

SIR ROWLAND HAYWARD.

BY

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SIR ROWLAND HAYWARD (Heyward), twice Lord Mayor of London in the reign of Elizabeth, was not a Londoner born, but the son of George Heyward de Bridgenorth.¹ He was educated at Bridgenorth Free School,² and about the age of twelve he probably came to London and was apprenticed to a clothworker, though no record of this has been found. By 1553, he was sufficiently important to be entrusted with part of the decoration of the City for the coronation,³ and to attend the Lord Mayor when he served as chief butler of England at the Cupborde upon the day of the Coronacion of the Quenes maiesty.⁴ In 1555, Hayward's name appears in the first charter of the Muscovy Company as one of the assistants of the Governor.⁵ Next year, at a period when he was living in Milk Street,⁶ he was made auditor of the City accounts for two years,⁷ and at Elizabeth's coronation was one of "four worshipful Commoners" who decorated the standard in Cheap with "pageantes fyne payntinge and Riche clothes of

¹ *Visitation of Shropshire*, 1623, (Harl. Soc. XXVIII (1889)), I, 235. Possibly the George Heyward de Bridgenorth in Salop Senior Corveser' (cobble or cordwainer?) who bought seven tenements and gardens in Bridgnorth from Richard Mills of Maldon in 1547 (P.R.O., Rot. Claus. I Edw. VI, pt. 5, mem. 57). In 1623, Sir Rowland's son, Sir John, was in control of lands and tenements within the liberties of Bridgnorth called Mills' Lands (N. Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools* (1818), II, 340).

² N. Carlisle, *op. cit.*, II, 344.

³ Records of the City of London, Repertory (henceforth cited as Repert.) 13, pt. I, fo. 74 b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 77; cf. Repert. 14, fo. 102 b.

⁵ Hakluyt's *Voyages* (published by Maclehoose, 1903), II, 307.

⁶ *Notes and Queries* (series VII), Vol. XI, p. 165.

⁷ A. B. Beaven, *Aldermen of the City* (1908, 1913), II, 36.

arras silver and gold." On this occasion he had once more the high honour of attending the Lord Mayor at the coronation banquet.¹ In 1559, he was Master of the Clothworkers, and next year became alderman of Farringdon Without,² which proves him a man of some means, as no citizen worth less than 2000 marks could then serve as alderman.³ Probably much of his money was the result of speculation in land, for the Close Rolls of Mary, and, still more, those of Elizabeth, abound in records of his purchase of estates.⁴ His wealth is further indicated by the loan of £1000 for wheat, which he and Alderman Bankes granted to the City in 1560. Next year he was made President of Bridewell, an appointment confirmed in 1562,⁵ and from then onwards his connection with the City hospitals remained almost unbroken till his death.

Hayward was a very prominent Merchant Adventurer, engaged in the cloth trade,⁶ and seems to have had commercial dealings with Antwerp, being involved in 1563 in a dispute with Paul van Dale, a rich Antwerp merchant, who from time to time served as Elizabeth's banker. On 2 April, 1563, the latter writes to Cecil, stating that he has brought a suit against Hayward to gain satisfaction for injuries, but complains that, in spite of Cecil's letter to the Court and Governor of the English in Antwerp, the affair makes no progress. He also writes to the Queen, asking her to command the Governor and Court to use expedition in his suit,⁷ but it is not clear whether he ever received satisfaction.

Hayward became Sheriff of London in 1563, and next

¹ Repert. 14, fos. 97 *et seq.* and 102 b.

² Beaven, *loc. cit.*

³ Beaven, *op. cit.*, II, Preface, p. xxxix.

⁴ See also *Notes and Queries, ut supra*, p. 165; *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1592-3, p. 310 *et seq.*

⁵ Repert. 14, fos. 406b, 535; Repert. 15, fo. 126. There is no list of governors of Bridewell in the City Repertories of 1563 and 1564, and in 1565 Hayward appears as governor, but not President.

⁶ *Tudor Economic Documents* (ed. R. H. Tawney and E. Power, 1924), II, 150-1; P.R.O., S.P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. LXXXV, No. 30.

