

REMARKS ON THE MERCERS
AND OTHER TRADING COMPANIES OF LONDON,
FOLLOWED BY SOME ACCOUNT OF
THE RECORDS OF THE MERCERS' COMPANY.

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[Read at Mercers' Hall, April 21, 1869.]

WE are now assembled under the roof of one of the oldest of the City companies—indeed of that one which has always taken the precedence of the rest, and may with probability be regarded as the most ancient of all. In the history of these associations it is commonly found that there are three stages; the first that of voluntary membership, the next that regulated by the general authority of the City, and the last that of self-government sanctioned by royal charters of incorporation; and such were certainly the successive gradations in the present instance.

These commercial fraternities were not necessarily confined to one trade. In the smaller towns they more frequently consisted of several associated trades: which is shown by Chaucer telling us that among his companions as pilgrims to Canterbury

An Haburdassher and a Carpenter,
A Webbe, a Dyer, and a Tapiser
Were with us eke, clothed in oo (*i.e.* one) livery
Of a solempne and great Fraternity;

and this continued to be the practice until a comparatively recent date.*

In London, on the other hand, probably from the multitude of their members, the trade companies were, like teeming hives, continually throwing off swarms, which set up for themselves. In this way the

* At Gateshead several heterogeneous trades were incorporated together as late as the several years 1557, 1594, 1602, 1671, and 1676. See a paper by W. H. Dyer Longstaffe, esq. F.S.A. in the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1862; also The Herald and Genealogist, i. 128.

Apothecaries originated from the Grocers, and the Haberdashers from the Mercers; and the Haberdashers themselves became divided into two bodies, the fraternity of St. Katharine the Virgin, and that of St. Nicholas, the one being haberdashers of Hats (otherwise called Hurrers and Cappers) and the other the Haberdashers of small wares. In like manner we find there were distinct companies of the artificers in crafts which would seem to be so akin as to be almost one. There were both Carpenters and Joiners, both Masons and Marblers, both Blacksmiths and Farriers, both Bowyers and Fletchers (the latter the makers of arrows), both Tallow Chandlers and Wax Chandlers: at one time two companies of Fishmongers, the dealers in fresh or in salt fish; and two of Bakers, the Brown Bakers and the White Bakers.

By the designation Mercer has been usually understood in modern times a dealer in silk, but that is really an abbreviation of the more distinctive description of silk-mercier.* A mercier in the earlier sense of the word was a general trader or dealer. The term is derived from *merces*, the plural of *merx*, a word in classical Latin signifying any kind of ware or merchandize, anything in short that was brought to market. We are here in the midst of that part of London which was the heart of its ancient traffic. Here was the Chepe, the old English name for market, but the market-men of each class had their peculiar localities. Many of the neighbouring streets still bear record of their special occupation in ancient times. Near at hand is the Poultry. At the other end of the Cheap was Old Fish Street, and adjoining to it the Friday market, particularly devoted to the food for fast-days, the name of which is preserved in Friday Street. The butchers were principally also at the west end of the Cheap, not very far from the spot which they have only just now quitted (I mean Newgate Market);

* From the control with which the Mercers were entrusted especially over silk (which will be described hereafter), their business came to be chiefly directed to that commodity. In the middle of the last century the Mercier is humorously described as "the twin-brother of the Draper; only the woollen-draper deals chiefly with the men, and is the graver animal of the two, and the Mercier traffics most with the ladies; the latter dealing in silks, velvets, brocades, and an innumerable train of expensive articles for the ornament of the fair sex. Their business requires a great capital to make a figure." Campbell's *London Tradesman*, 1757. But, as with many other companies, that of the Mercers during the last century ceased to have any connection with the trade from which it derived its name.

for a church at the west end of Cheap was called St. Nicholas by the Shambles. Bread Street and Milk Street are still remaining, marking the places at which those necessary articles of provision were vended; so is Honey Lane, and honey, it will be remembered, was almost as necessary as milk, whilst sugar was as yet only a luxury. On the north side of the Cheap—Cheapside as the name at length became, the Goldsmiths had their line of shops called Goldsmiths' Row, and made their splendid and attractive display in view of the worshippers proceeding to the cathedral church, just as such a row has existed down to our own day near Notre Dame at Paris and in the approaches to other great continental churches. Then, in the immediate neighbourhood of this hall was the Mercery, a locality occupied by the general dealers in small wares, residing for the most part in the parishes of St. Katharine Coleman and St. Mary le Bow.

