ministers to whom the Commons had been 'corruptly subservient' (March 1770). Although this action on the part of the Lord Mayor received the support of the majority of the Liverymen who formed the Common Hall, sixteen of the Court of Aldermen protested against it. It was also opposed by the Companies of the Goldsmiths, the Grocers, and the Weavers. They not only declared the remonstrance indecent and disrespectful, but asserted that the Common Hall had exceeded its powers in interfering in political matters; forbade their Liverymen to attend any Common Hall except for the purpose of election, without the express leave of their Courts of Assistants; and declined to transmit a copy of their resolutions as enjoined to do by a precept of the Mayor.

In consequence of this conduct, informations were filed against the Master or Wardens of the three Companies, and in 1773 Alderman Plumbe, who had been Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths in 1770, was condemned by the Mayor's Court and adjudged to be disfranchised. On an appeal, however, to a Court of Error in 1775, this judgement was reversed. It was ruled that the meeting of the Common Hall had been held to consider certain national grievances, which had nothing to do with the Corporate capacity of the City nor with the collective character of the Livery; that in consequence Alderman Plumbe, by neglecting to summon the Livery of the Company to attend the Common Council, had not been guilty of any offence against his oath and duty as a freeman, and that the judgement of disenfranchisement must be annulled.¹ From that day forward the Lord Mayor has been unable to compel the attendance of the Livery at a Common Hall except for the purposes of election. Nevertheless the practice of assembling the Common Hall for the purpose of presenting remonstrances on public grievances was continued, although they were

¹ For the decision of the Court of Error cf. Appendix XXXVIII, and Heath, *Grocers*, p. 162 ff.; *Prideaux, Goldsmiths*, vol. ii, pp. 257 ff.

never obeyed by the Goldsmiths' Company at least. Thus in April 1775, the very year in which the judgement in Plumbe's case was reversed by the Court of Error, John Wilkes, then Lord Mayor, summoned an extraordinary meeting of the Common Hall to consider a petition to the Crown 'against the measures adopted with regard to America'.¹ On this occasion again the Goldsmiths declined to send their Liverymen.² As we find no mention of the refusal on the part of the Drapers to attend either of these meetings of the Common Hall, we may assume that the Liverymen of the Company attended, and that the Court was not opposed to the presentation of these petitions. That they did not approve of the policy adopted towards the American Colonies receives confirmation from a resolution passed at a meeting on August 7, 1775, that it was not necessary to put up a statue to King George at present, in spite of the fact that the Company had been 'aspersed in the newspapers' for their disloyal conduct. In the following year, however, the present of a 'buste' of the King offered by William Saunders Welch was accepted. The Court ordered full-length pictures of George III, as well as of George I, George II, and William III. The picture of George III was painted by Nathaniel Dance-Holland, a well-known portrait painter, and cost 100 guineas.³

¹ This refers to the suspension of the Charter of Massachusetts and the preparations for war in consequence of the opposition of the Colonists to the tea duty and the Boston tea riots.

² Prideaux, *Goldsmiths*, vol. ii, p. 263. There are two later instances of the Common Hall being summoned to discuss political grievances. In December 1783, the Mayor, Robert Peckham, a Wheelwright, summoned a Common Hall to petition against a Bill for vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of certain Commissioners (Fox's India Bill). In January 1785, the Mayor, Richard Clark, a Joiner, summoned a Common Hall to consider the instructions to be given to their Burgesses for obtaining more equal representation of the people. In both these cases the Goldsmiths again declined to obey the summons of the Lord Mayor: *ib.*, pp. 275, 279. No mention of these incidents is found in the Drapers' Records.

³ Records, + 136, pp. 139 a, 145 a, 146 b, 161. For Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland cf. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* At the same time a drawing of the Clerk by Roma at a cost of 30 guineas was put up in the Court room. Roma was also given a gratuity of 20 guineas because of his illness and because his house had been broken into by thieves (*ib.*, p. 163). Roma also made a copy of the

In the following year 1771 occurred the famous case of the *Printers v. the House of Commons*.¹ The House, jealous of its privilege that its debates should be private, took action against Wheble, Miller, and other printers for publishing debates.² Wheble, having refused to attend at the Bar of the House, was ordered into custody. He was, however, collusively apprehended by a friend, brought before Wilkes as Alderman, and forthwith discharged. Miller was apprehended on a warrant from the Speaker, but gave the messenger into custody for assault within the City. The case came before the Lord Mayor, Brass Crosby, a Goldsmith,³ Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver. On the grounds that the warrant of the Speaker had not been backed by a City Magistrate, and was therefore illegal as contravening the charters of the City, which provided that no warrant, attachment, or process could be executed within it except by its own Magistrates, they discharged Miller and signed a warrant for the commitment of the messenger of the House. For thus defying the authority of the House, the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver, who were both Members of Parliament, were committed to the Tower. On a writ of *Habeas Corpus* being moved on behalf of the Lord Mayor, the Court of Common Pleas ordered his remandment, and thereby decided that the commitment by the warrant of the Speaker was legal.⁴ Chief

Printers v.
the House of
Commons,
1776.

portrait of Mary Queen of Scots then in the possession of the Company (ib., p. 153 b).

¹ On this cf. C. G. Robertson, *Select Statutes, Cases, and Documents*, ed. 1912, p. 479. The case is generally known as that of Brass Crosby: Lecky, *History of England*, ed. 1882, vol. iii, p. 257.

² The Printers were accused of misrepresenting the speeches and of calling Col. Onslow, a Member of Parliament, 'the little scoundrel' and a 'paltry insignificant insect'.

³ He had been a member of the Company of the Musicians, but was translated to the Goldsmiths in 1766. Beaven, *Aldermen*, vol. ii, p. 133.

⁴ Wilkes declared that he was the legitimate Member for Middlesex and was ready to attend in his place in Parliament, but that he would not attend at the Bar, and though summoned three times persisted in his refusal. At last the House put a somewhat ignominious end to the contest by ordering him to attend on a day over which it adjourned itself. He was a dangerous person to deal with, and, as they won their case with regard to the Lord Mayor, it was perhaps the wiser course to leave him alone. A writ of *Habeas Corpus* was not moved for Oliver; his fate would depend on the decision with regard to the Lord Mayor.

Justice de Grey, in delivering his judgement, declared that this power of commitment for contempt must be inherent in the House because they had a judicial power in such cases, and that the Law Courts could not judge of the laws and privileges of the House, nor of the contempts thereof, because these were only known to Parliament men, and the Law Courts had no cognizance of them nor of the acts of the House.

Thus the House of Commons won, and the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver remained in custody till the end of the Session (May 8), when they were conducted in triumphal procession to the Mansion House. Nevertheless, although the House had vindicated its claim that the publication of debates was a breach of privilege, the controversy caused such a ferment that from that day forward it has ceased to enforce it, except on special occasions where the public interest demands that a debate should not be made public.

It is strange that no notice of Alderman Oliver should be found in the Drapers' Minutes, especially as he was Master of the Company at the time. His absence, however, from three meetings of the Court, on March 20 and in July and August, was no doubt due to his connexion with the affair.¹

¹ Records, + 136, pp. 4, 13, 21. Richard Oliver was committed to the Tower on March 26, and remained there till the close of the Session on May 8. He might therefore have been at the meetings, although he was not. He was present at the meeting of June 19. He was a West Indian Merchant, one of the Whig leaders of the day, a conspicuous member of the Society of the Bill of Rights, and for a time a supporter of Wilkes. He entered the Drapers' Company by redemption on June 29, 1770: Freedom List, + 282 (not paged). In the following July he was elected Alderman of Billingsgate Ward in the place of William Beckford, the famous Whig. In consequence of this election, Oliver was forthwith called to the Livery and admitted into the Court of Assistants, on paying the usual fees for admission into the Livery and for being excused from serving as Warden: Records, + 135, p. 355 a. In the same month he was returned at a by-election, also in the place of Beckford, as Burgess for the City. In the ensuing August he was elected Master of the Drapers' Company (ib., p. 358 b), and it was during his Mastership that the controversy mentioned in the text arose. Shortly after this he quarrelled with Wilkes and refused to serve as Sheriff with him, an office which he, however, filled in the following year (1772). At the election of the new Lord Mayor he supported the candidature of Townsend against Wilkes, and was accused by the latter's partisans of having

The silence of the Drapers' Records on most of these questions, which so closely affected the City, may perhaps be partly explained by the fact that the Company as often before did not favour any one party, as was the case with some of the Companies.¹ But it is also an indication that the Company had by this time lost touch with civic politics, and that they only took action, and even then rarely, when the dignity and the interests of one of their members was concerned. Thus in the year 1776, when Wilkes, after having been beaten by Alderman Benjamin Hopkins, a distinguished member of the Drapers' Company, in the election for the post of Chamberlain,² sought for the third time the suffrages of the Common Hall, the Court of the Drapers recorded its disapprobation of this unprecedented and improper course, stating that such contested elections tended to interrupt the trade and disturb the peace of the City, and were 'productive of idleness, debauchery, and party animosities'. They therefore urged the Liverymen to meet at the Hall and proceed in a body to the Guildhall to poll for their worthy member.³

The silence of the Drapers' Records with regard to most of these questions.

But if the Drapers' Company took but little part in these civic

taken the vote of the Court of Aldermen before the arrival of the Wilkites. He continued an active member of the Whig party in Parliament till 1778, when he left England to look after his West Indian estates in Antigua. He died in 1784 on his homeward passage. Cf. Dict. Nat. Biog. and authorities quoted; Beaven, Aldermen, Index.

¹ Thus the Goldsmiths and the Merchant Taylors generally supported the Tories, while the Fishmongers were on the side of the Whigs.

² Hopkins is only the second Draper who has ever held the post of Chamberlain. The other was Thomas Thorndone, who was Chamberlain from the year 1454 to 1463. Wilkes, who had been Mayor in 1775, was anxious on account of his impecuniosity to secure the lucrative post. He therefore sought the suffrages of the Common Council in February 1776, but was beaten by Hopkins. As the election was a bye one, Hopkins had to be re-elected in the following June. In spite of the fact that it was quite unusual to oppose the re-election of the Chamberlain, Wilkes again opposed him on the pretence that Hopkins had not been duly chosen, and, though beaten by an overwhelming majority, stood again in the following year, only to be defeated once more. It was not till the death of Hopkins in 1779 that Wilkes at last succeeded in being elected to the office. Sharpe, London, vol. iii, pp. 161, 164. Hopkins had been Master of the Drapers in 1773-4.

³ Records, + 136, pp. 147 a b. They took the same course at the election of 1777 (ib., p. 166).

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References
to important
national
events.

questions,¹ they were not neglectful of the more important issues of national concern; and we meet with some interesting, though often incidental, notices in their Records which are worth mentioning. Thus, in the year 1696, when England was at war with Louis XIV, the Company melted down plate to the value of £1,000 to furnish a loan to King William III.² At the coronation of Queen Anne, in 1702, we are reminded that the Lord Mayor held the office of Chief Butler on these occasions, and that the Masters of the Livery Companies attended him.³

It appears, however, that some members of the Company were remiss in their duties on Thanksgiving Days. Thus, on December 13, 1706, the Court of the Company, in drawing attention to the meagre attendance of members of late,⁴ and to the way in which they had flocked to the Hall for dinner, 'to the great dishonour and expense of the Company', ordered that on the coming Thanksgiving Day, to be held on the last day of the year for successes in the war against France (the war of the Spanish Succession), instead of having a dinner, some provision should be made near the Company's stand for those who attended the ceremonies;⁵ while the precept of the Lord Mayor that on the occasion of

¹ This does not mean that the Company were neglectful of what they considered to be the interests of the City. Thus in 1803 the Court decided, whether rightly or wrongly, to oppose a Bill authorizing the construction of a canal from the London Docks to Paddington as being detrimental to the general interests of the City, as well as injurious to the property of the Company: Records, + 137, p. 598.

² Records, + 133, pp. 245 b, 246 b, 251 b.

³ Precepts, + 371, p. 9 b.

⁴ The following Thanksgiving Days were held during the reigns of Queen Anne and George I:

(1) Sept. 7, 1704, for the late victory 'over the French and Bavarians' (i. e. the Battle of Blenheim).

(2) June 27, 1706, 'for the victory over the French in Brabant' (i. e. the Battle of Ramillies).

(3) Dec. 31, 1706, 'for the wonderful successes wherewith God hath blessed ye armes of her Majesty and her allies' (in the Netherlands, Italy, and Spain).

(4) May 1, 1707, for the Union with Scotland.

(5) Aug. 19, 1708 (for Marlborough's victory at Oudenarde).

(6) July 7, 1713 (for the Peace of Utrecht).

(7) June, 1716 (Failure of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715).

Precepts, + 371, pp. 11 b, 14 b, 15, 16, 17, 24 b, 31.

⁵ Records, + 134, p. 18 b.

the Royal Progress to St. Paul's to commemorate the Union with Scotland (May 1707) the 'stands' of the Companies should not be taken down until 'the nobility and other great personages had passed' in their return from St. Paul's implies that some Companies had been careless.¹ On that day, however, the Company attended the procession and resumed their dinner at the Hall.²

Of the election to the Parliament of 1715 shortly after the accession of George I, which caused such excitement, we indeed hear nothing, though one of the Burgesses then returned was Robert Heysham, a recent convert to Whiggism, who became Master of the Company in 1720.³ Nor again is the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 mentioned. Possibly the Company was at that time too much divided, as we know England was, to take any corporate action, but in 1745 the resolution of the Court to subscribe £300 towards the relief of soldiers employed 'for suppressing the present unnatural rebellion' shows that the Company had no sympathy with the unfortunate attempt of Prince Charlie, the Young Pretender.⁴

We are not surprised to find that the War of the Austrian Succession (1741-8), with its somewhat inglorious course and conclusion,⁵ awakened no patriotic sympathy in the Company; but with the Seven Years War, which won us Canada and India from the French, and established our maritime supremacy, the long list of subscriptions to patriotic objects begins. One hundred pounds was voted to the Marine Society for the purpose of clothing and fitting out landsmen and boys to be employed in the navy; the same amount was given for enlisting soldiers during the continuance of the war, as well as £200 to the

Subscriptions towards the conduct of the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War, 1741-63.

¹ Precept, + 371, p. 16.

² *Ib.*, p. 19 b.

³ Cf. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. iii, p. 4; Beaven, *Aldermen*, vol. i, p. 279; *Records*, + 134, p. 154. Heysham had previously sat for Lancaster as a Tory and voted for Sacheverell. He was not a safe party man after his election by the City Whigs.

⁴ *Records*, + 135, p. 39 b. Most of the Livery Companies joined the Drapers in this and other patriotic contributions, e. g. the Goldsmiths. The references are too numerous to give, but may be found in *Prideaux, Goldsmiths*, vol. ii, pp. 242-316.

⁵ By the Peace of Aix la Chapelle the French surrendered Madras and the English their gains in America.

Dislike of
the American War of
Independence.

Quebec and Minden subscription for the relief of British troops abroad and of the widows and children of those who had fallen in the war.¹ When the French, anxious to revenge themselves on England for the humiliations of the Seven Years War, joined the Americans in their struggle for independence, the opinion of the Court appears to have been hostile to the Government. Thus, when the quarrel broke out between Admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser, the third in command, over the indecisive battle off Ushant (July 27, 1778), the Drapers sided with Keppel, who was supported by the Opposition, and presented him with the freedom of the Company (March 1779).² In the following July a motion that money should be subscribed towards the giving of bounties

¹ Records, +135, pp. 201 b, 217 a. The Marine Society was a private association founded in June 1756, and supported by voluntary subscriptions, for the purpose of preparing boys for the navy and clothing landsmen who volunteered for service. The boys were collected from the poorest classes and from workhouses, taken with the consent of their parents, if they were known, or if apprentices with the knowledge of their masters. It was urged that by the help of the Society the necessity of the press-gang was reduced, and that men who were active workers at home would not be forced to go to sea. The Society also taught some of the boys the use of the fife, so that they might be the better prepared to join the bands, which were considered to be of great service on ships of war. The amount subscribed between 1756-8 was over £13,443, while 2,324 boys had been educated, and 3,487 volunteer landsmen clothed and sent to sea. From the close of the Seven Years War in 1763 to May 1769 the operations of the Society were suspended, to be revived in 1770 when the war with our American colonies appeared imminent. In 1772 the Society asked to be incorporated. They showed that since May 1769 they had received from subscriptions, donations, and bequests, and interest on the same, £6,099 3s. 4d. Of this sum, £5,222 9s. 11d. had been expended in clothing 809 district boys who had been sent as servants to officers in the Royal Fleet and 387 who had been indentured to owners and masters in the merchant service. The Society had also apprenticed 47 district girls according to a late bequest of a Mr. Hickes, while the total number of boys and men who had been assisted since the foundation of the Society was 11,757. Their request for incorporation was granted. By-Laws and Regulations of the Marine Society, List of Subscribers, &c., Bodleian Library, Gough, London, 174; Instructions to boys of the Society, Letters by Mr. Hanway, Bodleian Library, 239, 163, ib., Gough, London, 7 (13); Pamphlet in praise of the Society, ib., Godw. Pamphlets, 1817.

² Records, +136, pp. 212, 232. For the quarrel between Keppel and Sir Hugh cf. Hunt, *Political History of England*, ed. 1905, p. 193, and *Dict. of National Biography*, Art. Palliser.

for the purpose of raising men to serve in the Fleet was negated, though in the following year £100 was granted to the Marine Society.¹ The apparent close-fistedness of the Drapers on this occasion is probably to be explained by the dislike of the war and by the unpopularity of Lord North, who in 1782 was forced to give way to the Whigs led by Lord Rockingham.

Meanwhile the peace of the City had been seriously disturbed by the Lord George Gordon 'No Popery' riots. These riots were caused by the Act of 1778 passed for the relief of Roman Catholics from some of the disabilities under which they suffered. The City undertook to defray the expenses incurred in restoring order. Accordingly Brackley Kennett, the Lord Mayor, and the Court of Aldermen approached the Livery Companies with a request for assistance, reminding them that they had often contributed to public charges in great emergencies. As, however, the Lord Mayor was accused of want of diligence in taking precautionary measures, there was much feeling in the City, and this is reflected in the conduct of the Court. They resolved that the Clerk should inquire what other Companies were doing, and so shelved the question.² The Whigs, now in power, were in favour of acknowledging the independence of America, but the French had to be dealt with. They still hoped for victory over the English, and now, joined by Spain and the Dutch, raised their demands. The victory of Rodney over La Grasse in the West Indies (April 1782) and the relief of Gibraltar by General Eliott in September humbled their pride, and negotiations for peace were set on foot. At this moment Lord Rockingham died (July 1782), and George III

The Gordon
Riots, 1778.

¹ Records, + 136, pp. 222, 232. Two other indications that the Court was opposed to the American policy of the Government are to be found. In 1776 they admitted Dr. Price to the freedom of the Company after he had been given the freedom of the City in a gold box as a mark of its approbation of his pamphlet, 'Observation on the nature of Civil Liberty, the principles of Government, and the justice and policy of the War with America'. Records, + 136, pp. 143 a, 145 a. In 1780 'an American stove on Dr. Franklin's plan' was placed in the Hall (ib., p. 240). This was before the independence of America was granted.

² Records, + 136, pp. 252-8; Sharpe, London, vol. iii, p. 178. For an amusing description of the Mayor's weakness cf. Dickens, Barnaby Rudge. Kennett was a Vintner.

asked Lord Shelburne to form a Ministry, much to the indignation of the section of the Whigs led by Charles James Fox. The Foxites called Shelburne 'The Jesuit', and accused him of intriguing against his party.

The Drapers
apparently
supporters
of Charles
James Fox.

The Drapers' Company, it would seem, were inclined to side with Fox, for when the Lord Mayor communicated a request of Lord Shelburne's asking for pecuniary aid for the purpose of augmenting the domestic force of the nation by putting the militia on a proper footing, the Court postponed consideration of the demand 'until some plan should be formed whereby judgment might be formed of the utility thereof to the public and the propriety of subscribing',¹ and nothing more was heard of the subject. Lord Shelburne shortly after resigned, and Fox took the risky step of joining Lord North in the ill-starred Coalition of April 1783. We hear nothing of the exciting election of 1784, when William Pitt was returned with a triumphant majority; but inasmuch as they showed no honour to the new Minister, we may perhaps surmise that the Company were still inclined to the side of that popular but unsuccessful statesman, Charles James Fox, while the Goldsmiths, always Tory in their sentiments, conferred the freedom of the Company on William Pitt and gave him a magnificent entertainment.²

That the Drapers realized the danger of exciting religious and political passions in Ireland is shown by their refusal in 1789 to contribute towards a monument to commemorate the shutting of the gates of Londonderry on December 7, 1688, preparatory to the memorable siege in the reign of William III. From the wording of the original resolution, that inquiry should be made as to what the Irish Society and the other Livery Companies who had property in Ireland were doing, it would appear that these societies adopted the prudent conduct of the Company.³

The Drapers
and the

No reference is made in the Drapers' Records to the outbreak of the French Revolution nor to the tragic events which preceded

¹ Records, + 136, p. 314.

² Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii, p. 276. The dinner was attended by fifty persons. It cost £259 7s. 6d., and 193 bottles of wine at 4s. the bottle were drunk!

³ Records, + 136, pp. 329, 532.

the entry into the war by England in 1793.¹ From that moment, however, England was engaged in a struggle which increased in intensity, and which lasted, with only two brief intervals, till the battle of Waterloo in 1815.² Her resources were taxed to the uttermost, and it was only to be expected that the patriotism which has always been displayed by the Livery Companies in times of national emergency should be called forth and express itself in many ways.

Revolutionary and Napoleonic War, 1793-1815.

¹ In this respect the silence of the Drapers' Records may be contrasted with the conduct of the Grocers, who in 1792 passed a resolution affirming 'their unshaken loyalty and attachment to the Crown and the happy constitution of the Country, and condemning the seditious, inflammatory and fallacious opinions industriously propagated to introduce principles of anarchy incompatible with civil government'; while in the same year they lent their Hall to the London Association for aiding the Civil Power, an association which was joined by many merchants, bankers, and tradesmen of the City. Cp. Heath, Grocers, pp. 173-4.

² The following dates may be found useful:—

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|-------|---|
| 1789 | May | 4. | Meeting of the States General. |
| | July | 14. | Fall of the Bastille. |
| 1791 | Oct. | 1. | Meeting of the Legislative Assembly. |
| 1792 | April | 20. | War declared against Austria. |
| | Aug. | 10. | Attack on the Tuileries. Louis XVI a prisoner. |
| | Sept. | 21. | Meeting of the Convention. |
| 1793 | Jan. | 21. | Execution of Louis XVI. |
| | Feb. | 1. | War declared against France and Holland. |
| | June | 2. | Fall of the Gironde. Triumph of the Jacobins. Inauguration of the Terror. |
| 1794 | July 27, 28. | | Fall and death of Robespierre. End of the Terror. |
| 1795 | Oct. | 26. | The Convention dissolved. |
| | Nov. | 3. | The installation of the Directory. |
| 1797 | Feb. | 14. | Battle of Cape St. Vincent. |
| | Oct. | 11. | Battle of Camperdown. |
| 1798 | Aug. | 1, 2. | Battle of the Nile. |
| 1799 | Aug. & Oct. | | British expedition to Holland. |
| | Nov. | 9. | <i>Coup d'état</i> of the 18th Brumaire. Bonaparte created first Consul. |
| 1802 | March | 25. | Peace of Amiens between France and Great Britain. |
| 1803 | May | 18. | Rupture of the Peace of Amiens. |
| 1804 | May | 18. | Napoleon created Emperor. |
| 1805 | Oct. | 21. | Battle of Trafalgar. |
| | Nov. | 4. | Victory of Sir R. Strachan off Ferrol. |
| 1807 | July | 9. | Treaty of Tilsit between France and Russia. |

[Continued on next page.]

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It had been contemplated to propose in Parliament an Act by which all possessed of a certain income should lend about one-quarter of it to the Government in return for Government Stock at five per cent., the loans to be repaid at the end of three years. Meanwhile it was hoped that many would be willing to lend voluntarily. This 'Voluntary Loan' was eagerly subscribed to the amount of £1,800,000, 'Many of the public Companies and innumerable individuals not being able to get their names entered', says the Gentleman's Magazine for 1796 (vol. 66, pt. ii, p. 1051). The unfortunate lenders, however, lost considerably, owing to the fall in the value of the Government Stock, and in the following year they only received long annuities of 7s. 6d. for every £100 subscribed (ib., vol. 67, pt. ii, p. 1099). The Act was never brought forward.

The Drapers' Company was one of those which were too late with their offer to join in the loan.¹ But the following list will show that its other contributions amounted to the large sum of £4,757 10s., and that the allies were not forgotten:—

1808	December.	French invasion of Spain.
1809	March.	French invasion of Portugal.
	July 27, 28.	Wellington's victory at Talavera.
	July-Nov.	The Walcheren Expedition.
1811	March 5.	Graham's battle at Barrosa.
		Attempted relief of Badajoz.
	May 16.	Wellington's victory at Albuera.
1812	June 24.	War between Russia and Napoleon.
		The Moscow Campaign.
	July 22.	Wellington's victory at Salamanca.
	October.	Napoleon retreats from Moscow.
1813	February.	The War of Liberation opens.
	June 21.	Wellington's victory at Vittoria.
	Oct. 16-19.	Battle of Leipsic.
1814	April 6.	Abdication of Napoleon.
1815	March 1.	Escape of Napoleon from Elba.
	June 18.	Battle of Waterloo.

¹ Dec. 1796, Regret expressed that the Company were too late to subscribe to the 'Loyalty Loan', the list of subscriptions being filled up (Records, + 137, pp. 272-5). Cf. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, for a similar resolution, vol. ii, p. 284. The Merchant Taylors have a letter addressed by the direction of Mr. Pitt with an intimation that if the money was not voluntarily subscribed, the loan would be made compulsory. The Merchant Taylors sent in their offer, but it also came too late.

CONTRIBUTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE DRAPERS' COMPANY

			£	s.	d.
July	1793	To the Marine Society (Records + 137, p. 110)	100	0	0
Jan.	1794	Resolution passed by only one vote to give to the General United Society for providing extra clothing for British troops serving abroad (ib., p. 137) .	50	0	0
May	1795	To be distributed in bread to the poor because of high prices and distress. Each Assistant (43 in number) to be authorized to give relief up to £4 13s. each (ib., pp. 201, 211)	200	0	0
Nov.	1797	'For the relief of the widows and children of the brave men who so nobly fought and fell in the service of their country and such as have been wounded in the glorious action off the coast of Holland under Lord Duncan against the Dutch fleet under De Winter on October 11, 1797' [the victory of Camperdown] (ib., p. 340)	105	0	0
Feb.	1798	Towards the subscription opened at the Bank of England, in pursuance of an Act of the present session of Parliament, for granting to his Majesty an aid and contribution (39 Geo. III, c. 18; ib., p. 354)	1,000	0	0
Nov.	1798	Towards the relief of widows, children, and dependants of those who fell, and of those wounded in the action under Nelson of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of August in the Mediterranean [the battle of the Nile] (ib., pp. 382, 385)	100	guineas	
March	1799	Towards expenses of fitting up the barracks at Moneymore, and purchasing ammunition for the Corps of the Drapers' Yeomanry raised by Mr. Clotworthy Rowley, their tenant in Ireland (ib., pp. 391-6)	100	0	0
Aug.	1799	Towards a Naval Pillar to be erected on Portsdown hill near Portsmouth or elsewhere in memory of the			

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		unparalleled victories over the fleets of France, Holland, and Spain, since the opening of the War (<i>ib.</i> , p. 422).	50 guineas
Dec.	1799	For the widows and children of the killed and wounded British seamen in the expedition to Holland (<i>ib.</i> , p. 434)	50 guineas
July	1803	The Company undertake to raise, at a maximum cost of 2,000 guineas, 200 men for the land force, and resolve that they are willing to give their utmost assistance, and to meet any inconveniences or hardships which may be necessary for the safety of the Kingdom; and that 'they prefer death to any submission to a foreign yoke or to the abandonment or degradation of our national independence or character' (<i>ib.</i> , pp. 624, 625)	2,000 guineas

On this motion of July 1803 some difficulty arose with the Mayor, Charles Price, an Ironmonger, which is interesting as bearing upon the relations of the Company to the Municipal authorities. He expressed his surprise that he had received no information of this offer, since he was the only authority by which, and the channel through which, any force could be raised within the City. He should therefore have been consulted, and the offer should have been made with his consent and through him. In answer the Drapers expressed their regret that their conduct should have excited any apprehension as to their wishing to infringe in any way on the constitutional liberties or dignity of the City. They, however, insisted that their procedure in no way involved any such franchise or liberty; that their corporate funds were entirely under their control; and that therefore there was no impropriety in their conduct. Since, however, they admitted that the men could not be raised without his Lordship's consent, they now applied for it. After some delay the Mayor declared that it was inadmissible for any person to come into the City for the purpose of recruiting, and accordingly the Inspector-General suggested that the plan had

better be postponed till the Army of Reserve had been embodied. The question was again raised in 1805, when the Inspector-General informed the Court that the time had come when their offer should be put into execution. No opposition was made by the then Mayor, Peter Perchard, a Goldsmith. The Court, however, stated that 2,000 guineas was the maximum they could contribute, and finally it was decided that the men should be raised by his Majesty's recruiting staff and not by crimps. Cf. Records, + 137, pp. 629-31, 638, 648, 649, 702, 733, 734-

Dec.	1803	Towards the Military Association of Broad Street (Records, + 137, p. 651)	50 guineas
Jan.	1804	Resolved to lend the Garden and Hall for drilling the 8th Regiment of the Loyal London Volunteers (<i>ib.</i> , p. 655)	
Jan.	1806	To the patriotic fund for relief of widows and orphans of seamen killed in the battle of Oct. 21 and Nov. 4 last [battle of Trafalgar and action of Sir R. J. Strachan] (<i>ib.</i> , p. 33)	100 guineas
March	1811	To the fund at Lloyd's for the relief of British prisoners in France (<i>ib.</i> , p. 298)	50 guineas
June	1811	To the suffering Portuguese in Portugal	100 guineas
Jan.	1813	To the Russians suffering under the most unjust invasion by the unprincipled Ruler of France (<i>ib.</i> , p. 383)	200 guineas
March	1814	To those suffering by the War in Germany and other parts of the Continent (<i>ib.</i> , p. 429)	100 guineas
June	1815	Towards relief of the families of the brave men killed, and of the wounded sufferers in the late signal victory of Waterloo (<i>ib.</i> , p. 475)	200 guineas
June	1818	Towards relief of distressed seamen (<i>ib.</i> , p. 635)	50 guineas
Total			<u>£4,757 10 0^r</u>

^a A reference to *Prideaux, Goldsmiths*, vol. ii, from page 282, will show that the Goldsmiths contributed quite as generously to most of these objects. No doubt the other Livery Companies did the same, but their Records have not yet been published in detail.

Freedom of the Company conferred on naval rather than military heroes.

The Court did not confine itself to pecuniary assistance. It conferred the freedom of the Company on many successful naval commanders.¹

But as was the case with the nation at large, it was Lord Nelson who was more especially selected for honour. They had admitted him to his freedom after his victory of the Nile. After his death they ordered that a painting should be executed of him by one of the most eminent artists and placed in the Hall 'in grateful remembrance of his Lordship, who, after performing many great and heroic services for his country, fell in the Arms of Victory whilst commanding his Majesty's fleet consisting of 27 ships of the line . . . in the most glorious battle which ensued on its attack upon the combined fleets of France and Spain consisting of 33 ships of the line, 19 of which were taken, off Cape Trafalgar

¹ Freedoms of the Company conferred :

Aug. 1798 on Admiral Lord Duncan, the Earl of St. Vincent, Lord Nelson [for the battles off Cape St. Vincent, of Camperdown, and the Nile] (Records, + 137, pp. 374, 382).

Dec. 1805 on Vice Admiral Lord Collingwood, 'in testimony of the high sense which the Company entertained of his Lordship's services, and particularly after he had succeeded, by the death of Lord Viscount Nelson, to the command in chief in the battle off Cape Trafalgar' (Records, + 138, p. 28).

On Rear Admiral the Earl of Northesk.

On Rear Admiral Sir R. J. Strachan 'as commander of a squadron of four of his Majesty's ships of the line, which after a successful battle with four French ships of the line of superior force took all of them on the 4th of November last'.

It is noticeable that the Goldsmiths gave as a special reason for conferring the freedom of their Company on Lord Collingwood, the Earl of Northesk, and Sir R. J. Strachan, that as the Mayor was not a member of the twelve greater Livery Companies, it would be a proper mark of respect to these admirals if one of the Superior Companies should do so; and that it would be all the more appropriate that the Goldsmiths should do this because the battle of Trafalgar had actually been won during the Mayoralty of the late Mr. Alderman Perchard, a member of their Company. *Prideaux, Goldsmiths*, vol. ii, p. 308.

On Captain Hardy of the *Victory*, flagship of the late Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson [at the battle of Trafalgar] (*ib.*, p. 28).

1811 on General Graham for his able conduct at the battle of Barrosa on March 5 last (*ib.*, p. 301).

1816. They subscribed 50 guineas towards erecting a monument at Londonderry to the memory of Major-General Sir Wm. Ponsonby, if there were sufficient other subscriptions. [Sir Wm. Ponsonby was of an Irish Whig family, and was killed at Waterloo.]

on the 21st of October last.'¹ And at the funeral of the illustrious hero their barge took the first place among those of the other Companies who attended, while the Court passed a resolution that the order of the procession should be entered on the Records.²

It is significant that the Navy was more popular with the Company than the Army. Only two Generals were asked to accept the honour of being enrolled a member of their Society, both of whom were Whigs.³ Even the Duke of Wellington did not share this favour. All would allow that there was good reason for this partiality for the Navy in the early days of the Revolutionary war, since our land operations were then comparatively insignificant; but that cannot be said of the feats of the Duke of Wellington. Nevertheless, no notice is found of his magnificent campaigns in Spain; even the decisive battle of Waterloo is only mentioned in connexion with their subscription towards the wounded and the families of the slain; the name of the Duke never occurs. Nay, in 1816 they declined to subscribe towards a triumphal column in massive plate with which the Mayor and others wished to present him.⁴

Whether this may be taken as evidence that the leanings of the Company were at that time Whig is doubtful, especially as in 1812 they ordered that the following resolution should be communicated to the public papers, on the assassination of the Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer, Spencer Perceval: 'The worshipful Company of the Drapers⁵ wish to add their tribute of respect, in common with the nation, to the amiable character and exalted virtues with which he adorned his high station, and more particularly to express

¹ Records, + 138, pp. 27, 28. It was left to the discretion of the Court whether the work should be entrusted to Sir W. Beechey, Hopner, or Opie (*ib.*, p. 58). Sir W. Beechey was finally chosen. The picture is still in the Drapers' Hall.

² *Ib.*, pp. 35, 36. For a reproduction of the order of the Procession, see Appendix XXXIX. It is curious that of the twelve great Livery Companies only four besides the Drapers took part—the Fishmongers, the Goldsmiths, the Skinners and the Merchant Taylors. Of the lesser Companies two, the Stationers and the Apothecaries, were present.

³ General Graham and Major General Sir Wm. Ponsonby. Cf. last page, note 1.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 518. In 1851, however, the Court ordered a picture of the Duke to be painted by John Lucas. This is still in the Hall.

⁵ Records, + 138, p. 360.

their abhorrence of the crime of assassination, a crime at which the feelings of Englishmen have peculiarly revolted.'

When the Duke of Wellington died in 1852 the memories of the battle of Waterloo were no longer fresh, and he had of late merged the soldier in the Tory statesman. This may perhaps be the explanation why no reference is found in the Drapers' Records to his funeral, in which, however, none of the Companies appear to have taken any part. All that the Drapers did was to subscribe 100 guineas towards 'the Wellington testimonial'.¹

The long record of the Company's activities during the great war ends with a notice of the entertainment of the Allied Sovereigns at the Guildhall in June 1814, when the Company lent its plate, its banners and its chandeliers.² The Court at the same time resolved that the use of French wines for Hall Feasts, which had been forbidden in 1789, should again be allowed.³

General charity during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The charity of the Company was not limited to the victims of the wars. Although this charity was not carelessly dispensed nor without discrimination, their benefactions were numerous and widespread. At one time it is the sufferers from some calamity at home, at another those whose homes have been devastated by some catastrophe abroad, who were relieved. Meanwhile their subscriptions to charitable, educational, and religious societies and to hospitals was continuous.⁴

¹ Assistants' Minutes, + 240, p. 152.

² Records, + 138, p. 442. They did not follow the Goldsmiths in conferring the freedom of the Company on the Czar Alexander and the King of Prussia. Cf. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii, p. 314.

³ *Ib.*, p. 616.

⁴ The amount subscribed towards these objects between 1731 and 1817 was:

	£	s.	d.
To victims of calamities	400	0	0
To London Poor	368	10	0
To General Poor	410	0	0
To Educational and Religious objects	260	5	0
To Hospitals	550	5	0
Grand total	1,989	0	0

also an annual subscription of £50 to £100 towards the discharge of poor debtors. Cf. Appendix XLI A.

From the year 1818 to the year 1828 the total amount of donations to

But while the Company have devoted more and more attention to the educational and social needs of the people, they have taken even a smaller part in political questions since the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars than they did in the eighteenth century, and I believe that the conduct of the other City Companies has been the same.

Scanty
notice of
public
events since
1815.

Thus there is absolutely no reference to the disturbances which accompanied the Spa fields riots in 1816, nor to the repressive measures which followed. Even the Reform Bill of 1832 received no attention except that the Court prepared a list of those members who were qualified to vote under the Act;¹ and yet, as we learn from Dr. Sharpe, these and other matters caused considerable agitation in the City.

Nor is the reason far to seek. Now that with a few exceptions the Livery Companies have lost all control of trade or industry and that their connexion with the civic constitution has become very slight, they do not consider that such questions touch them in their corporate capacity.

educational and charitable objects was £2,397 5s., and of the annual subscriptions £101 10s. Cf. Appendix XLI B.

It will be seen that during the later decades of the nineteenth and in the twentieth century the donations increased enormously; p. 485 ff, Appendix XLI C.

¹ Court of Assistants' Minutes, + 234, July 5, 1832 (not paged).

CHAPTER X

THE DRAPERS AND THEIR IRISH LANDS SINCE 1688

Ulster and
the Revolution of 1688.



(1)

ERIOUS damage was done to the lands held by the Irish Society, the Livery Companies, and their Protestant tenants during the struggle which took place in Ireland at the Revolution of 1688. In August 1689 the Court decided to abandon their Quarter Day dinner and to devote the £30 usually spent on it, plus an additional £10, to the relief of Irish Protestants in and about the City, who had fled from Ireland to avoid the cruelty of the

Papists. In the following September they contributed £100 to the Irish Society towards the building of temporary shelters in Londonderry, rendered necessary owing to the destruction of houses during the famous siege.²

Report as to
the condition of two
Irish Estates.

A Report presented to the Court of the Drapers in May 1691 gave a sad description of the condition of the estates of all the Companies. In the Drapers' Proportion Mr. George Dawson, the tenant of the Manor, had lost all his stock; the Manor House and almost all the houses and buildings in Moneymore and those of two farmers had been destroyed; most of the tenants had deserted their holdings during the rebellion, and very few had returned.³ The first thing to be done was to re-establish the chief tenant, Mr. George Dawson. The claim of Mr. Fitzgerald to have the

Renewal of
Lease to
Mr. George
Dawson,
1691.

¹ The initial letter comes from Letters Patent of George II confirming the will of J. Bancroft, ch. vii.

² Rep. + 133, pp. 189a, 192b, 193a, 213; Wardens' Accounts, 1689-90, fo. 36.

³ Records, + 133, pp. 204 ff.; cf. Appendix LXI.

lease renewed to him was rejected on the ground that he had in 1676 assigned his lease to Mr. Dawson's father for more than £4,000.¹ And the lease of the whole Proportion, which had fifteen years to run, was renewed to Mr. Clotworthy Upton in trust for Mr. Dawson, his wife and children, for sixty-one years on the old conditions. In consideration of the late rebellion and the small profit likely to be made for some time, the rent of £200 a year was not raised, but £1,000, to be paid in three instalments, was to be levied as a fine on renewal.² Of his arrears, which amounted to £400, he was lent £50; the rest was only recovered with difficulty from the agent, Mr. Davis, after a threat of prosecution.³

We have not much information as to the re-establishment of order in the Proportion, but apparently a better condition of things was soon restored. Nevertheless the dread of the Catholic Irish was ever present; and it was held necessary to support the Protestants. In 1721, therefore, the Court granted a site for a Protestant Church in the parish of Ballynascreen, where the Catholics were very numerous,⁴ and in 1735, £50 was granted to the Incorporated Society of Dublin for the promotion of English Protestant schools in Ireland.

Dread of the
Catholic
Irish.