⁷ *Cal. S.P. For. Eliz.*, 1563, Nos. 571, 570.

year was translated to the ward of Queenhithe.¹ In 1565, he was closely identified with perhaps the greatest civic achievement of Elizabethan England, the founding of the Royal Exchange. When Sir Thomas Gresham offered to build a bourse, if the City would provide the ground, Hayward was one of a small committee chosen to view the possible sites. He helped to negotiate with the Merchant Taylors for houses they owned on the first site selected, and, when they refused to sell, Hayward and another citizen persuaded the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury to part with some houses adjoining Cornhill, thus securing part of the site of the present Exchange. Hayward further cleared the ground by selling two of his own houses to the City for £340, and warning inhabitants to quit by Lady Day, 1566. He helped to draw up rules and legal agreements for the bourse, and was a trustee of the lands and houses acquired for the site. When the Corporation approached Cecil to secure the Queen's favourable reception of some documents connected with the new venture, Hayward and the Secondary of the Counter laid the City's case before the minister. He helped to audit the bourse accounts and devise means of defraying expenses, himself contributing £10.²

Hayward's history as a Clothworker is somewhat obscure, but in November, 1565, he appeared before the Privy Council, with "others of such merchauntes as spetially use to transporte clothes over the seas," to give information in connection with the complaint of the smaller London clothworkers about the export of unwrought cloth.³ Still more obscure in his connection with a company started in 1565 to search for minerals in England and Ireland, though his appointment as Treasurer of the mineral works in 1566 is

¹ Beaven, *loc. cit.*

² *The Royal Exchange Extracts from City Records* (Guildhall Library, pressmark AL, 3.), pp. 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 21; Repert. 15, fo. 445b.

³ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1558-70*, p. 277 *et seq.*

recorded in the State Papers.¹ More sources of information are available to show the important part he played in the early history of the Muscovy Company. In January, 1566-7, he and Sir William Garrard wrote to Cecil on behalf of the Company, with reference to a petition, lately addressed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert to the Queen, for two ships to aid him in the discovery of the north-west passage to Cathay. Garrard and Hayward, though approving the expedition, raised serious objections to Gilbert's request for a tenth of the lands discovered, since these belonged by charter to the Muscovy Company,² and their protest is quite possibly the reason why Gilbert's project never materialised.³ Hayward is mentioned as one of the seven leading merchants of the Company, when the Czar granted them a monopoly of free trade in his dominions in 1567, and again in 1569.⁴ The latter concession may have been due to a letter from the Queen to Muscovy procured by Cecil for the Company, which Hayward and Tamworth urged him to send in the ship *Primrose* in 1568.⁵ Russia was not the only sphere of the Company's operations, and about 1570 the Shah of Persia gave license to his "greatest and best merchants," among whom Hayward was included, to trade throughout his dominions.⁶

While busy with Russian trade, Hayward did not neglect his civic duties. In 1566, he became Auditor General of the Hospitals, Commissioner of Sewers, and changed his ward to Cripplegate.⁷ In 1570 he was elected Lord Mayor, the greatest event of his term

¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1547-80, p. 275; cf. *Tudor Economic Documents*, *ut supra*, I, 246.

² P.R.O., S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. XLII No. 5; *Cal. S. P. Colonial*, 1513-16, pp. 7-8.

³ *Cal. S. P. Colonial*, 1513-1616, preface, p. viii.

⁴ *Hakluyt's Voyages*, *ut supra*, III, 93, 109.

⁵ P.R.O., S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. XLVII, No. 68. (Appendix (a)).

⁶ *Cal. S. P. Colonial*, 1513-1616, p. 8.

⁷ Repert. 16, fos. 109, 127, 150b.

of office being the opening of the Royal Exchange which he had done so much to found. In 1571, he was knighted,¹ an honour customarily conferred upon the Lord Mayor at that period, but no doubt bestowed in this case with special graciousness, since the Queen was in Hayward's debt to the extent of some £1700, his loans to her covering a period of two years (1 December, 1569—30 November, 1571).² In 1571, Sir Rowland changed his ward for the third and last time, when he was translated to Lime Street.³ Next year he became President of St. Bartholomew's, a position held until his death in 1593, one of the longest presidential terms in the annals of the hospital. The earliest extant edition of Vicary's *Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Man's Body* was dedicated to Hayward, with other governors, by the surgeons of St. Bartholomew's.⁴ In 1572, he, with Sir Thomas Gresham and others, received a royal commission for the sale of goods belonging to Spanish subjects in England,⁵ in reprisal for Alva's seizure of English merchants and their property in Antwerp.⁶