Stowe, in his *Survey*, gives this very remarkable description of the south side of Cheap ward, that from the Great Conduit westward were many fair and large houses, for the most part possessed by Mercers, up to the corner of Cordwainer Street, corruptly called Bow Lane; "which houses (he adds) in former times were but sheds or shops with solars over them,* as of late one of them remained at Sopers Lane end,† wherein a woman sold seeds, roots, and herbs; but those sheds or shops, by encroachments on the high street, are now largely builded on both sides outward, and also upward, some three, four, or five stories high."

The Mercery, then, was the mart for miscellaneous articles, chiefly it may be presumed of dress, and the Mercers were those who retailed them. Some of my hearers will perhaps be ready to tell me that they have read that the Mercers were the same as we now understand by merchants, and I am prepared to agree that many of the most enterprising of them were so. But the same may be said of the leading members of the other great Companies. Just so, the Haberdashers were certainly foreign merchants, as their shield of arms still testifies, for it is the only one belonging to the great companies that resembles

* A solar is merely an upper chamber. In Herbert's *City Companies* the word in this passage is very mistakenly altered to terraces. Even until our own days two such shallow and low houses have remained, on the north side of Cheapside, being in the front of the churchyard of St. Peter, which stood at the corner of Wood Street.

† Soper Lane is now Queen Street, and the approach to Southwark Bridge. Here would reside the traders in soap.

in its devices those which were borne by the Merchant Adventurers and other companies engaged in foreign traffic; and yet, in an inverse direction, we have come to regard the Haberdasher as a dealer in small wares. But in ancient days an ordinary Mercer was the retail dealer in merchandise—merchandise brought, of course, in part from foreign countries; for that such was the original and proper sense of the term we may gather from passages of Pliny, who uses the phrase *invehere mercēs peregrinas*, and writes of importing *Arabia et India mercēs*, the merchandise of Arabia and India.

But that the great body of tradesmen in the Mercery of London were retailers we gather further from the name of another fraternity, the Grocers, who, after having been at first called Pepperers, acquired the name of Grocers from dealing in the gross, or by wholesale as we now term it. They are designated as the community of the *mysterie* (i.e. *mestiere*, or trade) of the Grocerie in the charter granted to them by King Henry VI.; and it was in character with their function that the management of the King's beam and the general superintendence of the public weighing of merchandise was entrusted to them. The Grocers must for a time have eclipsed the Mercers, as in the reign of Richard II. in the year 1383 there were no fewer than sixteen aldermen at once on their muster-roll, and only three years later we read of the jealousy of the Mercers when Sir Nicholas Brembre, an eminent Grocer, was elected mayor for the second time.

To return to the earlier days of the Mercers. The commercial guilds are known to have existed before the Norman Conquest, and many towns had then one general guild, termed in Latin the *gilda mercatoria*. It appears by no means improbable that the Mercers, who have always been regarded as the foremost Company in London, are actually the successors of this merchants' guild of the days of London's earliest commerce.

The Statute of Merchants enacted in 1285 speaks of the community of the Merchants of London: but whether that implied a distinct fraternity or no may be doubtful. Supposing it to have been so, it might be identical with the Mercers' Company.

At a much later date the Company of Merchant Adventurers, which was incorporated in 1505, undoubtedly originated from the Mercers, as is shown by the acts of court of the Mercers, especially from 1561 to 1563, and the statement of the Merchant Adventurers themselves to the House of Commons' Committee in 1638, when the connection had ceased.