The Society pointed out in their petition, which was addressed to all the Livery Companies, that the Protestants in Ireland were so much outnumbered by the Papists that they were in perpetual danger from them whenever the circumstances abroad gave the Catholics either an opportunity or encouragement to make a disturbance; that the blind obedience paid by the Irish to their Popish priests was so great that all endeavours to convert the adults had proved ineffectual; and that the only hopes of success lay in instructing not only their children, but those 'of the poorer sort among the Protestants to preserve them from being seduced by Popish emissaries, who swarmed everywhere and were very industrious to pervert them'. Moreover, by such education it was hoped that the Irish children would be weaned from their habits of idleness and sloth, and put in an honest way of getting their bread, more especially in husbandry and in the manufacture of linen.⁵

¹ Records, 1691, pp. 211, 213.

² *Ib.*, + 133, pp. 211-213.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 189, 231 b.

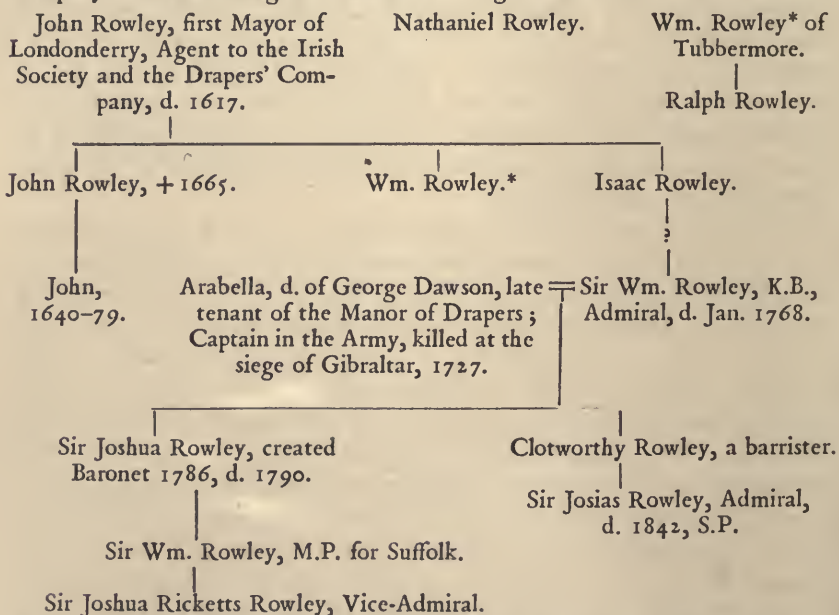
⁴ Records, + 134, p. 166.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 280-82.

Renewal of
Lease to
Captain
William
Rowley,
1729.

In 1725 Captain William Rowley married Arabella Dawson, the daughter of Mr. Dawson, who had lately died, and in 1729 he was allowed to renew the lease for thirty years from 1751. The rent was to be raised from £200 to £440, free of taxes, and a fine of £1,000 was to be paid for the renewal.¹ Two years later the Captain complained of the hardness of these terms. His tenants, he said, were leaving him, either to go to America, or to take leases on one of the other three Proportions, where the head tenant had received grants in fee farm, which enabled him to grant leases for lives renewable for ever.² If this continued, he

¹ Records, + 134, p. 230. The Rowleys were descendants of John Rowley, the first Mayor of Londonderry and Agent of the Irish Society and the Drapers' Company. The following table will make things clear:



The present representative of the family is Sir Joshua Thellusson Rowley, of Tendring Hall, Suffolk. Cf. Burke, Baronetage and Landed Gentry; Dict. National Biography.

² November 1742. Records, + 135, p. 4. The Merchant Taylors had in 1727

* Two Rowleys, John and William, were killed in the Irish Rebellion of 1641. Hill, Plantation of Ulster, p. 404. I have not been able to identify them.

declared that in two years three-quarters of the Proportion would be waste. Moreover, he pointed out that having no freehold in the Proportion he did not enjoy the Parliamentary franchise;¹ nor could he sit on juries, and thus protect his own interests and those of his tenants, which were endangered in that part of the country, where Catholics so greatly abounded. He therefore asked for a grant of the reversion and inheritance, the Company reserving a fee farm rent. This request was however refused,² and in 1742 the Court declared themselves much dissatisfied that the rent should be in arrears for three and a half years, and threatened proceedings against the gallant Captain, who was at that time commanding a ship in the Mediterranean.³

Demand for a grant in fee farm rejected.

In 1755 the Captain, who was now an Admiral and had been knighted for his services at sea, again approached the Company, asking them to allow him to surrender the existing lease and receive another for three lives, which would give him the freehold tenure which he required. He pleaded the same reasons as before, and added that unless he could grant longer leases to his tenants they would not plant trees, although in 1740 the Irish Society had, with the consent of the Livery Companies, abandoned their claim to all trees planted after a certain date.⁴ Further Sir William stated that he was anxious to improve the estate and to settle one of his family there, if the nature of the tenure could be altered; an arrangement which would be to the mutual advantage

Lease for three lives granted to Sir William Rowley, 1756.

granted their Proportion in fee farm, subject to a rent-charge. Cf. Hopkinson, *Ancient Records of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, p. 39. The Goldsmiths sold their estates to Lord Shelburne in 1728, reserving a rent-charge of £200 a year. The Mercers let their estate on a lease for lives about 1755, having been authorized so to do by the Act 21 George II, c. 32, as amended by 24 Geo. II, c. 14.

¹ He was, however, a member of the Irish Parliament.

² Records, + 134, 241 a b, 248 b.

³ *Ib.*, + 135, p. 4.

⁴ Records, + 135, p. 156 b. The Irish Society had cut down much of the old timber on the Proportions of the Livery Companies, as they were entitled to do according to the original agreement. In 1742 they expressed their willingness to surrender their claim to any trees that might henceforth be planted, so as to encourage replanting. As this surrender would reduce the revenues of the Society and therefore the surplus, which, after payment of expenses, had to be distributed among the Livery Companies, the consent of the Companies was obtained. Henceforth, therefore, each Company enjoyed their right to any trees planted after that date on their respective Proportions. Records, + 134, pp. 359, 370.

of himself and of the Company. Moved by these arguments the Court, while declining to accept the surrender of the existing lease, agreed to grant him a new lease which should commence on the expiration of that lease in 1756. The lease was to be for three lives of the age of not less than twenty to be named by Sir William, or for sixty-one years should the lives end before that term. The conditions were to be as in the old lease, but the rent was to be raised by £160 (i.e. to £600) free of taxes, and the fine was to be £8,000. As Sir William demurred to these terms, the fine was reduced to £6,732.¹ The substantial increase in the rent, which Sir William agreed to pay, is no doubt chiefly to be explained by the fact that he had now a freehold tenure, but it throws some doubt on his assertion that he had been hardly used in 1729, considering that the rent was then only £440.

Three matters of some importance occurred during Sir William Rowley's tenancy. In 1757, we are reminded of the distress in the parish of Ballynascreen by the contribution of £100 made on the petition of the Protestant minister towards the purchase of corn for the starving people.² In 1766 the Court were informed that the old church at Money more had fallen into decay; that the Primate was of opinion that it would be desirable to build a new church on a new site; and that he had himself subscribed £100 towards it. The Court consented to grant the site, on condition that the advowson should be in their hands; but on it being represented that this could not be done without an Act of Parliament, the Court waived their demand.³

In 1775 the Irish Society reported to the Companies that the Government, then in the hands of Lord North, proposed to countenance a Bill for a land tax in Ireland.⁴ The tax, they said, 'was calculated to affect only those who did not commonly reside' in Ireland, and would be unjust and injurious to the Companies holding estates there. As opposition ought to be made to it in

¹ Records, + 156 b, pp. 159 b, 161 b.

² *Ib.*, + 135, pp. 177, 179.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 312 b, 316 a.

⁴ *Ib.*, + 136, p. 107 b. Lord North was at that time in financial difficulties owing to the War of American Independence; and in 1776 raised the land tax in England to 4s. in the pound. Hunt, *Pol. Hist. of England*, Longman's ed., 1905, p. 162.

England as well as in Ireland, the Society asked for their co-operation. The Court, after debating the matter, decided to make further inquiry, and the Act was never passed.¹

Sir William Rowley on his death, in 1768, devised his lease to trustees for his son, Sir Joshua; and in 1789 the trustees approached the Company with a request that the lease should be renewed and fresh lives substituted. The Court declined on the grounds that the time yet to run was a long one, and, on the request being renewed, decided to make an inquiry as to whether the tenant had planted and properly fenced their estate according to the conditions of the existing lease. They also demanded that all arrears should be paid; that a map and a terrier of the estate should be prepared, in which the cultivated and waste land should be clearly indicated; and that a return should be made of the rents paid by the under-tenants. Finally they declined the proposal,² and Sir Joshua died in 1790.

Request of Sir Joshua Rowley to renew the lease in 1789, and of Sir William Rowley junior in 1796, refused.

During the tenancy of Sir Joshua, the attention of the Court was again called to the parish of Ballynascreen. In 1789 the Protestant minister, Mr. Torrens, informed the Court that, as the glebe was eight miles away, the Rowley family had granted him and his predecessors the tenancy of a cheap farm near the church, but that the house was now unfit for occupation; that Sir Joshua, owing to the shortness of his lease, could not give him sufficient encouragement to rebuild it. He therefore, with the approval of the Bishop, asked that he should be allowed to exchange part of the glebe for this farm, as was allowed by the Act 2 Anne, c. 10. He also reminded the Court that there was in the parish a large tract of the wildest and worst land on the estate, and that the residence of the Rector near the church was much to be desired. To this reasonable request the Court consented; and in 1792 contributed £100 towards the building of a spire to the church.³

In the year 1790, Sir Joshua was succeeded by his son, Sir William, who was for some time M.P. for the County of Suffolk, and did not apparently reside much in Ireland. No sooner had he come into his property than he applied for a renewal of his lease,

¹ There never has been a land tax in Ireland.

² Records, + 136, pp. 541 a, 571, 582.

³ *Ib.*, + 136, p. 529; + 137, pp. 41, 42, 44.

and in 1796 offered to increase the rent from £600 to £1,000, and to pay a fine of £1,250. His offer was, however, declined.¹

The Irish
Rebellion of
1797-8.

The outbreak of the Irish rebellion of 1798 put a stop to any further negotiations with Sir William. It was perhaps because the Court were unwilling at that moment to excite Irish Catholic feeling that the Court declined to subscribe to a monument which the Corporation of the City of Londonderry proposed to put up in 1789, in commemoration of the shutting of the gates in the rebellion of 1688.² Be that as it may, it appears that the part of Ulster held by the Irish Society and the Livery Companies did not suffer very seriously. We know that the trouble in Ulster was in a great measure due to the agitation of Protestant Republicans, and that when it spread to the Catholics it was soon suppressed, chiefly by the Yeomanry and the Militia;³ and we learn incidentally from the Drapers' Records that a Corps of Drapers' Yeomanry was raised, the value of which was acknowledged by the Court. When asked to reimburse the expenses of the said Corps, they asked what others, and among them Sir William, proposed to do, inasmuch as all had benefited.⁴ A request for a subscription for the relief of those who had suffered was also adjourned.⁵ No further notice of the rebellion is found in the Minutes of the Court.

The Court
decline
another re-
quest of Sir
William
Rowley, and
take over
the estate
themselves,
1809-17.

In the year 1809 Sir William Rowley once more approached the Company with a request for a renewal of his lease. To this the Court answered that they had no present intention of granting a new lease, and asked him to produce the copy of his rental,⁶ which had been demanded before. It may have been the receipt of this rental that finally decided the Company to take over the whole Proportion and administer it themselves. At all events, when in December 1816 Sir William informed the Court that the last life for which the estate had been granted in 1756 had just died, but that he was entitled under that lease to hold the lands for sixty-one years, a term which would expire in the following May, he was informed that the Company

¹ Records, + 137, pp. 234, 276, 284.

² *Ib.*, + 136, pp. 528, 532.

³ Lecky, *History of England*, ed. 1890, vol. viii, p. 126 ff.

⁴ Records, + 137, p. 391.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 373, 383.

⁶ *Ib.*, + 138, pp. 181, 433, 511.

had decided not to renew the lease, but to take the administration of the estate into their own hands. The Clerk, however, on his own authority assured Sir William that the Company would never lose sight of the interests of the tenants and the country; that they would, as far as possible, give a preference to actual occupiers and give them leases of moderate lengths upon reasonable terms; that they would admit no middlemen and discourage underletting in patches.¹ In vain Sir William asked for a lease of two years from the expiration of the existing one, in order that he might exercise his power of distress to recover the arrears from the sub-tenants, or that the Company would guarantee him against loss. Although the Court demurred to this, they expressed a hope that Sir William would not suffer any great loss from the arrears. They said that they were confident that he would not exercise his powers of distress improperly, and assured him that, after the term of his lease had expired, they would not, by any premature call for rent, disable the tenants from clearing off the said arrears. Further, presuming that half a year's rent was usually paid when two and a half years' rents were due, they promised that they would do nothing to disturb that course.² This statement throws an interesting light on the custom of the day in Ulster. The last reference to Irish affairs during the tenancy of Sir William informs us that £25 was contributed by the Court to the Society for promoting the education of the poor in that country.³

It is somewhat difficult, with the evidence that we have, to come to a very definite conclusion as to whether the Company had been hard in their dealings with the Rowleys. But the constant attempts on the part of the Rowleys to renew the leases before they had expired, added to their willingness to increase the rents, go far to acquit the Company.⁴ Certainly the desire of the Rowleys to obtain a freehold interest in the land seems a reasonable one, but it is pretty clear that they really hoped to obtain the complete ownership. There is little doubt that the Company hoped to benefit from taking the estate into their own hands, and although they were disappointed

¹ Records, + 138, pp. 530, 533. ² *Ib.*, pp. 542, 543. ³ *Ib.*, pp. 514, 520.

⁴ Cf. also the return of the rents in 1917 which came to over £9,876 gross, *infra*, p. 384. What the *net* revenue was we are not told.

in that respect for the first few years,¹ yet at least the Court was saved the worry of the repeated demands for renewals and extension of the leases before they had expired.

Report of
Deputation
on condition
of the estate
in Ireland,
1817.

No sooner had the Company retaken the Proportion into their own hands than they considered it necessary to have it surveyed. They accordingly deputed the Master, the Master Warden and the Clerk to make a personal inspection of the estate; and from the Report which they presented we obtain much interesting information.²

The estate was divided into three districts—Money more, Brackasliavgallon, and Ballynascreen with Dunlogan—as well as seven tracts of land held by freehold tenants at total quit-rents of £10 11s. 5d. The whole Proportion was, with the exception of the town of Money more, practically open country without any hedges or timber. In Money more, which was the chief district, lay the town of that name with some 100 houses, all of them very small, except the Mansion House, the Vicarage and the Grist Mill. The Mansion House was in the occupation of Mr. Miller, the late agent of Sir William. In the vicarage lived the Curate, Mr. Olphert, the Vicar being an old man. The Mill, at which all the tenants had to grind their oats, was let for £114 13s. 11d., the smaller houses at an average of £5 14s. 3d. a year.

A fair for the sale of cattle and linen was held once a month. The business was considerable, especially in linen. It was attended by some 1,000 weavers, who brought their goods for sale, and 100 linen drapers and commissioners, who were the buyers. The yearly value of the linen sold was estimated at £30,000 (Irish), and the tolls and customs were let out for £27 14s. sterling.

The area of cultivated land in this district was about 5,072 acres (English), and that of turf-bog 1,212 acres. There was no mountain in this district. The cultivated land (arable and meadow) was let out in 277 holdings, at an average rate of about 13s. 6d.

¹ Sir William's rental came to £9,848 11s. 5d. or, plus the tolls, £9,876 5s. 5d.; cf. Printed Report, pp. 3-8. At p. 10 the rent less the tolls is given as £9,871 6s. 11d. The estimated rental of the estate after it was re-set in 1819 was only £9,626 2s. 6d. In time, however, the income increased. Cf. *infra*, p. 407, note 6.

² Reports of Deputation, Cox & Sons, 1841. First Report, June 1817. Cf. also Rep. + 138, pp. 557 ff.

an acre, or a total of £3,394 9s. 9d., and the tenants, some of whom were substantial men, were believed to be chiefly of Scottish descent. The uncultivated land produced no rent.

In the division of Brackasliavgallon there was no town nor village. It was much more hilly, and yet was more thickly populated, chiefly, it was believed, by descendants of the original Irish, who lived in isolated cabins, interspersed by a few respectable farm-houses tenanted by men of comparative wealth. There was also a mill, which was rented at £52 12s. 8d. sterling. The area of arable and meadow land was, according to the latest surveys, 4,428 acres, and of mountain land 4,760. The cultivated land was let out in 355 holdings at a total rental of £3,071 16s. 1d. sterling, or an average of 13s. 10d. an acre.

In Ballynascreen lay the village of Moyheelan, with a mill which was let for £64 12s. 4d. sterling. The acreage was 4,251 arable and meadow, 6,312 uncultivated mountain and bog. The number of holdings, which were mostly small, was 315, let at a total rent of £2,568 8s. 6d. sterling, or an average of 12s. 1d. per acre.

Inasmuch as the majority of the inhabitants were Catholic, and yet with distinctly Scottish traits, it was surmised that they were descended from Scottish ancestors who had settled there before the Reformation. The inhabitants, who numbered 10,740, were thus grouped according to the census of 1818: ¹

	Families.	Individuals.	Under twelve years of age.	Supposed Churchmen.	Supposed Presbyterians.*	Supposed Catholics.†	Supposed incapable of paying for medical relief.
Moneymore . . .	614	4009	562	210	2541	1258	1432
Brackasliavgallon . . .	642	3703	984	147	1477	2079	2236
Ballynascreen. . .	535	3028	873	177	329	2522	1855
Total	<u>1791</u>	<u>10,740</u>	<u>2419</u>	<u>534</u>	<u>4347</u>	<u>5859</u>	<u>5523</u>

* Among these a few Methodists.

† The number of Catholics is noticeable.

¹ Cf. Report 2, p. 95.

The total estimated gross rental of the Estate in 1817 was as follows:

MONEYMORE TOWN.		Rents.			Average per holding.		
No. of Houses about 100 all (except Mansion House and that of the Vicar) small		£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		571	6	9*	5	14	3
Grist Mill		114	13	11			
Tolls		27	14	0			

AGRICULTURAL DIVISIONS.

	Cultivated Land.	Turf-Bog, &c.	Rents.			Average Rent per acre.
			£	s.	d.	
Moneymore	5072 acres (in 277 holdings of an average of $18\frac{3}{10}$ acres each)	1212 acres	3394	9	9	about 13s. 6d.
Brackasliavgallon . .	4438 acres (in 355 holdings of an average of $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres each)	4760 acres	3071	16	1	„ 13s. 10d.
Ballynascreen	4251 acres (in 315 holdings of an average of $13\frac{1}{2}$ acres each)	6312 acres	2568	8	6	„ 12s. 1d.
Quit Rents paid by 7 Freehold Tenants	Grist Mill 4500 acres		64	12	4	
			10	11	5	
Totals	13,761 acres	12,284	9876	5	5	

* Cf. Report of 1817. N.B.—This does not quite agree with the statement of the Clerk of the Company before the Royal Commission on the Irish Society and London Companies' Irish Estates, 1890, p. 299. But he said that his figures were only approximate.

The Manor Courts, which sat at Moneymore, were two: a Court Leet with jurisdiction nearly similar to that of an English one, and a Court Baron, having cognizance in matters of debt up to 40s. Of these the agent of Sir William Rowley had been the Seneschal. He had received no salary, but held the Manor House free of rent. He received a commission of 1s. in the pound on

the rents he collected, as well as fees on the grants or renewal of leases, and those accruing to him as Seneschal of the Manorial Courts. He also held the Moneymore Mill on advantageous terms, as well as a lease of the customs and tolls of Moneymore fair.

There were three churches: that of Desertlin in the district of Moneymore; that of Desart Martin for the district of Brackasliavgallon; and that of Moyheelan, or the Cross, for the division of Ballynascreen. The living of Desertlin was worth from £600 to £700 a year, that of Desart Martin £650, and that of Moyheelan as much as £900, although the number of the members of the Established Church in that division was comparatively small. In Moneymore the Presbyterians, in Brackasliavgallon and Ballynascreen the Roman Catholics, predominated. But there were also some Methodists in all the divisions, and in Brackasliavgallon and Ballynascreen a small party of seceders from the Presbyterians led by a certain Mr. Carson. The Roman Catholics had their chapels, and the Presbyterians their meeting-houses. Nevertheless the Deputation reported that there was no ill-feeling between the members of the different persuasions. Although the only schools were two Sunday schools—one at Moneymore and the other at Desart Martin—the Deputation observed with some humour that, judging from the number of petitions, letters and memorials addressed to them, the ability to read and write seemed to be pretty well extended!

In other matters, however, there was much to be desired. There was no permanent doctor or dispensary on the whole estate; and, as there was no poor-law relief, there was considerable distress, which had been aggravated by the bad season of 1816. This was especially the case in the division of Brackasliavgallon.¹ Few even of the larger tenants devoted themselves exclusively to cultivating their land, but had other occupations. The system of cultivation was primitive. Nothing but oats, potatoes, and flax was grown, and the rotation followed was irregular; the same

¹ Mr. McKee, however, the son-in-law of the agent, a retired army surgeon, had given medical help of late. The first Irish Poor Law Act was 1 and 2 Vict., c. 56, 1837-8.

piece of land being frequently sown with oats for two successive years, and then left for a year or two to produce what grass it might, without any seeds being sown. What manuring there was was practically confined to the potatoes. Except in the case of the larger tenants, most of the oats and potatoes were consumed by the family; while the flax was prepared and spun into yarn, and generally woven into linen by the women, and then sold at the fair. The tenants enjoyed no legal rights on the uncultivated lands, but they took their fuel on sufferance, a system pursued because of the influence that could thereby be exercised at the time of elections.

The cabins of the smaller tenants were of mud, with mud floors; thatched generally with reeds or swards, but rarely water-tight. The horse, if they had one, the cows, the goats and the pigs were lodged under the same roof as the family; their quarters being generally, but not always, divided off by a partition. Sometimes a hole in the roof served as the chimney, in others the door was the only exit for the smoke. The clothing of the people, especially in the Brackasliavgallon division, was very bad, generally composed of patched and cast-off clothes, in which there was a considerable trade with Scotland.

Though the failure of the Brewery might be explained by the preference of the Irishmen for poteen, there was no mention of drunkenness. The fees for grinding corn at the mills (toll of mulcture) were high, and the tenants were not allowed to send it elsewhere. The rents were certainly low, but, as one would expect, many of these were in arrears. Nevertheless, the Deputation stated that 'they had good reason to believe' that the greater part of them would be recovered.

The Report ended with the following suggestions: A new survey of the estate and a census of the population should be prepared. When that was done, the leases should be re-set. Meanwhile no tenants, whether in arrear with their rents or no, should be evicted. Even if such a course were practicable it would be 'revolting to humanity, and perhaps to moral justice'. But, when the leases were re-set, more freeholders should be created, not only because thereby the Company would be able to influence the elections to Parliament, but because it was desirable to increase the





DRAPERS' TOWN FROM THE CHURCHYARD

From a drawing by W. J. Booth, 1827.

number of independent men, who would be inclined to improve the character of the cultivation. No further subdivision of tenancies should be allowed, and 'if it could be arranged upon the principles of humanity and justice', the smaller tenancies should be united, and longer leases at slowly increasing rents granted. In this way the tenants would be induced to devote themselves more exclusively to agriculture; while those who could not be accommodated should be directed to the pursuit of handicrafts. To this end, handicrafts should be developed by apprenticeship, and by calling in skilled men from without. These should be induced to settle and marry the peasant girls, who on their marriage should be 'decently apparelled at the cost of the Company'. The tenants should be given definite rights of 'turbary', &c., on uncultivated lands at reasonable rents, and regulations imposed to secure a better rotation of crops, while the dues for grinding corn should be reduced. By these measures the revenue of the Company would be increased, the principle of division of labour introduced, and the tenants gradually led to a position of independence and self-respect. Further they recommended that relief in the way of seed should be given, because of the losses sustained by the tenants owing to the wetness of the season of 1816; that schools and a dispensary should be started, and a market-house and an inn built for the accommodation of those attending the fair at Money more. Finally they urged that Mr. Rowley Miller should be appointed agent, and his emoluments fixed.

These recommendations were all adopted.¹ They were followed by other suggestions made by Deputations that visited the estate in 1818, 1819, 1820, 1827, 1832, and 1839, all of which are marked by sound common sense, and, in religious questions, by a tolerant spirit.

One half of the yearly revenue was to be devoted to purposes of development. In the two towns of Money more and Drapers' Town, which had been lately founded in the division of

¹ The Court resolved to grant £300 for flax and potato seed, and a sum of not more than £5,000 towards the erection of the market-house, the inn and the dispensary in Money more. Records, + 138, pp. 603, 610.

Ballynascreen, the 'cabins' were to be rebuilt, and some of ill-fame done away with. The streets were to be paved, and better shops provided. An inn was to be started for the accommodation of the attendants at the market at Moneymore, and a loan made of £2,000 to start a distillery. This they held would increase the demand for corn, employ labour, and discourage illegal distillation. No doubt the distillery might be objected to on moral grounds, but the Deputation reported that, although most of the people drank spirits, drunkenness was not a prevailing vice, and that the appearance of the people was good evidence that they did not partake of the deleterious stuff consumed by the dram-drinkers of London.

In the absence of any Poor Law, the Deputation urged that dispensaries, with attendant surgeons and almshouses, should be established, as well as a poor fund for the relief of distress; while to encourage thrift and the use of better clothes, a contribution was to be made to the Rector of Maghera, who had started a shop for the sale of blankets and clothes at a cheap rate. The articles were not to be supplied till the price had been paid by weekly instalments; in this way it was hoped that something might be done to wean the people from their improvidence, a characteristic of the lower Irish, which led them either to go about without decent clothing, or to get into debt.

The more substantial tenants, both in town and country, were to be encouraged to improve their houses by advancing them money at 4 per cent. In the country, roads were to be made and bridges built. Bogs were to be drained, plantations to be made, and, to give shelter to the cattle, hedges planted. Loans were to be made of seed potatoes and other seeds, and, for the purpose of introducing better systems of tillage, Scotch farmers should be induced to settle, and to find wives from the resident population. It is strange that, with the experience of Howell's maidens before them, the Company should have tried the experiment of promising marriage portions to those whom the Scotchmen might select. The plan did not succeed, and in consequence the capital set aside for this purpose was subsequently devoted to the establishment of a savings bank.

In 1819 the leases were re-set. The land was re-valued, the

holdings consolidated as far as possible and let at higher rents. At the same time the 'suit of mill' was abolished, and tenants were allowed to have their corn ground where they chose. No one was to be re-admitted as tenant until all arrears had been paid, and those who refused to pay were to be evicted if it was believed that they were able so to do.¹ Alienation, underletting, the division of the holdings, and the increase of the houses on the farms without leave were forbidden. Any offence against the revenue laws, tumultuous and illegal risings, the administration of unlawful oaths, bankruptcy, or insolvency were to be punished by forfeiture of the lease.

The length of the leases generally depended on the amount of the rent and the size of the holding, but those of lands near the town of Money more were to be only for terms of seven years, so that the lands might be used hereafter for adding to the town, if such a course was deemed desirable, while the houses were all let on leases for twenty-one years. The tenants were to bear all charges for building repairs and improvements. Substantial persons were to be encouraged to settle on the estate and to take farms, and for this purpose game was to be preserved² and a contribution given to the races at Londonderry.

Those of the poorer folk who, in consequence of the consolidation of holdings, might lose their lands would, it was hoped, find employment on the industries which were to be developed.

The total estimated rents came to £9,626 2s. 6d. exclusive of the turf and bog. This was £228 8s. 11d. less than the sum at which the estate had been valued in 1817.³ When, however, the turf and bog had been valued and assigned to the various tenants

¹ In 1820 an attempt to distrain the goods of two substantial graziers in the Ballynascreen Division who were in arrears was resisted by force. As it was believed that they were quite able to pay, they were ordered to surrender their farms. Records, + 139, pp. 93, 95. But those who were in bad plight were more easily treated. *Ib.*, pp. 153 ff.

² In 1821 four gamekeepers were appointed, and some of the gentry holding lands in the neighbourhood were granted the right of sporting on the mountain town-lands. Records, + 139, p. 149.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 382, note 1.

and the mills and cabins let, it was hoped that the total rents would exceed the sum received by Sir William Rowley.¹

The most important occupation of the peasantry was that of spinning yarn. But as the methods in vogue were antiquated, the Deputation recommended that two scutching mills should be erected for dressing the flax; and that a Scotch woman should be engaged to teach the system of double-handed spinning. Although the yarn thus spun would not be of the finest, the output would be increased, and thus the spinners would earn higher wages.

Unfortunately those hopes were not at first realized. In 1832 it was reported that, partly owing to over-production, the value of linen, as well as the price of cattle, had fallen by one-half. To meet the consequent distress the Deputation suggested that some of the rents should be temporarily reduced. It was also decided to abolish the market dues paid by the residents. At the same time, to give more employment, the lime quarries were to be developed, and borings made to find coal; while about £100 a year was to be spent in apprenticing ten or more boys to handicrafts. These were, however, not to be apprenticed on the farms, but in the neighbouring towns.

I have dealt with these matters in some detail because they are evidence of the care with which the tenants were treated, and of the efforts made to develop the estate.

The Company, however, did not confine itself to the promotion of the material interests of the tenantry. The livings belonging to the clergy of the Established Church were adequate, and required no addition, but direct gratuities were given to some of the Curates, and a contribution made to the Additional Curates' Society. At the same time a new church was built for Desertlin. The Presbyterians were also helped. A site for a new meeting-house was given them in Moneymore, and the ministers throughout the estate assisted by gratuities.

As to the Roman Catholics there was more difficulty. It was found that the majority of these were poor; not 'because the Romish faith induced poverty, nor because poverty led to the creed of Rome', but probably, as the Deputation suggested, because

¹ See opposite page.

Note 1 to p. 390.

	Acres.	Holdings.	Average of acres of farms re-set in each holding.		Total Rents.	Average Rents.	In arrear.
			A.	P.			
Moneymore . . .	Arable and Meadow 5909 Held by Company's agent 43 Planted last year 25 Turf and Bog. On this an additional rent will be set 295 Arable and Meadow 6502 3 Mountain Farms, 2 small holdings 890 Reserved for planting 112 Reserved for School 1½ Mountain Bog 432	Freehold Leases 47 } 378 exclusive of 21 years 49 } tenants of 14 years 62 } Houses and 7 years 116 } Cabins. Yearly tenancy 104	15	57	£ s. d. 3900 13 11	£ s. d. 10 6 4½ or 13s. 2d. an acre	None
Brackashiavallon	Arable and Meadow 6471 Mountain Farms . 1405 3 small pieces for Schools ? Mountain Bog not fit for planting but good for fuel and turf. On part of this an additional rent will be set . . . 2568†	Freehold Leases 21 } 21 years 14 } 411* 14 years 44 } 7 years 124 } Yearly tenancy 208 } Not set because rents in arrear 95	12	30	Arable and £ s. d. Meadow 2912 16 4	£ s. d. 5 16 3 or 8s. 9d. an acre	95
Ballynascreen	Arable and Meadow 6471 Mountain Farms . 1405 3 small pieces for Schools ? Mountain Bog not fit for planting but good for fuel and turf. On part of this an additional rent will be set . . . 2568†	Freehold 8 } 21 years 3 } 92 14 years 22 } 7 years 29 } Yearly tenancy 30 } Not set because rents in arrear 305‡	16	21	Arable and £ s. d. Meadow 2580 9 3	£ s. d. 6 10 7 or 7s. 11d. an acre	305
					Total £3015 14 10		
					Total £2698 12 4		
					Grand Total £9615 1 15		

* The Report gives 501 holdings. I make it 506 with the 95 unset.

† This makes a total of 24,673½ acres. In 1880 the number of acres is given as 27,260 acres, of which 25,826 were in agricultural holdings. Rep. +776, p. 415. This would include the acreage of the Towns of Money more and Drapers' Town.

‡ This sum of £9,615. 1s. 1d. does not include the rent of the tenancies in arrears which had not been re-set, nor that of the three Mills on the estate, nor the houses and cabins in Money more. Including these it was estimated that the total would come to £9,626 2s. 6d. Besides there were the tolls of fairs. In 1875 the agricultural rents came to £12,500. In 1885, owing to a return by the Company of 15 per cent. of the rents to the tenants, it fell to £10,650. Irish Society and Companies' Commission, Irish Estates, July 24, 1890, p. 299. The town rentals came to about £2,000 more.

the confiscations of the past, and the ill-advised legislation which had discouraged the accumulation of property by persons of that communion.¹ It followed that the priests were poorly paid, and yet, inasmuch as Ulster had been settled expressly for the purpose of supporting the Protestant religion, it would be unseemly to assist them by direct subventions. In spite of this, the Deputation urged that gratuities should be given in exceptional circumstances, and that, instead of accentuating religious differences, persons of all denominations should be encouraged to live in harmony, and to look on the opinions of their neighbours 'with a consideration that perchance their neighbours might be right, and they in error'. The tolerant principles advocated by the Committee were followed. In the year 1822 it was decided to grant annuities of ten guineas a year to the Roman Catholic priests of all those parishes, any part of which lay within the Company's estate, as well as to the Presbyterian minister at Cookstown.²

The same width of view was seen in dealing with the schools which were established by the Company. To these, children of all denominations were to be admitted. The Protestant and Roman Catholic children were to read the Protestant version of the Scriptures together, but the plain and simple truths of Christianity were alone to be insisted on, and no religious teaching should be given which was inconsistent with the tenets of the parents.

As was to be expected, the regulations led to some difficulty. Some of the priests tried to resist this reading of the Scriptures: the Company, however, persisted; and in 1839 a Deputation reported that the Roman Catholic and Protestant scholars were on 'the terms of perfect good-will with each other'. Besides

¹ According to the Penal Laws passed after the Revolution of 1688, no Roman Catholic could buy, receive by gift, or inherit land, nor hold leases for more than thirty-one years. The right of leaving their land by will was denied them; their estates were, on their death, to be divided equally among their sons, unless the eldest son turned Protestant, in which case he would succeed to all the land. The same disabilities were imposed on a Protestant who married a Roman Catholic wife; and, if a Protestant woman married a Roman Catholic husband, her inheritance passed to her heir. Cf. Lecky, *Hist. of England*, ed. 1878, vol. i, pp. 283 ff., and especially pp. 288 ff.

² Records, + 139, p. 259.





MONEYMORE FROM THE ROAD LEADING TO STEWART'S TOWN
From a drawing by W. J. Booth, 1827.

these schools, special Sunday schools for the children of Churchmen and an infant school at Moneymore were supported. The instruction in these free schools was of a primary character. More advanced education was left to private effort, but pecuniary assistance was given to two gentlemen who had started classical, mathematical, and commercial schools, and also to a higher-grade girls' school at Tamlaght.

Nor were the Company neglectful of the love of the Irish for the pleasures of the turf. They subscribed liberally to the Derry Races,¹ although curiously enough, on one occasion at least, they declined a request that hunting should be allowed on their estate.²

If we may believe the reports of the various Deputations³ that visited the estate up to the year 1839, testimony which is supported by that of the Archbishop of Armagh and by that of the Irish Society itself,⁴ the result of all these efforts was satisfactory. Although, as was to be expected, there was some difficulty with regard to arrears of rent, and we hear of one riot at the Fair at Moneymore in 1825,⁵ the aspect of that town was completely altered: the great majority of the cabins had been replaced by decent houses; the dung-heaps, which formerly had been the usual embellishment of the entrances, had disappeared, not only within the town, but to a great extent elsewhere.

¹ Records, + 139, p. 82.

² 1821: *ib.*, p. 202.

³ The Reports were—January 23, 1817; August 3, 1818; August 2, 1819; August 7, 1820; April 7, 1827; July 12, 1832; May 2, 1839. They are to be found in the Records under these dates, and were also printed for the Company by J. L. Cox, 1841.

⁴ A Deputation from the Irish Society thus spoke of the condition of the Drapers' estate in 1838: 'We were very much pleased in going through this Proportion. The chief town, Moneymore, is quite an English town, most beautifully laid out and managed by Mr. Rowley Miller and his son. The town is one of the best we have met with in Ireland. The Company have lately established another town called Drapers' Town, which is thriving rapidly. There are many thriving plantations of timber here, and the whole appearance of the farm-houses, and the town with the church, the market-house and other buildings all indicate the kindness of the Drapers' Company and of their excellent manager, Mr. Miller.' The Deputation ended by recommending the example of the Company to all other Companies, many of whom they charged with serious dereliction of duty. Cf. Hill, *Plantation of Ireland*, p. 587, note.

⁵ Records, + 139, p. 432.

The monthly market at Moneymore was well attended, and in every respect the 'neatness, cleanliness, and air of English comfort', which met them as they entered the town, formed a pleasing contrast to the condition of most of the towns and villages they had passed through on their way from Dublin.

The plantations were thriving, and although the rental had considerably increased, the tenants were for the most part well contented.

The educational policy adopted by the Company had been rewarded. The number of children receiving free instruction was about 1,300, of whom 700 were Roman Catholics. In a few years it was hoped that the tenantry would be the 'best educated in Ireland, since every man would be able to read, write and keep accounts, and have a competent knowledge of the Scriptures'. No serious difficulty had been found with regard to the religious question. Though the proportion of Roman Catholics to the Protestants had not varied, the former were as loyal as the rest of people. The Protestant services and the Sunday schools were well attended, and the members of the various communions were living in harmony.¹

Increase of
Irish Business. Books
of Irish
Minutes,
1872-86.

In the year 1872 the business connected with the Irish estate had so materially increased that a separate book of Irish Minutes was kept, and was continued until the sale of the estate.² A deputation of members, elected by ballot, continued to visit the Manor nearly every year, and made a report, which was brought before the Court for approval. Besides this the Court was in close correspondence with the Agent, who on occasions of special importance was summoned to Drapers' Hall.

The attention of the Court was more especially devoted to the

¹ In 1821 certain Catholic tenants in the town-lands of Dunnurly and Moydamlaght had opposed a lease being given to a Protestant. The Company, however, acted firmly, and we hear no more of the matter. Records, + 139, p. 222. In the following year the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the Brackasliavgallon and Ballynascreen Divisions, to the number of 509, declared they had not entered into any associations such as that of Ribbonmen, or other illegal associations. They declared a spirit of party to be the greatest obstacle to the progress of religion and civilization, and that they would avoid every cause of irritation and promote concord and good-will. Records, + 139, p. 243.

² These are numbered +775 and +776 in the Catalogue.

following subjects—the development and administration of the estate and the management of the schools.

In 1873 the Company were deprived of the services of their faithful Agent by the death of Mr. H. R. Miller. The Company availed themselves of the opportunity to settle the salary of the Agent and to define his duties. His salary was fixed at £900 a year, with the use of the Manor House free of taxes, rates, insurance and repairs, except at such times as it might be required for the accommodation of the members of the annual 'Deputations'. He was to reside on the estate, and to devote his whole time to the duties of his office. He was to collect the rents and dues from the tenants, to present a monthly account of the receipts and expenditure, and send a report twice a year, or more often if necessary, as to the condition of affairs. He was to settle disputes with or between the tenants, discharge the expenses of the dispensaries under the control of the Company, pay the salaries of the master and mistresses of the schools, and of other officials; to see that the regulations for the management of the estate were carried out, and to do everything in his power to promote the interests of the Company and the welfare of the tenantry.¹

He was to be assisted by a clerk, a forester, and by bailiffs over the three divisions.² The choice of the Court for the vacant post of Agent fell on Mr. Walter Trevor Stannus.³

Of the vigorous attempts made by the Company to develop and improve the estate we have abundant proof. The reclaiming of bog-land, draining, the prevention of floods, the improvement of the plantations, the building and mending of roads, the development of railways, the search for coal and other minerals: all these objects were continually pressed on, and supported by liberal contributions. But the difficulties were great. When bog-land had been reclaimed it was allotted to neighbouring tenants, and rival claims had to be adjusted. Where the reclamation had been done at the cost of the Company, a small charge was made for the turf, and this was by some resented. If one man's land was drained, his neighbour

Develop-
ment of the
Estate.
Death of the
Agent, H. R.
Miller,
1873.

Duties of
Agent and
other
officials.

Agent or
Surveyor,
W. T. Stan-
nus, 1873-
81.

¹ Rep. + 775, pp. 75, 78, 80.

² In 1873 it was decided that there should be only one head-bailiff or surveyor for the whole estate, assisted by three under-bailiffs. *Ib.*, pp. 103, 154, 340.

³ Rep. + 775, p. 85.

often complained that it led to the flooding of his own. Some tenants, in protecting their own lands by banking up the river, or millers with their dams, narrowed the channel and increased the danger of floods above, and the claims for compensation were numerous.