In 1572, the long parliament of Elizabeth, which sat, with frequent prorogations, till 1583, was summoned, and Alderman Hayward was senior member of the most brilliant group of representatives elected by London during the reign. In the House of Commons Hayward was a personage from the first. Parliament met, excited by the recent discovery of the Ridolfi plot, and eager to protect Elizabeth against Mary, Queen of Scots. A committee of both houses was hurriedly set up, with Sir Rowland as one of the members.⁷ A bill against the Queen of Scots was passed by the Lords,

¹ W. A. Shaw, *Knights of England* (1906), II, 75.

² *Acts of the Privy Council, 1571-5*, p. 53 *et seq.*; Repert. 17, fo. 89b- (Appendix (b)).

³ Beaven, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Norman Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918), II, 589.

⁵ P.R.O., S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. LXXXV, No. 31.

⁶ R. R. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom* (1894), I, 508-14.

⁷ *Commons Journals* (henceforth cited as *C.J.*), I, 94b.

and, just before its third reading in the Commons, Hayward and three others were chosen to take it back to the Lords for their consideration.¹ The Queen's veto, however, prevented the bill from becoming law.

During this session foreign craftsmen dwelling in London presented a bill to parliament, praying the redress of injuries received at the hands of certain of the livery companies.² A small committee, including Hayward, was asked by the Commons to consider the bill.³ The Court of Aldermen ordered the companies attacked to set down their defence in writing and to deliver the documents to Sir Rowland or Mr. Recorder "to thend they with others may the better answeere the said bill in parliament And to overthrowe the bill there if they can." Such efforts, however, were found to be unnecessary, for the foreign craftsmen withdrew their bill and submitted their grievances to the Court of Aldermen.⁴ Hayward was also put on a parliamentary committee to consider the bill for weights and measures, and as a leading clothworker was sent to confer with the Lords on the bill to reform the excessive length of kerseys.⁵ Two acts affecting the City hospitals were passed during the session, for which Spilman, Clerk of the Parliaments, demanded such excessive fees that the hospital governors were stung to resistance, and Hayward went with a City deputation to ask the Lord Keeper's help in the matter.⁶ Parliament did not sit between June, 1572 and February, 1575-6, but in 1573 a committee of the Corporation with Hayward at the head considered a sea-coal bill to be presented to parliament.⁷

During the interval between the sessions, Hayward's chief work was the reform of the City prisons. Tudor London, usually harsh, showed a curious sympathy for certain classes of prisoners and captives, and several

¹ *C.J.*, 102b.

² *Repert.* 17, fo. 335.

³ *C.J.*, I, 97b.

⁴ *Repert.* 17, fos. 335, 337.

⁵ *C.J.*, I, 97b, 103b.

⁶ *Repert.* 17, fo. 342. (*Appendix (c)*).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 18, fo. 130.

times Hayward, at the Court of Aldermen's request, championed the prisoners against their gaolers. In 1574, he was chairman of a committee, which drew up a set of rules to be hung on the walls of Newgate. A scale of charges was drawn up—beds eightpence a week, charcoal a penny a peck, beer three pints a penny. The gaoler's wife was forbidden to take the female prisoners' money for nosegays, while the gaoler was not to put prisoners in irons unless committed for felony. Prisoners were to assemble morning and afternoon to sing the psalms for the day, and if one of them died he was to be buried in a sheet. No one in Newgate was to dice, play cards, or smuggle in double-double beer or ale.¹

In 1575, the Queen borrowed £30,000 from the citizens and Sir Rowland handed her bond for payment to the City Chamberlain.² This probably suggested to him the scheme he forwarded to the government a few days later, urging that the City of London should borrow eighty or a hundred thousand pounds from abroad. This, he said, would prevent the money being used in an attack on England, and would enable the City to make loans to the Queen if need arose.³ Notwithstanding these arguments, his suggestion seems to have come to nothing.