It may confidently be asserted that, in order to develop the progress of English commerce, and that of the City of London in particular, with all its busy doings and inner life, no better course could be pursued than to trace the annals of this important Company. I have recently seen enough of its archives and records to be convinced that the materials are abundant; and, indeed, the ground has been already opened to a considerable extent by the industry of a late learned member,* who has left the result in manuscript in the hands of the Company. Mr. William Palmer appears to have died without preparing his work for the press, and possibly before he had completed it to his satisfaction; but it is much to be desired that it should be resumed and published by some competent successor, who would thus perform the same service for the Mercers which Mr. Heath has so well performed for the Grocers, and Mr. Nicholl for the Ironmongers; and the more so because the account of the Mercers given by Herbert, in his History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies, is especially bad and confused, and full of glaring errors and misconceptions. I cannot in the space that is now afforded me attempt at all to remedy this defect. The history of the Mercers must be left to other hands; but I shall confine myself to offering some account of the charters of the Company and its other most important records.

The Mercers did not seek for a charter from the Crown until late in the fourteenth century. Their first royal charter is dated on the 17th Jan. 17 Richard II. (1394). Its substance is very brief. The preamble favours the idea that they were then engaged in foreign merchandise, for it states that the King's attention was directed to the circumstance that many men of the mystery of the Mercery of the City of London were frequently by mischance at sea, or by other casual misfortunes, brought to such poverty and destitution that they had little or nothing to live upon but the alms of other Christians pitying and assisting them in the way of charity; wherefore they were desirous to establish some certain provision for the maintenance of such poor, and of one chaplain who should celebrate divine offices for ever for the good estate of the King and the men of the aforesaid mystery: whereupon the King granted them to be a perpetual community of themselves, to elect four "masters" for their government, and

* William Palmer, esq. of the Inner Temple, barrister-at-law, and Professor of Civil Law in Gresham College, a cousin-german of the present Sir Roundell Palmer. He died in 1858, aged 56.

to purchase (or acquire) lands and tenements to the value of 20*l.* per annum. The expenses of procuring this charter are upon record: a fine of one hundred marks (or 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) was paid into the Hana-per; a fee for affixing the great seal, 8*l.* 10*s.*; legal consultations, 5*l.* 12*s.* 0½*d.*; and the Queen's dues, ten marks (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*): total, 87*l.* 8*s.* 8½*d.*—a great sum when the common stock of the Company was under 400*l.*

This charter was confirmed in 3 Hen. VI. (1425) at the humble supplication of John Coventry, John Carpenter, and William Grove, the executors of the celebrated Richard Whityngton, citizen and mercer of London: with the additional concessions that the said mystery should have a common seal, and should be persons able in law to implead and be impleaded in any courts whatsoever.

There are other letters patent granted to the mystery of the Mercers, bearing date 20 Rich. II. and 12 Hen. IV. (mentioned by Herbert, in his table of charters to the Twelve Companies, vol. i. p. 225). They relate, as I believe, to the acquisition of estates in mortmain, and are not referred to in the subsequent charters of incorporation,* which I now proceed to describe.

The confirmation charters were passed, not so much for the benefit of the Company, as for the purpose of augmenting the revenues of the Crown.

Towards the end of the reign of Philip and Mary, writs of Quo Warranto were issued to all the London Companies to compel them to apply for confirmation of their privileges. The charter which was consequently granted to the Mercers is dated on the 15th July, 4 and 6 Phil. and Mar. (1558). It has an unfinished initial, inclosing seated figures of the King and Queen, and bears the autograph signature of Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, then Lord Chancellor, *Nico. ebor. Canc.* The fine paid on this occasion was 5*l.*

Four months only elapsed, and there was a new reign. Again the same measure was adopted, and another charter of confirmation was necessary. It was dated on the 20th June, 2 Eliz. (1559), and its cost was 8*l.* This *Inspeximus* is printed at length by Herbert in his vol. i. p. 294, and it includes (as of course) the substance of the three previous royal charters.

* Another granted by Edward IV., of which the original is No. 643*a* of the Company's charters, relates to the importation of merchandise.

Again, in the following reign, but not until its tenth year, another confirmation was granted by Inspeximus. This charter of the 10 James I. is the last valid charter, upon which the Company now relies. The fine paid for it was 14*l*.