The search for minerals was not very successful, and the railways did not pay owing to the want of traffic.¹

The general policy with regard to the tenancies was to forbid underletting,² to consolidate small holdings, where it could be done without injury to individuals, and to induce the larger farmers to take their land on leases instead of from year to year. In 1875 it was resolved that all farms of the rental of £5 and over should be held by lease, and in 1877 that all those tenants who paid a rent of £15 to £20 should, if desirable persons, be granted leases for thirty-one years.³

Meanwhile, tenants were encouraged to improve their houses and their farms by loans to be repaid either directly or by an increase of their rents sufficient to pay the interest.⁴

¹ The following are the most important references :

Draining and reclaiming—

Kellytone, Rep. +775, pp. 261, 292; Coltrem, *ib.*, pp. 281, 379; +776, pp. 214, 239; Coolnasclagh Mountain, +775, p. 379; Carndaisy, +776, p. 119. Cf. +776, p. 216. As bog-land became 'spent' (i. e. cleared of all peat for fuel) it was apportioned among the neighbouring tenants. Cf. +775, pp. 12, 112.

Overflow of the river Moneymore &c.—

Rep. +775, pp. 12, 13, 48, 221, 224, 246, 272, 297, 334, 336, 354, 379, 431.

Plantations—

Rep. +775, pp. 48, 129, 285, 336, 425-7, 433. Ornamental character of some glens preserved, Rep. +775, p. 433.

Roads—

Rep. +775, pp. 12c, 379; +776, p. 431.

Railways—

Dungannon and Cookstown, Rep. +775, pp. 88, 228; +776, p. 25. Drapers' Town, Magherafelt, and Coleraine, *ib.*, pp. 161, 311, 312, 464, 467; +776, pp. 25, 72, 102.

Coal and minerals—

Rep. +775, pp. 3, 30, 53, 62, 67, 221, 273, 323, 406.

² Rep. +775, p. 36.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 94, 182, 279.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 39, 179, 289, 290, 297, 337.

Seed was lent to the poorer tenants, and the breed of cattle improved by the purchase of pedigree bulls, which after a certain number of years became the property of the tenant to whom they were entrusted. One man was assisted in starting a saw-mill, and another a freestone quarry.¹

The Company also interested themselves in promoting the welfare of the towns.

The Deputation of the year 1872 recommended that the Company should grant a site at a nominal rent for the erection of a Hall in Money more, if the inhabitants would undertake the cost of building. Subsequently it was decided that the Corn Stores, part of which were unoccupied, should be utilized for the purpose.² In 1876 a new weigh-bridge was erected. In 1879 a loan was made towards the lighting of the town with oil lamps.³ The amateur band, the cricket and athletic club were also supported by a contribution; a Dispensary was maintained at the Company's cost, and a clothing club supported,⁴ as well as a farming society and a cottage garden society. The proposal to establish a weekly market in the town was, however, negatived.⁵ Indeed, the hopes of the development of the town which had been entertained⁶ had not been realized. The Deputations of 1873 and 1875 reported that there was little demand for houses in the town, that there was little or no business, and that the farming society was doing very little.⁷ Those of 1878 and 1879 stated that there was no improvement and the tenants were careless. Nor did the Deputation think that the proposal of a grocer to sell spirits would stimulate industry, especially as there were already too many public-houses.⁸

For Drapers' Town not so much appears to have been done, probably because it was in a somewhat more prosperous condition,

Money more
and Drapers'
Town

¹ *No underletting*, Rep. +775, p. 36. *Seed*, *ib.*, p. 392; +776, pp. 74, 124. *Free Stone Quarry*, Rep. +775, p. 68; +776, p. 228. *Saw-mill*, Rep. +775, pp. 246, 432; +776, p. 211. *Bulls*, Rep. +775, pp. 172, 420.

² Rep. +775, pp. 10, 200.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 381, 430. It may be noted that in 1875 it was hoped gas would soon be introduced (*ib.*, p. 160).

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 250, 326, 403.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 191, 381.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 382.

⁷ Rep. +775, pp. 95, 191, 196.

⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 244, 331 ff., 380.

and we are told that the market there was fairly attended.¹ All we hear is of the erection of a saw-mill; of a dispensary, and a cricket club; of repairs to houses; of drainage, of the desirability of utilizing the waste water for a drinking trough, and of some trouble over a pump.²

In 1873 it was resolved to build a Court House and a 'Bridewell' at Magherafelt.³

The
manage-
ment of the
Schools on
the Irish
Estate,
1872-86.

There was no question to which the Company gave more attention than that of the Schools. Every 'Deputation' that visited the estate made a careful report of their condition and suggested improvements or reforms, which were almost always adopted by the Court.

The primary schools, which had been built by the Company, were in 1872 six in number.⁴ Though attended by children of all denominations, the Deputation reported that the utmost harmony prevailed. The subjects of instruction were Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, History, and Vocal Music; to which Needlework was added in the Girls' Schools. The children who could do so were required to read the Protestant version

¹ Rep. + 775, p. 100. The towns, however, were never very prosperous.

² *Ib.*, pp. 101, 200, 226, 297, 299, 333, 347, 432.

³ Rep. + 775, pp. 37, 42, 144.

Name.	Sex.	Episcopa- lians.	Dissenters.	Roman Catholics.	Total.	Average attendance, six months.	Report.
Blackhill . .	Mixed	21	29	26	76	50	Favourable.
Carnamoney	Mixed	2	33	37	72	58	Do.
Granny . .	Male	19	47	60	126	81	Do.
Inniscarn . .	Female	11	12	33	56	49	Do.
Moneymore .	Male	47	21	16	84	53	Do.
Do.	Female	24	17	13	54	45	Do.
	Total	124	159	185	468	336	

In 1862 the numbers on the books had been 633, and the attendance 400. It must be remembered that there were no Government Schools in Ireland, nor any Board of Education till 1831. Cf. Graham Balfour, *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland* (Clar. Press, 1898), pp. 81 ff. A report of 1880 (Rep. + 755, p. 418) gives the Company's schools as seven. I presume the seventh was the Drapers' Town female school, which had apparently been already placed under the National Board. There were also the Moneymore infant school; the Moneymore classical school, established with the aid of the Company (*ib.*, p. 294); the Tamblight National School, and some Sunday Schools (*ib.*, p. 238), such as that of Moneymore, which was bought by the Company in 1879 for £250 at the request of the Primate (*ib.*, p. 354).

of the Bible, but without any comment other than on the grammatical construction.

The falling-off, both in the numbers on the books and in the attendance, since the year 1862, was due, they stated, partly to the decrease in population, but far more in all probability to the anxiety of the Catholic priests to withdraw the children of that communion to the National Schools, wherever they obtained the control of them.¹

The management of the Company's schools was vested in a Board of Governors, consisting of the clergy on the estate, Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic, and the Company's Agent. These held their offices *ex officio*. The rest, composed of certain gentry resident in the neighbourhood and the principal tenants, were co-opted by the Board. The yearly contribution of the Company came to some £600, besides which £100 was annually granted in premiums for proficiency and regular attendance, and another £100 to be applied to the apprenticing of children brought up in the Schools.²

This system had been originally started when the Company took over the estate in 1817. In 1872 the question was raised whether it would be well to transfer these schools to the National Board of Education in Ireland, which had been established in 1831, 'with a view to afford combined literary, moral and separate religious instruction, to children of all persuasions as far as possible in the same school, on the fundamental principle that no attempt should be made to interfere with the peculiar religious tenets of any Christian children'. Under the regulations of that date the National Schools were divided into two classes, 'vested' and 'non-vested'; the first being vested in the Commissioners or in trustees, the second remaining the property of individuals or of societies. Both classes of schools were under the control of patrons or managers recognized by the Commissioners. The Government aid granted to 'non-vested' schools only covered the salaries of the teachers, the provision of books and other necessaries, the charges of inspection and the training of teachers;

Question of transferring Schools to the National Board.

¹ Of this practice we have definite instances in the case of Blackhill School in 1879 and of that of Carnamoney in 1880 (Rep. + 775, pp. 359, 423).

² Rep. + 775, p. 418.

moreover the grants were only annual, and could be discontinued. The grants to the 'vested' schools covered costs of building and repairs, and were for longer periods.

In 'non-vested' schools—to which class, in all probability, the Company's schools would, if handed over, belong—the patrons or managers decided whether any, and, if any, what religious instruction should be given in the schoolroom; but if it were not, parents or guardians could withdraw their children for the purposes of religious instruction elsewhere. In the opinion of the Deputation, this regulation had led the parents to send their children, when possible, to schools under patrons of the same denomination as themselves; and where there were neighbouring schools under patrons of different denominations, the system had become practically a denominational system with a conscience clause, rather than one of combined secular and separate religious instruction, as had been the original intention. The Deputation reported that on the question whether the Company's schools should eventually be handed over to the National Board, there was much division of local opinion, but that, generally speaking, the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics were in favour of it.

On the merits of the question the members of the Deputation expressed no very definite opinion themselves. If, on the one hand, the Schools would, under the National Board, tend to become more denominational, it might be argued that the parents would take more interest in them; the attendance and the education would be better, and the inspection more efficient; and that the Company would be relieved of nearly one-half of the present annual charges.

Inasmuch, however, as the subject of Irish education was to come before Parliament in the ensuing session, and considerable changes might be made, it was urged by all parties that it would be better to postpone the question.¹

In the year 1874, however, the Deputation reported in favour

¹ Report of 'Deputation' of 1872, pp. 18 ff. Legislation was expected because of the Report of the Powys Commission in 1870. No Act, however, was passed till 1875, when by 38 and 39 Vic., cc. 82 and 96, the raising of public loans for erecting houses for teachers in non-vested schools and the levy of education rate were authorized. Cf. Balfour, pp. 104 ff.

of taking this step. They pointed out that money was voted annually in the Imperial Parliament towards the support of national education in Ireland, and that inasmuch as¹ nearly every individual and corporate body took advantage of these grants, there was no reason why the Company should have any scruple, especially as there was no reason to believe that the cause of education would suffer.¹

The report was adopted by the Court.² The six primary schools belonging to the Company were handed over to the National Board as 'non-vested' schools, and in 1875 we are told that the change had 'worked beneficially'.

The six Company's Schools handed over to the Board of Education as 'Non-vested Schools, 1874.

Although the numbers on the books had declined by thirty-three, the average attendance was slightly higher, and the schools were all well reported of by the Inspector, except that of Inniscarn, the mistress of which had misunderstood the new regulations. The supply of books and of school materials was more abundant, the inspection more thorough, and the payment of teachers, partly by salary, partly by results, had increased their incomes and given them a more direct interest in the efficiency of their schools.³

Of the schools still retained by the Company the Classical School at Moneymore was not flourishing. The Master was a graduate of the University of Dublin, with a fixed salary of £50, which was supplemented by the fees paid by the boys. No independent examination of the school had ever been held, but a cursory inspection led the members of the Deputation to the conclusion that the premises were unsuitable, while they doubted the efficiency of the teaching and the desirability of giving further support.⁴ In the following year the deficiency was not attributed to the master, but to the want of a fixed school house (it was held in the Court House), and to the mixing of boys and girls and of scholars of widely different ages (which ran from six to eighteen).⁵ It was therefore decided to exclude all girls, and all boys under the age of twelve, and to appropriate the use of the Moneymore Sunday School on week-days.⁶ At the same time the Intermediate School for Girls was established. These changes were beneficial.

Classical School, Moneymore.

¹ Report of 1873, + 775, p. 110.

² *Ib.*, p. 132.

³ Report of 1875, + 775, pp. 192 ff.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 193.

⁵ Report of 1876, + 775, p. 242.

⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 242, 295.

The Act of 1878 for the promotion of Intermediate Education in Ireland caused a better demand for schools of this class, and henceforth its fortunes began to mend under its new name of the Moneymore Male Intermediate School.¹

Scholarship
of £30 to be
competed for
by students
of the
Primary
Schools.

The Deputation also recommended the endowment of a scholarship of the annual value of £30, tenable for four years at some public school, for which all students who attended the fourteen boys' primary schools in or near the estate should be eligible.

This recommendation was adopted by the Court, but after a few years' trial it was not found to work well; the standard attained by the applicants was low, and the scholarship was finally abandoned in 1884.²

Besides the six handed over by the Company to the National Board of Education, there were nine other schools on the estate or in its neighbourhood to which the Company granted an annual subscription on the ground that they were attended by children of the tenants. These were :

Desartmartin	}	Now
Magherascullin		National
The Keenaght Roman Catholic School.		Schools.
Gloghag	}	Not National Schools.
Six Towns		
Coltrim		
Ballyforlea		
Derrycrummy		
Derryloran ³		

Report of
1877.

In the year 1877 the number of children in the National Schools had declined, and a poor report was given as to most of the non-National Schools; and the Deputation recommended that those at Coltrim, Ballyforlea, and Derrycrummy should be closed, and a National School opened at Ballyforlea.⁴

School of
Derry-
crummy
handed over
to the

In 1879 this recommendation was in part carried out. The school at Coltrim was closed, and the school at Derrycrummy handed over to the National Board. The Board, however, declined to take over the Ballyforlea School, and, as it was of

¹ Rep. +775, pp. 331, 429; +776, p. 194.

² Ib. +775, p. 254; +776, pp. 88, 169.

³ Ib. +775, pp. 241, 254, 293.

⁴ Ib., p. 292.

some use as an infant school, it was continued.¹ The assistance given to education is thus summarized in a Report of 1880: 'The seven Company's schools had been built and entirely supported by them till they were handed over to the Board of Education in 1874 and 1879. Since then £600 a year had been expended on teachers' salaries, and £100 a year given in prizes. To the Classical or Intermediate School at Moneymore, which had been established by the aid of the Company, they gave liberal contributions.² They also gave a scholarship of £30 a year for four years tenable at a Public School by boys in the fourteen primary schools.³

National Board; that of Coltrim closed, 1879.

In our opinion the trouble taken by the Company with regard to the schools and the spirit of toleration displayed is worthy of the highest commendation.⁴

But the Company did not confine their interest to education on their estate. They were always ready to contribute to general education in Ireland. Thus in 1874 the Court voted 100 guineas to the College of St. Columba at Rathfarnham; in 1876 they contributed 20 guineas to the Board of Religious Education of the Church of Ireland; in 1880 they gave £100 towards the evening science classes in the Royal College of Science, Dublin; and in 1884 they granted an exhibition to be awarded to girls who intended to take up the profession of teaching,⁵ on the results of the Matriculation Examination of the Royal University of Ireland.

General support of Education in Ireland.

Nor were contributions of the Company limited to the promotion of education. As will be seen below, the approximate amount of annual subscriptions given to objects and persons connected with the estate, irrespective of the subscriptions and donations towards education, came in the years 1872 to 1886 to about £1,091, and the donations to some £675; while £38 a year and donations amounting to £2,833 were granted to public purposes

The charity of the Company.

¹ Rep. +775, pp. 351, 382, 387, 399, 428, 429.

² *Ib.*, p. 418.

³ *Ib.*, p. 254.

⁴ Of this there are two illustrations, which are the more commendable because they occurred at a time when there was a good deal of discontent. In 1878 the Blackhill School was lent to the Presbyterians for religious instruction, on one day in the week after school hours; and in 1879 the Roman Catholic priest of Drapers' Town was granted the same privilege (*ib.*, pp. 305, 352).

⁵ Rep. +755, pp. 130, 232, 411; +776, p. 181.

outside the Company's own Proportion.¹ Indeed, it was frequently suggested by the 'Deputations' that the Company was too generous

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM 1872 TO 1886.

*To objects connected with the Estate.*A. *Annual:*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Episcopalian Churches on the Estate (dis-established)	250	0	0			
Six Towns Episcopalian Church (disestablished)	25	0	0			
Church Sustentation, Parishes of Arboe, Derryloran, and Kelermoghe	75	0	0			
Money more and Ballynascreen Branches of the Hibernian Bible Society	10	0	0			
Money more Provident Clothing Fund	15	0	0			
Do. Sunday School and Poor Shop	15	0	0			
Do. Amateur Band	10	10	0			
Do. Reading and Recreation Room	5	0	0			
To individual clergy of all denominations	500	0	0			
Pensions, &c. (cf. Rep. + 775, p. 118)	185	16	0			
				1091	6	0

B. *Donations to Public Objects:*

Repairing Churches, &c.	237	10	0			
New Manse, Money more	26	5	0			
To individual clergymen	11	0	0			
Testimonials to clergy	63	10	0			
				338	5	0

To Public Secular Objects:

Longishollen Branch of the Londonderry Protestant Orphan Society	21	0	0			
Cookstown and Desertlin Cottage Garden Societies	4	4	0			
Money more Cricket Club	15	10	0			
Drapers' Town Club	5	0	0			
Do. Coffee House	10	0	0			
				55	14	0

To Individuals:

Donations	131	10	0			
To emigrate	35	0	0			
Apprenticeships	90	0	0			
To buy horses	25	5	0			
				281	15	0

£ s. d.
675 14 0

with its charity, and that inasmuch as there was now a well-organized system of Poor Law Relief, the granting of small weekly doles was

To objects not connected with the Estate.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Church of Ireland (disestablished) Sustentation Fund	2000	0	0			
Armagh Episcopalian (disestablished) Endowment Fund	100	0	0			
Derry and Raphoe (disestablished) Diocesan Building Fund	10	10	0			
South Derry Choir Union	10	10	0			
				2121	0	0
Royal Agricultural Society of Ireland	20	0	0			
				and £10 a year		
Londonderry Agricultural Society	25	0	0			
Belfast Horticultural Society	10	0	0			
				55	0	0
				and £10 a year		
Meath Hospital and County of Dublin Infirmary	21	0	0			
Londonderry City and County Infirmary	21	0	0			
Belfast Nurses and Training Home	21	0	0			
				63	0	0
Training Ships for Boys				92	0	0
Towards maintenance of lace-making in Ireland				50	0	0
Relief of distress	200	0	0			
Relief of fishermen, their widows and orphans, who suffered in gales	23	0	0			
To provide fishermen with boats	52	10	0			
1882. To Association for relief of distressed Irish ladies	105	0	0			
To Irish Society for promoting training and employment of women in Ireland	10	10	0			
Londonderry Protestant Orphan Society				£18 a year		
Tyrone Protestant Orphan Society	5	0	0			
				396	0	0
				and £18 a year		
Memorial to Rev. G. Walker, defender of Londonderry in 1688	25	0	0			
Testimonial to the Duke of Connaught	31	10	0			
				56	10	0
Total				£2833	10	0
				and £38 a year.		

The references are too numerous to give. They may be found in the Irish

undesirable. It tempted the poor to struggle on in a condition of hopeless pauperism, to the disadvantage of the estate, and by no means to their own material or moral benefit.¹

Encouraging
Reports of
the Deputa-
tions,
1872-3.

The results of the efforts of the Company were at first encouraging. The Reports of the Deputations which visited the estate in 1872 and 1873 were satisfactory, except with regard to the towns. In 1872 'the members were much gratified with the situation and general appearance of the estate; with the numerous substantial and well-built farmhouses and other indications of an industrious and thriving tenantry to be found upon it.' . . . 'The comparative absence of weeds and general signs of careful cultivation, respects in which the estate presented a marked contrast to some of the surrounding properties, testified to the efficient management and supervision of the Company's Agent and the officers placed under him.' The removal of the rag-weed had, indeed, caused some difficulty, 'there being a general impression in the minds of the tenants that so long as they paid their rents they should not be interfered with, but the very satisfactory results attained showed how much might be done by judicious firmness.' . . . 'The Deputation found the tenantry of all classes prosperous and contented, and living in harmony with one another. The marked absence of memorials for assistance, with which the Court and the Deputations used formerly to be beset, might, they hoped, be taken as a sign that a spirit of self-reliance was growing up amongst even the poorer tenants, and that they were beginning to see the necessity of trusting to their own exertions rather than to the assistance of others.'²

The Report of 1873 was equally favourable, and in spite of a poor season in 1872 and the unprecedented rainfall in the

Minutes, +775 and 776. I am not sure that I have collected all, for there is no definite schedule given. It may also be noted that in 1832 they built the Parish Church at Desertlin at a cost of £6,000; that before that they had built a Presbyterian Church at Moneymore at a cost of £4,000, and had liberally contributed to the building of the Roman Catholic Chapel in the same town (+775, p. 410). These contributions do not include the donations or subscriptions to the schools on the estate.

¹ Reports of 1873 and 1879, +775, pp. 120, 382. The first Irish Poor Law Act was in 1837-8, 1 and 2 Vict., c. 56.

² Report of 1872, +775, p. 4.

current year, which gave prospect of another poor harvest, the tenants were generally prosperous and contented.¹ Sixteen tenants were in arrear with their rents, but on the threat of proceedings being taken against them, six came to terms.² In the following year the number of those in arrear had, however, risen to seventy-four.³ In 1875 the estate was revalued. Although the rents of some of the poorer lands were reduced, those of the others were increased. Nevertheless the Deputation reported that a very large majority of the tenants had accepted the terms,⁴ and 'the Chairman of the County expressed his opinion that the proposals of the Company for re-letting the estate were extremely liberal'. The right of the tenant to sell his holding (tenant right) was definitely acknowledged, the purchase being subject to the approval of the Agent, with a preference to the adjoining tenant, and was even allowed to those who were evicted.⁵ Thirty-seven tenants who objected were treated with, and a settlement come to.⁶

Revaluation
of the
Estate, 1875.

From that time onward, however, the relations between the Company and the tenants became less friendly. Mr. Richey has pointed out that this was the necessary result of the Land Acts of 1860 and 1870. The first placed the relations of landlord and tenant on a purely contractual and business footing, for which the country was not fitted. The second did not give the tenant what he wanted—security of tenure, but by giving him a right to compensation for disturbance under certain conditions made ejectment expensive for the landlord. Further, it excluded from all claim to such compensation for disturbance (though not for improvements) those who held under leases of thirty-one years or more,

Strained
relations,
1878.

¹ Report of 1873, + 775, p. 92.

² Rep. + 775, pp. 60, 68, 72. ³ *Ib.*, p. 141. ⁴ Report of 1876, *ib.*, p. 248.

⁵ Rep. + 775, pp. 416, 419.

⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 205, 226. It appears that the new rents demanded by the Company were somewhat higher than the Government valuation, and that the rents finally agreed upon were about 11 per cent. higher than the old rents. Thus of twenty-seven tenancies, the old rent was £828 2s. 7d.; the new rent demanded was £965 5s.; the Government valuation was £802 10s.; the rent finally decided upon was £956 8s. Cf. + 775, p. 255.

The agricultural holdings comprised about 25,826 acres, producing a rent of about £12,500. The holdings were 950 in number, and averaged 20 acres each: 830 held on lease, the remainder from year to year. *Ib.*, p. 415.

and those who, holding from year to year, had fallen into arrear with their rents or had broken their agreements. It led landlords to try to consolidate holdings and to let to larger farmers on longer leases. For the rest, it raised hopes which were not realized, and inevitably led to agitation.¹ In 1878 the Court complained that there was increasing delay in the collection of rents, and by December the amount of arrears had risen to £6,550 4s. 4½d. Much of this was, indeed, shortly after recovered;² but they soon rose again. After the year 1881 they never fell below £13,547, and in February 1886 had reached the serious sum of £22,000.³

Abatement
of rents.

In November 1879 the Agent recommended that, in consequence of the bad harvest and the low price of agricultural produce, which was partly due to American competition, there should be a remission of rents, and that the tenants should be assisted to purchase seed. His recommendation was adopted, and the following concessions were made: 25 per cent. of the rents for the year was remitted to those who held from year to year⁴ and 12½ per cent. to those who held under leases for twenty-one years,⁵ on condition that the rents were paid by the 1st of February next ensuing.

¹ Richey, *Irish Landlords*, esp. pp. 57 ff., 63 ff. All tenants of houses and town parks were altogether excluded from the operation of the Act.

² Rep. +775, pp. 301, 342, 370.

³ The arrears fluctuated very much: they were generally highest in the early months of the year and lowest in the autumn, because the final account was made up in November. Thus:

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
1879	May	7844	16	7½	1882	October	15,681	15	5
	October	531	4	6	1883	February	17,352	7	7½
1880	January	5992	16	1		October	1700	9	4
	October	1834	0	6	1884	May	1833	14	10
1881	February	1880	0	0		October	16,010	10	2½
	May	5359	11	2½	1885	April	13,547	0	11
	October	3853	14	0		July	19,226	4	6½
	December	17,089	15	7		October	18,175	5	2½
1882	May	21,792	9	6	1886	February	22,000	0	3

Rep. +775, pp. 365, 370, 390, 451, 468; +756, pp. 2, 36, 81, 98, 146, 176, 186, 220, 230, 240.

⁴ Of these there were 116, with an aggregate rent of £435 a year.

⁵ Of these there were 587, with an aggregate rent of £5,479.

Those who held under leases for thirty-one years should be allowed to postpone the payment of their rent till February 1 next ensuing.¹ The concessions were not, however, to apply to tenants of 'town parks'.²

An application from some tenants in the Moneymore and Brackaliavgallon divisions for a general reduction in the following year (1880) was declined. The Court promised that special cases should be carefully considered, but insisted that the present rents were moderate, witness the fact that the tenant-right of farms had of late been sold at an average of twenty-two years' purchase.³ They also pointed out that the harvest had been exceptionally good, and that, as the tenants practically enjoyed fixity of tenure, they might reasonably be expected to take one year with another, and had no ground for asking for a general abatement of rent on account of a bad harvest or a temporary depression in the price of agricultural produce.⁴ At the same time they gave loans to the amount of £1,500 for the purchase of flax seed and 'true Scotch Champion potatoes'.⁵

In January 1881, however, they consented to allow a reduction of 15 per cent. on the rents for the year 1880 to all agricultural tenants, on condition that the balance should be paid by May 1881. This concession was granted because of the general failure of crops, especially of flax, during the last three or four years, and the lowness of prices, but was not granted to the tenants of townlands.⁶

The serious increase in the arrears was in some measure attributed to the remissness of the Agent and the bailiff. The Agent was accused of a general want of zeal, energy and personal interest in the performance of his duties, and after due consideration

Dismissal of
the Agent,
Mr. Stannus,
July 1881.

¹ The number of these is not given.

² Rep. +775, p. 371. 'Town Parks' were lands held with houses in the towns. They were held at enhanced rents, and were let on yearly tenancies with the houses. Rep. +775, p. 332.

³ Rep. +775, p. 419.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 438, 439. In 1881, eighteen tenants who sold their lands, which were rented at a total of £129 10s., received £2,373 18s. 4d. of the purchasers for the tenant-right. *Ib.*, p. 452.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 417.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 446.

The offices
of Surveyor
and Forester
united.

Sir Wm.
Fitzwilliam
Conyngham,
K.C.B., ap-
pointed
Agent,
March 1882.
Continued
demands for
abatement
of rents, and
increase
of arrears.

he was requested to resign.¹ It would appear that his conduct was due, partly to fear, and partly to his desire to conciliate the tenants. He gave as an excuse for his conduct that 'it was dangerous to make systematic visits, and that the tenants would not tolerate interference'; and a memorial against his dismissal was presented by some of the tenants.² At the same time the Surveyor and the Forester were asked to retire, although they received gratuities, and it was decided that in future the offices of Surveyor and Forester should be combined.³

The choice of the Court for the position of Agent fell on Sir William Fitzwilliam Conyngham, K.C.B.⁴ Although he and his wife devoted themselves whole-heartedly to the affairs of the estate,⁵ matters did not improve. The amount of the arrears increased, while the tenants were constantly applying for a further reduction of rents. The Deputation of 1881 reported, indeed, that the majority had paid up their arrears to November 1879, and that to induce tenants to pay up altogether they had authorized the allowance of the abatement of 15 per cent. granted in January 1881 to all who should pay before November 1 of the current year. Some, however, were in arrears for two or three years previously. Against these decrees had been obtained, but it was doubtful whether they could pay up without selling.⁶ The efforts to clear off arrears altogether did not succeed. It had now become the general practice to be in arrear for two years' rent at least, and, as shown above, the total amount of arrears continued to increase rapidly. In November 1881 further concessions were made. In conse-

¹ Rep. +775, pp. 428, 430, 434, 436, 448.

² *Ib.*, pp. 459, 447, fly-sheets, p. 4. The Agent proved very troublesome. He at first demanded compensation, and then refused to surrender official letters. Finally he declined to give up some lands he held of the Company. He was finally got rid of by the payment of £400. *Ib.*, p. 473; Rep. +776, pp. 2, 25, 35, 36, 57, 118, 143.

³ Rep. +776, pp. 2, 3. The new Surveyor was, however, dismissed in 1884. *Ib.*, p. 165.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 68.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 192, 231.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 24.

quence of the late bad seasons an abatement of 10 per cent. was made on all farm-rents due for the year, provided that the remainder was paid by February 1882.¹ In the following June this abatement was increased to 15 per cent. for the year 1881 and also for 1882 to those who should pay the balance by January 1, 1883.² Finally, in June 1882 and November 1883, it was decided that all the tenants of agricultural holdings should be offered statutory tenancies for fifteen years with a reduction of 15 per cent. Those who declined to accept such leases were, if they desired to be given the reduction, to enter into engagements that all the covenants and conditions of their tenancies should remain in force.³

Abatement
of 15 per
cent., June
1882-*No-*
vember
1883.

While making this remarkable concession, the Court resolved that ejectment proceedings should be taken against those whose rents were in arrear for three years or more, under the understanding that they would not be pressed against those who should clear off their arrears up to the preceding November (1880) and pay the costs of the proceedings.⁴ A witness representing the tenants informed the Commissioners of this concession, stating that in making this reduction the Court had gone beyond the provisions of the Land Act, and that the tenants gratefully accepted this arrangement.⁵ The Irish Minutes do not, however, give one the impression that the tenants were well satisfied; and, as we shall see, in 1885 a demand was made by some tenants for a reduction of 50 per cent.

In July 1883 the application of a tenant to have a fair rent fixed by the Land Court was declined on the grounds that the present rate was a fair one, and that, as he held under a lease, his tenancy did not come under the provisions of the Land Act of 1881. The tenant applied to the Land Court, and, although the Company demurred, his rent was fixed at 1*s.* 6*d.* less than that claimed allowing for the deduction of 15 per cent. which had been granted in 1882, but with interest on a loan given him in 1841. The Court decided not

¹ Rep. +776, p. 4.

² *Ib.*, p. 84.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 84, 149.

⁴ Rep. +776, p. 2.

⁵ Livery Commission Report, 1884, vol. i, p. 233.

to appeal, but called upon him to pay up forthwith all arrears and the interest on the loan.¹

Tenant-right to 'Park lands' in Money-more.

Meanwhile the question as to the tenant-right claimed by the tenants of town lands or parks in Money-more had been settled. The Company had always contended that no tenant-right could be claimed. They were let on yearly tenancies, and did not therefore come under the operation of the Land Act of 1870. The Deputation of 1878 had, however, reported that, as a matter of fact, some tenants had been allowed to buy and sell, and admitted that in such cases it would be well to acknowledge the right.² The question had been complicated by the opinion of the Solicitor-General in 1879 that such lands were not technically 'town parks' and could not be so treated except by agreement.³ Accordingly, in 1883, the Court of the Drapers proposed the following compromise: The tenants were to admit the claim of the Company to treat the lands as 'town parks', while the Company was to acknowledge as a debt on the lands any sums which had been paid by the tenants or their predecessors for the good-will. No reduction of rents was, however, to be made.⁴ In other respects the condition of the town continued to be unsatisfactory. The Deputation of 1881 had reported that, although there were fewer houses untenanted than there had been before, there was much uncleanness and overcrowding in some of the poorer cottages. This was partly attributed to the large size of the families, but not unfrequently to the practice of taking in distant relatives and lodgers.⁵

Condition of the town.

The Report of 1884 was even worse. There was a scarcity of business in Money-more; although the rents were low, a good many houses were vacant, and the rents would probably have to be further reduced. In these circumstances it would be desirable to pull down some of the cottages, which were untenanted, and to remove the unemployed to places where they might find

¹ Rep. + 776, pp. 142, 147. His rent with the 15 per cent. reduction had been £3 16s. 6d. plus interest on a loan of £1 granted to him in 1841. The Land Court fixed it at £3 15s.

² Rep. + 775, p. 332.

³ *Ib.*, p. 360.

⁴ *Ib.* + 776, p. 122.

⁵ Deputation of 1881, Rep. + 775, p. 430.

employment. These measures they urged should be 'firmly but not harshly' carried out.¹

Mr. O'Brien, in his evidence before the Commission of 1890 on the Irish Society and the London Companies, attributed the want of enterprise on the part of the inhabitants to the policy of the Company, which did all the building itself and refused to grant leases for building purposes; and stated that as the tenants held their houses only from year to year, they had not sufficient security to encourage them to start or carry on any business.² Possibly it would have been well to grant leases, but it is very doubtful whether this was the cause of the unsatisfactory condition of Moneymore. The houses in Drapers' Town were held by the same tenure, and there business was somewhat more active.

The prolonged agitation for reduction of rents culminated in the year 1885 with a petition from the Brackasliavgallon and Ballynascreen tenants for a general reduction of 50 per cent. on the rents then due. Not unnaturally the Court declined to accede to this preposterous demand, in the case of those at least who held under judicial agreements. They, however, promised to treat any individual case of a tenant in arrear on its merits, and granted further time for the settlement of arrears to any tenant whose rent was paid up to November 1, 1882, on condition that he then paid a sum equal to a year's rent. At the same time they proceeded to take proceedings against forty-one recalcitrant tenants whose rents were three or more years in arrear.³

That the Company should have been disheartened by the constant agitation of the last few years can excite no wonder. When in 1882 nine Presbyterian clergymen expressed 'their grave concern at the spread of pernicious and immoral doctrines among some of the tenants, and entreated the Company to remove all reasonable grounds for complaint', the Court replied 'that the Company had endeavoured to manage their estate in such a way as to promote both the material and moral welfare

Demand for a 50 per cent. reduction of Rents, 1885.

Disappointment of the Court at the increase of agitation.

¹ Deputation of 1884, Rep. + 776, p. 191.

² Irish Society and Livery Companies Commission, 1890, p. 53, Q. 1, 138. I have not, however, found the Agent's report of which Mr. O'Brien spoke.

³ Rep. + 176, p. 235. Of these 41, 1 tenant was in arrear for 5 years, 3 for 4 years, 8 for 3½ years, and 29 for 3 years.

of the tenants; that they were not aware that the tenants had any just cause of complaint; that the Company had learnt with regret that the measures they had taken for the support of religion and education were not appreciated, and that the large expenditure which had been and was being incurred on those objects was considered by the tenants entirely unbeneficial; that in consequence of this expression of opinion it might be found necessary to alter the system of management. But the Company trusted that the agitation, which now prevailed, would speedily subside, and that the tenants would then recognize the just and liberal spirit in which they had been treated'.¹ Of this feeling of hopelessness as to the results of any further attempts on the part of the Company to advance the material and moral conditions of the tenants on the estate, we have many proofs. Already in 1877 they had declined to increase their grants to schools, on the grounds that the Poor Law Guardians, who represented the ratepayers, had discontinued the contributions they had hitherto made.² In 1878 the Court declined to contribute to the medical officer at the Company's Dispensary in Moneymore, because he was to be appointed by the local Board of Guardians, and in the following year the Dispensary was abandoned.³ In 1882 the Deputation recommended that purely benevolent gifts should be discouraged, as the Company would get no credit for them in the Land Court, and because they were not appreciated by the tenants as they should be;⁴ and in consequence an increasing number of petitions for assistance were rejected.⁵ In 1884 the Court decided that contributions of a total amount of £221 should, after one more payment, be reduced or discontinued,⁶

¹ Rep. +776, p. 61. It is difficult to be precise as to the expenditure of the Company on their Irish Estate. But as far as I can gather from the Banking Books, +707, they spent every year about one-half of the income.

² Rep. +775, p. 295. Cf. also pp. 7, 8, and *Irish Society and London Companies' Irish Estates Commission 1890*, pp. 299 ff., QQ. 6341-5, 6350.

³ Rep. +775, pp. 310, 351. ⁴ *Ib.* +776, pp. 57, 7, 9, 12, 18, 20, 29.

⁵ e. g. cf. *ib.*, pp. 95, 174, 181, 213.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 181 ff. Among these were subscriptions to Church sustentation funds. These were withdrawn, it was said, because of the statement of the deputation of the tenants that they were able to maintain their own religious establishments and to undertake the education of their children. Two tenants,

and it was resolved that no bulls should be bought for the improvement of the cattle, as 'the Company was not called upon in the present circumstances to increase its expenditure for the benefit of the tenants.'¹

The Court also refused to make loans or give assistance to any tenant whose rent was in arrear.²

Some, no doubt, will hold that these withdrawals of assistance, hitherto lavishly given, were unworthy of a great Society. But there is another side to the question. This is not the place to deal with the vexed and highly contentious question of land agitation in Ireland, a question on which it is hopeless to look for agreement. Yet no one can deny that much of the agitation was definitely organized by the enemies of landlordism, who were not scrupulous in their methods or accurate in their statements.³ If the rents had been too high, which may well be doubted in spite of the decisions of the Land Court, they certainly had been no higher than in the rest of Ireland, and the Company constantly made temporary abatements in the case of bad seasons before the general reduction of 15 per cent. If we are to believe the evidence not only of the Drapers' books, but of unprejudiced outsiders, the condition of the estate was good and the tenants contented before the agitation began.

It can be safely asserted that no other Society or individual had made more generous contributions, or taken more trouble to promote the welfare of the tenants and of the estate, and it cannot be a cause of wonder if the Company came to the conclusion that the old methods must be abandoned, and that the tenants could not have it both ways. If on their side they insisted on extorting the best terms possible from the Company, they could but expect that the Company would, as they expressed it, find it necessary

however, subsequently said that these remarks had been misunderstood. (*Ib.*, p. 195). For another reason for withdrawing subscriptions, cf. *infra*, p. 416.

¹ Rep. + 776, p. 168.

² e.g. *ib.*, pp. 105, 106, 113, 132. This, however, had always been their policy.

³ Question whether the misstatements in the copy of a speech by Thomas Dickson, published in the Belfast Northern Whig of November 21, should not be corrected (Rep. + 776, p. 24). I have succeeded in finding a copy of the Paper.

to 'alter the management' of the estate. For the rest, the reader must judge for himself. I have given a scrupulously accurate account of the dealings of the Company with their tenants, and have given my evidence for every statement. I have suppressed nothing which might have been to their disadvantage; I have invented no statement which stands to their credit. Before I close I may, however, point out that during all this troublous period the Company refrained from taking part in any organization for the protection of their interests, or to interfere in politics on their own behalf. Thus in 1878 they rejected a proposal that their Agent should exercise the vote of the Company by proxy in the election of the Poor Law Guardians, because it was undesirable that the Company should interfere in elections.¹ In 1881 they declined to subscribe to 'The Emergency Committee and the Property Defence Association of Ireland'.²

In the same year a letter from the Irish Land Committee, calling attention to its work and the necessity of its being vigorously carried on by all interested in the question, was deferred for further information and was not acted upon. They also refused to give assistance to the Emergency Committee of the Grand Orange Lodge, which was taking measures to protect themselves against the Irish Land League. 'To do so', said the Court, 'would be to depart from the strict impartiality in matters of religion and politics hitherto adopted by the Company'.³ In 1885 they declined to subscribe to a memorial on behalf of the Dublin Constitutional Club, or to answer an application for assistance from the Irish Defence Union.⁴

This determination to steer clear of politics, which, as I have often shown, was the traditional policy of the Company, is surely worthy of especial commendation at this moment, when the management of their estate, to which they had devoted so much time and care, was being impugned and held up to obloquy.

But there is another reason for the withdrawal of grants to educational, religious, and charitable objects when the process of selling had commenced, which was pleaded by the Company

¹ Rep. +775, p. 314.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 442, 443.

² *Ib.*, p. 454.

⁴ *Ib.* +776, pp. 213, 233.

before the Parliamentary Commission of 1890. As they had now decided to sell their estate, they deemed it 'desirable to free themselves as far as possible from individual interests, and to protect themselves and the future purchasers from any claim that these grants were in the nature of vested interests'.¹

The advisability of selling the estate was first mooted in 1872. This was then decided in the negative, and in 1877 the Court declared that they had no present intention of selling.²

In 1881, however, the Deputation reported that it would be desirable to permit tenants to purchase their holdings on reasonable terms,³ and when the new agent was appointed he was informed that he would be expected to do his best to facilitate such sales.⁴

Finally, in 1885 they made an offer to sell to any tenant at eighteen years' purchase of the annual rent. It appears that the well-to-do tenants, especially those in the district of Money more, were willing to purchase on those terms, but that the poorer tenants, though anxious to become owners, demurred to the terms.⁵ The process was therefore a tedious one.

Certain accusations were brought against the Company before the Parliamentary Commission of 1890, which was sitting while the business of selling the estate was still going on.

It was asserted that they had purposely delayed many of the sales until they had recovered the arrears of rent, which were very heavy, and that they had claimed interest on the said arrears from the date of agreement to that of the completion of the sale, contrary to the promise of their Clerk and other agents, and this with the aim of forcing the tenants to accept the terms of purchase offered. They were also accused of cruelly exercising their right of ejection for the same purpose. Further, it was stated that the Company had insisted on the old rents being

The Com-
pany decide
to sell their
Estate,
1885.

Conduct of
the Com-
pany with
regard to
the Sale.

¹ Irish Society and London Companies Commission, July 1890, Minutes of Evidence, pp. 13 ff., Questions 309, 6344, 6350.