Four months later, in February, 1575-6, parliament met and sat for about five weeks. On the first morning of the session, Peter Wentworth made his famous speech, criticising the Queen, and upholding the right of free speech in parliament against the sovereign's interference.⁴ He was immediately sequestered, and in the afternoon was examined by a committee of the Commons which included Hayward. Many other important committees also claimed Sir Rowland as a

¹ Repert. 18, fos. 195, 208 *et seq.*; see also Repert. 15, fo. 430; Repert. 18, fo. 178b; cf. Repert. 17, fo. 240b; Repert. 20, 132, 230.

² *Ibid.*, fo. 444. (Appendix (d)).

³ P.R.O., S.P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. CV, No. 62.

⁴ See Prof. J. E. Neale in *English Historical Review* (1924), XXXIX, 43-4.

member, including those which framed the subsidy act and considered the bill to provide work for the poor.¹ As a past President of Bridewell, he was in a position to give valuable advice about "setting the poor on work," especially as he was at the moment engaged in similar work for the City.² He was a member of nine other committees during the session and discussed bills connected with the woollen trade, with goldsmiths' frauds (a point on which he had special knowledge,³) with leather and wood, drovers and foreign craftsmen, innkeepers, beer and wine. When, towards the end of a crowded session, the Lords asked for a conference with the Lower House to consider which private bills were "fittest to be expedited," Hayward was one of twelve chosen to represent the Commons. He also sat on an important committee which discussed a bill authorising the Queen to treat foreigners in the same way as their princes treated Englishmen.⁴

The next few years were uneventful. Hayward is mentioned as a Justice of the Peace for the City in 1577,⁵ but this can have been no new honour. About this time he again played an important part in the affairs of the Muscovy Company, for whom he obtained a fresh lease of Botolph's Wharf from the City in 1577.⁶ As governors of the Muscovy Company, he and his fellow alderman, George Barne, issued an order in 1580 to Pet and Jackman to find the north-east passage to China. The suggestions which accompany this order throw light on the character of the men who made them. "Do you observe good order in your dayly service, and pray unto God, so shall you prosper the better," they advise, and again: "Order your companies that they of the one barke may have such love and care, to help and succour them of the other, as most deere friends and

¹ *C.J.*, I, 104a, 104b, 105a. ² *Repert.* 19, fo. 23. (*Appendix (f)*).

³ *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1571-5, p. 125.

⁴ *C.J.*, I, 106a, 115a, 106b, 110b, 108b, 110b, 106b, 107a, 112b, 108a.

⁵ *Repert.* 19, fo. 211b. ⁶ *Ibid.*, fo. 232b; cf. *Repert.* 25, fo. 344.

brothers would doe.”¹ This expedition, the first attempt to find the north-east passage since 1556, only resulted in the discovery of Pet Strait.²

An entry in the State Papers of a loan of £3000, “latelie made by her maiestie to Sir Rowlande Haywarde and others of the Citie of London the iiijth of maye 1578” is possibly an allusion to a royal investment in the Muscovy Company. £2000 of this was still owing to the Queen in March, 1579–80,³ and it is unlikely that Hayward was borrowing on his own account. On the contrary, in 1581, he and some others risked £1000 in “setting forth a bark” for Fenton’s voyage to the East Indies and Cathay, a luckless expedition which ended in total failure.⁴

In 1580 and 1581, Hayward’s untiring interest in hospital work raised him to the position of Surveyor General, while in 1582 he became Comptroller General or head of the City hospitals,⁵ a post retained until his death. From January to March 1580–1, the third session of Elizabeth’s long parliament was held, when the country was threatened by rebels at home and enemies abroad. Hayward was a member of the committee which drew up those harsh laws against popish recusants which make the year 1581 a landmark in the history of Catholic persecution, and also helped to draw up a bill of supplies to enable the Queen to cope with her perilous situation.⁶ He came prominently before the House in connection with a London bill presented to parliament in 1572,⁷ and introduced afresh in 1581, to prevent the manufacture of iron near London, which reduced the City’s supply of coal and wood. Hayward, having been put on the parliamentary committee which discussed this bill against iron mills, introduced a new

¹ Hakluyt’s *Voyages, ut supra*, III, 253.