The troubles which the City companies encountered in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. are familiar in history. In 1683, when the City of London had accepted a new charter, whereby the election of its principal officers was made subject to the King's approval, a similar proceeding was adopted towards the Companies. A Quo Warranto having been served on the Master of the Mercers, the matter was considered at two general courts, held on the 26th March and 3rd April, 1684, when it was agreed to petition in order to ascertain the King's pleasure. The answer was that he would grant them a new charter on their surrendering into his hands the governing part of their corporation, so that whenever he thought fit he might dismiss the Master, Wardens, Assistants, or Clerk. In another general court, held on the 10th April, after a warm debate, it was determined, by 68 votes to 51, that these terms should be accepted; and on the 3d October following the common seal of the Company was affixed to the instrument which I now exhibit to my hearers. In terms dictated by the Attorney-General (Sir Robert Sayer) the Company surrendered their power to choose their officers; and an entirely new Charter was granted on the 22nd December following. This cost the Company 200*l*.

King Charles died in less than six weeks after, on the 2d Feb. 1684-5; but his brother and successor very extensively exercised the powers which the Crown had assumed. During the year 1687 James the Second made repeated changes in all the great livery companies. In the Mercers, by an order of Privy Council dated 27 Sept. 1687, two of the Wardens and twenty-eight of the Assistants were removed; on the 6th of the ensuing month sixty-eight of the livery were displaced. In the following February the Prime Warden and seven Assistants were removed, twenty-four liverymen removed and two others restored.

But the threatening storm of the year 1688 at length alarmed the King; and then, when it was too late, he sought to regain the alienated affections of the citizens. In the autumn of that year he restored the City charter, and on the 19th Nov. he issued letters

patent* empowering the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to reinstate the Companies. From that date the charter of Charles II. to the Mercers became a dead letter, and that of James I. was restored to its validity.

Another important class of documents in the City Companies is that of their Statutes and Ordinances, some examples of which were seen when we visited Vintners' Hall last year.† In the 19th Henry VII. an act was passed "for making of statutes by bodies corporate." It provided that no Master, Wardens, or Companies should make or execute any ordinance in diminution of the King's prerogative, nor against the common profit of the people, nor unless examined by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and two Chief Justices, or any three of them, or before the judges of assize or circuit, under a penalty of 40*l.* for every such offence. Whereupon the Mercers' ordinances were revised and approved on the 20th Nov. 1505 by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) who was then Lord Chancellor and the two Chief Justices: wherewith it is mentioned in the acts of court that the fellowship was right well contented and pleased. The exemplification of these ordinances, which is illuminated with the arms of the Company and City of London, and roses, bears the autograph signatures of the chancellor and chief justices thus—

Wifm^o Cantuarienf Cancellari^o

Johes ffyneux.

Thom^{as} ffroykyk.

Their seals are lost.

The Mercers' Company possess other archives which go back much further in date than their royal charters. Besides various other charters and deeds (which, as may be supposed from a reference already quoted, are well arranged and calendared,) they have large records of their proceedings and transactions.

Their first great Court Book is a ponderous and magnificent volume of vellum, consisting of ccij leaves (besides others not numbered at either end), rebound in the year 1777. Its earliest entries appear to belong to 1344, and the sequel extends from 1347 to 1464. The first five leaves are filled chiefly with oaths taken on admission to various offices. Then follows a kalendar, one month in each page, very beautifully rubricated.

* Printed in Nicholl's History of the Ironmongers' Company, 8vo. edit. 1851, p. 364, 4to. edit. 1866, p. 332.

† See our Transactions, vol. iii. p. 438.

On fol. 1 are certain Ordinances in Norman French, made in *une assemblée de tous les bones gentz de la Mercerye de Londres* on the 20th June 1347, for the cherishing of unity and good love among them, and for the common profit of the *Mystere*. It was then agreed that there should be chosen four persons of the said mystery once a year for its rule and governance, and that all of the said mystery should be obedient to them and to their good governance.

It was agreed that every one of the said company should pay twenty shillings, that is to say, 6s. 8d. on entry in the first year, 6s. 8d. in the second year, and 6s. 8d. in the third year; and if any one were pleased to give more the Mystery will be the more beholden to him.

Then follow a variety of ordinances for taking apprentices, and various other matters. That regarding the livery may be translated as follows:—

That all those of the said Mystery shall be clothed of one suit once a year at the feast of Easter, and that no gown be given out of the said mystery within the two years next ensuing,* and that no charge be put upon the said clothing beyond the first cost, except only for the priest and the common servant.