² Rep. +775, pp. 35, 262.

³ Rep. +776, p. 34.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 49.

⁵ Irish Society and London Companies Commission, July 1890, Minutes of Evidence, pp. 43 ff.; Questions 1059, 1166, 6022. In 1885 the tenants in Ballynascreen, which was a poor division, declared that they were not prepared to pay more than fourteen years' purchase. Irish Minutes, Rep. +776, p. 232.

taken as the basis of the purchase-price, instead of the judicial rents fixed by the Land Act of 1887, and had done so without informing the tenants or the Land Commission. Finally, the Company was attacked for having withdrawn their annual grants for educational and religious objects, and especially from the Presbyterians, since the opening of the negotiations for the sale.

All these accusations, many of which were inaccurate, were in my opinion completely answered by their solicitor, and by Mr. Sawyer, their clerk. The last has already been met. Further, it was clearly proved that the delay was not the fault of the Company or its agents, but due in a great measure to the usual dilatoriness and red tape of public departments, and, for the rest, caused by the tenants themselves, who were hoping by this means to obtain better terms. The original promise to charge no interest on the arrears was stated to have been given only on condition of the sale being completed before a certain date, and the conduct of the Company in charging interest when that condition was not fulfilled was shown to be justified under the terms of the Act of 1888, passed subsequently to the earliest agreements, which authorized the demand for such arrears. As to the ejectments, these had been caused by a threat of combination to resist all further payment of rent on the part of those who had declined to purchase on the terms offered by the Company. On the question of the judicial rents it was pointed out that the Company had in 1882 voluntarily reduced the rents by fifteen per cent. Finally, the charge that an attempt had been made to conceal the judicial rents was absurd, for these were published and in the hands of the Commission.¹

By the year 1900 the greater portion of the Irish estate had been sold, chiefly to the tenants.² The rest was handed over to trustees of 'the Manor of Drapers' Charity' together with a sum of £2,000, which was invested to form part of the endowment,

¹ Cf. Irish Society and London Companies Commission, pp. 43 ff. Questions 996, 1057-62, 1079, 1088, 1100, 1181, 1212-19, 1246-1251, 5969-78, 6000, 6001, 6334.

² Before the Irish Land Purchase Acts, 33 and 34 Vict., c. 44, 45, 46, 49, 1870, the sale and purchase of land in Ireland was by the free action of the parties. Since then they have had to be carried out according to the provisions of the said Statutes or of subsequent amending Statutes.

and £500 in ready money for current expenses.¹ The trustees now administer the fund of this charity for the benefit of the people living on the lands formerly owned by the Company. The old officials and servants were pensioned, and since the date of the sale, the Company has granted scholarships up to the value of £35 a year for three years for the higher education of girls of the district. The Company has also of late placed a stained glass window in the Guildhall at Londonderry.

While the Company were disposing of their Irish estates, the question was raised as to whether the Irish lands were held by the Companies beneficially or as trustees. And in 1891 a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider the matter. It will be remembered that since the decision of the House of Lords in the case of *The Skinners v. The Irish Society*, in the year 1838, it had been held that the Society were *concededly* trustees for the public purposes of the Plantation.²

The Irish
Estates not
Trust
Property.

It is true that it was allowed that if the Irish Society had any surplus it should be divided among the Companies, and that the actual question before the Court had been, not whether the Irish Society held its lands on a public trust, but whether it alone was the judge as to how much should be spent on the lands it had retained when the other Proportions were granted to the Companies. It was on this point the Master of the Rolls had decided for the Society. But in the course of his judgement he had stated that the lands of the Irish Society were held for 'public purposes', and although this may be considered as an *obiter dictum* it was henceforth considered that they were held on trust and not beneficially.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that the enemies of the Companies should have tried to prove that the Companies also held their Proportions on the same terms; and not as beneficial owners.

The main arguments adduced by Mr. Latham, who appeared

¹ Court of Assistants Minutes, + 251, pp. 10, 20, 29, + 686 A, 3, p. 196.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 32, Appendices LXII A, B. The words of the Irish Master of the Rolls, were: 'The Irish Society were *concededly* trustees with a large discretion for the public purposes of the Plantation, but the revenue in their hands might be more than sufficient for these purposes. In that case the surplus belonged to the Companies'. High Court of Justice in Ireland, Chancery Division, Judgement of Master of the Rolls, 1892, No. 4.

for the Companies before the Commission, against such a contention were as follows:—

That in July 1609, before the date of Charter to the City, the Common Council and the Court of Aldermen directed the city to send viewers 'to view the place and make return unto us, so that, if it prove not answerable to that which is reported fit and profitable for the undertakers, we may be at liberty to leave the undertaking, any thing now done notwithstanding'.

That, although it was true that the Companies were in a measure forced to pay the levies demanded by the Crown, they were cajoled into believing that the undertaking would be profitable to them as well as conducive to the public interest.

That neither the Irish Society nor the Companies were bound by the earlier 'Orders and Conditions', but by the later 'agreements' which were the result of much negotiation, and by the Charters.

That the decision of Lord Langdale did not turn on the question whether the Irish Society held their lands on some kind of trust, which was not disputed, but whether it held on trust for the Companies, and that although he decided that the Society was not responsible to the Companies as to how much of their revenue they thought fit to spend on the development of the part of the Plantation they retained, he acknowledged that if there were any surplus it was to be divided among the Companies.

That in the licence of Mortmain, granted to the Companies after they had accepted their Proportion, the reason for the licence was distinctly stated to be in order 'that in future they should reap some gain and benefit of their great travails and expenses'; and that, although the words 'some gain' might well be taken to imply that the public was also to gain, yet to assert that the words meant that the public only were to gain would mean that the Companies were to have further travails and expenses as a recompense for those they had already incurred.

That if, in March 1615, the king threatened to bestow the lands on others because at that date the Companies had not fulfilled the articles, it was clear from a letter of Sir Arthur Chichester of the same date that the duties agreed upon in the said articles were only for a limited time and purpose, viz. the finishing of the

Plantation, inasmuch as he expressly said that the time was long since expired within which they were bound to have finished to all purposes their Plantation. This Mr. Latham contended was proved by the words in the second licence in Mortmain, granted in the reign of Charles II, where there was no reference, as there had been in the first licence of James I, to any duty imposed on the Companies, nor any intention on their part to proceed further in the work of plantation, or to any future obligations.

Moreover, in the second Charter, granted by Charles II, the Companies were expressly stated to have purchased their Proportions, and to be for ever released from any claim on the part of the Crown to any sums of money they had received since the death of James I, and in this respect their position differed from that of the Irish Society, since the Companies had originally provided the money while the Society had paid nothing. He further contended that, if the Companies had, as a matter of fact, spent money on further planting and promoting the Plantation, this did not constitute a trust legal, or even moral.

Lastly, Mr. Latham pointed out that when the Goldsmiths sold their Proportion to the Earl of Shelburne in 1728-9, the Court of Chancery decided that they had a good title, which they could not have had if they were subject to any trust, public or other, and that the Drapers' Company had depended on that decision when they began to sell theirs.¹

In spite of these very forcible arguments the Committee reported that they saw no valid grounds for distinguishing between the legal and equitable position held by the Irish Society under the Charter from that held by the Companies,² and that if the Companies sold their estates, the proceeds should be appropriated to Irish local purposes.³ It should, however, be

¹ Cf. Irish Society of London Companies and Irish Estates, July 24, 1890, ordered by the House of Commons, No. 322, pp. 361 ff. The whole evidence should be read, especially that of Mr. Walker, pp. 329 ff.

² Select Committee on Irish Society and London Companies (Irish Estates) Report, Commons Paper, 322 of 1891.

³ Five Companies had already sold their estates: The Haberdashers about 1675; the Merchant Tailors about 1728; the Goldsmiths about 1730; the Vintners about 1737; the Clothworkers about 1871; the Grocers about 1872.

Decision of
the Irish
Master of
The Rolls.

remembered that this opinion was only carried by a bare majority, and that the Committee expressly stated that they were not competent to deal with the legal construction of the Charters.¹ Their duty was only to consider whether a *prima facie* case had been established by those who insisted that the estates were held by the Companies on trust.¹ In pursuance of the Report the Irish Attorney-General was, in the following year, set in motion against the various Companies, the Irish Society being joined for 'conformity', on the assumption that the plaintiff was entitled to succeed against the defendant Companies.

The case, after dragging on for seven years, was at last decided in 1898 by the Irish Master of the Rolls in favour of the defendants. In the course of his judgement he pointed out that there was a substantial difference between the Irish Society which had paid no money for their estate, and those of the Companies who did, and who were therefore 'purchasers'.² As to the argument that the contributions made by the Companies, in return for which they had received their lands, were in the nature of an impost or tax, and could in no sense be considered as purchase-money, he quoted the Mayor's Precept of January 15, 1611, and declared that in no way could its language be interpreted otherwise than as implying a beneficial enjoyment of the property in consideration of antecedent payments, and that the position of the Companies was the same as if they had been private individuals and not bodies corporate.

It may be noted that in the Report the Commissioners displayed great ignorance on the question of the moneys paid by the Companies for their Irish estates. They wrongly implied that the money was paid to the Crown, whereas all the money subscribed was employed by the Companies, or the Irish Society

Between that date and 1890 the Salters, the Fishmongers, and the Skinners sold their estates as well as the Drapers.

¹ Sir George Jessel when consulted on the right of the Clothworkers to sell their Proportion in 1871 had given his opinion contrary to the finding of the Committee. According to him the Companies held their land beneficially and free from any trust. Select Committee on Irish Society and London Companies (Irish Estates) Report, Commons Paper, p. x.

² Beresford, the agent of the Companies in the reign of James I, definitely stated that the Londoners were 'purchasers'.

on their behalf, on the plantation and development of the Irish estate. Only a small quit-rent was reserved to the Crown.

Further, in the course of his argument he stated that there was no scrap of writing in, or connected with, their muniments of title, stating, or by reasonable inference implying, that the Companies were only trustees.¹

From this decision there has been no appeal.

I venture to think that had this case been tried before that of *The Skinners v. The Irish Society*, and that, had the point before the Court been whether the lands of the Irish Society were held on trust in the ordinary sense, Lord Langdale would very probably have followed the judgement of the Irish Master of the Rolls in the case of the Companies.

Moreover, the Irish Society has performed acts, both before and after the finding of the Committee, which are not compatible with the view that it held its lands in Ulster on trust. Thus in 1665 it sold its right of levying customs to the Crown. In 1741 it released to the Livery Companies certain rights over the timber on their Proportions, and quite recently it has released its mineral rights in favour of Companies selling to their tenants under Lord Ashbourne's Act.²

It must be remembered that a distinction may be drawn between a grant of lands on trust and a grant of lands on certain conditions. Those made to the Irish Society, as well as those made to the Companies, were made on public grounds and for public purposes. They might be forfeited if the public purposes were absolutely neglected,³ as indeed they were by Charles I, although unjustly, as was subsequently declared by Parliament; but short of this it

¹ High Court of Justice in Ireland, Chancery Division, *Attorney-General v. The Irish Society and others*, Judgement of the Master of the Rolls, 1892, No. 4, Appendix LXIII.

² Cf. Freshfield, *Statement of facts re Irish Estates of City Companies* (printed privately 1898 pp. 234, 247); Freshfield, *Attorney-General v. Irish Society*, Doc. Release of royalties to Drapers, p. 722.

³ James I, when he complained that the City and the Companies were not carrying out the conditions, said that the Plantation had been established for reasons of state, and that no private man's worth was able to counteract the safety of the Kingdom. Cf. *supra*, p. 38. But he never said that they held their lands as trustees.

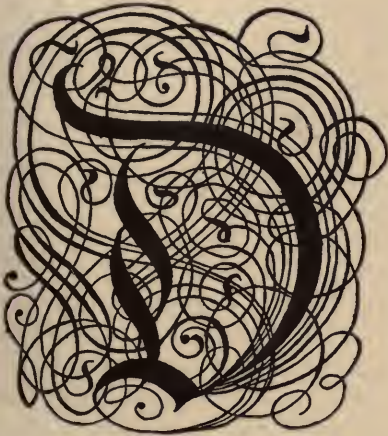
may be well held that the lands of the Irish Society as well as those of the Companies were granted beneficially, and that it was not intended that they should be considered trust lands in the ordinary sense.

The Report of 1891 points out that in the Charters to Rhode Island and Connecticut the grantees take 'to have and to hold . . . upon trust, *and for the use and benefit of themselves and their associates*', and that the words in italics are absent from the Charter to the Irish Society. Possibly; but can any reasonable man deny that the citizens of London were induced to undertake the Plantation partly at least for their benefit; and this is definitely stated in the document termed 'Motives and Reasons why the City should undertake the Plantation'. Again, as stated above, the licence to hold in Mortmain was granted 'in order that the Companies might be the better encouraged to proceed with, perfect and finish the . . . plantation, and in future times reap some benefit and gain of their great travails and expenses taken and bestowed therein'.

In conclusion, as Lord Sumner said, in delivering the judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of the Chartered Company of South Africa, the whole difficulty has arisen from those 'reticences and reserves' which are unfortunately so common in matters of this kind. A single definite sentence in the original charters would have prevented any later dispute. As it is, judges with the best will in the world have great difficulty in interpreting the Charters and grants of an earlier age, of the opinions and atmosphere of which they are often ignorant.

CHAPTER XI

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE COMPANY SINCE 1688



(1)

an apprentice at all unless it were to some industry or trade, though

URING the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries certain developments are noticed which forcibly illustrate the altered character of the Drapers' Company. Of these developments, the changes with regard to the methods of entry into the Company and the position of the ordinary freeman are perhaps the most significant.

Entrances through apprenticeship decrease.

The numbers of those who entered by apprenticeship rapidly declined.² No one could enrol

¹ The initial letter comes from Ch. VII, Letters Patent of George II confirming the Will of F. Bancroft.

² All apprentices had to be enrolled at Drapers' Hall. The fee for binding an apprentice was 2*s.* 6*d.* in 1808 and 6*s.* 6*d.* to the officials if bound by an Assistant or Liveryman or by a freeman in a court of Wardens; 9*s.* to the officials if bound by a freeman out of Court. Records, + 138, p. 129 ff. To-day the fee is 10*s.* if bound to a Liveryman and 13*s.* 6*d.* if bound to a freeman. The Clerk and Beadle have now no fees. The Act of 5 and 6 Will. and Mary enacted that 2*s.* 6*d.* should be paid to the Chamberlain of the City on all bindings of apprentices. The Mayor, in a precept of July 1715 (cf. + 371, p. 30), complained that this fee had not been paid, and spoke of a Committee being appointed to recover arrears and show cause why the Companies should not be prosecuted. We hear nothing more of this; but, by the Stamp Act of 54 and 55 Victoria, c. 39, 1891, a 2*s.* 6*d.* stamp is necessary for instruments of apprenticeship (with some exceptions). The fee for entry into the freedom through apprenticeship was in 1808 3*s.* 4*d.* if enrolled at the Guildhall and 8*s.* 8*d.* to the officials, if not enrolled 10*s.* with 9*s.* to the officials. Records, + 138, p. 129 ff. It is now 2*s.* 6*d.* with 7*s.* 6*d.* for the officials.

the industry or trade need not be that of a Draper,¹ and the number of the members who followed any industry or trade at all decreased. Moreover, the system of apprenticeship was breaking down, and in some cases the apprentice did not serve his full time of seven years. To meet this difficulty a resolution was passed in 1742 authorizing the Master and Wardens to admit into the freedom by redemption any properly enrolled apprentice who had served one-half of his or her time with a member of the Company, on the payment of such fees as might be considered reasonable.² This, however, was only a very partial remedy, and by the middle of the nineteenth century the practice of entering through apprenticeship, and indeed of apprenticeship itself, had practically disappeared. Thus in the year 1770 the number of admissions through apprenticeship was 15. It rarely fell below that till 1829, when it was 10. In 1848 it fell to 5, and from henceforth rarely rose higher. From 1878 the number only once stood above 4, from 1887 never above 2, while from 1892 to 1910 only 7 in all were admitted. Since 1910 none have been admitted. As to apprenticeship itself, in 1896 there were only two instances of binding apprentices, one by a Liveryman and one by a freeman; in 1898 only one, and that by a freeman, James William Ellerton, who bound Alfred Jenkinson for seven years to the business of a cabinet-maker. The last instance occurred in 1906, when a Liveryman, John Rider Hunt, bound John Joseph Forsyth Johnstone, the son 'of a gentleman', for four years to the business of a surveyor.³

Entrance by
patrimony

The admission to the freedom of the Company by patrimony was and is only allowed to those born after their father has been

¹ Between 1801 and 1833 forty-two women were admitted. Of these, thirty-two, it is believed applied for the purpose of qualifying for the charity of the House. Report of 1837 on Municipal Corporations, vol. v, p. 5 ff. Since 1900 104 have been admitted, all by patrimony. Cf. Appendix, XLIII c.

The practice of masters apprenticing persons to their own trade, and not to that one which his Company nominally represented, had become general by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Thus in 1725 the Goldsmiths say they cannot prevent Goldsmiths free of other Companies from binding apprentices. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii, p. 105. There was, and is now, no restriction as to the number of apprentices any master may have.

² Records, + 134, p. 398 a.

³ Cf. Bindings and Freedom Lists for these years and Appendix LXIV B.

admitted. Thus when in 1905 Thomas Cullum, a lineal descendant of Sir Thomas Cullum, an ancient benefactor of the Company, asked to be admitted, he was informed that he could only do so by redemption.¹

The result of this restriction and of the practical disappearance of apprenticeship was that redemption became the only way by which strangers, or even those born before the admission of their fathers, could join the Company. Nevertheless in the earlier decades of the eighteenth century it was deemed advisable to increase the fee for admission to £25, and the Clerk's fee to three guineas, although, as before mentioned, those who had only served half the term of their apprenticeship were allowed to enter by redemption on paying such fees as might appear reasonable to the Wardens.² The result of this increase in the fees was that the entries by redemption practically ceased. In this way 'reputable persons' were prevented from entering the Company, and purchased their freedom in other of the Livery Companies where the fees were lower. There was therefore some fear that there would soon be a want of fit persons to be called to the Livery. Accordingly in 1750 the fee for entrance was reduced to ten guineas, and the Clerk's fee to two guineas.³ It would appear that from that date all fear of a want of 'reputable persons' was at an end. For in 1783 the Court felt emboldened to insist that all who entered by redemption should enter into an agreement that they would indemnify the Company from all charges which might be incurred in event of their being subsequently elected to the Shrievalty or as Lord Mayors, and in 1788 the fee was raised to twenty guineas and two guineas to the Clerk.⁴

limited to children born after admission of father.

Decrease of number of entrances by redemption.

¹ Records, + 137, pp. 701, 702. The fee for entry by redemption was in 1808 10s. and 9s. fees to the officials. Records, + 138, pp. 129-35.

To-day the fees are the same with the addition of 1s. to the accountant. Daughters of members can be admitted by patrimony. But women are not now admitted by redemption or through apprenticeship.

² August 1737. Records, + 134, pp. 300 a, 398 a. The fee for entrance by redemption in 1646 had been only 3s. 4d. the same as that for entrance through apprenticeship. Cf. Renter Warden's cash-book, 1646-7, Freedoms.

³ Records, + 135, p. 91b. Only one, who had not been bound apprentice, was admitted by redemption between 1737 and 1750.

⁴ Records, + 136, pp. 341, 496, 523.

In 1795 there were some who wished to put a stop to all redemptions. Had this been done the character of the Company would have become a close hereditary body, the only entrance to which would have been by patrimony.¹ Fortunately wiser counsels prevailed; but the fee was increased to thirty guineas in 1795,² in 1802 to fifty guineas, and finally in 1808 to 100 guineas and £2 17s. to the officials.³ From that date the admissions by redemption have been few. Nothing better illustrates the change which had come over the Company. Originally a body of persons engaged in the trade of drapery, if not of the making of cloth, it had altogether ceased to have anything to do with the trade; and whereas in its earlier days it had been formed of masters with their journeymen and apprentices, it had now become a society of well-to-do persons not necessarily engaged in any trade or industry at all, who in many cases entered their sons, and an ever-declining number of poor men who joined with no thought of ever being called to the Livery, and who sought for membership chiefly with the aim of qualifying themselves as recipients of the charity of the House.⁴

Increased number of pensions given to Assistants who had fallen on evil days.

This radical though gradual evolution is illustrated in the character of the charity dispensed. Although they still continued to give liberally to the poor members of the Company, especially at times of special distress,⁵ and were not forgetful of those who had been in their service, the decrease in the actual number of

¹ As to how far the membership of the Company in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries became confined to a few families cf. Appendix XLIII D.

² Records, + 137, p. 177.

³ Records, + 137, pp. 129-35. Although the Court still claims the right to refuse applications for entrance by redemption, the right is rarely if ever exercised.

The fee to-day is the same with the addition of 16s. 6d. to the accountant.

⁴ For an enquiry how far membership in the Court and Livery has, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, been confined to a few families cf. Appendix LXIV A.

⁵ e. g. January 1763 £150, February 1768 £150, December 1800 £100, July 1806 £100, August 1807 £100, on account of the rigorous season.

November 2, 1809. Resolved to expend in 1810, in commemoration of the fiftieth year of the King's reign, a sum not exceeding £200 for dwellers in the almshouses in or near London under the Company's government, whether free of the Company or not, and to the poorer members of the Company, whether on the poor roll or not. Records, + 135, pp. 254 b, 326 b; + 137, p. 471; + 138, pp. 57, 98, 209.

the poor, from the causes above mentioned, led them, towards the close of the eighteenth century, to bestow more pensions than had been the custom in the past on Assistants who had fallen into poverty, and especially on their widows. Any member of the Court, however, who received pecuniary assistance forthwith ceased to be an Assistant, but generally received back the fine paid on his admission to the Livery.¹

It is in all probability to this transformation of the Company that the unwillingness of the Court during the eighteenth, and early years of the nineteenth, century to allow their members to 'translate' to other companies, except for some urgent reason, is partly at least to be attributed. They gave as a reason for refusal that it 'would be prejudicial to the Company for men of worth and ability to leave their Society'.²

Translations discouraged.

It appears that in the early part of the eighteenth century there were cases where those who had taken the freedom of the City in Companies that had no Liveries were received into Livery Companies without being translated, and that this was objected to by the Lord Mayor.³ But we have not met with any instance of this so far as the Drapers are concerned.

Finally, the connexion of the ordinary freemen with the Company came to be of the loosest description. Their names were indeed entered in a book, and they took an oath to be loyal and obedient to the Society,⁴ but they ceased to pay quarterage, unless they came to bind an apprentice, or to enter an apprentice or a

Loose connexion of the ordinary freemen with the Company.

¹ Thus between 1781 and 1828 pensions are granted to ten late Assistants, to six widows of Assistants, and to one Liveryman. Rep. + 136, p. 277; + 137, pp. 288, 311, 372, 519, 540, 642; + 138, pp. 65, 69, 208, 425, 479, 628, 630, 645, 713; + 139, pp. 57, 84, 344, 554, 563, 602, 608. One of these, John Barber, received in 1802 a pension of £150 and presents to the amount of £116 5s. as 'the father of the Company'. He had been admitted to the Livery in 1746 and to the Court in 1770. He had been thrice Warden, and Master in 1781. In 1819 the late Senior Warden received £200. Cf. Drapers' Books of Assistants and Livery for these years. The other pensions varied from £100 to about £150. In 1837 five Assistants were holding pensions. Commission on Municipal Corporations Report, 1837.

² There are only three instances of the request being made, one in 1740, one in 1757, and one in 1774. Cf. Records, + 134, p. 358 b; + 135, p. 177 a; + 136, p. 124. All were refused.

³ Precepts, + 371, pp. 21-7.

⁴ For the oath as altered after the Revolution, cf. Appendix XXX A.

child into the freedom (when they were called upon to pay the arrears). No record of their deaths was kept, and their existence was only known if, and when, they came to bind an apprentice or to enter persons into the freedom, to ask for the charity of the House, or do other business.² It is therefore impossible to state what the numbers of the freemen were in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. In 1810 a list of all the freemen entered since 1770 was ordered to be published, with the dates of their admission, their places of residence, and their trades and professions; ² but unfortunately the list is no longer in existence. Instances are also found of persons who are freemen of the Company and yet Liverymen of another Company.³

Mr. Sawyer, the Clerk of the Company, stated that in 1890 the total number of the members of the Company was something between 1,500 and 1,600.⁴

Freedom of
the City.

Unless a man enjoyed the freedom of the City by birth ⁵ the

² The apprenticeships given under charitable bequests, such as those of Pennoyer and Dixon, were of quite a different nature. They were given to all sorts of persons who never entered the Company. They were, however, confined to Protestants, Records, +137, p. 609, 688. For the trusts, cf. Appendix XLVII, Benefactions. The Charities to which the freemen are now admitted are :

1. Participations, if eligible, in the funds allocated to the relief of poor freemen and their widows.

2. Pensions from Harwar's Charity for poor members.

3. Priority to pensions from the consolidated Pension Charity.

4. Preference for the apprenticeship of children of poor freemen under the Royley and Granger charities.

5. Admission to Almshouses for poor widows of freemen under Pemel's Charity.

6. Eligibility of orphans of freemen for admission to the freemen's orphan school.

7. Priority to sons of poor freemen in the award of free boarding Foundation Scholarships in Bancroft's School.

8. One nomination under J. Stock's will to Christ's Hospital for the son of a deceased freeman.

9. An exhibition or priority Scholarship under J. Soley's Trust for sons or grandsons of freemen.

10. Participation in loans to poor freemen.

² Records, +137, p. 505.

³ e. g. 1801. Mr. Hawley Clutterbuck, who was a freeman of the Drapers' Company and a Liveryman of the Leathersellers' Company. *Ib.*, p. 584.

⁴ Report Irish Society and London Companies (Irish Estates) July 1890, p. 301.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 193, note 4, for evidence for this statement, contravening as it does the finding of The Report of the Livery Companies, 1884, vol. i, p. 11.

only way of gaining that freedom was to apply previously for admission into one of the Companies of London, and then to be presented to the Chamberlain by the Wardens.¹ Nevertheless, the entrance into a Company did not necessarily secure admission to the freedom of the City, and a fee had to be paid for such freedom. Thus in 1777 William Mondet had been admitted to the freedom of the Company by redemption on payment of a fine of £12, in the hopes that the Chamberlain of London would grant him the freedom of the City without the payment of a fee by reason of his having served his Majesty in the late war. The request was declined, and he therefore applied to the Company for a return of his fine, which was granted.²

The entrance into the Livery remained, as it had always been, by invitation and at the discretion of the Court,³ and any person who was elected Alderman was forthwith called to the Livery,⁴ but it was the usual practice to call freemen, who had the necessary qualifications, according to their order of seniority on the list of the freemen.⁵ Such an invitation was looked upon as a command unless there was some reasonable cause to the contrary.⁶

Admission
into the
Livery.

¹ In 1717 the Lord Mayor complained that of late instead of such persons being personally presented, a mere note or certificate had been sent by the Beadle (Precepts, + 371, p. 34); and in 1718 he refused the freedom of the City to those who had gained their freedom in a Company by service with a master who was not a freeman of the City (*ib.*, p. 34 b). Since about the year 1835 however, freedom in a Company has not been necessary.

² Records, + 136, p. 163. Some of the freemen of the Company were not freemen of the City. By a resolution of June 9, 1796, however, no one was to be admitted to the Livery of the Drapers' Company unless he had taken up the freedom of the City. Records, + 137, p. 251.

³ Records, + 134, p. 398 b; + 135, p. 75 a. Cf. the case of Warden Hollis, whose request in 1733, that when his son should be made free of the Company he should at once be admitted to the Livery, was refused (Records, + 134, p. 160 a); also that of John Cox: he asked either to be admitted to the Livery or to be translated to the Weavers' Company, who were willing to receive him; he was told that according to the precedent in the case above he could not be called to the Livery out of his turn, and that his request to be translated could not be granted, it being prejudicial to the Company that men of worth and ability should be translated (*ib.*, p. 358 b); also that of William Lyon, who in 1827 complained in vain that he had not been called to the Livery (*ib.*, + 139, p. 609).

⁴ Records, + 135, p. 355 a.

⁵ These rules are in force to-day.

⁶ By the by-law of 1662 (cf. Appendix XXX B) a fine of forty marks was

Nevertheless, from the close of the seventeenth century onwards the qualifications for admission were made more stringent. In the year 1697 the Court of Common Council, 'being highly sensible that several persons free of the Companies of the City are called upon the Liveries of their respective Companies, who had neither estates nor abilities to take their cloathing upon them, which proceedings tended not only to the impoverishment of them and their families, but also at last a charge and burthen to the Company to which they belonged', ordered that for the future no person should be admitted to take the cloathing of any of the twelve Livery Companies unless he had an estate of £1,000, and that no person should be called to the Livery of any of the inferior Companies unless he had an estate of £500.¹

Although the question might have been raised whether the Common Council had any power to impose this regulation on the Companies, no opposition appears to have been made; indeed, two years before, the Company had already aimed at the same result by raising the fine for entrance into the Livery from £13 6s. 8d. to £25.² Since that date the Drapers' Company has added further restrictions. In 1723 the Court ordered that no one should be admitted to the Livery unless he had been made free of the City.³ In 1789 it was resolved that no bankrupt should be called.⁴ In the same year, and again in 1799, the Court declined to admit two journeymen, although in other respects they were fit and qualified.⁵

In 1806 it was ordered that no apprentice bound to any freeman of the Company who had been turned over to a master belonging to another Company (except for reason of the death of his first master, or other reason approved by the Court) and who had imposed on those who declined, but as no one is now called against his wish this rule has fallen into abeyance.

¹ Records, + 133, pp. 249-51 a b.

² Cf. Rep. + 133, p. 237 a. The fine remained at £25 until the year 1896, when it was raised to £41 10s. (including £1 10s. fees to officials). Court of Assistants Minutes, + 686, A 2, p. 246. No doubt the raising of these fees made it impossible for the poor man to rise to the Livery and we have numerous instances of freemen declining or being excused.

³ *Ib.*, + 134, p. 178, confirmed in 1796; *ib.*, Rep. + 137, p. 251.

⁴ *Ib.*, + 136, p. 525.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 526; + 137, p. 394.

subsequently entered into the freedom of the Drapers' Company, should be called to the Livery or partake of any of the benefits of the Company.¹

On the other hand the Court had apparently no objection to admitting a Liveryman of another Company into the clothing. Thus in 1802 Mr. Hawley Clutterbuck, a Liveryman of the Leathersellers, was 'thought worthy' to be called, although, as he had scruples on the point, he was 'permitted to decline'.² Further, the Court claimed to be the sole judges as to whether any freeman was 'a fit person' to be called, and declined to give their reasons for not calling any person. Any Liveryman who fell into poverty was allowed to retire. As a rule his fine for entry into the Livery was not returned unless by the express order of the Court.³ Those who left the Livery for this cause fell back into the position of freemen, but retained their privilege of sharing in the charities of the Company.

There was, and is now, no limit as to the size of the Livery. The number to be called every year was decided by the Court, and during the eighteenth century the number, including the Master, the Wardens and the Assistants, varied from 196 to 136. In the year 1800 it stood at 157.

In the following year the Court applied a different policy. It resolved to call to the Livery all qualified freemen who had been admitted to the freedom before a certain date [August 1797]; and this policy has been followed ever since.⁴ The result of this practice was that the number of the Livery became very great. It was therefore divided into two classes, the Seniors numbering 160, and the Juniors of an indeterminate number, who, as vacancies occurred, were to be raised to the Senior class according to their position on the Junior List. In the year 1802 the number on the Junior List was only 15; in the following year it

Increase in
the number
of the
Livery.
The Senior
and Junior
Livery.

¹ Records, + 138, p. 72.

² *Ib.*, + 137, p. 584. The practice of belonging to more than one Company, although not illegal, was not common during the eighteenth century. In the Livery List of 1734 it is stated that no Liverymen at that date had taken their freedom in any other Company, + 301, List for 1737. In 1821 the Mayor of Dublin was admitted to the Livery. Records, + 139, p. 175.

³ *Ib.*, + 135, pp. 207b; + 137, p. 470.

⁴ *Ib.*, + 137, p. 501; + 138, pp. 355, 646; + 139, p. 335.

had risen to 54. In 1831 as many as 100 were called, and this brought the number in the year 1832 to 223. From that date the size of the Livery in spite of fluctuations slowly shrank, and to-day it is composed of 160 Senior members (including the Assistants) and only 41 Juniors.¹

Court of
Assistants.

The Assistants continued, as before, to be appointed by co-option, almost always from the Livery, although there was no rule against a freeman being chosen; and any one elected Warden became thereby a member of the Court.² Until the nineteenth century any member of the Company who was elected Alderman or Sheriff was admitted to the Court, but paid fines to be excused holding the office of Warden or Master.³ The same privilege used to be accorded to those who had declined these offices, but in 1807 this privilege was withdrawn; ⁴ and by a Standing Order of 1827 this rule was altered with regard to Sheriffs, and by one of 1908 with regard to Aldermen; so that to-day neither Sheriffs nor Aldermen are called to the Court in virtue of their office.⁵ There is, however, no rule against their being called. Aldermen thus called had a precedence in the Court till the Standing Order of March 12, 1836. No fee was ever charged for admission to the Court, as is the case in the Merchant Taylor's Company. Once, however, a person had thus been admitted to the Court he was eligible for the post of Warden or of Master.⁶ No Assistant who had become a bankrupt was to be summoned until he had paid 20s. in the pound,⁷ and by

¹ For the Livery Lists from 1604, to 1734 cf. Appendix XLIII B. They are wanting from 1735 to 1769. From 1769 the lists are found in printed form. Cf. Drapers' Lists of og, oh, oi; + 877, 878, 879. For a list of admissions to the Livery since 1900 cf. Appendix XLIII C.

² From the years 1786-1838, 76 Liverymen were passed over: Bankrupts, 32; Clergymen, 3; living at distance, 13; addresses not known, 3; either not put up or had not received more than two votes, 20; lost their election by a few votes, 2; a clerk in a bank, 1; a merchant's clerk, 1; Secretary to the Bible Society, 1; Total 76. Election to the office of one of the Junior Wardens is the usual method of entrance to the Court.

³ To be excused office of Master a liveryman paid £20, a freeman £20, to be excused office of Warden a liveryman paid £40, a freeman £50, cf. Records, + 133, p. 52; *ib.*, 134, pp. 33 a, 47 a b; *ib.*, + 137, p. 113; *ib.*, + 138, pp. 111, 611.

⁴ *ib.*, + 137, pp. 112, 115; + 138, p. 86, 101.

⁵ *ib.*, + 725 a, p. 21.

⁶ 1707. *ib.*, + 134, pp. 16 a, 27 a, 146 a, 286 a.

⁷ *ib.*, + 134, p. 30 a; *ib.*, + 135, p. 280 b.

a regulation of 1811 no one accepting any service other than that of Master or Warden was to take his seat while on such service.¹

During the eighteenth century the number of the Assistants varied from 26 to 53. But as it was held undesirable that the Court should be too large, the number has never exceeded 32 since 1840, nor 27 since 1901. To-day it stands at 25. In the year 1730, owing to some want of diligence in the attendance at the Courts, it was decided to grant a fee of 5s. for every attendance, a fee which has subsequently been increased.² By a regulation of December 1777 it was ordered that six Courts should be summoned every year for the transaction of business.³

No important alteration has been made since the Revolution of 1688 in the method of the election of the Master and Wardens or in the nature of their duties, except that in the year 1779 it was resolved that the Wardens should be chosen from the Livery, and in 1811 that the Master should be elected by ballot.⁴ In the year 1826, however, the ancient and picturesque ceremonies of marching in procession to St. Michael's on the day of election and round the Hall after dinner and before the election were discontinued.⁵

¹ *Ib.*, + 138, p. 311. In the year 1818 James Bridger, having been elected Warden, resigned his office of Carpenter to the Company as being inconsistent with his duties as an Assistant (*ib.*, 691). This is interesting as showing that the position of Carpenter was one of some importance. It was often held by a Liveryman.

² *Records*, + 134, p. 305 b.

³ In October, December, February, April, June, and on the first Monday in August. *Ib.*, + 136, p. 182. There are now more than six meetings held every year.

⁴ *Ib.*, + 136, p. 228; + 138, p. 279. In 1814 a Standing Order was passed that no clergyman should be put in nomination for any office. *Ib.*, + 138, p. 455. This has been interpreted to mean a beneficed clergyman. It may be noted that by 41 Geo. III, c. 63, clergymen were for the first time excluded from the House of Commons, and that by 5, 6 Will. IV, c. 76, § 28, they were declared ineligible for the office of Alderman. The standing order has, however been now revoked.

⁵ The mode of procedure was to be as follows: The Master and Wardens at a convenient time after dinner were to retire to the Court Room and put on their gowns. On their return, the election cups having been placed before them, the Clerk was to proclaim the election of the Master-Elect. The Master was then to put the crown on the head of the Master-Elect and drink his health, a compliment which he was to return. A like procedure was to attend the proclamation of each of the Wardens in turn. Each Warden was to present the crown to the

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The selection of the Master and of the Wardens is at the discretion of the Court, but as a rule the person who has served the office of Senior Warden in the past year is chosen as Master, and the Renter and Junior Wardens usually from the Livery. Occasionally, however, the Master and the Wardens are selected from the Assistants, and there is no rule against a freeman being elected.¹ Persons are usually first elected to the post of the Renter

person who was to succeed to his particular office, and, as in the case of the Master-Elect, mutual healths were to be drunk. Music was to be played between each election. After these proceedings the Master and Wardens were to retire into the Court Room to administer the oaths to the new Master and Wardens. Rep. + 139, pp. 508, 511. For a fuller description of the ceremony cf. Livery List of 1769-1795, last two pages. With the exception of the music this is the procedure to-day.

The crowns or garlands of the Drapers' Company no longer exist, but we learn from the Bachelors' Accounts, 176, f. 3, that the silk on them was of green taffeta and had an image of Our Lady on the bands. The general character of them may be gathered from those of the Carpenters' Company which are here copied from Jupp's History, p. 211 :

Master's Cap



Front View

Back View

Warden's Cap



¹ In 1810 G. Slack, of the Bank of England, a Liveryman, complained that the election of Master and Wardens by the Court was contrary to the Charter of Henry VI, and applied to the Court of King's Bench for a writ of *Quo Warranto*. The rule being granted, the Clerk made the curious statement that he had never seen or heard of the said Charter, nor of the method of election under that Charter, of which there was no record. The governing Charter of the Company, he said, was that of James I, which limited the right of election to the Court of Assistants. Moreover, he stated that such had been the practice ever since, with the exception of the period of the *Quo Warranto* in the reign of Charles II and James II (cf.

of the Junior Warden. The Renter Warden originally dealt with the estates belonging to the Company, but has now no special duties, the administration of the estates being to-day in the hands of the Clerk under the control of Committees appointed by the Court. Those elected to the post of Master or Warden are expected to serve, and have to pay a fine for declining, unless specially excused.

To secure a better attendance of the Wardens at the meetings of the Court, the old by-laws were reinforced in 1776, and fines imposed on those who were absent without leave or reasonable excuse. Those who were unable to attend owing to illness were also ordered to appoint substitutes.¹

The trusts are administered by the Court of Assistants acting through the Court of Wardens and other Committees.

Various changes were made in the dates and the number of the dinners and entertainments during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These are not of much importance, but there are some interesting and amusing entries in the Records which are worth recording.

Dinners and
Entertain-
ments.

At times of stress, especially when the country was at war, dinners and entertainments were frequently, as had been the custom in earlier days, either dispensed with altogether or made more simple.² In such cases the money thus saved was devoted to public objects or to charity.

Till 1748 'Anticks' were usually hired for the Public Election *supra*, p. 293 ff.). The Court of King's Bench, after hearing the evidence, dismissed the application with costs. Records, + 138, pp. 225, 230 ff. Slack had been in nomination for the post of Junior Warden in 1807 and 1808, but had not been elected. Records + 138, pp. 101, 166. In 1817 he petitioned to be elected Warden. We are not surprised to find that his request was declined. He stood sixth on the Livery List, (*ib.*, p. 615). In 1827 William Saddler expressed 'his surprise and concern' that he had not been elected Warden. No notice was taken of his complaint and he never was elected (*ib.*, p. 609). In 1827 he was only twenty-sixth, and when he died in 1843 only sixth on the Livery List. So that he does not appear to have had a good case.

¹ Records, + 136, pp. 154 a b, 18c.

² *Ib.*, + 134, pp. 376, 377 a, b, 403. This was not, however, apparently done during the Seven Years War, nor during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic War, 1793-1815. At other times, when the expenses exceeded the allowances, the allowances were increased or the balance made up by a vote of the Court. *Ib.*, + 137, pp. 69, 426.

During the late War 1914-18 all entertainments were abandoned.

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dinner and for other entertainments, but in consequence of their 'having for some years past performed in a mean manner', it was then resolved that they should no longer be employed without special order of the Court.¹

Till 1749 a ball was also held after the said dinner, but owing to disturbances and insults to the Master and some of the Wardens by strangers who had forced their way in, it was discontinued.