Another is to this effect:—

That all the good people of the Mercery shall eat together once a year at the appointment of the four Masters, namely, the Sunday next before the feast of St. John the Baptist, every one of the livery to pay on that occasion, whether present or absent, two shillings for themselves, and for his servant, if present, twelve pence.

Another ordinance is remarkable, as referring to foreign merchandise, and as contemplating the same provision which was afterwards sanctioned by the first royal charter, already described:—

Item, if any one of the said Mystery shall be grievously reduced either by adventure of the sea, or by debtors or feebleness of body, so as to be unable to sustain himself, that he shall be aided by the alms of the said Mystery by the common assent of the said Mercery.

The four "Masters" (afterwards designated Wardens) who were chosen on this occasion were William de Tudenham, Symond de Worsted, William de la Panetrie, and Adam Fraunceys.† And the names of

* This apparently means that there should be no new members admitted until after the expiration of two years.

† Afterwards Sir Adam Fraunceys, Lord Mayor in 1353 and 1354; whose only daughter and heiress was married to John Montacute, Earl of Salis-

105 Mercers follow who paid half a mark each; one only, William Cornwayllis, paying xs.

A copy of the charter of Richard II. is made on the dorse of fol. xv. At the end of the Book are these curious entries, showing the peculiar control which the Company acquired over the silk trade.

M^d. That Thomas Tikhill, mercier, was chosen be y^e hole ffelaship' in a Courte hold y^e xxvij^{te} day of Juyn, A^o xxxvj^{to} H. vjth, to have and ocupie þoffice of Weyng of Sylke after y^e deth' and in y^e place of Will^m Towland, whom God assoile, and aftir admtyted by Geoffrey Boleyn' þan beyng Meir of London and his Bretheren Aldermen, and toke his ooth' perteyning to þoffice. Wher up on John' Middelton', Thom^s Steell, Ric' Nedam, and John Warde, þan beyng Ward(ens), delivered to y^e said Thom^s Tikhill divers þinges perteyneng to þe said ffelaship and necessarie to þe same office as hit shewith aftir.

First, ij skoles (*i.e.* scales) of laton with ropes and hokes. [And y^e beme closed in lether.]

Item, viij^{te} divers weightes of laton covered in lether for to wey rawe silke aftir xxj unces for y^e lb. That is to say, viij lb. iiij lb. ij lb. j lb. di.lb. q^{teron} di.q^{teron} and j unce.

Item, viij^{te} divers weightes of leed covered in lether for to wey Paris sylke aftir xvj unces for y^e lb. That is to say, viij lb. iiij lb. ij lb. j lb. di.lb. q^{teron} di.q^{teron} and j unce.

[Item a bag of lether for y^e skoles and weightes.] (*Side-note*) the length of these ij strykes must be the height of the hengyng the scoles from the table when the silk shall be weied.

And xvj lb. with a draught, &c.

M^d. y^t the (*date left blank*). For as moche as John Dereham, meter of lynnencloth', is and grete tyme hath' be absente, and of long tyme hath' ocupied by a strange man of by yond y^e See (contrarie to þordenances of y^e Felaship), hit is considered, and by y^e hole Felaship graunted in a Courte holden y^e said day, That Thom^s Pery, mercier, shall have, reioyce, and occupye y^e said office of metyng w^t all þavailes and dutes þ'to be longeng.

On account of the absence of Thomas Tykhill, late Weyer of Sylke, Nicholas Hatton, mercer, was chosen in his place, 19 August, 11 Edw. IV. Other successors to the office were :

Thomas Lymnour, 15 Oct. 1479, on the death of Hatton.

Robert Collet, 7 April, 1492, on the death of Lymnour. (He was not improbably one of the family of the memorable Dean)

Richard Haynes, 20 Feb. 1494, on death of Collet.

Thomas Fisher, 8 April, 1501, on death of Haynes; he died 21 June, 1518.

bury. In 1338, on the City lending 10,000 marks to the King, Adam Fraunceys contributed 200*l.*, but Simon Fraunceys, mercer, who was (perhaps his elder brother, and) mayor in 1343 and 1356, on the same occasion contributed 800*l.*

Avery Rawson, 26 Sept. 1518, on death of Fisher.