Till 1756 the use of the Hall had² been granted for feasts held by sundry societies, such as the Freemasons, Gregorians, Antigallicans, Welsh, Shoreditch and others,³ and also for dances. These were, however, considered in no way consistent with the dignity of the Company. It was therefore resolved that in future 'none should be permitted except such as might be deemed of public utility or conducive to the honour of the City'.⁴

During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars the use of French wines was forbidden, and was not allowed till 1817.⁵ It is curious that as late as 1807 the Company did not lay down their own wine, but still bought it of a purveyor.⁶ Until the year 1818 the dinners of the Court of Assistants, those of the Wardens on quarter-day and the dinners of Committees were held at taverns. In that year it was resolved that the dinners of the Court should in future be held at the Hall,⁷ and in 1827 this regulation was applied to the others. From 1866 to 1869, the Ladies' dinner was held at the Star and Garter, Richmond; in 1869 at the Crystal Palace. Since 1870 it has been given at the Hall.⁸

From the year 1738 to the year 1826 the Distillers' Company were

¹ Records, + 135, p. 64 a. Anticks are clowns or merry-andrews.

² *Ib.*, 87 b.

³ The Gregorian Society was often classed with the Freemason. For the Antigallicans cf. *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxv, p. 280 a. I have not succeeded in finding out what the Welsh and Shoreditch societies were.

⁴ Records, + 135, p. 163 b. In consequence of the loss in fees to the Clerk, the Beadle, and the Porters, their fees were raised by the Court.

⁵ *Ib.*, + 137, p. 359; + 138, p. 616.

⁶ *Ib.*, + 137, pp. 675, 686; *ib.*, + 138, p. 75. In 1828 apparently they did, as we hear of the laying down of wine. *Ib.*, + 139, p. 656.

⁷ *Ib.*, + 138, pp. 636; + 139, p. 577. Cf., further on, *Quarterly Dinners, Resolutions of 1881, 1905, 1908*, in *Court of Assistants Minutes*, + 249, p. 270; + 686, A 4, p. 94, A 5, pp. 458-9.

⁸ *Minutes*, + 244, p. 379; + 245, pp. 288, 428.

allowed to hold their Courts in the Hall. The original reason for this was that in 1738 Thomas Hardwick, the Clerk of the Drapers' Company, was also Clerk of the Distillers. Until this same year the Hall was also lent for meetings of the Wardemote of Broad Street.¹

In 1780 and 1785 the Court was scandalized at the practice of the Livery sending to a public-house for bread and cheese on November 5, which, however, they paid for themselves, and also at their requiring to have some of the provisions left over at the dinners for their suppers. This custom was considered highly improper; the Wardens were therefore instructed to prevent such conduct for the future, and the servants forbidden to fetch anything to the Hall without the leave of the Court.² It had been the custom for the Wardens to have the wine that was left over from the dinners. This perquisite must have been of some value, for when, in 1763, this practice was forbidden, it was decided to excuse the fine of £12 which the Junior Wardens had hitherto paid on their admission to office.³ Possibly it was owing to a survival of this old custom that in 1780 two persons of high position were accused of carrying away victuals and bottles of wine from the dinners. As they both pleaded that it was for the benefit of the families of certain poor persons the charge was not pressed, but a resolution was passed forbidding such practices for the future.⁴ In spite of this, in 1817 another Assistant was convicted of filling his pockets with articles from the dessert. He pleaded poverty and children, and retired from the Court. The fact that shortly after he was granted a pension of £50 at least shows that his excuse was a real one.⁵

The Court was much concerned with the question of admitting strangers, and especially ladies, to their entertainments, and it often changed its mind on the subject.⁶ Finally, however, a limited

Entertain-
ment of
Strangers
and of the
Livery.

¹ Records, + 134, p. 331 a; *ib.*, + 135, p. 163 b; *ib.*, + 139, p. 530.

² *ib.*, + 136, pp. 266, 520,

³ *ib.*, + 135, p. 262 b.

⁴ One was a Warden, the other an Assistant. Records, + 136, pp. 232, 237, 242, 243.

⁵ *ib.*, + 138, pp. 625, 626, 628.

⁶ e. g. A.D. 1768, Records, + 135, p. 326 a; A.D. 1775, *ib.*, + 136, pp. 140, 149; A.D. 1777, *ib.*, p. 157; A.D. 1785, *ib.*, p. 441; A.D. 1795, *ib.*, + 137, p. 199; A.D. 1800, *ib.*, p. 440.

number of male strangers were allowed, while the question of the ladies was settled by holding a ladies' dinner, by giving a concert once a year to which they were invited, and by admitting them as guests to the summer excursions in the barge.

The entertainment of the Livery was a more serious problem. In 1774 a deputation from the Livery requested that a summer excursion on the river should be substituted for the annual dinner given to the Livery on November 5. As the expense of such a summer excursion would greatly exceed that of the dinner, and the barge was not large enough to entertain all the Livery, the Court proposed that half the Livery should be invited each year. On this being declined by the deputation, the Court decided to refuse the application. Other respectable Companies, they said, had refused to do this for their Liveries; and the Ironmongers, who had made the concession, had been so apprehensive of the damage that was likely to be done that they had demanded security; moreover, if the suggestion were adopted, it would involve dropping a festal day set apart for the meeting of the whole body of the Court and Livery, and this for a 'mere move of pleasure'.¹ In 1801, owing to the policy then adopted of calling to the Livery all the qualified freemen who had been elected since a certain date,² the size of the Livery became too large to be comfortably entertained. To meet the difficulty a regulation was passed by which the newly-called were asked to waive their privilege of being invited to feasts, processions, or aquatic excursions, until by the death of those before them on the list they stood among the Senior 160 members of the Livery (including the members of the Court).³ The alteration caused some discontent. In the year 1810 a freeman complained of the regulation, and stated that no freeman was ever entertained or even summoned to the service on Election Day, averring that these restrictions were a violation of the original rights of freemen. He appealed to the Court of King's Bench, but that Court, after hearing evidence, dismissed the application with costs.⁴

¹ Records, + 136, pp. 125 b, 126 b, 134 b.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 433.

³ October 1801, Records, + 137, p. 501; *ib.*, + 138, pp. 144, 355, 647.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 231, 235-50.

In 1826 Joseph Cuff, a Liveryman, wrote to ask why he had not been invited to dinner, but his letter was not answered.¹ Since that date there has been no further protest. In 1843 the January Livery Dinner, the July Junior Livery Dinner and the Fritter Dinner were done away with. But from 1858 to the War of 1914 the Junior Livery were invited to dine twice a year, while the Seniors were entertained once a quarter.²

In 1772 the Hall, which had been built after the Great Fire in the reign of Charles II, was so much damaged by another conflagration³ that it was decided to rebuild the front towards Throgmorton Street. At the same time the Clerk's apartments were enlarged by incorporating certain adjoining houses, and the gate leading into Austin Friars widened.⁴ There is a tradition that the front was restored after designs by the famous brothers Adam, but I can find no evidence of this. The Company's surveyor, John Gorham, appears to have been the architect; he certainly designed the ornaments in the pediment, while William Hodson was director of the works.⁵ George Richardson drew the designs for the ceilings in the Hall and the Court Room,⁶ and the figures in the ceilings were modelled in basso relievo by Joseph Nollekins.⁷ The ornaments for the pediment in Portland

Hall rebuilt after the Fire of 1772.

¹ Records, + 139, p. 525. He had been called to the Livery in 1812, and at the time stood 176th on the list.

² Court of Assistants' Minutes, + 238 p. 123, 242, pp. 70, 81. Since the War all the Livery, both Senior and Junior, come to the Livery dinners, of which there are four a year.

³ Maitland, in his History of London, ed. 1760, vol. ii, p. 646, gives a description of the Hall as it existed in 1756. The fire extended as far as Cornhill and Lombard Street. Records, + 136, pp. 91, 92, 94.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 37, 70, 91, 94, 107 a.

⁵ Gorham was paid £72. Hodson was admitted to the freedom of the Company for his diligence. Records, + 136, pp. 60, 119 b; Journal, + 517, p. 469.

⁶ Paid G. Richardson for designing and drawing the ceilings in

the Hall	£.	s.	d.
do. do. for Court Room	9	9	0
For the mouldings in the Hall and Court Room	6	6	0
	1	15	0
Total	17	10	0

⁷ Paid Joseph Nollekins for modelling and casting figures in ceilings of Hall and Court Room. 280 0 0

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stone in the Hall were executed by Thomas Scheemaker.¹ The work was finished in June 1778. We learn that an American stove on Dr. Franklin's plan was erected in the Court Room in 1780. This is curious, considering that the War of Independence was not concluded till the following year.²

Further alterations, 1825 and 1866.

In 1825 some small structural alterations were made. A window was opened at the north end of the Hall, the balustrade in front of the upper windows was removed, and the front of the music gallery altered so as to produce a lighter effect. A new chimney-piece was also erected. Two windows in the ladies' chamber were filled up, and additional rooms to the east of the Chamber were erected in the yard of the house lately occupied by Messrs. Hullets.³

In the year 1866 it was decided to make further additions. They consisted of a new front towards Throgmorton Street with pillars of Portland stone, a marble staircase leading to a new Livery Dining Hall, which had marble columns and stained glass windows, and to the new reception rooms. New apartments were also made for the House Steward. As these alterations necessitated the destruction of the house hitherto held by the Clerk, he was given a sum of money wherewith to rent a house elsewhere.

The buildings were designed by Mr. Herbert Williams, the Company's surveyor, the marbles chosen and arranged after the advice of Mr. Penrose, the architect of St. Paul's, and the work executed by Messrs. Barnsley of Birmingham. Messrs. Lavers & Co. and Messrs. Heaton & Co. provided the stained glass. The sculpture and statues were by Edward Wyon; the decorations and furniture came from Messrs. Grace & Co.⁴

Final alterations, 1895-1915.

One would have thought that the Company would have now

¹ Paid Thomas Scheemaker for executing pediments in the Hall 72 0 0 Cf. Journal, + 517, p. 469; Records, + 136, pp. 133 a, 188. Scheemaker's father had been the pupil of Nollekins. For these men cf. Dict. of National Biography. Some of Richardson's designs are to be found at the Institute of Architects, 9 Conduit Street; Catalogue number, 33 b.

² Records, + 136, p. 240.

³ *Ib.*, + 139, pp. 410, 411, 416, 422, 437-9.

⁴ Court of Assistants' Minutes, + 244, pp. 343-9, 364, 418, 442, 518; *ib.*, + 245, pp. 72-78, 128-133, 150, 515; *ib.*, + 245, p. 18. Crace was the son of the architect of that name, and a fashionable decorator of the day. His father's collection of drawings are in the Crace Collection, British Museum.

been satisfied, but, like the monks of old, their love of building was insatiable, and architects were always at hand to suggest further improvements. Moreover, the alterations contemplated would, it was suggested, increase their rent-roll. Accordingly the Court resolved to set free the frontages in Throgmorton Street and Throgmorton Avenue so that they might let the premises for business purposes. Openings were therefore made from Throgmorton Avenue for the Clerk's office, and also into Austin Friars. The position of the grand entrance from Throgmorton Street was altered. The staircase was removed from its old position, and a new one of marble and alabaster erected. The corridor and Livery Hall were also rearranged, all after the designs of Sir T. G. Jackson.¹ W. Herbert Draper designed and painted a new ceiling in the Livery Hall.² Finally, in 1914-15, the Hall was re-decorated by Messrs. White, Allom, & Co.³

Description of the Drapers' Hall as it now stands.

From the entrance in Throgmorton Street we pass into a hall, which forms part of the cloisters enclosing the Court Yard. The tympana of the arches which run along it are decorated with sculptures by Edward Wyon, and the Hall is adorned by a Vase of Serpentine and a marble statuette of the Egyptian Antinous, bequeathed to the Company in 1903 by Mr. William Chapman, a member of the Court. The Wardens' Room, the Clerk's Room, and sundry offices are on the ground-floor. The exterior walls of these rooms and probably the rooms themselves, as well as the Court dining-room above, are the only parts of the building of the seventeenth century which still stand. Those on the ground-floor have, however, been modernized. They face what remains of the old private garden and Throgmorton Avenue beyond. Over the mantelpiece in the Clerk's Room there hangs a picture of the Monument of Francis Bancroft in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, with this satirical account of him taken from Strype:

Entrance,
Lower
Court
Room, and
Clerk's
Room.

¹ Court of Assistants' Minutes, +686, A. 2, pp. 218, 231, 259, 323, 352, 372, 379, 400, 412, 442. *Ib.*, A. 3, pp. 18, 38, 42, 79, 99, 120, 142, 158, 173, 175, 185, 206.

² *Ib.*, pp. 204, 229, 239, 255, 261, 276, 286, 296, 414, 435.

³ *Ib.*, A. 5, pp. 494; *ib.*, A. 6, pp. 19, 41, 50, 128.

‘Francis Bancroft, Grandson of Archbishop Bancroft, was for many years one of the Lord Mayor’s Officers of this City; who in the execution of his Office, by Information and Summoning the Citizens before the Lord Mayor upon the most trifling occasions, and for many things not belonging to his office, not only pillaged the Poor, but likewise many of the Rich, who, rather than lose time in appearing before the said Magistrate, gave money to get rid of this common Pest of the Citizens, which together with his numerous Quarterages from Brokers, etc., annually amassed to a considerable sum of Money. By these and other mercenary practices, he so effectually incurred the hatred and ill-will of the Citizens of all denominations, that the Persons who attended his Funeral Obsequies with great difficulty saved his corpse from being jostled off the Bearers’ shoulders in the Church by the enraged Populace, who, seizing the Bells, rang them for joy at his unlamented death; a deportment heretofore unheard-of among the London Rabble.’

‘The beautiful House, School, and Chapel, situate at Mile End, were erected by the Company of Drapers pursuant to the Will of Francis Bancroft, who bequeathed to the said Company about the sum of £27,000 for that purpose.’¹

Staircase
landing and
Court
Dining
Room.

Ascending the marble staircase we reach a landing. To the left stands the Court Dining Room with its handsome seveneenth-century panelling. On the walls hang many pictures, of which the following are the most noteworthy: A Holy Family, of the School of Giovanni Bellini, presented by Mr. Hendric, an Assistant, in 1852. A portrait of Henry the Eighth after Hans Holbein; this picture was originally in a panel at Rutland House, Knightsbridge, and was presented to the Company by Mr. Smith, the Company’s upholsterer, somewhere about the year 1834. A portrait of Charles I by Daniel Myttons the elder, presented by Mr. Thomas Rutley, a Liveryman, in 1848. A full-length figure of Henry Fitzalwyn, the first Mayor of London, and, according to the somewhat doubtful tradition, a member of the Company; the picture is, however, of uncertain date and of

¹ Strype’s *Stow*, ed. 1754, vol. i, p. 278. The picture was published May 20, 1794, by N. Smith, St. Martin’s Lane.

little artistic value. Another portrait by an unknown artist is that of Sir William Boreman, Clerk of the Board of the Green Cloth in the reign of Charles II, and founder of the Green Coat School at Greenwich. Of more importance are the pictures of Sir Robert Clayton, Lord Mayor in 1679 and Master of the Company in the following year, painted by Jonathan Richardson; that of John Gregory, Master in 1852, by John Prescott Knight; and that of John Taber, thrice Master (in 1861, 1863, and 1870) by George Richmond. The following portraits of Clerks to the Company and of a Beadle are also deserving of notice: Mr. Thomas Hardwick, Clerk from 1737 to 1773, by Thomas Hudson; Mr. John Smith, Clerk of the Company from 1773 to 1797, by Thomas Gainsborough; Sir William Phillips Sawyer, Clerk of the Company from 1870 to 1908, by Professor von Herkomer; and W. Thomas Bagshaw, Beadle of the Company from 1754 to 1795, by Spiridini Roma. Two other portraits of Members of the Court and a marble bust called 'Surprise', by a Roman artist, the gift of G. W. Williams, complete the list.

In the Little Committee Room, which lies beyond, there are some pictures of considerable historical interest, more especially three views by James Scott: Old Westminster Bridge, with Westminster Hall and St. Stephen's Chapel; Lambeth Palace, with old Westminster Bridge and St. Paul's Cathedral in the distance, and old Northumberland House. There is another view of old Westminster Bridge by Samuel Scott, as well as one of old London Bridge by the same artist. Both these were presented by Mr. Charles Fellows Pearson in 1900. Mr. George Stansfeld Marshall, an Assistant, also gave another view of old London Bridge by Daniel Turner in 1874. There is also a picture of Sir John Milborne's almshouses in Cooper's Row, Crutched Friars, which were pulled down in 1862; and one of King Louis Philippe receiving an address from the Corporation of London by Mons. Alaux. This last picture was bequeathed to the Company by Mr. John D. Lowden in 1866.

On the Court Staircase, which leads down from the Court Room, hang the following portraits: The Duke of Marlborough, by Sir James Thornhill, presented by William Lyle in 1852; Mr. Joseph Williams, Master in 1842 and 1848, by F. R. Say;

Little
Committee
Room.

Court Stair-
case.

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Mr. H. Smith, Clerk from 1797 to 1826, by Charles Thompson; William Henry Sawyer (father of Sir William Philip Sawyer), Clerk of the Company from 1854 to 1870, by Sir John Watson Gordon;¹ and Mr. Jesse Gibson, Surveyor to the Company from 1797 to 1822, also by Charles Thompson.

The Court
Room.

Returning to the landing at the head of the Staircase, we pass straight on to the Court Room. Here there are three pictures: one which is believed to be a representation of Mary Queen of Scots and her son, who was afterwards James I, by Frederico Zuccherò; another of Lord Nelson by Sir William Beechey; and one of Sir Joseph Sheldon, Lord Mayor in 1675-6 and Master of the Company 1676-7.

Besides these pictures the walls are embellished by two excellent pieces of Gobelin tapestry, designed by Pierre François Cosette and Jean de Troy, and executed in the last years of the reign of Louis XV. They were given by Louis XVI to the Count d'Aranda, the Spanish Ambassador at the French Court. Subsequently they became the property of the Marquis of Salamanca, Minister of Queen Christina, and were bought from his collection by Mr. Colman of Stoke Park, Bucks. In 1881 Mr. Colman sold them to the Company. The first of these panels represents Jason swearing fidelity to Medea before the altar of Artemis; the second, Medea with her two sons by Jason leaving the city of Corinth in flames in a chariot drawn by winged dragons, as they fly from his vengeance. At the top of the principal staircase there are the busts of John Milton, Sir Isaac Newton, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, the last two by John Francis.

Livery
Dining Hall.

Beyond the Upper Court Room lies the large Livery Dining Hall. The walls are hung with a succession of full-length portraits of the Kings and Queens of England from William III to Edward VII. Of these, those of William III and Anne are by Sir Godfrey Kneller, the one presented by Mr. Watson, an Assistant in 1719, the other by Mr. John Lewis Rutley, a Liveryman, in 1898.

¹ Both the Sawyers were clerks of the Company—William Henry 1854-70, Sir William Philip 1870-1908.

The portrait of George I was presented by Mr. Hollis, an Assistant, in 1716; that of George II was given in 1720 by Sir William Hammond, Master of the Company in 1718-19; that of George III is by Sir Nathaniel Dance (subsequently Dance Holland); that of George IV by Sir Thomas Lawrence. The picture of William IV is a copy of the portrait by Sir David Wilkie in Windsor Castle by H. E. James; that of Queen Victoria is also a copy by H. E. James of the portrait by Von Angeli in Windsor Castle; and that of Edward VII a replica by Harold Speed, presented by Mr. John Barrow, Master of the Company in 1910-11.

Of the paintings in the ceiling of the Livery Dining Hall by W. H. Draper, the central picture represents the scene from Shakespeare's *Tempest*, where Prospero calls forth the Spirits of the Elements to celebrate the betrothal of his daughter Miranda to her lover Ferdinand. In the Spanish panels which surround the central piece, History, Science, Ethics and Literature are portrayed. In two other large pictures to the north and south, scenes from the *Midsummer Night's Dream* are given—one that of Oberon, King of the Fairies, in his golden chariot at dawn; the other of Titania, Queen of Fairies, asleep with Puck hovering over her head, while figures flit across the face of the moon and sing to her. In the panels surrounding these two pictures the Morning Hours, Sunset, and Night are represented. At the end of the room stand a statue of Hypatia by Richard Belt and one of Venus by John Gibson.

The landing also leads to the Drawing Room, which is richly furnished with green damask. On the walls there are two more tapestry panels. The first, designed by Claude Audran, represents Jason with a plough drawn by fire-breathing oxen, as he sows the dragon's teeth whence armed men are springing. In the second, designed by Cosette, we see the dying Creusa burnt by the poisoned robe sent her by Medea, in revenge for Jason's infidelity. The history of these pieces of tapestry is the same as of those in the Court Room. There is also a full-sized portrait of the Duke of Wellington by John Lucas, and three marble statues: a Psyche by Pietro Tenerani, a girl fastening her sandal by Rudolf Scadow, and a shepherd boy by Thorwaldsen.

Drawing
Room.

The Garden. The Company were never able to keep the Garden from being abused by outsiders, and some of their orders are amusing. Thus in 1709 persons were forbidden to walk there in pattens, and the Garden was to be closed in wet weather. In 1715 complaint was made that it was frequented by numerous children, nurses, maids and other disorderly folk, who damaged the trees, broke the boughs, and cut their names on the bark. Children were therefore excluded, and it was to be closed on Saturdays because, as they were the Jewish Sabbaths, great numbers of Jews resorted there with their families. In 1741 this order was extended to Sundays and the festival days of the Company, while dogs were prohibited.¹ Nevertheless the Company were too fond of their Garden to neglect it; much money was spent in its upkeep and embellishment;² and, as it was the finest open space, it was for a long time looked upon as a fashionable promenade in the afternoons and summer evenings. Macaulay, the historian, was often taken there in early childhood, and in his later life it was one of his favourite haunts, partly because of these early associations.³ It lay to the north-west of the Hall. It was 262 ft. long and 237 ft. broad, was bounded on the east by Austin Friars, on the north by the garden of Carpenters' Hall, and on the west by buildings.⁴ Unfortunately it no longer exists. Substantial people ceased to reside in the City and moved West, and the increasing value of the site induced the Company to comply with the desire to cut a thoroughfare right through it from Throgmorton Street to London Wall, and to let out the remaining portion on building leases.⁵ In 1873 Throgmorton Avenue was made in conjunction with the Carpenters' Company, and in the following year the Court began to build. The name, which they still retain, of Drapers' Gardens, is all that survives to remind members of the Company of that Garden on which they had in the past bestowed such loving care.

¹ Records, + 134, pp. 43 b, 105 a b, 379 a.

² For instance, in the year 1739 as much as £905. 14s. was spent.

³ Trevelyan, *Life of Macaulay*, ed. 1876, vol. i, pp. 25, 26. Macaulay's father lived in Birchin Lane as Secretary to the Company for colonizing Sierra Leone with liberated slaves, and there the historian was born in 1800.

⁴ Cf. the Map given in vol. ii of this work, p. 280.

⁵ Assistants' Minutes, 246-247, for the years 1873-6.

The small strip to the north of the Hall, which still remains, was never part of the larger garden. It is so much closed in by buildings that shrubs do not do well there, yet the stump of an old mulberry tree, which was certainly there before the Great Fire, still defies time and smoke and even bears fruit which ripens. For the rest, by the help of bulbs and flowers, which are annually renewed, it retains a fresh and gay appearance except during the winter.

Charity.

As will be seen by reference to the Appendix,¹ the amount of the charitable gifts and bequests by members of the Company during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was very considerable.

Charitable Bequests, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the eighteenth century one set of almshouses was established and endowed by Mr. Harwar, an almshouse and a school by Mr. Bancroft at Stepney, while Jonathan Granger left £500 towards building a school in the Tower ward and other charitable purposes. Some £8,400 was also bequeathed or granted to institutions already founded by the charity of past benefactors.²

In the nineteenth century Mr. Corney left £36,000 to found a school for female orphans; Mr. Cuff left £105 and Mr. Trower £300 to Bancroft's School, Mr. Clavell £5,000 to Boreman's Green Coat School, and Mr. Soley part of his estate to Drapers' College, Tottenham, which had been founded by the Company in the year 1861.³

¹ Appendix No. XLVII.

	£.	s.	d.
² Thus: To Queen Elizabeth's College	2866	0	0
To Boreman's Green Coat School	1000	0	0
To Walter's Almshouses	700	0	0
To Christ's Hospital	3000	0	0
To the Beech Lane Almshouses	833	6	8
	£8399	6	8

£300 4 per cent. Trinidad Stock given by H. Trower in 1892 for two prizes of £5 annually, one to a girl at Elmslea School, the other to a boy at Bancroft's School, and one of £3 to a boy at Bancroft's. Besides these endowments, £300 was left to poor members of the Company, and £400 by Mr. Tarn to a school at Newbiggin, with which, however, the Company had no connexion.

³ Mr. Soley died in 1881, and his widow, the tenant for life, in 1899. A claim on the estate was made by a relative, and the executors of Mr. Soley's will took

Including those newly founded, the charitable institutions in the administration of which the Company is, or was, at some date during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, directly concerned were nineteen in number.¹

Nor was this all; the Court had also to superintend the appointment to the four Exhibitions at the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the dispensing of charity both annual and casual, whether the said Charity was the gift of the Company or of individual members.

Duties of
the Court in
administer-
ing these
Charities no
sinecure.

The work thrown on the members of the Court in governing and administering all these institutions and charities was excessive, and the Records bear witness to the scrupulous care and honesty with which their labours were conducted. The almshouses and

the matter into the Court of Chancery. As the Drapers' College at Tottenham had been in the meantime closed, a scheme was approved by the Court of Chancery in 1906. Under this scheme, as amended in 1911, the funds bequeathed by Mr. Soley to the Company are now applied to the maintenance of scholarships and exhibitions. The Scholarships, two or three in number of £60 a year, are granted on consideration of merit and circumstances, with a priority to sons and grandsons of freemen of the Company, and are tenable at any place of advanced education for two years, renewable for a third year. Candidates must satisfy the Company that they are in need of pecuniary assistance and must be between the ages of 16 and 20. The Exhibitions, one or more of £70 a year tenable for three years at Kings College Cambridge, are awarded by examination open to sons and grandsons of freemen of the Company. In default of duly qualified candidates the authorities of Kings College may apply the income according to their discretion. The income of the trust is now about £400. Will of Thomas Soley y. 31. Soley Trust scheme y 33. Besides these gifts to institutions Mr. Ogborn left in 1836 £1,000 the interest to be applied to the release of poor debtors.

Almshouses (11)

Ascue's
Edmanson's
Harwar's
Jolles'
Milborne's
Pemel's
Walter's { Newington
 { Southwark
 { Shoreditch
Lucas' Hospital
Queen Elizabeth's College

Schools (7)

Boreman's
Corney's
Drapers' College
Goosnargh
Howell's
Jolles'

Kirkham

Almshouse and School (1)
Bancroft's Hospital

the schools needed constant supervision. Neither masters nor boys were always satisfactory, while the almsfolk were, as usual, constantly guilty of offences against the rules. Besides these troubles, which might be expected, questions of principle, many of them involving points of law, frequently turned up.

It is a common belief that the leading members of a City Company spend their time in feasting and good-fellowship. A perusal of the Records leaves a very different impression, and it may be boldly asserted that there are few men in England who do so much work of a public nature as do the Masters, Wardens and Assistants of a Livery Company, while the fees which they receive, and which it should be remembered are the gifts of benefactors, or paid out of their corporate revenue, are absurdly small.¹ The expenses of the management of their trust funds, if not charged on the trust itself by the terms of the Deed or Scheme, are borne by the Company out of their corporate estate.

The most important questions of policy arose in those cases where the income of the trust either exceeded, or was less than the charges. In the latter contingency the principle generally followed was that if the deficiency was a temporary one the Company either lent, or more often gave, what was necessary out of their corporate revenue.² If, however, the deficiency appeared likely to be permanent, the charity was curtailed.³ When

Principles
on which
the charities
were ad-
ministered.

¹ As to Mr. Firth's assertion that members of the Courts of some of the Companies sometimes find 'a banknote delicately secreted under their plates', it should be noted that, when asked for particulars, he named the Cutler's Company, and when pressed further he said that his informant was dead. The Clerk to the Company absolutely denied that this had ever been done, and certainly it has not been the practice in the Drapers' Company nor in the Goldsmiths' Company, nor, I am assured, in the Merchant Taylors' Company. It would appear that the foundation for this most insulting statement is the practice in some Companies of placing the fees due to the members of the Court in sealed envelopes on a tray at meetings of the Court. Cf. on the question, Livery Commission, vol. i, p. 328; London City Livery Companies' Vindication, Gilbert & Company, 1885, p. 111.

² e.g. the cases of Queen Elizabeth's College and Walter's Almshouses; Records, 133, p. 228; Jolles' Almshouses, *ib.*, + 137, p. 723; + 138, p. 44.

³ e.g. Queen Elizabeth's College, *ib.*, + 134, p. 399; Okingham Hospital, *ib.*, p. 35 a. This was in accordance with the opinion of Sir John Hawles, the late Solicitor-General, given in the year 1704. He held that the Company was

on the other hand the income exceeded the expenses, the Court was always prepared to extend the charity. At the same time it was constantly maintained that, when the specific trusts had been fulfilled, any residue there might be belonged to the Company, and that any subvention they might make was of grace and not of legal necessity.¹ Finally, when there was any doubt as to the proper course to pursue, the Court rarely acted without consulting legal opinion.²

Policy of the
Company
with regard
to Alms-
houses.

The custom of the Company with regard to their almshouses during the eighteenth century was to add to the amounts of the allowances to the almsfolk when the funds of the trust made this possible, rather than to increase the number of the almsfolk.³ They also made contributions from their Corporate Fund to the poor of their Company in the almshouses, so as to level up the pensions to the sum of £8 a year.⁴ In the year 1791 these annual contributions came to a total of £208 15s.⁵ Besides this, all the almsfolk in the almshouses had up to that date shared in the gifts from the Poor Rolls amounting to about £3 a year, which, together with their allowances, came to £11 a year; while some were enjoying additional pensions of £1 to £1 10s. by the gifts of benefactors. It was therefore decided in 1791 to remove the names of those almsfolk from the Poor Rolls and give

not bound to spend more on a Trust Charity than it received, and that it might therefore reduce the payments in proportion to the receipts, and further that it could lawfully retain part of the income of such charitable trusts by which to reimburse itself for losses in the past. This opinion, which seems to be a reasonable one, was not, however, held by Sir Ed. Northey, the Attorney-General, who was also consulted. He held that the Company could not do this on their own responsibility, but that the Court of Chancery would in all probability give relief if applied to. They both were of opinion that any taxes introduced since the foundation of the trust might be deducted from the income. Records, + 133, pp. 304 b ff.

¹ e.g. Jolles' Almshouses, + 136, p. 723; + 138, p. 40.

² e.g. Rainey's, Kendrick's, and Sir J. Adam's Charities. Records, + 133, p. 304 ff. Jolles' Almshouses, ib., + 137, p. 724. Walter's Almshouses, ib., p. 694, 717; + 139, p. 378; Bancroft's School, ib., + 136, p. 297.

³ e.g. Walter's Almshouses, ib., + 137, p. 694; + 139, p. 348; Queen Elizabeth's College, ib., + 135, pp. 16, 101 b.

⁴ Especially by the orders of 1756 and 1786. Cf. Report of 1791; Records, + 136, pp. 614 ff; + 137, pp. 25 ff.

⁵ Ib., p. 28. The number of the almsfolk was at that date 39.

them all pensions of twelve guineas a year (including the old allowances), on the understanding that they were not to be excluded from sharing in the charities distributed out of the Poor Box in August, and on November 5 if they attended the sermon on that day. This caused an addition to the amount spent by the Company on these almsfolk of £179 2s. and brought up their total contributions to £387 17s.¹ A further gratuity of 2s. 6d. each was also to be given to the almsfolk on Visitation days.

These increases were not, however, granted to the poor of Queen Elizabeth's College nor to those of Bancroft's Hospital. The charity of Queen Elizabeth's College only very remotely affected the Company, since only one of the almsfolk could be appointed out of the Company, and he was already provided for by the benefaction of Mr. Rokeby, while the pensions of Bancroft's almsfolk were considered high enough already.

We propose to give a succinct account of the Charitable Trusts at present administered by the Company, drawing attention to any questions of importance which have arisen concerning them since the beginning of the eighteenth century.²

The College of Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich was founded by Letters Patent of November 25, 1575, and endowed by William Lambard.³ Further funds were received under the bequests of Ralph Rokeby, who in 1594 bequeathed £100 to poor pensioners of the College; Edward Walrond, who in 1720 left £1,000 South Sea stock to the College; Joseph Macey, who in 1791 left £1,090 in various stocks; and Sarah Elizabeth Giles, who in 1908 gave money which now produces 2s. 6d. a year.

Queen Elizabeth's College or Hospital at Greenwich.

In 1856, after information filed by the Attorney-General against the President and Governors (i. e. the Master of the Rolls and the two Senior Wardens of the Company),⁴ a scheme was established by the Court of Chancery under which the College was governed until 1915, when a new scheme was framed by the

¹ Records, + 137, p. 69 ff.

² Soley's Trust has been mentioned above, p. 449. The authorities for the statements, when not given in the notes, are to be found in a List of Charities in the possession of the Company.

³ Cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 158.

⁴ Cf. under Careful Administration of Trusts.

Charity Commissioners. Meanwhile the College had been enlarged in 1804 and the number of almsfolk increased from twenty to forty. Of the inmates, who are of both sexes, two are now appointed by the Master of the Rolls, two by the Wardens of the Company, two by the High Steward of Greenwich, and the remaining thirty-four from parishes within the Hundred of Blackheath, namely, two from Deptford, Lee, Charlton and Woolwich respectively, six from Eltham and Lewisham, and fourteen from Greenwich. The nominees of the parishes attend to have their election confirmed by the Governors at a Wardens' Court. By the new scheme, the unusual provision that recipients of this charity must have received Poor Law Relief was removed. Each inmate now receives a pension varying according to the incidence of the Old Age Pensions Act, with the addition of 1*s.* 3*d.* a year in respect of Sarah Elizabeth Giles's gift in the year 1908: 10*s.* 6*d.* on the occasion of the annual visitation by the Master and Wardens: two tons of coal a year, and a small sum every year out of Macey's gift in 1791. The Clerk of the Company is the paymaster, and receives £100 a year for his services. The approximate income of the Trust is £1,890.

Walter's
Almshouses
at Newington
and
Southwark.¹

In the year 1773 the Court complained to the parishioners of St. Mary, Newington, that owing to their neglect to fulfil an engagement made in 1650, whereby the Parish had undertaken to keep the almshouses founded by John Walter during his lifetime in repair, the said almshouses were in a ruinous condition. The Court therefore demanded that the parish should either repair or rebuild them. In 1783, after long delay and the threat of legal proceedings, the parishioners came to terms. The Company on its part promised a subscription of £51 11*s.* in addition to a sum of £48 9*s.* which it had previously spent on repairs, and proposed to let some of the ground belonging to the Charity on building leases and apply the rent to the augmentation of the allowances to the almsfolk. This was done in spite of some doubt whether the land could be lawfully let.² According to the founder's wish the number of almsfolk to be accommodated in almshouses in this parish,

¹ For John Walter's Will and that of Alice Walter, Anne Mills, and Richard and Walter Mills, cf. Benefactions, Appendix.

² Records, + 136, pp. 102, 104, 173, 184, 356, 368, 370.

as well as in those of the parish of St. George's, Southwark, had been sixteen. The fall of income owing to the Fire of London and other causes had, however, forced the Company to reduce the number to eight in each parish, and also to cut down the allowances to the miserable pittance of £3 a year. When in 1805 the income had improved, the Court decided to increase the allowances to £8 18s. per annum rather than to increase the number of the almsfolk. This was done with the consent of the Vestries and after having consulted legal opinion.¹ A further improvement of income in 1819 induced the Company to approach the Vestries of these two parishes with a view of framing a scheme for applying the increased income of this Trust 'as shall be most for the advantage of the poor persons entitled and as nearly as may be consistent with the intentions of the founder'.²

In 1821 the Vestry of St. George's informed the Court that the almshouses had, for the accommodation of the City, been removed to a new site, given in exchange. In 1850 it stated that the parish had built twelve instead of eight rooms, on which it had spent £1,198, and asked for a subscription. The Court, in consideration of the fact that one of the additional houses was to be appropriated to a nominee of the Court, gave £300,³ approved of the decision not to increase the number of almshouses to the full sixteen, and decided to give the same pensions to the twelve almsfolk as had been given to the others.⁴ As the parish of Newington had not increased the number of almshouses, the Court proposed to increase the pensions, as had been done with regard to the almsfolk in St. George's almshouses. In 1824, however, the parish authorities proposed that accommodation for four additional houses should be built. To meet the expense they suggested that the savings of the Trust Fund, so far as Newington was concerned, should be devoted to that purpose, and that one-fourth of the cost should be contributed by the Company, as had been done in the case of the other parish. To this proposal the Court agreed, after having consulted counsel as to the legality of such an application of the Trust Funds.⁵

¹ Records, + 137, p. 694-702.

² *Ib.*, + 139, p. 13.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 348.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 182, 191.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 348, 367, 372, 378.

In the year 1852 disputes arose between the parishioners and the Company as to the persons or bodies to whom the right of nominating the almsfolk in these two sets of almshouses should belong, on the questions whether a wider class of poor should not enjoy the benefit, and whether the almshouses should not share in the increase of the Charity. In 1861, after several hearings, the Court of Chancery drew up a new scheme, by which the number of almsfolk in each set of almshouses was increased to sixteen. Three-fourths of the inmates were to be elected out of the poor of the two parishes by the parishioners, and one-fourth by the Company. Each of the almsfolk was to receive a monthly allowance of £1 11s. 6d., and two tons of coal a year, as well as 2s. 6d. on the annual Visitation to be held by the Company.¹ In the event of the income proving deficient, these allowances were to be rateably reduced. The Wardens were further empowered to remove at their discretion any inmate who became insane or was guilty of misconduct, and, with the consent of the Court of Chancery, to alter or add to the existing almshouses or erect new ones on the same or another site. If the surplus income applicable to either set of almshouses should at any time exceed £100, the Company were to apply to the Charity Commissioners for directions as to how such surplus should be applied.² This scheme was amended from time to time, and ultimately a new one was established by the Charity Commissioners in 1914, which is still in force. Under this scheme the Clerk of the Company receives £100 a year, the poor of the City of Hereford £20 a year, and those of the Company £6 13s. 4d. The remainder of the income and that of Ann Mill's Trust (£15) go in equal shares between the St. Mary Newington and St. George's, Southwark, Funds. The former has also the income from its own Almshouse Charity and from Robert Render's trust of the year 1650, the

¹ These allowances were subsequently made up to two guineas a month.

² Livery Companies Commission, 1884, vol. iv, p. 169. At the same time the fees payable to the Clerk and Beadle of the Company and the officials of the parishes of St. Mary Newington and of St. George's, Southwark, were fixed, as also the sum to be paid to the poor of the City of Hereford, and of the parishes of St. Mary Newington and St. George's, Southwark, in accordance with the will of John Walter.

income of which is approximately £225 and a small sum of £15 from Walter and Richard Mill's trust. The St. Mary Newington and St. George's, Southwark funds go primarily to the support of the almshouses. The balance in each case is applied to pensions; three-fourths of which are administered by the local trustees, the remaining one-fourth being at the disposal of the Drapers' Company and credited to the Consolidated Pension fund.

The St. Mary Newington almshouses are in Draper Street, Newington. They consist of two blocks. One of these used to hold twelve inmates, but, as the buildings are out of date and out of repair, they are being gradually emptied as vacancies occur. It is proposed to dispose of the site. The funds thus set free are awarded in pensions under the Consolidated Pensions charity fund. The other block holds twelve almspeople. They must be persons of good character, not less than sixty years of age, who have not received Poor Law relief for five years. Nine must be poor of the parish, and are appointed by the trustees of the consolidated charities of St. Mary Newington. The remaining three are appointed by the Company. Each of the almsfolk receive £2 2s. a month, as well as 2s. 6d. on the occasion of the annual visitation by the Master and Wardens, and two tons of coal a year.

The St. George's, Southwark almshouses are sixteen in number; twelve of the almsfolk are appointed by the trustees of the consolidated charities of St. George's and four by the Company. The necessary qualifications and the payments are the same as in Newington Houses. The total income of the Trust is now £6,502.¹

In 1825 the Court turned its attention to the third set of almshouses in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, also founded by Mr. Walter assisted by his friends, and endowed by his widow.² It approved of the wish of the Vestry to pull down the existing eight houses and to build sixteen new ones, and consented to meet the charges of rebuilding the two which were at the disposal of the Company, on the understanding that the allowances of the

Mrs. Walter's
Almshouses,
Shoreditch.

¹ Thus, John Walter £1,482, R. Render £225, Ann Mills £4,780, Walter and Richard Mills £15; total, £6,502.

² A sum of £1 13s. 4d. a year is also paid to these almshouses out of Walter and Richard Mill's gifts.