John Hewster, 5 July, 15.. on the absence of Rawson.

ARMS OF LORD MAYORS, SHERIFFS, AND WARDENS.

This is a beautifully illuminated folio, measuring $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 10 : having on its first leaf the Company's arms, superscribed

*The Armes of the Worshipfull
Company of the Mercers.*

and below the autograph signature of

Hen: St George Richmond.

It commences with the arms of Henry FitzAilwin the first Mayor of London (for twenty-four years, from 1189 until his death in 1213), followed by those of fifty-four other Lord Mayors,* of whom the last is Sir Henry Rowe 1607 ; followed by the shields of Mr. John Haidon alderman (Sheriff 1582), Mr. William Elkin alderman (Sheriff 1586), Mr. William Walthall alderman (Sheriff 1606), Sir Baptist Hickes, Mr. Richard Barnes, Mr. Bartholome Barnes, and Mr. Edward Barkley.

Then a page of

The 4 Wardeins of the Mercers

Anno 1611.

Mr. Thomas Cordall.

Mr. Thomas Bennett junior.

Mr. John Crowche.

Mr. Thomas Elkin.

The arms of Mr. John Crowche have two quarterings, and, besides his crest, there is another on either side of the shield.† It appears probable that the book may have been made at this gentleman's expense.

On another page :—

The foure Wardeins of the Mercers Ann^o 1635.

Mr. Ralfe Stinte.

Mr. Thomas Sarocolle.

Mr. Francis Flyer.

Mr. Robert Gardener.

* Their names will be found in Herbert, i. 246. Several of them are claimed by other companies besides the Mercers.

† Argent, on a pale sable three crosses patée or within a bordure engrailed of the second; 2. Argent, on a chevron sable three helmets or; 3. Gyronny argent and azure, on a chief gules three annulets or : 1st crest, on a mount vert, a lamb sejant argent; 2. on a mount vert, a bear passant argent before a tree of the first; 3. on a cross patée gu. a cock or, combed and wattled of the first. Motto, *Patere et vince.*

There are no more, until after nearly seventy years—

The four Wardens of the Mercers Anno 1701.

S^r Samu^l Moyer Bart.

M^r Tho. Raymond.

M^r Tho. Serocold.

M^r Francis Levett.

—where, again, we may attribute to the third Warden a wish to enroll his name where that of his grandfather or another ancestor (Sarocolle) had been previously placed.

Twenty-four leaves of the finest vellum are still left unfilled in this book, and it is to be regretted that the Wardens of no subsequent year have as yet followed the examples of the years 1635 and 1701.

STATUTES OF WHITTINGTON'S ALMSHOUSES.

This is a small quarto book of twenty-four leaves of vellum, measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 6. The statutes are in English. The initial letter T incloses the arms of Whittington in a tilting shield, a fess checky and an annulet in chief. They commence, To alle the trewe people of Cryste, &c. (as in Brewer's *Life of Carpenter*, p. 27). Above is a drawing in pen and ink measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 3 inches. Sir Richard Whittington is represented lying on his death-bed,—his body naked, a cloth tied round his head. At his right hand stand his two executors **Cobentre** and **Carpenter** (each designated by name); at his left a priest and the third executor **Grobe**. Behind the last a physician is holding up a urinal for examination. At the foot of the bed is the Tutor of the Almshouses holding a hooked staff and a large rosary, and behind him are the twelve Almsmen.

There is a copy of this curious picture in Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. iv. p. 515, and another in Brewer's *Life of Carpenter*, 1856. The former is reversed in the operation of etching; and the latter, though apparently a fac-simile, will be found on comparison with the original to do it very inadequate justice.* Malcolm has rightly described the drawing as executed with a finely-pointed pen, after the manner of making such drawings in preparation to be covered with colour by the illuminators: but, instead of that expensive process being incurred in this instance, the drawing is only partially heightened in effect by lights in white paint, flesh-tints to the faces, and brown colour to the hair—the head of the Tutor of the

* The Introduction to the Statutes, printed by Mr. Brewer, p. 27, has also several inaccuracies, which any future Editor would do well to correct.