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eight new almsfolk should be provided by the parish.¹ These almshouses were removed to Wood Green in June 1904. The two almsfolk appointed by the Company receive pensions of £2 10s. a month each, and £2 a year for coals. The income of this almshouse is about £4,780.

Lucas's Hos-
pital at
Wokingham.

The fortunes of Lucas's Hospital at Wokingham, founded by will dated June 11, 1663,² were also at a low ebb during the eighteenth century. Accordingly, in 1709 one vacancy and in 1750 ten vacancies were left unfilled.³

Four years later the Corporation of Wokingham informed the Court that they intended to apply for a Commission of Inquiry, and presented a remonstrance which was published. To this the Court answered with some asperity. They declared that it was indecent and unbecoming to attack the Company in a public advertisement, and reminded the Corporation that, inasmuch as the trust was of no profit to the Company or their poor, they had accepted it with some unwillingness. They explained the reason for not filling up the vacancies, and stated that, although there was now a small balance of £53, the money was needed for repairs. Upon this the deputation from the borough expressed themselves satisfied, and said that the publication of the remonstrance was 'due to a view of lucre to the innkeeper, who had caused the circular to be issued summoning the people to his house'.⁴ In 1760, however, two pensioners were admitted.⁵ In 1772 a Committee of the Court reported that, although the hospital was in fair order, the estate was not bearing the rent it might; that the lands lay scattered and many in open field, and that they were let at less rents than they were in the time of the donor. They therefore recommended that careful inquiry should be made. Otherwise the Charity could not be supported, and reflec-

¹ Records, + 139, pp. 429, 493. The almshouses cost £1,073 3s. 11d.; of this the Company contributed £259 6s.

² Cf. Benefactions, Appendix XLVII.

³ Records, + 133, p. 49; + 135, p. 101 b. In 1750 the trust was indebted to the Company to the amount of £166. In 1699 one of the almsfolk, Richard Trigg, was expelled for 'striking the Master with a wooden fork, as he was going to read divine Service: for threatening him and for contemptuous conduct!' *ib.*, p. 261.

⁴ *Ib.*, + 135, p. 154 ff.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 223 a.

tions would be made on the conduct of the Company, who, as trustees, were bound to protect the trust from loss.¹

Presumably the recommendation of the Committee was followed, for in 1778 two vacancies were filled up, and in 1801 the pensions were increased by £4 a year.² The commonable lands were enclosed under an Act of 1817, and thirty acres were allotted to the Charity.

The number of the 'brethren' to-day is twelve chosen by the Master and Wardens, half of them from certain parishes in Berkshire and half from parishes in Surrey. Each brother has the use of a room and is given £25 a year and £2 for fuel. In 1918 a Common Room was also set apart for them. The Master of the Hospital receives a stipend of £100 a year and a house. The Clerk's fee is £1 10s. a year. The income of the Charity, which is about £415, is not, however, sufficient to meet the expenses, and the Company make up the deficiency from their Corporate revenue.

The Bruce Grove Almshouses.

In 1805 the almshouses founded by Sir John Jolles near Bow in February 1617 (old style),³ were reported as being in a dilapidated condition. Inasmuch as the Company had, out of

Sir John
Jolles'
Almshouses
at Bow.

¹ Records, + 136, pp. 62 ff. The allusion to the old open-field system is interesting. It is well known that it was the aim of agricultural reformers at the time to get these open fields as well as the waste enclosed. Cf. Johnson, *Disappearance of the Small Landowners*, Oxford, 1909, p. 83 ff. We have another reference to the open common-field system with regard to Dixon's trust for apprenticing boys. In that case a Committee advised that the lands should be enclosed and laid together, when they might be let to more substantial tenants and improved. Till that was done it was suggested that the lands should be let to adjoining farmers without the buildings, (which would presumably be pulled down), whereby the expense of the buildings would be saved. It is to be noted that in both these cases the ownership of the land was in the hands of the trust, although still lying in the common open field, and that it was occupied by tenant farmers, not by freeholders, or copyholders at least of inheritance. Some of the land had been already enclosed, for we hear of a tenant, who had taken crop after crop without giving the land any manure or rest, whereby the land was in a worse condition than almost the poorest of the common-field lands. *Ib.*, + 136, p. 117 b.

² *Ib.*, + 136, p. 196; + 137, p. 486.

³ For his will cf. Appendix, Benefactions XLVII.

their Corporate revenue, spent at least £2,035 on these almshouses since the year 1718, and, according to counsel's opinion, they were not responsible for the rebuilding of the same, but only for repairs and for the payment of the pensions to the almsfolk, the Court approached the Minister and the Churchwardens of Bow and Bromley with a request that they should rebuild at their own charges. As nothing came of this request, counsel gave an opinion that if the parishes refused to rebuild, the Company would be entitled to pull down the almshouses and allow the trust funds to accumulate until sufficient money had been thus provided. In the following year, however, the Court decided to rebuild at their own expense and at a cost of some £800, and to appropriate the residue of the income over and above the payment of the pensions to the liquidation of the debt.¹ These almshouses were occupied by eight almsfolk, chiefly men, presented by the parishioners of Stratford-le-Bow, and confirmed by the Company. Up to the year 1860 their allowances were only £3 a year, but they were then increased by the bounty of the Court to £12. In or about the year 1827 the inhabitants of Stratford approached the Court of Chancery, praying that the surplus income of the Charity beyond the specified sums should be appropriated. The Chancery, however, refused to entertain the hostile claim against the Company, and the Charity Commissioners declared that according to the terms of the will, and inasmuch as there was a small surplus at the time of the testator's death, the Company was entitled to whatever surplus there was for their own use.²

Almshouses
of Sir J. Jolles,
Edmanson
and Pemel
transferred
Bruce Grove
1870.

In 1870 the almshouses, together with those of Edmanson and Pemel, were transferred to a site at Bruce Grove, Tottenham, adjoining that of Corney School. They are now inhabited by men and women, half being parishioners of Bow and half of Bromley (now incorporated in the parish of Poplar).³ The almsfolk are appointed by the Company, although the wishes of the local

¹ Records, + 137, pp. 696, 720 ff.; + 138, p. 40. At the same time the Court declined an offer of the trustees of Prisca Colborne to take over the almshouses and the School, to appropriate a sum of some £200 a year left by her, and to consolidate the charities. *Ib.*, p. 27.

² Livery Companies Commission, 1880-4, vol. iv, p. 153.

³ A xiii, 44 a, 682.

authorities are usually consulted. Each of the almsfolk receives £2 2s. a month, and one ton of coal annually, as well as 2s. 6d. at the annual visitation. The Company also pays £10 a year for medical attendance, and maintains the buildings.

These were founded by the Will of John Edmanson, dated November 23, 1695, for twelve poor men and women who were to be either inhabitants of the precincts of St. Catherine, or decayed sailmakers and their widows. Five pounds was to be paid to the Wardens and the Clerk. The almshouses were built at Bow at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and added to in the year 1836. In 1870 they were transferred with those of Jolles and Pemel to Bruce Grove. There are to-day twenty-nine almshouses open to poor sailors. The inmates are allowed to have their wives in the almshouses, who are permitted to remain after the death of their husbands. The almsfolk are appointed by the Master and Wardens of the Company. They receive £2 3s. 4d. a month, 2s. 6d. at the annual visitation, and two tons of coal annually; £30 a year is also paid for medical attendance.¹

Edmanson's
Almshouses.

The almshouses of John Pemel were founded under his will dated February 28, 1681. One pound was to be paid to the Clerk. The houses were originally in Whitechapel Road, but were subsequently transferred to Bow, and in 1870 removed to Bruce Grove. There are now eight almshouses, four open to widows of freemen of the Company appointed by the Company, and four to widows of seamen or mariners, inhabitants of the ancient parish of Stepney, appointed by the Company on presentation by the parish authorities. All the almsfolk receive two tons of coal a year and a new gown every second year. The four widows of freemen receive £2 10s., the others £2, a month. The Company also pays £5 a year for medical attendance.²

Pemel's
Almshouses.

The annual income of these Bruce Grove Almshouses is approximately: Edmanson £1,450, Pemel £125, Jolles £35. But the Company supplement the funds of Pemel's and Jolles' Charity from their Corporate revenue, as the expenditure on these almshouses exceeds the income.

¹ Livery Commission Report, vol. iv, p. 146.

² *Ib.*, p. 16 i. It is now difficult to find applicants who come under the second category. On the last occasion the Vicar of Stepney could find no one.

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The account of the Charitable Trusts of the Company would not be complete without a mention of the Poor Rolls.¹ They were in 1791 as follows:

A

The Michaelmas Roll. ²		£	s.	d.
By the benefaction of Owen Clonne		54	0	0
Interest of money to be lent out to young freemen, the gift of Mr. Jay		2	0	0
By gift of Mr. Rainey and Mr. Hibbins		10	0	0
		<hr/>		
		£66	0	0
		<hr/> <hr/>		

B

The Widows' Roll.		£	s.	d.
By the benefaction of Mr. Buck, Interest of money to be lent out to be distributed among forty poor men or women, who were in receipt of no other alms		10	0	0
By benefaction of Mr. Walter to twenty poor men and women of the Company, who had no other relief, 6s. 8d. each		6	13	4 ³
By the benefaction of Sir Thomas Cullum to the poor of the Company		5	0	0
		<hr/>		
		£21	13	4
		<hr/> <hr/>		

These gifts on the Widows' Roll had by usage been given to widows, although they were not so limited by the donors, and had hitherto been granted to widows who were in almshouses,

¹ Records, + 137, pp. 29 ff. Many of the sums credited to these Poor Rolls represented the interest on money left by benefactors to be lent out to young freemen of the Company wherewith to start in business. Although much of the capital had been lost owing to the loans not having been repaid, the Company continued to pay the interest. There was a considerable credit balance on these accounts because the receipts exceeded the amount necessary to give what was considered adequate relief to the persons, who in the opinion of the Court needed such relief. Cf. Records, + 137, p. 32. Besides these Poor Rolls there were (1) the quarterly pensions of 5s. to thirteen poor men and widows by the benefaction of William Dummer, (2) the monthly pensions of 2s. 6d. to thirteen poor members of the Company by the benefactions of Thomas Russell, (3) Monthly pensions of 2s. 6d. to thirteen poor men and women by the benefaction of Sir R. Champion (ib., p. 29).

² For the Wills of these Benefactors cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 485 ff., and vol. iv, pp. 466 ff.

³ This sum is no longer paid.

contrary to the wills of Mr. Buck and Mr. Walters, who had confined their charity to those who had not been in receipt of other relief.

C

Clothworkers' Roll.

By gift of Mr. Kendrick, to be distributed among poor and religious men and women at the warden's discretion, with preference to the members of the Clothworkers' Company and then to those of the Drapers' Company .	£	s.	d.
			25 0 0

By usage £15 had been granted to the Clothworkers' Company and £10 reserved by the Drapers, and expended in fees to the upper and under Porters and the scouring women, the remainder being carried to the Christmas Roll.

D

Christmas Roll.

By the benefaction of Christopher Clarke. The residue (after paying £1 6s. 8d. to the Wardens and officers) to be distributed in gifts of £1 to as many honest freemen of the Company as the income would render possible. The available surplus in 1791 was about (And was likely to increase.)	£	s.	d.
			37 0 0
By the benefaction of Mr. Smith, 25s. a year to twenty honest decayed Liverymen, or their widows; or in default of Liverymen, to freemen			25 0 0

Interest of money lent out.

By the benefaction of Sir Allan Cotton, to be distributed among poor of the Company	£	s.	d.
			4 0 0
By the benefaction of William Cotton, to be distributed among the poor of the Company			2 10 0
By the benefaction of Mr. Blomer, to be distributed among poor of the Company, with preference to upholders			9 0 0
By the benefaction of Mr. Campe, to be distributed among the poor of the Company. An annuity			5 0 0
By the benefaction of Mr. Stocks, to be distributed among poor of the Company, with an addition made by the Company			6 0 0
			£88 10 0

E

Easter Roll.

Interest of money lent out.

	£	s.	d.
By the benefaction of Sir Thomas Adams, to be distributed among four freemen	4	0	0
By the benefaction of Mr. Wilson, to be distributed among poor freemen or widows	1	6	8

Annuities.

By supposed gift of Mr. Wilson	2	0	0
By benefaction of Sir Edward Markham, among six of the oldest and poorest freemen	6	0	0
By benefaction of Lady Ascue, among poorest freemen	1	0	0
By benefaction of Lady Ramsay (by tradition)	10	0	0
By benefaction of Mr. Thorogood, among twenty poor brethren or sisters	4	0	0
By benefaction of Mr. Garratt, among the poor of the Company	3	0	0
By the benefaction of Mr. Hall, among the poor of the Company	6	0	0
By the benefaction of Mr. Winch, among the poor of the Company	2	0	0 ¹
By the benefaction of Mr. Starling, among the poor of the Company	4	0	0
By the benefaction of Mr. Hibbens and Mr. Rainey, among the poor of the Company	10	0	0
Total	£53	6	8

Sum total of Charity dispensed in Poor Rolls £254 10s. 0d., independent of the almshouses.

In the year 1791 the Court decided to consolidate the Quarterly and Monthly Pensions and the Poor Roll, and as the pensions were of trifling amount, it was ordered that they should be raised to six guineas a year, to be paid quarterly (except in the case of those almsfolk who were provided for by almshouses and the other

¹ This sum has now been raised to £4.

better pensions). The number of such pensioners was not to exceed sixty.

As the number of recipients of these smaller charities to be thus consolidated was 59 (22 men, 37 women), the increased charge to the Company came to £80 3s. 10d.¹ The Porter and the under-Porter were no longer to be recipients of certain doles, nor of the fees and perquisites which they had hitherto enjoyed; but in compensation their salaries were raised to £40 and £35 respectively.

To-day, this system of specially named Rolls has been abandoned, and there is only one Poor Roll. The payments to the poor of the Company are made quarterly. The amounts paid to those on the Roll are £20 a year and upwards to each person; and to the casual poor from £10 to £16 a year each. Besides this, in November, £50 (made up from Royley's Trust £40, Deacle's Trust £5, and Hollis's Trust £5) is bestowed in sums of 12s. 6d. to each poor freeman or woman who applies for it (up to the number of eighty). In the event of less than eighty people applying, the balance of the £50 goes to the Poor Box. The Poor Box, containing this balance and any sums placed in it by new freemen, is opened in December, and divided among those of the Company's Poor who receive less than £50 a year in pensions.

These Poor
Rolls now
consolidated
into one
Poor Roll.

For the rest, the Charities are now arranged under four heads: the Charities General, the Consolidated Pensions Charities, the Loan Charities, and the Prison Charities.

Charities General.

Under this head are comprised a number of trusts for the benefit of poor freemen of the Company and their widows. The funds are administered by the Master and Wardens, and are paid in grants, pensions and loans. There are at present twenty-nine persons in receipt of pensions of £5 to £6 5s. a quarter, who are included in the Roll. Quarterly grants, varying from £2 to £4, are also made to recipients who are known as the Casual Poor.

Charities
General.

¹ Records, + 137, p 34.

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There are also a certain number of pensions of a larger amount. Under these Charities General the following benefactions are included:

- Lady Ascue, by will dated 1552, £1 a year.
- Sir Edward Barkham, by will dated January 14, 1632 (old style); an annuity of £6 13s. 4d.; £1 to (six) of the oldest and poorest freemen; 13s. 4d. fees to Clerk and Beadle.
- Giles Blomer, by will dated February 22, 1676 (old style); £6 a year to the poor of the Company. Small fees to the Wardens and officials.
- Laurence Campe, by deed March 17, 1612 (old style); annuity of £5 for relief of the poor of the Company.
- Sir Richard and Lady Barbara Champion, by wills of October 22, 1568, and September 23, 1576; £19 10s. a year to the poor of the Company.
- Sir Thomas Cullum, by will dated May 2, 1662; £5 a year to poor of the Company.
- William Dummer, by deed of May 5, 1574; £13 a year for the benefit of the poor of the Company; 18s. 4d. fees to Wardens and Clerk.
- John Rainey and Anthony Hibbens, by will of February 21, 1631 (old style), and May 18, 1639, respectively, certain moneys were bequeathed to the Company for the benefit of poor freemen of the Company. By an indenture of June 1647 the Company agreed to pay £20 a year to the poor of the Company.
- John Kendrick, by will dated December 29, 1624, and scheme of the Court of Chancery 1847; about £400 a year for poor of the Company and £128 fees to Wardens and officers of the Company.
- Theophilus Royley, by will dated February 12, 1655 (old style), and a scheme under the Court of Chancery; £40 a year to eighty poor freemen of the Company. Fees to the youngest Warden and the Clerk. (Also a payment to the Minister and Clerk of St. Mary-le-Bow.)
- John Smith, founded in 1645; £25 yearly for the poor of the Company. Fee of £1 13s. 4d. to the Wardens and officers of the Company.
- Sir S. Starling, by will dated August 7, 1673; £4 a year for relief of the poor of the Company.
- John Stock, by will dated February 26, 1780; interest on £100, now represented by £200 Consols, to the poor of the Company.
- William Thorogood, by will dated August 6, 1602 (old style); annuity of £4 for decayed brothers and sisters of the Company; 6s. 8d. to the Master, Wardens and Clerk.

John Walter, by will dated October 17, 1856, and under the scheme of April 1914; payments to poor of the Company; £100 a year to the Clerk and fees to other officials.

Consolidated Pension Charities.

These were formed under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, February 18, 1903, whereby the endowments of Lady Ascue's Almshouses, Sir John Milborne's Almshouses, and the following charities were consolidated: ¹

Consolidated Pension Charities.

Robert Buck, founded by will dated November 17, 1620, from which payments were to be made to Lady Ascue's Almshouses (Beech Lane) and to certain parishes in Essex.

Henry Butler, founded in November 1631, to pay £6 8s. yearly to almspeople in Lady Ascue's Almshouses.

Sam Whitehead, founded by deed of April 22, 1797; to pay dividend of £833 6s. 8d. Consols to widows in Lady Ascue's Houses.

Thomas Russell, founded by will of July 17, 1593; to provide pensions to the poor of the Company.²

In 1907 the Charity of Christopher Clarke, founded by will February 1671 (old style) of about £12 10s. was transferred to this charity from the Charities General, and in 1914 one-fourth of the annual balance, after providing for the expenses of the St. Mary, Newington, and the St. George, Southwark, funds, was also added.³

The total approximate income of these Consolidated Pension Charities is now £4,890. Of this £25 10s. a year is paid to deserving poor resident in certain parishes in Essex in rotation: small fees are paid to the Wardens and officers of the Company; and the residue, about £4,850, is applied to the payment of

¹ Charity Commissioners' Schemes, No. 5 a b c. Milborne's Almshouses were removed from Cooper's Row to Tottenham in 1859, and were finally abolished, as well as those of Lady Askew, in 1897. Cf a. 598, Charity Commissioners' Orders, No. 2, August 20, 1897.

² Cf. under Careful Administration of Trusts, *infra* p. 498.

³ Cf. Walter's Almshouses, *supra* p. 454.

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pensions to poor of good character, who have not for five years received Poor Law relief, and who, from age, accident, or infirmity, are unable to maintain themselves. In awarding these pensions the following order of priority is observed: (1) Freemen of the Company and their widows; (2) persons engaged, or who have been engaged, in the manufacture or sale of woollen cloth, and their widows; (3) persons who are, or have been, engaged in any trade or calling in London and their widows.

The amount of the pensions vary from £5 to £13. No one is to receive more than will, together with any other income he or she may have, amount to £50. The selection of the pensioners is in the hands of the Master and Wardens; about 240 persons are now enjoying pensions.

Loan Charities.

Loan
Charities.

The charities comprised under this head were founded during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by donors who left property on trust to lend sums to freemen of the Company, mostly to start them in business. The capital of a good many of these loans was lost because they had not been repaid by the borrowers. Those that remained were consolidated under a scheme of the Court of Chancery of 1844 into a fund to be applied to loans to deserving members of the Company in sums not exceeding £400 at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest repayable in not more than seven years. As the funds of these Charities had become confused with the Corporate property, the Company undertook in 1843 to set apart a sum of £3,811 10s. 6d. for these loans.

The payments now annually made out of the income are:

		£	s.	d.	
Adams, Sir T. . .	Deed June 20, 1666	4	0	0	To poor of the Com- pany. [Also annuity of £40 to the Arabic Professor at Cam- bridge.]
Blomer, Giles . .	Will February 22, 1676 (old style)	3	0	0	To poor of the Com- pany.

		£	s.	d.	
Buck, Robert . . .	Will November 17, 1620	10	0	0	To poor of the Company.
Clonne, Owen . . .	Will August 22, 1563	56	0	0	To poor of the Company. And £2 to the Master and Wardens.
Cotton, Sir Allan . . .	Will June 25, 1606	8	0	0	To poor of the Company and of Whitchurch.
Cotton, Roger . . .	Will June 26, 1602	2	10	0	To poor of Whitchurch.
Cotton, William . . .	Will June 25, 1607	5	0	0	To poor of the Company and of Whitchurch.
Garrett, Sir. G. . .	Will August 8, 1648	3	0	0	To poor of the Company.
Hall, Martin . . .	Will 1662 . . .	6	0	0	To poor of the Company.
Heydon, John . . .	Will March 6, 1579 (old style)	3	6	8	To the Mercers' Company.
Jay, Henry	Will January 16, 1601 (old style)	2	0	0	To poor of the Company.
Jolles, Sir John . . .	Will February 24, 1617 (old style)	4	0	0	To the parishes of Haddenham, Isle of Ely, St. Leonard, Bromley. To Wardens of the Company.
Johnson, Hugh . . .	Will in 1618	10	0	0	To poor of Hackney.
Quarles, John . . .	Will in 1587	0	18	0	To the Master, Wardens, and Clerk of the Company.
Ramsay, Lady Mary . . .	Will July 8, 1601	10	0	0	To poor of the Company.
Wheeler, Nicholas . . .	Will in 1618	1	10	0	To poor of St. Giles Cripplegate.
Wilson, Robert . . .	Will in 1639	1	6	8	To poor of the Company.
Winch, Robert . . .	Will in 1671	4	0	0	To poor of the Company.

*Prison Charities.*Prison
Charities.

These benefactions were in whole or in part originally founded for the release of poor debtors from prison, and were those of:

		£	s.	d.		
John Stocker . . .	Will in 1571	1	8	4 ¹	For the benefit of poor prisoners for debt, and small payments to the Master and Wardens.	
Peter Blundell . . .	Will June 9, 1599	2	0	0	a year to poor prisoners.	
			8	0	0	a year to the Master and Wardens.
Frances Clark . . .	Will February 1608 (old style)	200	0	0	To pay yearly £10 for use of prisoners in 'the hole of the Compter of Wood Street'.	
John Kendrick . . .	Will December 29, 1624	24	0	0	To release six poor prisoners in London. ²	
Sir Thomas Cullum	Will May 2, 1662	6	0	0	For the benefit of poor prisoners.	
Richard Ogborn . . .	Will October 6, 1836	1200	0	0	To liberate poor prisoners.	
			Consols			

In 1875, by an order of the Charity Commissioners, the income of these 'Prison Charities' was to be thenceforth devoted to educational purposes at the discretion of the Company, and was applied by them to the maintenance of scholarships for boys and girls in the London Public Elementary schools. Since 1908 it has been appropriated to scholarships tenable at some place of higher education by girls between the ages of seventeen and nineteen. Usually three scholarships of £60 for three years are

¹ J. Stocker also left tenements the rents thereof to provide coals to the poor of St. Mary, Abchurch. The total income to-day is only 3s. 4d. The Company add 25s. out of their Corporate revenue and pay it with the 3s. 4d. into the Prison Charities.

² For this charity cf. *infra*, p. 498, note.

awarded annually, financial circumstances and educational merit being taken into account. The income is about £666.

The remaining trusts which are not consolidated are as follows:

William Cawley (date unknown) gave £2 3s. 4d. a year to the Mayor of Winchester for the benefit of the poor of that city.

Sir Richard and Lady Barbara Champion, under wills dated October 22, 1568, and September 23, 1576, left £300 to eight young men gratis, except fee to Clerk.

Sir Thomas Cullum, under will dated May 2, 1662, the following sums are paid annually: £5 10s. to poor of Hamstead, Suffolk; £5 to St. Thomas's Hospital; £3 to Bedlam Hospital; £2 10s. to the Wardens and Clerk; £5 to the poor of the Company (now transferred to Charities general); £6 to the benefit of poor prisoners (later transferred to Prison Charities).

John Deacle, under his will of July 24, 1706, and the trust of Thomas Hollis founded in 1714, 2s. 6d. is paid annually to poor freemen of the Company up to the number of eighty.

Jonathan Granger. By will dated 1769 he bequeathed, after certain specific legacies, the residue in trust to pay in alternate years £10 each to blind persons, and £10 each to children of freemen by servitude of the Company. As a result of proceedings in Chancery in 1784 the Drapers were appointed trustees of this Charity. The pensions to the blind were paid regularly, but for many years there were no applicants from children of freemen and the income accumulated. Finally, under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, in November 1910 the trust was divided into Granger's Charity for the Blind and Granger's Apprenticing Charity. The income of the former, amounting to £58, is devoted to pensions of £12 a year given to blind persons appointed by the Company on the nomination of the trustees of the Blind Man's Fund Charity. The income of the latter, amounting to £265, is applied to apprenticing boys to handicraft trades.¹

Samuel Harwar: under his will of January 28, 1703 (old style), twelve almshouses were built in the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and pensions paid to the almsfolk. But under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners of August 1879 the almshouses were pulled down. Part of the site was sold to the Vestry, and the remainder let on building lease. The income, now some £478, is applied to the payment of pensions. Half of these are called Company

¹ Cf. under Apprenticeships, p. 474.

Pensioners, who must be poor of the Company, male or female; the other half are termed Parish Pensioners, and are appointed by the Company on the nomination of the trustees of the St. Leonard charities. The Company's pensioners receive £2 10s., the Parish pensioners £1 13s. 4d. a month.

John Kendrick, by will dated December 29, 1624, left money to purchase land yielding £100 a year for certain charitable purposes.¹ In time the lands, which were in London, produced more than £100, and in 1839 a suit was instituted in the Court of Chancery in which it was decided that the surplus belonged to the Charity. In 1847 the Court of Chancery framed a scheme by which it was ordered that 33 per cent. of the income (which is about £1,600) should go to the Minister of St. Margaret's, Lothbury (with which the parish of St. Christopher Le Stocks has been incorporated), and to the poor of the parish of St. Christopher; 8 per cent. to the Wardens and officers of the Company; 34 per cent. to the Prison Charities; and 25 per cent. to the Charities General. These two last have been transferred to the Prison Charities and the Charities General.

William Parker, under the will of April 6, 1576, left an annuity of £6 arising out of a house in Watling Street, now paid to the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Antholin for Divinity Lectures.

John Rainey, under the will of February 21, 1631 (old style), left certain sums in trust, chiefly for educational and religious objects, and gave instructions that any further sums derived from fines on leases should be given to the poor of the Company.² The income of this Charity has much increased, and now comes to some £2,140. The payments directed to be paid by the will were £50 to the lecturer, schoolmaster, and poor of Worsborough, Yorks; small sums for candles and to the sexton, churchwardens, and clerks of Worsborough, Yorks; £40 to the lecturer of St. Michael's, Cornhill; £2 to the Wardens, and £4 to the poor of the Company. The payments to Worsborough and St. Michael have been redeemed; the rest are still paid. (Under the same will and that of John Hibbens £20 a year is credited to the Charities General.)

Theophilus Royley, under a will dated February 12, 1655 (old style), left lands in trust to pay one-half of the rents to the poor of the Company and in placing out children of the poor of the Company as apprentices; and one-half to be disposed among the testator's grandchildren to the second generation. The payment to the

¹ Cf. Appendix XLVII, Benefactions, and under Careful Administration of Trusts, *infra* p. 498.

² Cf. *Ib.*, p. 497, note 4.

grandchildren ceased in 1751. In 1841, after a petition to the Court of Chancery¹ stating that the property had increased in value and asking for directions as to the application of the surplus, a scheme was passed under which the Charity was governed till November 1910, when a new scheme of the Charity Commissioners was framed. Under this scheme, out of an income of £417, certain annual payments are made to the Minister and Clerk of St. Mary-le-Bow and to the Wardens and Clerk of the Company, and £40 to the poor of the Company. This last payment is now transferred to Charities General. The remainder of the income is applied to apprenticing boys and girls to handicraft trades [cf. under Apprenticeships, p. 474].

Robert Render, by deed of 1650, granted land in the parish of St. Mary Newington, with almshouses, chapel and buildings. [Cf. under Walter's Almshouses.]

Agnes Smith, in 1620, gave £50 to the Company to pay the sum of £2 10s. to churchwardens for the benefit of the poor of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch.

John Stock, by will dated February 26, 1780, bequeathed certain sums to the Painter Stainers' Company on specific trusts, and the residue of his estate to the same company upon trust to pay pensions to blind persons. This residue, now represented by £55,000 Consols, stands in the names of the Painter Stainers' and the Drapers' Company. The Drapers have the right to act as trustees in default of the Painter Stainers. John Stock also empowered the Drapers (to whom he bequeathed £100 for the benefit of the poor, a sum which is now carried to the account of the Charities General) to present one son of a freeman of the Company, to be maintained and clothed in Christ's Hospital. The presentation is in the hands of the Court of Assistants, and, in default, the right of presentation goes to the Painter Stainers' Company.

Henry Trower. By a deed of June 20, 1892, the Company declared themselves trustees of the sum of £300 four per cent. Trinidad stock given by the Founder in trust, to award two History Prizes of £5 yearly; one to a girl at Elmslea School and the other to a boy at Bancroft's School; and when the income would bear it a third prize of £3. This is now given to another boy at Bancroft's.

John Walter: cf. under Walter's Almshouses.

¹ Cf. Careful Administration of Trusts, p. 490 ff.

*Apprenticeships to Handicraft Trades.*Henry
Dixon's
Charity.

Henry Dixon, by his will dated November 9, 1693, bequeathed all his property in trust to place poor boys as apprentices to handicraft trades, with a preference to boys bearing his own name, then to boys of certain parishes in London, Middlesex and Herts, and then to sons of tenants of the Charity property. In default of any of these, to any poor boys at the discretion of the Wardens. In 1796 the income of the trust exceeded the cost of apprenticing the number who applied for this Charity. The Court was then informed that the reason for this dearth of applicants was that £4, the sum fixed by the founder, no longer sufficed, and that it was now usual to apprentice boys at the age of fourteen instead of at fifteen, as again the founder had directed. Counsel was therefore consulted as to whether the application of the fund could be varied so that the whole fund could be exhausted without the consent of the Court of Chancery. The opinion was in the negative,¹ and it was not till the year 1848 that the age of the apprentices was altered to fourteen. Under the scheme which was then established by the Court of Chancery on the petition of the Company, the residue of an income of about £1,346, less a fee of £30 to the Clerk and expenses, was appropriated to apprentice boys chosen as the founder had directed, and also to grant premiums of £10 to such apprentices who shall have duly served and have been made free of the City. The apprenticeships are from £30 to £5, and the boys must be at least fourteen years of age. The income of the Charity is now about £1,340.

Jonathan
Granger.

By a will of Jonathan Granger dated 1769 and under a scheme of November 1910, £265 a year is applied to apprentice boys, with preference to sons of freemen by servitude, and premiums after apprenticeship on the same lines as in Dixon's Charity.

Theophilus
Royley.

Under the same scheme and a will of Theophilus Royley dated February 12, 1655 (old style), about £350 a year is given to apprentice boys and girls, with preference to children of poor freemen, and premiums after apprenticeship on the same lines as in Dixon's Charity.²

¹ Records, + 137, p. 238 ff.

² For other charities of these two men cf. *supra* under their names, Granger and Royley.

Education Apprenticeships.

Samuel Pennoyer, by his will dated June 29, 1652 (old style), left money to the Company in trust to devote the income to apprentice fatherless children. The children were to be those of godly English parents, not less than fourteen years of age. They were to receive £50.¹ The income is now about £1,530 a year. Six nominations are reserved for boys and girls who have been educated at Bancroft's or the Elmslea School. The residue are nominated by Assistants, each of whom has one nomination a year.

Samuel
Pennoyer.

Schools.

Thomas Russell, by a deed poll dated July 6, 1593, charged a yearly rent of £50 10s. on premises in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, upon trust to make the following payments: £21 10s. to the School of Barton, Staffordshire, and £6 12s. to the poor of the parish; £10 to twenty unbeneficed preachers at St. Paul's Cross; £2 12s. to the Churchwardens of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, to be spent on bread for the poor of the parish; and £6 13s. 4d. each to two poor scholars at Cambridge University, tenable for six years.²

Barton
School.

In 1820 the parishioners of Barton suggested that the School should be turned into an elementary school,³ and this was eventually done under the twenty-third clause of the Education Act of 1876. By a scheme of the Charity Commissioners for the administration of Russell's Charity in 1882, the connexion of the Company with the school became limited to the contribution of £19 a year, now paid to the Clerk of the Parish Council of Barton, to be applied to the provision of prizes and scholarships. Payments are also made to the Corporation for preachers in St. Paul's. The sums of £2 12s. a year, which under the scheme

¹ The will also provided for a yearly payment of £12 for a weekly lecture at the Church of St. Stephen, Bristol, and for payments to officers of the Company. The sum of £50 a year is now paid to the lecturer, who is appointed by the Company.

² He also left money to be paid in pensions to poor members of the Company. Cf. *supra* under Consolidated Pensions, p. 467, and Benefactions, Appendix XLVII.

³ Records, + 139, p. 111.

were to be given to the churchwardens of St. Leonard's, Shore-ditch, and of Barton under Needwood, have been redeemed. The residue of the income is applied to the maintenance of an exhibition of £30, tenable for three years at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge alternately.¹ The total income of the Charity is only £40, but it is supplemented from the Corporate funds of the Company.

Bancroft's
Hospital and
School at
Mile End.

By his will dated March 18, 1727 (old style), Francis Bancroft bequeathed all his personal estate to the Company on trust to purchase land and to build almshouses for twenty-four old men, with a chapel and a schoolroom for 100 boys, and two dwellings for masters, the residue to be employed in the purchase of estates of inheritance to answer such charitable purposes for ever.²

In the year 1775 there were serious allegations brought against some of the folk in Bancroft's Almshouses. They were accused of living with women who were not their wives; and of going out to earn money and making this an excuse for not attending prayers, while some were absent from the Sunday Services on the plea of being Dissenters, contrary to the express orders of the founder.³ When, therefore, in 1789 the income exceeded the outgoings by some £676, and the Court were considering what they should do with the balance, they were not much in favour of increasing the number of the almsfolk, more especially as it was reported that not many of the poor of the Company were desirous of entering almshouses; nor did they approve of increasing the allowances to the almsfolk, as the existing allowance of £18 a year was considered sufficient.⁴ Accordingly the Court proposed to appropriate the surplus to the school, and to furnish board and lodging for the scholars as well as their education. They further agreed to spend £2,500 out of their Corporate funds⁵ in erecting the necessary buildings and in raising the stipends of the masters. In spite of Counsel's opinion that it would be imprudent to carry out this scheme without the consent

¹ Livery Companies Commission Report, 1884, vol. iv, p. 167.

² Cf. Letters Patent of George II, confirming his will. Charters, vii.

³ Records, + 136, p. 110.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 593-605.

⁵ Records, + 137, p. 302.

of the Court of Chancery,¹ the Court, on the ground that the Company was supplementing the Charity out of their Corporate funds, determined to proceed, and in 1803 the new school was opened. The boys were to be presented by the members of the Court in rotation, and appointed by the Master and Wardens.² As the funds of the Charity were inadequate, the Company decided in 1820 to supplement them from their Corporate funds as long as was necessary.³ Under a scheme established by the Charity Commissioners in December 1884, the almshouses were abolished, and in the year 1886 the school was transferred from Mile End to Woodford, where ten acres were purchased for £9,000. The new buildings were erected out of the Corporate funds at a cost of £50,000, and in 1910 new Science laboratories were also built out of the Corporate funds. There was a small amending scheme in 1912, and finally in April 1915 the scheme was established under which the school is now governed. In addition to the 100 boarders, there are now over 200 day boys. Seventy of the boarders are on the foundation and receive their board and education free. Of these, twenty are nominated by the Company, with preference to the sons of poor Freemen; fifty are selected by an examination held by the London County Council from those who have been for at least three years scholars in a Metropolitan public elementary school. Foundationers must be between ten and thirteen years of age on admission, and no boy is allowed to remain at the school after the age of eighteen years, except by special permission. The remaining thirty boarders are nominated by the Company, but have to pay a fee of £30 a year. The day-boys pay fees of £15 a year, although a few of them obtain scholarships which exempt them from such fees. Some of them who live at a distance are, however, lodged in a boarding-house near by. Two leaving exhibitions tenable at some place of higher education are awarded after examination every year. The

¹ Records, + 137, p. 297. Counsel very pertinently reminded them that the decision of the Chancellor as to the legality of their action would depend on how he might construe the testator's expressions.

² *Ib.*, pp. 345, 552. Livery Companies Commission Report, 1884, vol. iv, p. 125.

³ Records, + 139, p. 101.

instruction given includes Reading, Writing, Mathematics, Geography, History, English Grammar, Literature and Composition, Latin, French and German, Natural Science, Drawing, Drill and Vocal Music. The school buildings and grounds provide a gymnasium, carpenter's shop, swimming baths, cricket and football fields.

There is also a fund devoted to the advancement of girls' education. The income of this fund now provides one exhibition a year of £60 for two or three years, with preference for a girl who has attended a school in London. These are awarded on the same lines as the Prison Charities Scholarships.¹ The income of the Charity is about £6,000.

Boreman's
School,
Greenwich.

The original foundation of Boreman's School was, according to the will of February 3, 1684 (old style), for the education of twenty poor boys and for the maintenance of four poor widows to be placed in almshouses. In the year 1742 the expenses of the trust exceeded the income. It was therefore decided to refrain from apprenticing the children, as the founder had enjoined, until the Charity should be restored to a better condition. Even with this economy the charges continued to outrun the income, and when, in 1773, the trust was indebted to the Company to the amount of £1,200, the question arose whether the vacancies in the school should be filled up.² In the following year the churchwardens of Greenwich parish complained that the boys were not taught Navigation, according to the statutes drawn up by the founder. But the Court pointed out that the words in the statute were somewhat ambiguous, and that, as the income would not permit any new expense, they would wait the order of the Chancellor.³ Finally, in 1778, the consent of the Vestry was obtained to shut up the school for five years and to let the buildings.⁴

It was not till 1788 that the school was rebuilt at a cost of £800, and reopened. To the rebuilding the Company contributed

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 470.

² Records, + 134, p. 399; + 135, p. 35 a; + 136, p. 81.

³ *Ib.*, + 136, p. 119. The actual words in the statutes were that 'the boys should be so taught as to enable them to keep a merchant's account and be fit for, or capable of, the art of navigation'.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 203-4.

£425 1s. 2d., and, as the trust was indebted to the Company for a further sum of £1,038 16s. 6d. and £150 more would be required to furnish the new premises, it was decided to admit only twenty boys. By the year 1795 there was at last a surplus, and in 1818 a legacy of £5,000 left in 1812 by Mr. Clavell, who had received his education at the school, enabled the Court to increase the number of scholars to twenty-six.¹

In the year 1882 the foundation was reconstituted on somewhat different lines, under a scheme approved by an order in Council, as amended by later schemes of 1886 and 1889, under which the school is now governed. The estates and property of the foundation were to be managed by the Company, but the income, after deducting all expenses of management, was to be handed over to the Governing Body. This was to consist of five *ex officio*² and fourteen nominated members. Of the nominated members, ten were to be appointed by the Company, of whom two were to be resident in the parish of Greenwich; two were to be selected by the Corporation of Trinity House, and two by the Greenwich members of the London School Board.³ The governors were to pay the fees of two boys between the ages of eleven and fifteen and a half, physically fit and intended for sea service or some trade or calling connected with the sea, in the upper Division of the Greenwich Hospital School, which was to be termed the Upper Nautical School. These 100 boys, called the Boreman foundationers, were to be selected by competition from boys attending any of the public elementary schools in the parish, preference in cases of equal merit being given to sons of inhabitants of the parish, and among those to such as were sons of watermen, seamen, or fishermen. The list of subjects taught at school is a formidable one. It includes the Doctrines of the

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 368, 459, 463, 497, 501, 508; +137, p. 219; +138, p. 635; +139, p. 137. A capital sum of £1,000 consolidated Annuities, representing a bequest to the Company in 1713, was also appropriated to the School.

² The *ex officio* members were to be the Astronomer Royal, the Vicar and two churchwardens of St. Alphege, Greenwich, and the Superintendent of the Greenwich Hospital School for the time being.

³ Subsequently the right of appointment of these two was transferred to the London County Council.

Church of England, Reading, Writing, Mathematics, Geography, History, English Grammar and Literature, Navigation and Nautical Astronomy, Surveying on land and water, Modern Languages, Natural Science, Drawing, Drill and Music. A uniform is provided for the foundationers.