Almsmen only excepted, which (as Malcolm says,) is grey, though coloured brown in Mr. Brewer's book. The countenances are much better finished than the fac-simile shows, though the copyer has not entirely lost their expression. But his outlines throughout are less decisive than in the original drawing, and some of its details have been overlooked: see particularly the poor men's boots, which open in front, and the curious hooked stick of the Tutor, which in the fac-simile is merely a straight staff.

In Lysons's *Model Merchant* 1860 is unfortunately a still worse copy,—taken at second hand from Brewer's without consulting the original.

At the end of the book are these verses:—

Expliciūt Statuta
Dom^o Elemosine.

Go litel boke go litel tregedie
The lowly submitting to al correccion
Of theym beyng maistres now of the M^ocery
Olney . Feldyng . Boleyne and of Burtoñ
Hertily theym beseking w^t humble salutaçõn
The to accepte and thus to take in gre
For ever to be a servaunt w^t In peire coāltie.

The four "maistres" named in these lines were the head officers of the Company, so designated in the charter of incorporation (as already shown in p. 135). Subsequently, the title Masters was exchanged for Wardens, and the Company still has no "Master," but a Prime Warden and three junior Wardens.

A second copy of the same Statutes is in a vellum book of the same size, written on forty-six pages. The initial T in the first page incloses the arms of Whittington impaling Quarterly by fess indented ermine and gules.

A third copy of the Statutes, larger quarto, sixteen leaves of vellum, measuring 10½ inches by 7. The initial T. inclosing the arms of Whittington, ends—Expliciunt Statuta.

THE CARTULARY OF DEAN COLET'S LANDS

is a beautiful folio volume of vellum, measuring 13 inches by 9, of 238 folios, in its table of contents misnumbered 1038. It was rebound

in 1777, when the edges were injudiciously cut. The preface was composed by Colet himself, but copied by a professional scribe. Herbert* (i. 239, note) absurdly says of the whole book, that it is "supposed (to be) in his own handwriting." St. Paul's School, for the maintenance of which these estates were given, was commenced in 1508 and finished in every point in 1512.

THE STATUTES OF SAINT PAUL'S SCHOOL.

This is a quarto volume bound in vellum, measuring $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height by 8 inches in width, tied now with common tape, but originally no doubt by strings of more costly material. The edges are gilt. The whole front surface is covered with a painting in body colours and gold, of which the principal feature is a portrait of Colet. This resembles his other well-known portraits, but is greatly superior in expression to Vertue's engraving prefixed to the *Life* by Dr. Knight.† It is of half-

* Some of the other documents of the Company (which I have not found time to examine) will be found enumerated by Herbert in the same note, but his account must be taken only as suggestive.

† The portrait of Colet engraved by Vertue as the frontispiece to Dr. Knight's work was from a painting in the possession of Mr. John Worthington, and for a time of Bishop Stillingfleet. Knight (p. x. of his Introduction) mentions another picture in the possession of Thomas Slater Bacon of Lynton in Cambridgeshire, esq. regarding which I am able to give the following copy of a memorandum by the Rev. William Cole: "This picture I bought at an auction of the goods of Robert King, esq. heir to Mr. Bacon, at Catley near Lynton, July 21, 1749. He is in a scarlet cap and gown, with his neck quite naked, and is like that in Holland's *Heroologia*, and Lupton's *Lives of the Protestant Divines*. W. COLE." There are therefore two originals, or at least variations, of Colet's portrait, one in his scarlet gown as a Doctor, the other in black, which colour Erasmus tells us that he generally preferred. Engravings of Colet's portraiture are very numerous, as will be seen on reference to Granger's *Biographical History of England*, edit. 1824, vol. p. 125; but the account there given of the two prints in Knight's *Life of Colet* is imperfect and inaccurate. The print described occurs in that work at p. 435, and represents the bronze bust then placed over the High Master's seat at St. Paul's School, and now in his private rooms: it was preserved from the ruins at the fire of 1666. It is added:—"There is another octavo print of him by the same hand; both are without the engraver's name." The latter is really the frontispiece to Knight's book above mentioned, and is signed by the engraver *G. Vertue, Sculp.* The head of Colet, which is among Holbein's drawings at Windsor Castle, was probably made from the bust; and the latter has been attributed to Torregiano, the sculptor of the tomb of King Henry VII. On Colet's monument in Old St. Paul's was also a bust, of terra cotta.