The sum of £150 was also to be devoted to the providing of Leaving Exhibitions of not more than £50 for the apprenticing of Boreman foundationers of not less than three years standing in the mercantile or marine services; or of Exhibitions for enabling the holders to qualify themselves for entry into the scientific branches of the Royal Navy or other Nautical Service, or some profession or skilled employment connected therewith. These are awarded on the results of the school examinations. A further sum of £100 was to be applied to the maintenance of Exhibitions, of such number and yearly value as the Governors might think fit, tenable at any place of higher education by daughters of poor inhabitants of the parish, who had attended some elementary school for three years. They were to be chosen after competition, with preference, in case of equal merit, to daughters of watermen, seamen and fishermen. The subjects of examination were to be in the Liturgy and Catechism of the Established Church. A further sum of £50 is now available for the continuance of the education of the girls who have obtained these Exhibitions. No apprenticeship or exhibition was to be granted unless a certain standard was attained; and any foundationer or exhibitioner could be removed for serious misconduct or idleness at the discretion of the Governors. Exemptions from attendance at the services and religious instruction were, however, to be granted at the request of the parents. Any additional donations might be appropriated by the Governors to any object not inconsistent with the due working of the scheme; and any residue, which might remain was to be invested in the name of the official trustees of charitable funds, in trust for the Governors in augmentation of the fund. The Charity Commissioners were to act as Visitors. By their consent the Company might with notice cease to pay the fees of the foundationers. The Commissioners were also empowered to modify the scheme so long as such modification was not inconsistent with anything contained in the Endowed Schools Act of

1869 and amending Acts.¹ The income of the trust is now some £1,350.

This school founded in 1858 by Thomas Corney, who left £36,000 for the purpose, and which has subsequently been generously assisted by contributions out of the Corporate funds of the Company, accommodates thirty-eight poor fatherless girls, who must be of respectable parents and members of the Established Church. The age for admission is between ten and twelve, and for leaving between fourteen and eighteen. The girls are nominated by a member of the Court, and are chosen by examination held by the Head Mistress as vacancies occur. The school was started at Elmslea in a house bought in 1869, and the scheme under which it was administered approved by the Company in 1872. The girls receive their education at the Tottenham High School, and are usually assisted by the Company, after leaving school, out of Pennoyer's Charity, or otherwise. The present income only amounts to about £860, which is much less than half the cost of the institution. The balance is made up out of the Corporate income of the Company. The Tottenham High School was carried on by the Company till 1908, when the administration was transferred to the Middlesex County Council, though the girls from Elmslea still receive their education there.

Elmslea
School,
Tottenham.

In 1807 the trustees of an independent Charity, that of Mr. Barker, informed the Company that they had appropriated £100 from the trust funds towards building a new school at Kirkham, which had originally been founded by Henry Colborne in 1650;² that the parishioners had subscribed £700 to erect a new house for the schoolmaster, and that the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, the patrons of the living and the Lords of the Manor, had granted a site. As the school would be much improved by these additions, they asked for a contribution. The Court, however, declined on the ground that they did not feel justified in appropriating anything from their Corporate funds.³

Kirkham
School.

¹ Cf. Livery Companies Commission Report, 1884, vol. iv, p. 126; Charity Commission Scheme approved by Her Majesty in Council, August 3, 1886, and August 13, 1889, No. 841.

² Colborne had bequeathed £75 a year to the schoolmaster and poor at Kirkham, Lancashire, and £30 to the schoolmaster and poor at Goosnargh.

³ Records, + 138, p. 96.

In 1811 the Visitors reported that owing to the increase of manufactures and other means of employment, parents had withdrawn their sons; that, in consequence, the Higher School was neglected, and that there were scarce any scholars who 'were emulous of learning Latin in its rudiments, much less of pursuing it to the higher branches'. Under these circumstances the parishioners and the trustees of Mr. Barker's Charity had wished to improve the school, but had not received assistance from the Head Master, who, moreover, had taken private pupils to the neglect of the school. The Head Master appealed to the Company, and defended himself on the plea that he was not bound to take any boy into the Upper School who was 'not fit to enter Virgil and begin Greek'. The Court decided that they could not make any change in the character of the school, as it had been established by a decree of Chancery in 1673. Under that decree the Head Master was bound to prepare youths for the Universities by teaching them Latin and Greek from their first rudiments, the duty of the Master of the Lower School being confined to teaching boys of an inferior order to read and write. The Court did not, however, think it desirable to interfere with the practice of the Head Master of taking private pupils, other than those on the foundation. Such a practice, they thought, tended to increase the connexion of the school with the parish, and thereby to make it better known. Moreover, it would be difficult to find a competent person to accept the post of Head Master without this addition to his income.¹ In consequence of an information filed by the Attorney-General at the relation of the trustees of the school against the Company, the Vicar of Kirkham and the Masters, and a decree of Chancery which followed in 1840, a new scheme was approved by orders in Council of February 1879 and July 1880.² The school was henceforth to be called the Kirkham Grammar School for Boys. The Company was to appoint four of the Governors³ and to pay £75 a year from the gift of Henry Colborne, of which £5 10s. a year was to be paid

¹ Records, + 138, 290 ff.

² Livery Commission Report, 1884, vol. iv, pp. 136-8.

³ Increased to six under the scheme of 1910. Court of Assistants' Minutes, + 686, A 5, p. 197.

to the Vestry of the Parish.¹ Two hundred pounds were also to be applied out of the endowment left by Mr. Barker to provide for the higher education of girls at another school to be established at Kirkham, or by means of Exhibitions tenable at any other place of higher education. Although under this scheme the connexion of the Company with the school became very slight, especially when in 1899 the Company redeemed the £75 due from Colborne's endowment,² they continued to interest themselves in its welfare. They still appoint six of the Governors; in the year 1909 they contributed £3,000 out of their Corporate funds towards new buildings which were erected in 1909,³ and have from time to time made further occasional grants. When in 1896 the idea was entertained of building a High School for Girls in pursuance of the scheme of 1880, the Company offered a further sum of £3,000.⁴ The idea was indeed abandoned in 1902, because the Company came to the conclusion that the school would not be a success, but they declared their willingness to consider any other suggestions for the advancement of the higher education of girls in Kirkham or the neighbourhood.⁵ Since then nothing further has been done, but if the £200 due from the endowment of Mr. Barker has not been applied, as was enjoined by the scheme of 1880, the responsibility does not lie with them, since they were not the trustees of Mr. Barker's endowment.

By the will of Sir J. Jolles, dated February 24, 1617 (old style), certain tenements were devised to the Company charged (*inter alia*)⁶ with an annual payment to the schoolmaster and usher of the school at Stratford of £26 13s. 4d., who were to educate thirty-five boys of Stratford-le-Bow and Bromley in the fear of God and Good Manners, in Writing, Reading, Grammar, and Latin. The school was administered for many years by the Company,

Sir John
Jolles'
School, now
the Jolles'
Educational
Endowment.

¹ The Company were also to pay £25 out of Colborne's Charity to the schoolmaster of Goosnargh, and £5 10s. to the Churchwardens of the parish, but have no further responsibility with regard to the school or charity. Livery Companies Commission Report, 1884, vol. iv, p. 135.

² Charity Commission Orders, January 3, 1899, No. 45.

³ Court of Assistants' Minutes, +686, A 5, pp. 34-8.

⁴ *Ib.*, +686, A 2, p. 292.

⁵ *Ib.*, A 3, p. 321.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, under Loan Charities and Jolles' Almshouses.

who supplemented the endowment from their Corporate funds. In 1826 the Court were instructed by the Chancellor on the petition of the inhabitants of Bromley to register the school at Bow under the provisions of the Act 52 Geo. III, c. 102, sec. 5. In the following year the ground on which the school stood was needed to increase the size of the adjoining churchyard. The parishioners therefore proposed that the school should be rebuilt close to the almshouses. This was refused by the Court because it was thought undesirable to disturb the quiet of the almshouses by a school of noisy boys, and because in the petition the parishioners had claimed the right to administer the surplus which at that time existed. The claim of the parishioners was, however, rejected by the Court of Chancery, and another site was also disapproved by the Court.¹ In 1893 a scheme of the Charity Commissioners was made for the administration of the Foundation, under which the school was abandoned, and it was sold in 1897.²

Under the scheme of 1893, as amended by one of the Board of Education, in 1910, the income was to be applied to support Exhibitions. They were to be tenable at some place of higher education by boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty who had been at a Public Elementary School, with a preference to such as had attended a Public Elementary School in the Ancient Parishes of Stratford-le-Bow or Bromley St. Leonard.³ The income (some £140) is generally sufficient to endow one exhibition of £60 for three years, which is awarded on the same lines as the Soley scholarships.⁴

Howell's
Charity.

In consequence of the judgement of Lord Langdale in 1845⁵ an Act of Parliament was passed in 1852. By this Act the Court of Chancery was empowered to extend the Charity to the establishment of girls' schools in Wales, and the Company was authorized to manage the schools under its direction. In pursuance of this Act the Court of Chancery approved of a scheme by which two girls' schools were to be founded, one at Llandaff,

¹ Records, + 139, pp. 496, 538, 558, 631.

² Charity Commission Orders, 31.

³ Z. 52, 61.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 449, note 3.

⁵ Cf. *infra*, p. 493.

and the other at Denbigh. At the school at Llandaff, thirty orphan girls, nominated by the Governors and appointed by the Company, were to be lodged, boarded, clothed and educated at the expense of the Charity, and thirty on payment of £20 a year each. At the school at Denbigh the number of orphan boarders was to be twenty-five. There were also to be thirty boarders paying fees as well as day scholars.

In 1894 the Charity Commission passed certain orders, the effect of which was to provide that 40 per cent. of the total income of the Charity, now about £10,600, should be applicable to the Denbigh School and 36 per cent. to the Llandaff School, under the name of Howell's Glamorgan County School. The remaining 24 per cent. was to be paid in equal shares to the local authorities of Monmouthshire, Cardiff, and Newport for educational purposes. The Drapers' Company, beyond being trustees of the property and electing to appoint three Governors of the Schools, were to have no further part in administering the Charity.¹ Schemes were framed to carry out these orders. The scheme for Llandaff school met with no opposition, but the House of Lords petitioned the Crown against the scheme for the Denbigh School, and threw out another scheme in 1910. The Denbigh School is therefore carried on under the scheme of 1853. The girls, who are mostly Welsh, are daughters of professional and business men. An additional wing was built by the Company out of their Corporate funds in 1913, and a second hostel has been recently started. Of these two schools the Company were to be the Governors, although the actual management was to be in the hands of a body of local Governors, of whom the chairman was to be the Bishop of St. Asaph.²

Quite independently of these charitable trusts, the Company have always, and especially of late, contributed very large sums out of their Corporate revenue to public purposes, more especially to those of an educational character, and in support of hospitals.

The Drapers' Company played a prominent part in the movement for the development of technical education, which led to the

Technical
Education.

¹ c. 118, c. 90, c. 227 b.

² Livery Commission Report, 1884, vol. iv, p. 151.

formation of 'The City and Guilds of London Institute' in the year 1878. To this Institute Sir William Sawyer, then Clerk to the Company, was one of the two secretaries, and, during its earlier years, the Drapers' Company was among the largest contributors to its funds. Eventually, however, certain differences of opinion on questions of policy arose, which led to the offer of the Drapers' Company to take over the management and entire financial responsibility of the Finsbury Technical College, one of the branches of the Institute, in which the Company had taken special interest. On the refusal of this offer, the Drapers' Company decided to sever its connexion with 'The City and Guilds of London Institute', and to turn its munificence into other channels, whereby it might more definitely benefit the poor and needy.

The People's
Palace and
East London
College.

When, therefore, the Company was approached by the Trustees of the Beaumont Philosophical Institution, who sought their co-operation in the development of a great educational and social Institute in the heart of the East end of London, and asked for the site of Bancroft Hospital, which was then vacant, and which, situated as it was on the Mile End Road, was admirably suited for the purpose, the Company eagerly responded; and here were built the People's Palace and the East London College.

The chief work of the People's Palace is in connexion with the Queen's Hall, which was opened by Her Majesty Queen Victoria on her Jubilee, when she also laid the foundation-stone of the East London College buildings, and conferred the honour of knighthood on Sir John Jennings, then Master of the Drapers' Company. Connected with the People's Palace there are a swimming bath, the gift of Lord Rosebery, a winter garden given by Lord Iveagh, a recreation hall and rooms used for social and philanthropic purposes, including a successful children's play centre.

The East London College is a School of the University of London in the Faculties of Arts, Science and Engineering. It carries on work in the Faculty of Medicine in conjunction with the Medical College of the London Hospital, with which it is closely associated. It is administered under a scheme prepared by the Board of Education, which leaves the management largely in the hands of representatives of the Company, who receive the

assistance of expert advisers in literary, scientific and educational matters. The College is now included among those institutions which are in receipt of a Treasury grant. The matriculated internal students taking full-day courses number about 500, of whom about 100 belong to the Faculties of Arts, Engineering and Medicine respectively, and about 200 to the Faculty of Science.

The students enjoy the usual advantages of a college life. They have debating and literary societies, and playing-fields at Leyton. The Principal is Mr. J. L. S. Hatton, M.A. (Oxon.).

The Company have been from the first intimately connected with both these institutions. The buildings for the Technical School, which has now developed into the East London College, were built at their expense; under the scheme of 1892 they undertook to contribute £7,000 a year, and, when the educational side was separated from the recreative, the necessary buildings for the London College were erected by them. They redecorated Queen's Hall in 1914, and they now contribute £800 a year to the People's Palace, and £9,000 a year to the College. They also give valuable Entrance Scholarships. The Company also provides the playing-fields at Leyton. The total sum contributed by the Company to the two institutions since the original foundation is somewhere about £350,000.

Nor is the interest of the Company confined to pecuniary assistance. It has taken a conspicuous part in the anxious business of administering and developing these institutions. The Master and the Clerk for the time being are *ex officio* members of the governing body of both the People's Palace and the East London College. Besides these the Court of Assistants appoints six of the other Governors of the People's Palace and seven of those of the College.

That the success of these institutions, and more especially that of East London College, is mainly due to the Company was acknowledged by the Royal Commission on University Education in 1913. 'We recognise to the full the generosity and the enthusiasm with which The Drapers' Company have supported University education in London generally, and the patient determination with which they have raised the East London College,

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mainly at their own charges, from the status of a polytechnic to that of a vigorous and promising institution doing University work.'

University
and King's
Colleges,
London.

But besides the liberal support given to the East London College, the Company has also contributed large sums to other Universities and Colleges. In the year 1904 £30,000 was granted to University College, London, and in 1909 £5,000 to King's College, London, for the purpose of furthering the incorporation of these two colleges with the University of London. And they now subscribe £400 a year towards the Science Department at University College.

Cambridge
University.

The contributions of the Company to other Universities is on the same generous scale. To the University of Cambridge the Company gave £6,000 towards the cost of new buildings for the Agricultural Department, which were opened in the year 1909, and they are now contributing £1,000 per annum towards the salaries of the two Professors of Agriculture, one of whom is known as the Drapers' Professor. Besides this, the Company have erected at a cost of £23,500 a Physiological Laboratory. They also endowed a Professorship of French.

Oxford
University.

At the University of Oxford the Company erected, at a cost of £22,000, a new building to house the Radcliffe Library, which was opened in the year 1900; and an Electrical Laboratory at a cost of nearly £20,000, which was opened in the year 1910.

Sheffield
University.

At the University of Sheffield the Company built, at a cost of £15,000, the metallurgical wing of the new Mining and Metallurgical Department, which was opened in October 1913, and have since then contributed £400 per annum to the Mining Department of the University.

Leeds
University.

To the University of Leeds the Company are contributing £150 per annum to the Mining Department.

University
Colleges of
North and
South Wales.

At the University College of North Wales the Company erected at a cost of £15,000 a Library and Museum, which was opened in the year 1911. The Company also for many years contributed £200 per annum to the Engineering Department.

At the University College of South Wales the Company erected, at a cost of nearly £16,000, a library and museum, which was opened in the year 1909, and for many years they devoted £350

per annum to the Engineering Department. They have also founded two Scholarships in that Department.

To the University College of Nottingham the Company gave £4,000 in the years 1890 and 1892, and £1,000 in the year 1911 towards the building of Bedford College for women's education.

They have recently erected at a cost of £6,000 a Physiological and Hygiene Laboratory at the Battersea Polytechnic, which was opened in 1912. They have also given considerable sums to various polytechnics and technical institutions both in London and elsewhere, between 1890 and 1900, as well as some £10,000 towards the teaching of handicraft trades to boys and girls in co-operation with the London School Board.

The total amount of grants to educational institutions, including the People's Palace, since the year 1887, is not less than £532,000, and that of their annual subscriptions at the present moment not less than £12,300. This, it must be remembered, is all subscribed out of their Corporate revenue, and does not include the liberal grants and annual subscriptions given to supplement their own schools, which are part of their trust property.

The Company also award numerous Scholarships besides those at the East London College :

(a) Scholarships for young men intending to become elementary school teachers to enable them to go to Oxford and Cambridge.

(b) Textile Industries Scholarships and Exhibitions. These are awarded annually to enable young men to gain a scientific knowledge of the five great textile trades of the country, viz. cotton, wool, linen, jute and silk. They are awarded on the results of the technological examinations held by the City and Guilds Institute, and are believed to have been of value in the direction of applying science to industry. They are tenable in various centres all over the country.

To Hospitals, &c., the Company have granted large sums, including the erection of a new wing at the Poplar Hospital, which was completed in the year 1901; a new wing at the Tottenham Hospital, completed in the year 1907; and a grant of £10,000 to King's College Hospital Removal Fund in 1906. At the present time they are contributing £4,000 per annum to King Edward's Hospital Fund and £1,000 per annum to the Poplar Hospital.

The Company also subscribe to numerous forms of charitable and philanthropic endeavours.¹

Careful
administra-
tion of
Trusts.

Grant of Sir
J. Milborne.

I have on several occasions given instances of the careful administration of Trusts by the Company of Drapers.² But it may not be out of place to deal here with some of the more important cases in which their conduct has been impugned.

Stow, who wrote in 1598, declared that the Drapers sold certain tenements in the parish of St. Olave, which had been left in trust by Sir John Milborne, instead of applying the rents to the provision of bread and coals to the poor of St. Edmund's, Lombard Street, and St. Michael's, Cornhill, according to the provisions of Sir John's will.³ There is, however, no evidence in the Drapers' books of these doles having been at any time distributed. Nor, though diligent search has been made, have I been able to find any proof that the Company ever held, or sold, these tenements. When we remember the scrupulous care with which the business of the Company was conducted we are led to the conclusion that the Court had declined to accept the trust, as it not infrequently did.⁴

The further question as to whether the Company was entitled to any residue, after fulfilling the trusts imposed by another benefaction of Sir John for the maintenance of his almshouses, is rendered all the more difficult because it is doubtful what tenements Sir John actually bequeathed, and therefore what the rents amounted to. The deeds were either destroyed in the Great Fire or have perished from damp: suffice it to say that

¹ The total amount of Grants to Education, Charity, &c., in the years 1884-1917 reached the very large figure of £958,973 cf. Appendix XLI c.

² Cf. esp. p. 334.

³ Stow, ed. Kingsford, i, p. 148, side-note.

⁴ Cf. Addenda et Corrigenda, vol. iii, p. 524; p. 36, l. 13. Cf. Rep. 7, p. 471, where the Company declined to undertake another trust of Milborne's for the almshouses for less than a certain sum, because less would not suffice to pay the pensions and keep the almshouses in repair, and perhaps also because there was no margin wherewith to remunerate the Company for undertaking the administration of the trust, as they and other Companies, such as the Merchant Taylors, often did. e.g. in case of Harwar's Almshouses. Rep. + 133, p. 297 a. Stow says that Milborne made a proviso that if the Company did not fulfil the trust, the tenements should remain in the hands of the Mayor and Corporation. There is, however, no record in the City Archives of these lands ever having been in the hands of the City authorities, or of their having ever distributed the said Charity.

Counsel in 1841 gave an opinion that it was very doubtful whether the Company was not entitled to the residue, an opinion in which the Attorney-General concurred in 1858; and in 1884 Mr. Hare stated that the very large expenditure, which the Company proposed then to incur (about £8,000) in altering the almshouses, 'was such a dedication of (Corporate) property to charitable purposes as would not be far from equivalent to what could be required of them under the most adverse construction as to the identity of the endowments';¹ and in 1884 the Company were contributing as much as £486 2s. 9d. a year to the almsfolk out of their Corporate revenue.

Mr. Hazlitt accuses the Company of having defrauded Howell's Trust of the annual value of their Hall, which they bought with the capital they received under his will, and for which they paid no rent.² This accusation is, however, based again on an imperfect knowledge of the facts, which are as follows: Howell did by his will, about 1540, direct that if the sum of 12,000 ducats (about £2,700), which he left in trust, would purchase lands producing more than 400 ducats (about £90) of rent, the amount of the dowries to the four maidens should be increased. Of the bequest, however, the Company only received 8,720 ducats (about £1,962). With this sum they purchased lands at Dowgate, and others in the parish of St. Peter-le-Poor, including the site of the Hall,³ which in 1545 produced rents to the amount of £106. The remainder of the capital was not invested for some time, the Company meanwhile paying £11 for the Hall, which was wanted

Howell's
Trust.

¹ Livery Companies Commission, vol. iv, p. 161.

² Hazlitt, Livery Companies, p. 207.

³ I wish here to correct an error made in vol. ii, pp. 65, note 3; 66, line 25; 84, note 6; 209, line 4 from bottom, with regard to the purchase of the Hall. Contrary to what is there stated, part of the purchase-money for the Hall and the lands and tenements adjacent was provided for out of some of Howell's Legacy; but the remaining part was invested in the Herber and other lands and tenements at Dowgate, and in Bush Lane. Moreover, a considerable part of the purchase-money for the Hall was raised by subscription among the members of the Company; although some of this was no doubt spent in altering Cromwell's House. In Rep. H, p. 205 a, 1596, the rents are stated to be of 'the clear yearly value of £72 13s. 4d. But as a matter of fact the rents, including £11 for the Hall, came to a higher amount. Thus in 1545 they were £106, in 1594 £112 6s. 8d. Cf. + 146, Renters' Accounts, for those years.

to make up the sum required to pay the portions of the four maidens and the expenses of carrying out the Trust. In 1596, however, the Court resolved to hand over to Howell's Trust £11 6s. 8d. from the rents of certain lands belonging to the Corporate estate¹ in St. Margaret Pattens and St. Andrew Hubbard, the said sum being that 'which lacked in Howell's rents', and from that date the £11 for the Hall was no longer paid. From the year 1596 to 1633-4 so much of the rents of the lands belonging to the Corporate estate of the Company as made up £11 6s. 8d. was yearly paid to Howell's account. After that date, however, this is not continued; no doubt, because the rents from the Howell's Lands produced enough to meet the charges.²

It is true that Howell's Trust did, as time went on, produce more than enough to pay the portions for the four maidens. In 1689 the receipts came to £189 3s., while the expenditure, including charges, was only £97,³ and since that date the receipts enormously increased. Moreover, Howell had declared it to be his wish that, if the money left by him would buy land to produce higher rents than 400 ducats, i.e. £90, the surplus should be spent in increasing the amount of the dowries. It is, however, important to note that he appeared to leave the matter in the hands of the officials of the Company, since he says this is to be done 'as shall seme by the discretion of the Master and Wardeynes'. Nor is this all. As early as the reign of Elizabeth the Court of Chancery had decreed that the Company should pay £84 a year to the Bishop of Llandaff on receiving a certificate from him that four eligible maidens had been found,⁴ and that the Company had no responsibility with regard to the selection of the recipients; and this was confirmed in 1661.⁵

The Company therefore not unnaturally held that it was not bound to carry out the exact provisions of the will, more especially

¹ Rep. H, p. 205 a, Renters' Accounts, 1595-6, fo. 11. Owen Clonne's lands were sold for £1,192, but bought back in 1595 for £1,134 14s. 1d. out of the Corporate funds. Thenceforth they were included in the Renters' Accounts as part of the Corporate property with the House Lands. Cf. Renters' Accounts, *passim*.

² Cf. Renters' Accounts, Howell's lands, for the various years; in 1634-5 the rents came to £110 10s., the charges to £99.

³ Renters' Accounts, 1688-9, fo. 11.

⁴ Report, vol. iv, p. 193.

⁵ Rep., + 133, pp. 283 b, 284 a.

considering, that it had not received the whole of the money originally left by the benefactor; that it had been put to considerable expense in obtaining what it did receive; that it became year by year increasingly difficult to find eligible maidens; that in many years there had been a deficit in the rents, which had been made up out of Corporate revenue;¹ and, finally, because Howell had left the matter to the discretion of the Master and Wardens.

These facts, all of which were not known in 1838, when a suit was instituted by the Attorney-General against the Company, entirely free it from any charge of fraudulent misappropriation. Nay, Lord Langdale in pronouncing his judgement declared that, although the whole income should have been applied to the purposes of the Testator's will, there was 'no possibility for any imputation of bad or corrupt conduct on part of the defendants'; that 'instead of applying the fund to any purposes of their own . . . they had applied them in a most beneficial manner for the most useful charitable purposes', and that 'very great doubt might be entertained whether extending the charitable purposes of the founder would be productive of effects anything like so beneficial as the charitable purposes promoted by the Company'. Nevertheless, in this most troublesome business the Company does appear to have departed from the intentions of the benefactor, and in consequence of Lord Langdale's decision to that effect two Acts of Parliament were passed in 1846 and in 1852. By the first the Company was authorized to purchase the Hall and the Gardens and other tenements belonging to the trust out of their Corporate funds; and, under the authority of the second, the Court of Chancery was empowered to approve of a scheme, whereby girls' schools were established at Llandaff and Denbigh.²

The charge brought by Dr. Sharpe, in his Calendar of Wills, is also based on imperfect knowledge. He states that the Company failed to make loans to young men as directed by Clonne's will.³

Clonne's
Loan
Money.

¹ Cf. in 1612-13 a deficit of £46 6s. 6d.; 1626-7, £76 4s. 9d.; 1651-2, £34 os. 10d.; 1661-2, £96 8s. 5d. Cf. Renters' Accounts for these years.

² Cf. City of London Livery Cos. Commission 1884. Report, vol. iv, pp. 151, 188, 202, 206 and *supra* p. 484. £24,331 5s. was paid for the Hall, and £2,800 for the other tenements. A iii, 147, 148.

³ Sharpe, Calendar of Wills, vol. ii, p. 717, note 1. *Supra*, p. 484.

This was no doubt true in 1839; for at that date the whole system of loans had fallen to pieces, and moreover much of the loan money had been lost owing to the defalcation of those to whom it had been lent.¹

It seems probable that this is the explanation in the case of Clonne's 'Legacy Parcel'. We have, however, evidence in the Wardens' Accounts that the money was being lent out as late as 1717-18.² Further, even after the loss of the capital of the legacy parcels, the Court continued to distribute in charity out of the Corporate revenues the sums which should have been received by way of interest from those who had received the loans.³

All the other instances of alleged misappropriation of Trust Funds turn on the difficult question as to the appropriation of the 'residues' or 'surpluses' after the specific charitable trusts had been fulfilled. These surpluses have, owing to the rise in the

¹ Thus in 1791 a committee reported that a capital sum, which should have brought in interest to the amount of £291 10s. 2d., had been lost. Records, + 137, pp. 30-4.

² Cf. Wardens' Accounts, 1717-18. The amount lost was about £110. Records, + 137, p. 34.

³ *Ib.* The future history of these 'loans' to young men is as follows: In 1791 the interest on these loans, whether the capital had been lost, lent out, or kept in the hands of the Company, was consolidated with the other charities (that is, the charities left by private benefactors and the sums usually distributed by the Company at Easter and Christmas) into a Poor Roll for the relief of indigent members of the Company or their widows, called the 'Loan Charities' cf. *supra* p. 468. The list of pensioners was limited to sixty, and each pensioner was to receive £6 6s. a year. This would, if the list of pensioners was full, come to £378 a year, whereas the total annual amount of the charities consolidated was only £291 10s. 2d. The balance therefore was provided by the Company out of their Corporate revenue. Records, + 137, pp. 34-5, 37, 38. In 1795 the pensions were increased to £10 10s. (*ib.*, p. 230). The capital of the loan money is now retained by the Company, unless a loan is asked for. These pensions are to be distinguished from the pensions given to impoverished members who have held important positions in the Company, or their widows, and to servants who have grown old in the service of the Company, or to their widows. These are on a much higher scale. By a resolution of the Court, July 5, 1834, (cf. Court of Assistants' Minutes, + 235), the pensions to former members of the Livery, or their widows, were limited to £105, but those to old servants or their widows are sometimes higher.

The Company also has a Fund for the relief of their 'casual poor'. This fund used to be administered by the Court, but it is now distributed at the discretion of the Master and Wardens. About £400 a year is usually dispensed in this way.

value of land in London, been constantly increasing. The Company had always treated these 'residues', in absence of any words to the contrary, as belonging to them and at their free disposal. They believed, not without some reason, that such was the intention of the benefactors, who it must be remembered were loyal members of the fraternity, and might be expected to desire that the Company should derive some prospective benefit in return for its trouble in administering the charity.¹

When, however, in the nineteenth century, public attention was aroused by the great wealth accumulated by the Livery Companies, and the interests of the public were much thought of, this view was challenged, and referred to the Law Courts.

The law relating to Trusts was gradually developed by decisions of the Court of Chancery. The views that prevailed, say in the sixteenth century were very different to those held in the nineteenth century, by which time the law had become crystallized by the decisions of succeeding generations of Chancellors. The Chancery therefore disregarded the custom that had hitherto prevailed, and proceeded to interpret the 'ipsissima verba' of the wills in the light of the intention of the benefactor as collected from the context. It may perhaps be questioned whether the judges were not somewhat influenced in their interpretation by the state of public opinion at the time, and whether, if they had been better acquainted with the ancient history of the guilds, they might not have come to a different conclusion; for surely it will be allowed that the interpretation of the words of a document very much depends on the point of view from which

¹ This view was often actually expressed at the meetings of the Court. Cf. vol. i, p. 35. It should be noted that in cases where the trusts to be fulfilled were indefinite, the Company had always appropriated the whole of the income to carrying out the trust. Cf. the case of H. Dixon, who left lands the rents of which were to be spent on apprenticing boys, no number being stated. Records, + 137, p. 237. When again there was any doubt as to how the trust should be carried out under altered circumstances, it was the usual custom of the Court to consult counsel's opinion. Cf. e. g. in case of the trusts of Walter and Sir J. Jolles (ib., pp. 694 ff., 702 ff., 720 ff.), and in the year 1818 the Court definitely stated that they did not consider themselves entitled to alter the objects of a founder's charity when they could no longer be literally carried out, without the consent of the Court of Chancery, Records, + 138, p. 677.

the interpretation is made. However that may be, their decisions, which have at least been consistent, have since then followed these lines:

In cases where the benefactor definitely expressed his wish that the 'residue' should belong to the Company, they have of course so given their decision.¹

Such too has been their decision where, at the date when the benefaction came into operation, there was a residue or surplus, however small, remaining over out of the annual proceeds of the endowment after the fulfilment of the specific trusts,² and where no clear intention was expressed or implied in the will that the whole proceeds were to be devoted to the charity; or, again, if according to the wording of the will *only so much* was to be spent out of the residue on such repairs as might be *necessary*.³

If, on the contrary, there was originally no such residue, or surplus, or if the will directed that the whole surplus was to be expended on repairs, the Court has held that it should be appropriated to the charity, however great the subsequent increase of that surplus may have been.⁴ Where, however, part of the income was to be spent on the charity, and the remaining part was specifically disposed of as an aliquot share to other purposes,

¹ e. g., Case of Sir Thomas Cullum. In 1662 he devised to the Company four houses in London leased at £41 10s. a year to be disposed of in certain charities, and the *residue to the Company for their own use*. Report, vol. iv, p. 139. Again, in 1673, Sir S. Starling left 'a moiety on charitable trusts, and the rest to the Company for the increase of their Stock'. Cf. Appendix, Benefactions XLVII.

² Thus: Grant or devise of lands producing rent of £100 (or grant or bequest of money producing £100 interest) of which only £99 is to be spent on the charity. Cf. Attorney-General v. Mayor of Bristol 1820.

³ Thus: Grant or devise of lands producing rent of £100 (or grant or bequest of money producing £100 interest), of which £90 is to be spent on almsfolk and *so much* of the residue as *was or might be necessary* for repairs. Cf. Attorney-General, v. Waxchangers, 1873.

⁴ Thus: (a) Grant or devise of lands producing rent of £100 (or grant or bequest of money producing £100 interest), £100 to be spent on the charity. Cf. The Thetford School Case, 1610.

(b) Grant or devise of lands producing £100 rent (or grant or bequest of money producing £100 interest), of which £90 is to be spent on almsfolk and the residue on repairs. Cf. Merchant Taylors' Company v. Attorney-General, 1871.

it has been held that both should proportionately share in any increase in the surplus.¹

Finally, where the amount of the income or of the trust to be performed has been qualified by such words as '*or thereabouts*', the intention of the benefactor is to be deduced from the general context.²

That the public have benefited by these decisions we do not dispute. But we submit that the real wish of the pious founder is past finding out, and that the interpretation given by the Company—an interpretation, be it observed, which was not peculiar to the Drapers' Company—is, even if influenced by self-interest, as a matter of fact just as likely to be correct.

In any case the Courts, while deciding against the Companies, took care to state that no imputation of fraud could be brought against them; that they had honestly believed their interpretation to be correct; and that, in consequence, they would only be ordered to refund the surpluses from the date of the filing of the information and not from the date of the benefaction.³

This defence of the Company's interpretation of the wishes of benefactors with respect to the surpluses seems to be supported by the history of '*Fines*'. These were levied at the time of the grant or renewal of a lease, and were often heavy. Now it is remarkable that the question of these '*fin*'s' has, as far as I know, never been raised in a Court of Law.⁴ Nor indeed are they often mentioned in the wills.⁴ But, inasmuch as this method of '*beneficiary*' leasing was very common in those days, the benefactor must have wished (in the absence of words to the contrary) that these '*fin*'s', in cases where the rents alone produced enough to carry out the trust, should be at the free disposal of the Company.

¹ Cf. the case of Russell and Kendrick given p. 498 note. On the whole subject cf. Tudor Charities, ed. Sweet and Maxwell, 1906, pp. 110-17.

² Cf. Case of Harwar, given p. 498 note.

³ Cf. for instance, Lord Langdale in case of Kendrick's Charity. Beaven, Reports, vol. iv, p. 71.

⁴ Cf. the exceptional case of Rainey's will, which instructs that the produce of the fines, '*which are great*', are to be applied to the Charity. Livery Companies Report, 1884, vol. iv, p. 163. Sometimes, however, the word '*profits*' is added to the rents, and this would no doubt include the '*fin*'s'.

498 *Internal History of the Company*

Possibly this interpretation was considered so obvious that it was not thought worth while to contest it. But if so, we are brought to this somewhat contradictory conclusion. As long as the Company continued the system of 'beneficiary leases' accompanied by 'fines', the fines, however large, rightly fell to the Corporate revenue. But if, and when, they turned these beneficiary leases into the modern system of leases at rack-rent, and raised the rent in lieu of demanding a fine on renewal, the increment thus added to the rent became no longer Corporate but trust money.¹

Thomas
Russell,
1593.

¹ The following are the cases which illustrate these judgements :

Thomas Russell had in 1593 devised to the Company certain messuages in London producing rents of £19 13s. 4d. on trust to pay £19 10s. yearly to thirteen poor members of the Company, and 3s. 4d. to the Renter and the Beadle. In 1840 the Court of Chancery decided that, since there was no mention of any surplus in the will, nor any surplus at the date when the will became operative, the residue should have been appropriated to the Charity. Cf. *Drapers' Documents*, Russell, 1839-45, K2-78.

It may be noted that at the date of this decision the Company were supplementing a second Charity of Thomas Russell to Barton School by a gift of £57 a year, out of funds which indisputably belonged to their Corporate revenue. Cf. *London Livery Companies Report*, vol. iv, p. 166; Rep. + 133, 292 ff.

William
Lambard,
Queen
Elizabeth's
College,
1597.

William Lambard had given instructions in his will, dated May 1597, that the lands he bequeathed should be leased from time to time to such of his name as should be his heir male, for the *then usual and accustomed rents*. In 1608 the President and Governors of the College (the Master of the Rolls and the two Senior Wardens) covenanted with Sir Multon Lambard to seal to him and his heirs male leases of the said lands for twenty-one years, and so from twenty-one years to twenty-one years, undertaking that any subsequent increase in the rents should not exceed £5: + 356, p. 42, B. ff. 65, Q. E. C. 1608, 197.

The rents at that date came to £102 6s. 8d. and were never raised till 1845, when the case was brought before the Court of Chancery. The Court decided that the covenants of 1608 were null and void, and after prolonged negotiations the Vice-Chancellor in 1850 decreed that the representative of William Lambard, the heir of the benefactor and his executors, should be granted the lands for his life and thirty years afterwards, but at an increased rental of £300, the said rent to be applied to the purposes of the College. *Drapers' Records*, Q. E. C., L. 161, 1845-55, 210; H. 105, 1850, 172.

John
Kendrick,
1624.

In 1625 the Company received, by the bequest of John Kendrick in 1624, £2,400 to be laid out in the purchase of lands producing £100 a year; £96 of this was to be spent on charity, and 'the residue', the will continued, 'I entreat the four Wardens of the Company to accept for their pains to be equally divided between them . . . yearly for ever'.

The way in which the Company had spent what they *believed*

He also left a Legacy of £100 to the Company to buy plate. Instead of doing this, the whole of the money (£2,500) was lent at interest to the East India Company till 1637, when the Company laid out £2,550 (£150 more than they had received) in the purchase of land yielding a rent of £170.

Besides this they had, as a matter of fact, spent the whole of the proceeds, with the exception of the fees to the Wardens, either in maintaining Kendrick's Charity, or in other charities; but held that this was of their own free will, and that the surplus in law belonged to their Corporate funds. The Master of the Rolls (in 1841), however, decided that the surplus ought to have been applied proportionately to the several objects mentioned in the will, and that the £150, which they had added out of the Corporate revenue, should be looked upon as the surplus interest which they had appropriated for the twelve years between the receipt of the money and its investment in land.

This decision appears to me a curious one in view of the fact that, with regard to the remaining surpluses, the Master of the Rolls ruled that, as the Company had acted *bona fide* he should, as was usual in such cases, order them to refund only those which had accrued since the filing of the information against them; and it would seem that he was influenced in his judgement by the information that the Company had, as a matter of fact, though not, as they thought, of legal necessity, applied the surplus to charitable objects. The question whether they should have spent the legacy in the purchase of plate was not raised. Cf. Beaven, Reports, iv, p. 67; Drapers' Docs., KJ. 74, Kendrick, 1840-7.

Theophilus Royley, by his will dated 1655, devised to the Company certain lands on trust, after the expiration of thirty-two years from his decease, to dispose of one moiety of the rents and profits in charity, and had instructed that the residue, with the exception of certain small fees to officials, should be devoted to placing out children of poor members; the other moiety to be disposed of amongst his grandchildren, but not to go beyond two degrees from his daughter. The payments to the descendants came to an end in 1751, when the last person entitled under the bequest died. Since that date this moiety had been appropriated by the Company. As a result of the report of the Commissioners of Enquiry in 1836, the Company presented a petition to the Court of Chancery stating the condition of the Trust, and asking for instructions. In 1841 the Master of the Rolls decided that, as to residue of the first moiety, the Charity to the poor and the fees to officials should be doubled; and that the residue of this moiety, as well as the whole of the second moiety, should be devoted to placing forth poor boys and girls, with a preference to children of members of the Company. At Drapers' Hall, G. 18, Roy. 1837-41, 152.

The case of Samuel Harwar's Almshouses is of especial interest, inasmuch as the benefactor had stated that he left the Trust to the Company because from his long connexion with the Company (he was Master in 1703-4) he knew how loyally they administered their trusts.

He had in the year 1704 bequeathed £1,700 to his executors in trust to lay out £100 more or less in the purchase of a piece of ground, and to spend £400 or *thereabouts* in erecting twelve almshouses; and then to convey the same, as

Theophilus
Royley or
Riley, 1655.