length, in his usual black cap and gown, and turning towards the left, his hands folded in front, the right hand holding a pen, the left a gilt-edged book. This portrait is within an oval frame of scroll-work. Immediately below his hands is a scroll inscribed

IO COLET DECA S PAVLI

Below that is a shield of the arms of Colet; and in the upper corners are shields of the Church of St. Paul and the Mercers. The lower portion of the page is occupied by a tomb, upon which a human skeleton is extended:—this addition, and probably the portrait itself, derived from the Dean's monument in St. Paul's. In front of the tomb is this inscription in gold letters upon a black ground

ISTUC RECIDIT GLO-
RIA CARNIS.

The whole painting is beautifully executed, including the swags of fruit and flowers, and the portrait is evidently the work of a very superior artist. Its production is doubtless to be assigned to the year 1602, at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, when the second portion was added to the contents of the volume.

The contents are of three periods.

I. A paper book of fourteen leaves, of which eleven are occupied with writing: viz. the Statutes of St. Paul's School as edited by Dr. Knight in his *Life of Colet*, 1724, 8vo. Appendix Num. V. pp. 356-369. In three places there are interesting inscriptions in the Dean's own hand. On the fly-leaf opposite the first page this

hūc libellum ego Joannes Colet tradidi manibz magistri lilii xviiij^o
die Junij an^o xi^o M.ccccxviiij vt eum in scola fuet & obfuet.

(Very imperfectly copied by Knight at the foot of his page 357.)

At the head of the *Prologus* the founder has written

Joannes Colet fundator scole manu sua ppria.

Again at the foot of the last page

Joannes Colettz fundator
noue scole manu mea
ppria.

The statutes themselves are written in a sort of black-letter legal hand, but not at all an obscure one. In the margin are some side-

notes in the scholarly hand of the time, which I believe may be assigned to master Lilly the schoolmaster. The first is

De admission[e] pueroꝝ*

In the chapter directing [~~What shalbe taught~~] is this marginal list of subjects and authors, repeating them as named in the statute itself :

Cathechization. Accidētia. Institutum x^a[ni] hōis. Copia uerboꝝ Lactātius. Prudentius. Proba. Sedulius. Iuuēcus. Baptist. Mātua.

Two errors of names in p. 368 of Dr. Knight's book are *Rote* for Rote and *Atfeux* for at Fenix (*i.e.* a person named from living at the sign of a Phoenix).

The second document in the book consists of certain new ordinances made on the 24th June 1603, and attested by Mr. Thomas Bennett aldⁿ, Mr. William Higgs, Mr. Anthonie Culverwell, Mr. Thomas Horton wardens, Mr. Henry Rowe aldⁿ, Mr. Edmond Hogan, Mr. William Lucas, Mr. John Castelin, Mr. Wm. Walthall, Mr. John Gardner, Mr. John Newton, Mr. James Elwick, Mr. William Ferrers, Mr. Henry Peyton, and Mr. Roger Howe.

These alterations of the statutes occupy four pages and a half, and have the autograph signatures of the Queen's Solicitor-general, Thomas Flemynge esquire serjeant at law, and of Thomas Foster esquire councillor at law.

The third record in the book is an ordinance to authorize the letting of the lands of St. Paul's School for building leases not exceeding eighty years. It is dated 6 Feb. 1841, and bears the autograph signatures of the three "good-lettered and learned men," Sir Frederick Pollock, M.A. and M.P., Sir William Webb Follett, M.A. and M.P. two of her Majesty the Queen's Counsel learned in the law, and William Palmer esq. M.A. barrister at law : attested also by the signatures of Ar. Coleman, J. T. Pooley, Robert Sutton jun^r, Dan^l Watney, Archdale Palmer, R. Sutton, George Palmer, E. F. Green, W. Newnham, J. Horsley Palmer, C. F. Johnson, Thomas Watney, G. W. Bicknell, Jn^o Rob^{ts} Delafosse, John Day, L. P. Wilson, A. P. Johnson, Robert Bicknell, and Nath^l Clark.

This precious book is kept in a wooden case covered with leather,

* The final [e] of *admissione* is cut off by the binder.