Samuel
Harwar's
Almshouses,
1704.

to be their Corporate property on Harwar's Charity is only one example of their open-handed administration of trusts.¹

well as the remainder of the £1,700, to be devoted to the purchase of an estate of inheritance producing £60 a year or *thereabouts* for the maintenance of twelve almspeople; the said almsfolk to be paid £43 16s. between them, and a load of coals each every year. Since that date, although the rents had materially increased, the Company had treated the surplus as Corporate property; not only because they thought that they had a legal right to do so under the will, but in virtue of a letter received from the founder of the Charity, in which he expressed his intention to confer a considerable benefit on the Company. Cf. +133, p. 275 b. And they had subsequently in 1717 made an agreement with the parish of Shoreditch by which the parish had undertaken to build or add to the said almshouses, and to keep them in repair while the Company continued to administer the Trust. Records, +134, pp. 63, 64, 93, 117, 119, 131. When, however, the case was brought before the Master of the Rolls in 1840, he decided that the Company was responsible for repairs, because, while no specific sum was, under the will, devoted to such repairs, the testator must have meant that the almshouses should be kept in repair, since he intended that the almspeople should be maintained in them. Further, he held 'that as the maintenance and support of the almspeople in the almshouses was the expressed purpose for which the conveyance of the almshouses had been directed to be made, the mere circumstance, that, in describing the manner of maintenance, the testator did not exhaust the whole income, was not a sufficient reason for considering that any surplus was meant for the pecuniary benefit of the Company. Lord Langdale therefore ruled that all the increase of income should accrue to the Charity inasmuch as there was a clear general intention on the part of the testator to devote the whole income to the said purpose. Cf. Beaven, ii, p. 508.

Now it appears to me that although the Company should have applied any surplus, which might accrue as time went on, to the repairs, they were justly entitled to any surplus over and above that necessary for repairs, especially in the view of Harwar's avowed intention to benefit the Company, an intention which Lord Langdale disregarded; and also because of the vagueness of the words 'thereabouts' in dealing with the rents, and the doubt as to what the exact cost of the twelve loads of coals might come to. It may be that the Master of the Rolls was led to this decision partly by the fact that the Company was at the moment spending over £202 on the Charity of its own free-will. If so, the Company once more, as in Kendrick's case, suffered from its liberality. At all events it is clear that it had interpreted Harwar's will in a most generous manner, and the actual difference made by the decision was after all only £12 6s. 4d. a year. Cf. Beaven, Reports, vol. iv, p. 508; Drapers' Records, f. 1, Harwar, 1838-40, 152.

For the doubtful case of Hazelwood, in which no order was made, cf. Livery Companies Commission, 1880, 1884, vol. iv, p. 122.

Torkington's Charity 1563, and Terry's Charity 1625, never came into effect. Terry's lands were taken from the Company by a decree in Chancery 1656. Cf. A. V. 19.

¹ Cf. previous note.

But there are many other instances in which they supplemented charitable trusts by money which was without doubt their own. And this practice was not confined to the exceptional period after the Great Fire.¹ It would be tedious to give all the instances of this generous conduct on the part of the Company. Suffice it to mention that in the years 1797 and 1800 £2,900 was given to Bancroft's School;² that, in 1804, it was calculated that the loss to the Company on Sir J. Jolles' Almshouses, since the year 1718 alone, had amounted to over £2,000;³ and that between 1867 and 1882 they had spent £11,000 on Corney's School, and were also paying one-half of the annual expenses, which said moiety came to nearly £1,000 in the year 1882: all out of their Corporate revenue⁴. Mr. Hare, in his report, definitely stated that these contributions to the Charity of Sir J. Jolles must be 'regarded as the result of bounty and not of legal obligation'.⁵

I have, then, no hesitation in saying that the way in which the Company have administered their trust property has been admirable, and that they have no reason to fear the utmost publicity: unfortunately in the past they, like the other Companies, have pursued a policy of secrecy.⁶ When we remember the trouble caused them by those infamous 'concealers' of the Tudor and Stuart times, we cannot be surprised that they should have done so, and yet we venture to doubt the wisdom of this policy. Suspicion has thereby been naturally aroused, and moreover, in resenting public inquiry, they have been led to neglect the study of their own documents. Had they not done so they would have been able to make a much stronger case than they did before the Commission of 1884.

¹ Cf. *supra*, Car. II, Careful Administration of Trusts p. 334. So again, as in the case of Buck's Charity, they sometimes spent the residue or part of it on the Charity, although they did not consider themselves under legal obligation to do so. Cf. Livery Companies Commission, vol. iv, p. 121.

² Records, + 137, pp. 302, 459. In 1818 they also increased the sums for apprenticing boys from the School. *Ib.*, 153.

³ Records, + 137, p. 696.

⁴ Livery Companies Commission Reports, vol. i, p. 342. ⁵ *Ib.*, vol. iv, p. 154.

⁶ e. g. in 1812. They and the Merchant Taylors attempted to prevent the passing of the Charitable Donations Bill, 52. Geo. III, c. 102, which ordered the registration of charitable donations, with some exceptions. Cf. Records, + 138, p. 306.

City Livery
Companies
Commission,
1880-4.

In conclusion it may be well to consider the reasons adduced before the Commission of 1880-4 why the Corporate property of the Companies of London should be appropriated to public purposes.¹

In the first place it was contended that the Charters granted to the Gilds, or Companies, were in themselves illegal, since they were contrary to clause 13 of Magna Carta, which had promised that the ancient liberties of the City should be respected,² and that these liberties had been violated by giving to the Gilds the right of search over a citizen's goods.³

Any unprejudiced person who reads the clause would surely answer that the 'liberties' confirmed by the Great Charter were not the liberties of any individual, but the Corporate liberties of the City itself; and if, on the other hand, by 'liberties' those of the individual were meant, it would follow that the City itself had violated these liberties by any restraint it might have imposed on the freedom of action on the part of the citizens, and that in consequence the Charters granted to the City itself were illegal. When asked whether a Court of Law would so decide, considering that the Charters had been acted on for hundreds of years, Mr. Beale replied that, whatever might be the decision, if the Charters were illegal *ab initio*, nothing could make them good. This ridiculous contention was not, however, accepted by the Commission, and it is only mentioned as illustrating the lengths to which the enemies of the Companies were prepared to go.

But even if that part of the Charters were, for argument's sake, held to be illegal, it has often been decided that the voiding of one clause of a Charter does not nullify the remainder.⁴

¹ Cf. Report, vol. i. The arguments on both sides are for the most part borrowed from the Report itself. Perhaps the best answers on the side of the Companies are to be found in those of the Goldsmiths and the Grocers, pp. 267, 291. Cf. also *City Livery Companies Vindication*, ed. Gilbert and Rivington, 1885, where some of the absurd and even dishonest statements of Messrs. Firth and Beale are refuted. I have also added some information derived from the Drapers' Records.

² 'Et civitas Londoniarum habeat omnes antiquas libertates et liberas consuetudines suas, tam per terras quam per aquas.'

³ *City Livery Companies Commission*, 1880-4, vol. i, p. 142.

⁴ Cf. Grant on Corporations, pp. 40, 41, and cases there cited.

Another witness maintained that, according to the Charters of most of the Gilds, the Master and Wardens were to be elected by the whole craft; and that, as this was no longer the case, the Charters had been forfeited.¹ It is no doubt true that the election to these offices was originally in the hands of the whole body of the freemen, and that the restriction of the right of election to the Master, Wardens, and Assistants was a later innovation. But no objection was ever raised to the change from outside, and it was sanctioned by the Charter of James I.²

The second contention was that the Companies were public Companies definitely incorporated by Royal Charter, to which they owed their existence.

To this two answers may be made. Not only had the Gilds received a recognition of their privileges by the Mayor, before they approached the Crown for Charters; but, as is now generally acknowledged, they had existed from the earliest days as Corporations by prescription, with a Corporate life and consciousness, formed for the object of brotherly assistance, mutual enjoyment and common worship, and later for the control of the industry with which they were connected.³

The Charters should therefore be interpreted rather as confirming the privileges they had held by prescription than as conveying any fresh grant; and, if the Charters were voided, they would still be Corporations by prescription.⁴

The third contention was that the Gilds had by Royal Charter become State Departments for the superintendence and the control

¹ Report, vol. i, p. 143.

² The Charter of Edward III says that the Wardens are to be elected 'by the Drapers enfranchised in the mystery of Drapers'; the Charter of Henry VI, 'by men of the fraternity'; that of James I, 'by the Master, Wardens, and Assistants'. Under the Commonwealth an attempt was made by the freemen of some companies to regain the right of election, but it failed. Cf. Charters given in Appendices, vol. i, VI, XIX, vol. ii, II; cf. also vol. i, pp. 106, 151, and p. 225 note 1 of this volume.

³ Cf. vol. i of this work, p. 92. Cf. also answer of the Goldsmiths to the House of Commons in 1724, that they can find no grant or constitution whereby they were made Livery Companies; and to the Municipal Corporations Commission of 1833, that they were not a municipal Corporation but a Corporation by prescription dating from the earliest times. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, pp. 203, 320.

⁴ Cf. Grant on Corporations, pp. 32, 33, and cases there given.

of trades and industries, and that, since the control had ceased, the Charters should be cancelled.¹ Although this statement is not absolutely correct with regard to some of the Companies, such as the Goldsmiths and the Fishmongers,² which still exercise some control over the industries they represent, it is no doubt true of the Drapers' Company.³

It was, however, pointed out that some of the confirming Charters, especially the later ones, had been granted after the control of trade had been partially at least abandoned, and when the Companies had ceased to be composed exclusively of persons belonging to the craft.⁴

Moreover, even those who signed the Majority Report held, and surely rightly, that the non-trade franchises were separable from the privileges and duties with regard to trade, and that on that ground the Charters could not be justly cancelled.⁵

The statement that the Companies are legally bound to admit to apprenticeship all who follow the trade or industry which they represent,⁶ and that, as they no longer do so, they have broken the law, is so contrary to the truth that it is hardly worth answering. It is based on a radical misunderstanding of the character of apprenticeship. The Companies have been for a long time composed of men pursuing all kinds of trades and crafts, and, if they enrolled apprentices, they apprenticed them to their own trade or industry, not to that to which the Company nominally belonged. Nor has this custom ever been challenged.

The next contention was that the Livery Companies were public and municipal corporations exercising municipal functions under the control of the Mayor, and that they formed an integral part of the constitution of the City.⁷

¹ Livery Companies Commission Report, 1880-4, vol. i, p. 81.

² *Ib.*, p. 19.

³ Apparently the last search made by the Drapers was in 1852. *Ib.*, p. 343.

⁴ This had taken place in the Drapers' as early as the fifteenth century, and had gone far by the reign of James I. Cf. *supra*, p. 93 and Report, vol. i, p. 305.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 19.

⁶ Cf. *Ib.*, p. 93.

⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 77, 83, 91; Ans. 28, p. 134; Ans. 813, p. 165; Ans. 1412-15.

Now Blackstone¹ defines a municipal corporation as one created for the good government of a town, and one that has territorial jurisdiction. Territorial jurisdiction the Companies certainly have never enjoyed, nor were they created for the purpose of municipal government. Whether they form an integral part of the Corporation is; it must be admitted, an extremely nice question. The reasons adduced in support of this assertion were that the Livery of the Companies form the Common Hall, which, together with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, is the governing body of the City: that they take part in the election of the Mayor and *some* of the other municipal officials, as well as in the election of their burgesses²: that they have time out of mind obeyed the precepts of the Mayor, and have applied to the Mayor's Court to punish recalcitrant members, and to settle disputes between them and their members. To this contention the following answers have been made: Although the Companies have from time to time appealed to the Mayor's Court, such appeal has been made of their own initiative, and there has been no recorded instance of his jurisdiction having been enforced against them, or against their members unless by the consent of the Companies.³ As to the precepts of the Mayor, they have usually been the channel of communication, by which the orders of the Crown or Parliament have been communicated to the Companies, and, where this has not been the case, they have often been neglected or resisted. Nor has the Mayor, of late at all events, attempted to alter their by-laws. As to the ordinances, they had originally to be sanctioned by the Mayor, but, by 19 Henry VII, c. 7, they were to be

¹ Stephen's Blackstone, ed. 1858, vol. iii, p. 150.

² Report, pp. 83, 137, Ans. 868-73.

³ Of course, as *freemen of the City*, they are subject to the Mayor's jurisdiction, but not as members of a Company. The Charter of Edward III says the four Wardens are to punish offending members by the aid of the Mayor and Sheriffs, *if need be*. The Charter of Henry VI makes no mention of the Mayor. The ordinance of 1460 says that those who will not obey the rule and correction of the Master and Wardens are to be presented to the Mayor as rebels, and that no one is to implead any freeman of the Company in any Court, without the licence of the Master or one of the Wardens. The statute of 1503-4, however, declared against this ordinance, and the ordinance of 1543 allowed any member to pleyne 'where him liketh'. Vol. ii of this work, p. 286.

approved by the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and certain Justices; and the Charter of James I gives the Master, Wardens and Assistants powers to frame reasonable ones, so long as they be not repugnant to the laws of England.

It also appears that, before the Companies had obtained their Charters from the Crown, their privileges were sanctioned by the Mayor, but that when they became incorporated the sanction passed to the Crown.¹

The conclusion of the whole matter is that, although in early days the Companies were under some control of the Mayor and the City authorities, they had gradually emancipated themselves, and that the control is now 'hardly more than nominal'. Further, if it be true that the Companies are under the control of the Crown, that control is limited by the Charters which the Crown has granted, since it is an established principle that the Crown cannot derogate from its own grant, or interfere with privileges it has thereby conferred.² While it is true that the Mayor and some of the other civic officers,³ as well as the Burgesses are elected by the Common Hall, it does not elect the Aldermen, the Common Councilmen, or the Town Clerk.

The Mayor is elected from the Aldermen who have served as Sheriffs. The Aldermen are elected by the Wards, not by the Companies. The Common Hall, which is composed of Liverymen, whether Aldermen or not, select two candidates from the twenty-six Aldermen, who, because they are elected by the Wards, are of a different constituency, and the Court of Aldermen elects the Mayor out of these two candidates. But the Common Hall,

¹ Vol. i of this work, pp. 95, 96. In 1697 the Court of Aldermen ordered that no person should for the future be called upon to take the Livery of any of the Companies unless he had a certain property qualification; but this was subsequently demurred to and repudiated on the ground that it was not known what authority the Mayor and the Court of Aldermen had to make the order. Cf. Report, vol. i, p. 336.

² *Ib.*, p. 309.

³ Namely the Sheriffs, the Chamberlain, and the Bridgemasters. But the other officials are not elected by the Common Hall. Until the Reform Bill of 1832, the freemen of the Common Hall constituted the Parliamentary constituency. *Ib.*, p. 23.

as a matter of custom,¹ selects the two senior Aldermen below the chair, and the senior of the two is usually chosen by the Court of Aldermen. The work of the Common Hall is, therefore, a curious survival of ancient custom,² and now little more than a form. Although by immemorial custom the Common Hall has been composed of freemen of the City who, whether Aldermen or not, were also Liverymen of one of the greater Companies, their right to enter the Common Hall and to vote at elections was given them, not because they were Liverymen but because they were freemen.³ Moreover, some of the Companies have no livery, so that they at least had no part in the election of the municipal officers or of the Burgesses.⁴

¹ Save under exceptional circumstances, e. g. in times of great political excitement, or when the Senior Alderman is very unpopular.

² Report, vol. i, p. 273.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 273, 292. For a brief period in the fourteenth century the Gilds succeeded in wresting the election of the Common Council from the Wards, but in 1384 the right was restored to the freemen of the Wards paying scot and lot, and ever since has remained in their hands, as well as the election of the Aldermen.

The Common Hall was originally the folk-moot of London, and apparently any freeman could attend, but for the purposes of election it was at an early date limited to prevent tumultuous gatherings. At first only 'discreet men' or 'sufficient men' were admitted, the question of selection being left to the Mayor. By ordinances of the Common Council in the reign of Edward IV, the discretionary powers of the Mayor were put an end to, and it was enacted that only the Master and Wardens of the greater Companies and honest men of the Mysteries coming in their best liveries were to be present. Cf. vol. i of this work, pp. 27, 39, 41, note 2.

N. B. Although a freeman of a Company can claim to be made free of the City, he need not do so. On the other hand, although the usual method of obtaining the freedom of the City was by entering into a Company, occasionally Companies have refused to admit the applicants. Cf. the case of Thomas Willis : Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii, p. 81. Herbert, vol. ii, 316 note, cites an instance where the Mayor and Court of Aldermen forced the Drapers to admit an Alderman to their Livery. This was in the case of Alderman Barkham, 1621. Herbert omits to point out that this was to enforce the custom that a Mayor elect, if a member of an inferior Company, should be translated to one of the twelve greater Companies, cf. vol. iii of this work, p. 97, note 3; further, as stated above, a freeman of the City by birth need not enter a Company. Livery Commission Report, vol. i, p. 343.

⁴ In 1724 the Goldsmiths, in reply to an order of the House of Commons to lay before it the grants and constitutions whereby their Company had been made

Further, since the resolution of the Common Council of March 1835, it is no longer necessary that a freeman of the City should be a Liveryman, or even a freeman, of any Company. Since that date, therefore, the freedom of a Company and the freedom of the City have not been convertible terms; and, though the Reform Bill of 1832 preserved the rights of the Liverymen of the Common Hall to vote for the Burgesses with certain limitations, the franchise was given to others as well.¹

The ruling decision on the question whether the Companies form an integral part of the Municipality of London is that of Lord Chief Justice de Grey (1775), in the important case of Alderman Plumbe, prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company, to which I have already referred.² It will be remembered that the case arose on the refusal of the Goldsmiths, the Grocers, and the Weavers to answer a summons of the Lord Mayor to cause their Livery to appear at the Guildhall, for the purpose of presenting to the king an address and remonstrance on political grievances. The Lord Mayor's Court declared the conduct of Alderman Plumbe contumacious, and ordered him to be disfranchised, but on an appeal to the Court of Error the judgement was reversed.

Mr. Firth, somewhat dubiously, maintained that the decision of the Court of Error was *really* based on the question whether the conduct of Alderman Plumbe, in refusing to obey the summons of the Mayor, was a wilful contumacy, sufficiently grave to justify disfranchisement. and that it was on this point that the Court reversed the judgement of the Mayor's Court.

On the further question whether the Mayor had acted *ultra vires*, that is, whether the purpose for which the Liverymen had a Livery Company, answered that they could not find any such grant or constitution. Prideaux, Goldsmiths, vol. ii, pp. 203, 204. This means that the establishment of the Livery was the free act of the Company.

¹ Report, vol. i, p. 23. An amendment was inserted in the Reform Act of 1818 whereby a Liveryman, who is entitled to vote as a freeman may, if he chooses, vote as a Liveryman. This amendment was promoted by some of the smaller Companies, but it was a somewhat absurd attempt to keep up a form which had become obsolete and meaningless.

² *Supra*, p. 355. As the judgement is only found *in extenso* in a rare book, I give it in the Appendix XXXVIII. Mr. Beale, in his evidence, quoted the decision of the Lord Mayor's Court, without mentioning that it had been reversed. Report, vol. i, p. 308.

been summoned (to present a remonstrance to the King) was one which properly fell within the Corporate capacities of the City, the Chief Justice said they had not sufficient information, and could therefore give no decision. He, however, admitted the right of the Mayor to summon the Liverymen in matters which did affect the Corporate capacities of the City, and that, if he did so, it would be the duty of the Warden to obey his precept.¹ Nevertheless, in the course of his argument the Chief Justice declared that the constitution of the City did not originally contain the Companies; that the Liveries were not created by the King; that they were not essential to the civic constitution, but detached and independent bodies, and that any relation they might have to that constitution was the result of later action.

The difficulty of the whole question arises from the character of the growth of the Companies, and of their relation to the City; a growth which, after thoroughly English fashion, has been marked by an absence of any preconceived theory, or scientific arrangement. But, this being so, it appears to me that the contention of the Companies is correct; and that, though there is in the matter of elections a certain remote connexion, that connexion is not complete, nor close enough to make them an integral part of the Municipal Constitution or even Municipal Corporations, since they have nothing to do directly with the government or protection of the City.²

¹ Report, vol. i, pp. 78, 79.

² *Ib.*, p. 273. Cf. the opinion, though not a judicial decision, of Baron Pollock. *Ib.*, 267, note. Also Report of Municipal Corporation Commission, 1837. 'The Corporation possesses a very slight, indeed hardly more than a nominal, control over the Companies.' Quoted Livery Commission, 1880-4, vol. i, p. 309. Cf. the protest of the Drapers' Company in 1642: That the Common Hall had no authority to bind the Company in the matter of finance; and that, in voting the loan, they were following the order of Parliament, not that of the Common Hall, 'consisting of ye liverymen of all ye severall Companies, amongst which ye greatest number, being of ye inferiour Companies and men of very poore estate, are careless of what they graunted, in regarde they were neither willinge, nor able to bear any considerable parte of ye said chardge; and that the Common Hall hath been in the past used only for the election of the Lord Maior, Sheriffs, and other like offices and such like occasions, but never to graunte monies or chardge the Citizens or Corporacions thereof with any chardges or paiements'. Rep. + 132, pp. 16 b, 17 ab. And another in 1660, when the Company protested against 'any power in the Lord Mayor, the Alderman,

As the deputation from the Grocers' Company put it, many persons confuse the Companies as Corporate bodies and the individual Liverymen. The Liverymen individually, if they are also freemen of the City, are members of the Common Hall: but a Livery Company, as such, forms no part of the Corporation of the City. It is not subject to its jurisdiction, and it has no voice in the management of the Corporation.¹

Corporate estate of the Companies not trust property for public purposes.

But even if it be allowed that there is a certain loose connexion between the City and the Companies, it does not necessarily follow that they hold their Corporate landed estate as trustees for public purposes. This contention was based on the following arguments: The Companies hold their real property under special licences given them in their Charters to hold in mortmain, or in virtue of the custom of London, which enabled them to acquire land therein by the devise of citizens in excess of such licences,² and that these licences in mortmain were granted to the end that they should devote the proceeds of the lands to public purposes, and especially to the carrying out of trade purposes, which they no longer do. It was however pointed out that, before the date of the Charters of incorporation, many Guilds had existed as religious and friendly societies only:³ had possessed a common purse, and held lands, though such lands would probably have been held for them by trustees.⁴ Moreover, a considerable part of their landed property had not been given them, but had been purchased out of their ordinary revenue, which

or the Common Council to dispose or require of any of the Companies money on any account whatsoever', a protest which other Companies followed. Cf. *supra*, pp. 155, 262, under Charles I. Cf. also + 137, p. 629. ¹ Report, i, p. 273.

² *Ib.*, p. 80. By the custom of London citizens were allowed to devise by *will*, but not to *grant*, lands within the City to Corporations, without any licence to mortmain. Cf. vol. i of this work, p. 350. ³ Cf. vol. i, pp. 18, 94.

⁴ Cf. vol. i, Appendix XIX, for an early instance. So again the Hall of the Merchant Taylors was conveyed in 1347 to a body of trustees whose places were from time to time filled up as vacancies occurred, until, in 1392, the Hall was conveyed by the survivors to the Company under their Corporate style, a licence in mortmain having been granted by the Crown. This was done in consequence of the Mortmain Act of 15 Ric. II, which put a stop to the method of evading the Mortmain Acts by these conveyances to trustees; and when that licence was granted it, as well as the conveyance, were made to the Guild and Fraternity of St. John the Baptist without mention of any trade or craft. Cf. Hopkinson, *History of the Site of Merchant Taylors' Hall*, pp. 11-15.

came to them from fees and fines levied on their members,¹ while a very large part had been acquired since the days when they had exercised an effective control over the trades and industries of London. Even Mr. Beale acknowledged that the authority of the Mayor had not, for at least two hundred years, been exercised to control the purchase or sale of the Corporate property of the Companies or the administration of their funds.² The case for the Drapers, at least, is stronger than this. The Charter of Henry VI authorized the Master and Wardens to purchase in fee and perpetuity lands, tenements and other possessions. That of Edward IV confirms this privilege, limiting the amount to be thus purchased to lands of the value of £20 in each case, while the Charter of James I increases the value of land that may be held to £200 a year, so long as such land be not held of the King directly, and adds the privilege of giving, granting, assigning and disposing of such lands. None of the Charters say a word as to the necessity of receiving the assent of the Lord Mayor,³ or of their holding their Corporate lands on trust.

The strongest argument adduced before the Commission in support of the contention that some at least of the Companies' property was of the nature of trust property, an argument which was incorporated into the Majority Report, was based on the statement that the Companies had, in the reign of Edward VI, been allowed to redeem the *lands*, which had been forfeited as being applied to superstitious uses, on the representation that the income derived therefrom was required for the purposes of the eleemosynary and educational charities of which they were trustees. From this assumption the Commissioners proceeded to argue that although these lands had been since then in the eye of the law the Corporate property of the Companies, free from any trust, they should properly be considered as being held to charitable purposes, and therefore as trust property. We have already shown that this assumption is absolutely incorrect.⁴

In the first place, with a few possible exceptions,⁵ it was not the

¹ I have dealt with the residues remaining over after the fulfilment of trust at p. 494 ff.

² Report, i, p. 137.

³ Cf. Charters given in Appendices, vol. i, XI, XII, vol. iv, II.

⁴ Cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 96 ff.

⁵ Cf. Charter of Release to Blackwell and others, July 14, 4 Edw. VI, at the Guildhall.

lands, but certain rent-charges thereon, which had been forfeited; in the second place, as we have shown, no such reasons as those given were adduced at the time of the redemption, and indeed 'the suggestion that by redeeming the rent-charges the Companies put themselves in a better position to carry on their charitable work' is absurd, since the transaction involved a loss of income. It was not the Companies who asked to be allowed to repurchase the said lands, but the Government who, in its need for money, approached the Companies. The price paid was a good one, and not only was it clearly understood at the time that the rent-charges were re-granted in beneficial ownership, without any trust, express or implied, but the Act of 4 James I gave the Companies a Parliamentary title to them.¹ As to the suggestion that many of the title deeds, lost in the Great Fire, would *probably* have disclosed trusts which had been fraudulently abandoned, a suggestion which recalls the infamous work of the 'concealers' of Tudor and Stuart times,² we can confidently affirm that, as far at least as the Drapers' Company is concerned, it is absolutely without foundation. Very few documents were destroyed, and even if they had been, the Wardens' and Renters' Accounts before and after the Fire would have inevitably convicted the Company. These we have studied carefully, and we have not discovered one single instance of such conduct.³

¹ Cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 96 ff. I have it on Mr. Hopkinson's authority that the Merchant Taylors' Company repurchased rent-charges to the total value of £98 11s. 5d; and that no lands had been forfeited. The price was about twenty years' purchase. The Commissioners stated that there was no direct evidence as to how the purchase-money was raised. In the case of the Drapers' Company there is definite evidence that it was either paid out of Corporate revenues or given or borrowed from individual members.

The case of the other rent-charges issuing out of the Companies' lands payable to various other charities not administered by them but by outside bodies, which under the City Parochial Charities Act of 1883 were vested in the City Parochial Trustees, is a parallel one. The Companies were given the opportunity of redeeming them. Many of them did, e. g. the Drapers. Cf. Charity Commission Orders, March 1807, No. 48; April 1912, No. 83.

² Cf. vol. ii of this work, pp. 201 ff.

³ I have it on the authority of Mr. Hopkinson that in the case of the Merchant Taylors' Company the deeds or other evidences of title are practically complete. The mistake may have arisen by confusing this release with the grants to 'the concealers' Adams and Woodshawe in 1582. Pending the inquiry into concealments, cf. Hopkinson, *Site of Merchant Taylors' Hall*, p. 49.

To sum up: The whole argument with regard to these rent-charges is based on an absolute misstatement of facts and a misleading statement of Strype's based on a plea made forty years after the event.¹

The Report also attempted to show that the Company itself acknowledged that their Corporate property was held on trust by the contributions which they made towards the maintenance of their schools and almshouses and other charitable institutions after the Great Fire.² A more unworthy argument it is difficult to conceive. The contributions were acts of pure generosity, and the Commission might have had the grace to say so, instead of leaving it to be implied that the Company was discharging a legal obligation.

But, said the advocates of confiscation, that the Companies held their Corporate property on public trusts was proved by the numerous gifts and loans demanded of them in Tudor and Stuart times, more especially as many of the loans were never repaid. It is amusing to find the modern reformer appealing with approval to the arbitrary deeds of those despotic days, which were strongly resisted by the reformers of those days; and we would ask whether they would apply the same argument to the private property of individuals who were treated in like manner.

Presumably they would also approve of the confiscation of the Ulster properties by Charles I, although that was subsequently declared illegal and unjust by Parliament itself.

There can be no doubt that, so far as the law goes, the right of the Companies to the uncontrolled enjoyment of their Corporate property is secure.³ They could not even be prevented from

¹ Cf. Hopkinson, *History of Site of Merchant Taylors' Hall*, pp. 53-7.

² Report, vol. i, p. 41.

³ Lord Langdale, in the case of the *Attorney-General v. the Grocers' Company* 1843, acknowledged that the property of the Company, which was not held on trust, was their private property. Beaven, Reports, VI, p. 550. Cf. the opinion of Lord Chancellor Selborne given before the Commission: 'The Companies are in my opinion perfect and absolute masters of their Corporate property.' Report, i, p. 189. Even Horace Davey, subsequently a Lord of Appeal, who went so far as to say that the Commission would be justified in recommending that a considerable portion of the Companies' Corporate property should be declared charitable property, declared that the Corporate property of the Companies had been recognized by the Law Courts to be as much their property as the property

dissolving and dividing their property.¹ This was indeed acknowledged by all parties, but the advocates for confiscation proposed that it should be done by Act of Parliament.

We do not of course deny that confiscation may be legalized by Act of Parliament. Nay, we allow that confiscation may be occasionally justified on grounds of public interest, but if so it should be applied to every kind of Corporate, if not to private, property; and that it should be inflicted on the Livery Companies alone is contrary to all principles of Equity. And the argument that their great wealth would justify such confiscation was well answered by Sir F. Bramwell: 'The fact', he said, 'that I have something which is doubly coveted does not make it doubly the property of some one who would like to get it. And it is a dangerous doctrine to say, "If your property is small you may keep it: if it is large I will consider whether it shall not be taken from you".'² None of the property of the Companies was given by the Crown, and there is therefore much less ground for taking it from them than there would be for the dispossession of those private landowners who received grants of the lands of the monasteries dissolved in the reign of Henry VIII.

It is no doubt true that the Acts of Parliament and the Commissions dealing with the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge have treated all their property as being held to charitable purposes. Their case, however, differed from that of the Livery Companies. Colleges were avowedly founded as eleemosynary Corporations, for the definite purposes of education and learning.³ There seems,

of individuals, and that any legislation which took away this property would be an act of confiscation which would, not unreasonably, shake the confidence of all owners of property in the security of their rights. Cf. Livery Companies Commission 1884, vol. i, p. 46 ff. Finally, the Revenue Act, 48 and 49, Vict., c. 51, definitely recognized the difference between the Corporate and Trust property, by imposing a duty on the Corporate property of Corporations including the Companies, from which the Trust property was exempted.

¹ Cf. the decision of the Master of the Rolls, March 1878, authorizing the Fullers and Dyers of Newcastle to dissolve and divide their property. For other cases of guilds and other societies selling their land, cf. Report, i, p. 91. By the irony of fate, Lord Coleridge, who was a Member of Sergeants' Inn, when it was dissolved and its property divided, was a signatory of the Majority Report.

² Report, vol. i, p. 291.

³ Cf. Tudor Charters, ed. 1906, pp. 64, 468.

therefore, more reason for insisting that all their revenues should be applied to such purposes. Even so, it may be contended that Parliament has in some instances interfered with the wish of benefactors, who intended to grant, or leave, their property in money or lands to a College for the beneficial use of the Fellows. If so, it may be held that Parliament showed an error of judgement; and there is no reason why such an unfortunate precedent should be applied to the Livery Companies.

The Majority Report did not, indeed, accept the views of those who wished for entire confiscation. Yet their recommendations were of ill augury. It advised:

1. That the Companies should be restricted by Act of Parliament from alienating any of their property, real or personal (until, we suppose, public opinion might be ripe for confiscation).
2. That the accounts of the Companies, both Corporate and Trust, should be ordered by Act of Parliament to be deposited in some public department and be open to public inspection.
3. That a Royal Commission should be appointed for the purpose of allocating a portion of the Corporate incomes to objects of acknowledged public utility, more especially in London.

The Commission were supported in this recommendation by the opinion of Mr. Horace Davey, who held that as 'lapse of time and loss of title deeds in the Great Fire and otherwise had rendered a strict investigation of the titles of the Companies to their property impossible, a *prima facie* case had been made out to justify the Commissioners in recommending that a considerable portion of the Corporate property should be declared to be charitable property'.¹

¹ Livery Companies Commission, 1884, vol. i, p. 51. The suggestion was that the Companies had, in many cases where they had been left money to be invested in land, neglected to do so, and had instead credited the Charities with the annual interest of the money bequeathed; and that since, if the money had been invested in land in London, the charity would have benefited by the notable increase of the value of such sites, the Companies were responsible for the loss. The suggestion is an unworthy one, especially as the Commission admitted that they had no definite evidence (p. 41). It is true, no doubt, that benefactors very frequently bequeathed money to be invested in land, but we have not found one case in the Drapers' Records in which the benefactor definitely stated that the land to be purchased should lie within the City, except where the land to be

As I have already stated, both with regard to the Drapers' Company and that of the Merchant Taylors, at least, there is no foundation for this statement. The title deeds were not destroyed in the Great Fire and are practically complete, and the suggestion that any of the Companies have wrongly treated any trust property as if it were their own is, we believe, absolutely without foundation.

4. That the funds of any trust benefaction of a date earlier than fifty years before the Act proposed should be applied to objects of public utility, without regard to the intentions of the benefactor.
5. That the proposed Royal Commission should be given power to reorganize the constitution of the Companies, especially with regard to colourable apprenticeship and entrance by patrimony.

The report, however, closed with the following concessions. It expressed an opinion that any members of the Companies who would be injured by these changes should receive moderate compensation, and that it would not be just to impose a succession duty on the Companies unless the principle were extended to other societies, and this, although the Companies had expressed their willingness to pay such a duty.¹

The Report was only signed by nine out of the twelve members. All these nine were of the Liberal or Radical party, and three of them—Mr. Firth, Mr. Burt and Mr. Walter James—avowed enemies of the Companies. None of the twelve were experts on the special points, historical and antiquarian, which are needed for an adequate judgement, nor any, except Lord Coleridge, versed in the law. The Report must therefore be considered rather as an expression of the opinion of certain Liberal and Radical politicians than one from a truly competent and unbiassed tribunal, and

bought was for the site of almshouses, and I have it on the authority of Mr. Hopkinson that the same is true of the Merchant Taylors' Company. In the cases of these two Companies at least, the whole argument therefore goes by the board. Moreover, if for some time the money was not invested in land, it was because this could not be done without a licence in mortmain, which was not easy to procure.

¹ This has now been done by the Act 48 and 49 Vict., c. 51, which imposes a duty on the real and personal property of all corporations which is not trust property.

the strong Report signed by the Minority of three should certainly be consulted by any one, who wishes to arrive at an impartial judgement.

The main points insisted upon in that Report were:

1. That the earliest Gilds were originally associations for the purposes of mutual assistance; and that it was only at a later date that some of them undertook the regulation of certain trades.
2. That they were at first purely voluntary associations, and required no licence from the State.
3. That their earlier ordinances were framed for their internal organization in their religious, social, charitable and industrial aspects.
4. That when they received Charters from the Crown they were granted 'for valuable consideration', and that the Charters were in most cases founded on the ordinances.
5. That although, as a result of incorporation, the Gilds became amenable to the processes of *scire facias* and *quo warranto*, there is nothing in history which warrants the supposition that they could ever be *legally* dissolved.
6. That the only duties imposed on the Gilds by the Charters were to carry out the terms expressed therein as far as might be practicable, having regard to change of times, and to apply the trust funds to the purposes for which they were bequeathed.
7. That the Corporate property of the Gilds has always been in the eye of the law just as much their own as if they were private individuals.
8. That from the date of incorporation at least the government of the Gilds was always practically in the hands of the principal capitalists and employers.
9. That the control of the trades and industries of London had become slight since the beginning of the sixteenth century; that their religious functions were much reduced as a result of the Reformation; that henceforth their main functions were those of hospitality and charity; and that it was subsequent to the sixteenth century that most of the Gilds or Companies received their acting Charters.
10. That the great value of their Corporate property to-day is to be explained by the fact that they invested their Corporate monies for the most part in London, and that by the custom of the City citizens could leave lands within the City without any licence to mortmain, but that it is only of late that such properties have materially increased in value.
11. That many of the Companies suffered severely by the Great Fire, and that the cost of rebuilding and equipping their halls, their schools, almshouses and other charitable institutions, was largely defrayed

out of the Corporate property of the Company or by private contributions; so that the members of the society at that time may be fairly considered to be the 'second founders' of their Companies.

12. That the lands, or the rent-charges, which had been declared forfeited in the reign of Edward VI, as being held to superstitious uses, were repurchased by the Companies and became henceforth their absolute property free from all trust.
13. That the estates in Ulster were also purchased of the Crown by subscriptions of the then existing members, and that there is no pretence for the suggestion that the lands were conveyed subject to any trust expressed or implied.
14. That the Courts, in deciding the many doubtful, difficult and abstruse questions, which have arisen with regard to their trust funds, and also the Charity Commissioners, have frequently expressed their conviction as to the honesty of the Companies, and have never imputed to them 'anything worse than erroneous interpretations of difficult language', and that this opinion has been endorsed by the Charity Commissioners.
15. That the governing bodies of the Companies have always, as far as it has been possible, striven 'to carry out in spirit and even in letter' the terms of their Charters and by-laws, although many of them are now archaic and impossible.
16. That although the ordinary freeman has no share in the government of the Companies, they have opportunities of rising to the Livery in the Court, and enjoy the charity of the Society.
17. That fees of the officials are very moderate, and for the most part paid out of Corporate revenue.
18. That the expenditure of their Corporate revenue on charitable, educational, and other public objects has been large and generous.

As to the suggestions made by the Majority they made the following remarks:

1. Any restraint on alienation of the Corporate property of the Companies would, in their opinion, be invidious and unnecessary, since no one supposes that the Companies are likely to sell and divide their Corporate property.
2. To limit the validity of their charitable trusts to a period of fifty years from their foundation was 'unjustifiable', since it was not proposed to apply the same principle to other charities, and, moreover, such a course would be inexpedient.
3. To abolish the entrance by patrimony would be to attack the very essence of the constitution of the Companies, since, but for the

- hereditary nature of the privileges which they confer, they would probably have long ago ceased to exist, and few would now join them.
4. To appoint a Royal Commission for the purpose of reorganizing the constitution of the Companies and the permanent allocation of a part of their Corporate incomes to 'objects of acknowledged public utility', would be undesirable. If their constitution were seriously altered they would cease to be 'nurseries of charities' and seminaries of good citizens', and 'objects of public utility' are more likely to be promoted by the spontaneous action of the Companies themselves than by schemes forced on them by a Commission.

The Minority Report was signed by Richard Assheton Cross, N. M. de Rothschild, and W. J. R. Cotton.

That those who signed the Majority Report expected that effect would be shortly given to their recommendations by legislation is seen by what followed the issue of the Report. Mr. Warr, the Secretary of the Commission, wrote letters to certain editors in which he falsely stated that he was directed by Lord Derby, the Chairman, and his colleagues who had signed the Majority Report, to request that they would have articles inserted in their papers commenting on the Report. As the subject was one with which the Government intended to deal, it was the more necessary to educate the opinions of the Liberal electors of the provinces, who had little acquaintance with London matters.

On the question being raised in Parliament, Lord Derby denied that he had ever directed Mr. Warr to write the letter, and declared that Mr. Warr had no right as Secretary to use the name of the Commission in any correspondence of the kind.

Subsequently an unsigned circular letter, marked 'Confidential and Immediate', was issued, in which the Companies were accused of gross abuse of powers over property held back from charitable uses under the pretence that such possessions were private, and warning readers to avoid all reference to the properties or trusteeships of Freemasons or other Friendly Societies, because interference with such holdings might aid in staying the hand of legislation with regard to the Livery Companies, between which and the other Friendly Societies some apparent similarity, it was confessed, might be found.¹

¹ Cf. *The Royal Commission. The London City Livery Companies Vindication*, p. 9 ff.

It may be that it was a consciousness of the truth of this last admission that prevented the hoped-for legislation. Meanwhile the legal right of the Companies to their Corporate property is beyond question, and would be supported by the Law Courts. Nevertheless, some hold that under the circumstances the Companies are under a certain moral claim, at least on public grounds, to spend a considerable part of their large revenues on national objects.

With this opinion we heartily concur. All wealth, by whomsoever held, brings to its possessor the moral duty to assist in public objects, and the duty is even more incumbent on Societies than on individuals. But we would point out that this has always been the policy of the Companies, especially of late, and that in this respect the Drapers' Company has not been behindhand. Besides making considerable contributions to their trust funds from Corporate revenue, and managing many of their trusts gratuitously, the Company was, at the date of the Commission, expending large sums on such objects out of their Corporate revenue, and since 1884 their activities in this direction have enormously increased.¹

It may, indeed, be confidently asserted that no Society in the kingdom spends anything like as much of the income at its absolute disposal on objects of public utility as do the Livery Companies.

No doubt the expenditure on dinners is large. Yet it should be remembered that one of the original objects of the fraternity was good-fellowship and entertainment, an object that was never forgotten; that considerable sums have been left by benefactors for this very purpose, and that these dinners afford opportunities for entertaining important guests, foreign, as well as English, who, if not invited by the Company, would have to be shown hospitality by some other Societies or by the State.

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 490.





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