² *Cal. S. P. Colonial, East Indies, etc.*, 1513–1616, Preface, p. xxi.

³ P.R.O., S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. CXXXVI, No. 47. (Appendix (g)).

⁴ See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Edward Fenton.

⁵ Repert. 20, fos. 113b, 235b, 361.

⁶ C.J., I, 119b.

⁷ Repert. 17, fo. 311b; *Lords Journals*, I, 712b.

bill into the House which had not been sanctioned by a majority of the committee. This roused some indignation, several members urging that he should be punished or at least forced to acknowledge his error to the House; but a majority of the Commons passed a motion introduced by the Speaker that the prosecution should be dropped "as a thing of too small moment for this House to be troubled with or spend time in." His only speech reported in the Journals dealt with the Bills to enclose Erith and Plumstead Marshes and to confirm a rent charge to the Bishop of Coventry. As a member of both the relevant committees, he declared that "such savings as they think meet to be had in both the said bills is conceived by the Committees already." Hayward also sat on committees which discussed three bills of vital interest to London, one for paving the streets outside Algate, another for paying the debts of Sir Thomas Gresham, and a third attacking the London Merchant Adventurers.¹

His wide experience of manufacturing, gained by 20 years intimate knowledge of the livery companies, was utilised by the committees which considered the bills for the true making of hats and caps, and the true folding and winding of wools.² At the close of this session, though parliament was not dissolved till 1583, the City paid Sir Rowland his parliamentary wages as a knight for London, 4s. a day for attendance, 1s. a day for boat-hire, and £6 13s. 4d. a session for his scarlet parliament gown.³ The total probably amounted to £49 5s.

In 1583, Lord Hunsdon sold Hayward the manor of King's-hold Hackney, once the property of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.⁴ King's Place, the manor house where Elizabeth visited him in 1587, still stands under

¹ C.J., I, 127b, 132b, 124b, 128b, 130b.

² C.J., I, 129a.

³ Repert. 20, fo. 183. (Appendix (h)).

⁴ P.R.O., Rot. Pat. 25 Eliz., pt. 2, dated 2 Mar., cited by D. Lysons, *Environs of London* (1795), II, 455.

the name of Brooke House.¹ This served as his country home, his London residence being the great house which had once been Elsing Spital.² In 1586, he became Father of the City,³ or, as the inscription on his tomb runs, "the antientest alderman of the said City." About this time too, he was regarded as "Chiefe of the Clothworkers" and in that capacity was asked by the Privy Council, in September, 1587, to stop the company's interference with a foreign merchant, John Dinghens, who was exporting undressed Kentish cloths by Royal license. The clothworkers claimed that their letters patent forbade the export of such cloth, and Hayward, in spite of the Council's request, continued to prevent it. In the following January he was again required to allow the export, this time receiving an assurance that the Lords would not grant similar licenses in future.⁴

Hayward helped to take measures for the safety of the City during the nerve racking days when the Armada sailed up the Channel. Curiously enough, the only outward signs of disaffection in London were exhibited by sailors, and on 30 July, 1588, Hayward examined a mariner on a charge of seditious speech.⁵ He was no doubt detested by the disaffected, though an object of respectful admiration to all good citizens.⁶ In January, 1589-90, a Mrs. Dewse, who seems to have had Papist leanings, attracted the unfavourable notice of the government through her attempt to murder Sir Rowland by the time-honoured device of sticking pins into his waxen image, her grievance being that Hayward had turned the aldermen against her husband.⁷ Her magic

¹ Committee for the Survey of the Memorials of Greater London, monograph 5, *Brooke House, Hackney*, by E. A. Mann, pp. 8-10, 21.

² *Inq. Post Mortem, London* (British Record Soc. and L. and Middx. Arch. Soc., 1896-1908), III, 203; cf. Repert. 19, fo. 471b.

³ Beaven, *op. cit.*, I, 253.

⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1587-8, p. 237.

⁵ Repert. 21, fo. 579. (Appendix (i)).

⁶ The inscription on his tomb runs: "He lived beloved of all good men, and died in great Credit and Reputation."

⁷ *Archaeologia*, XL, 395 *et seq.*

was apparently unsuccessful, for next year Sir Rowland was sufficiently hale and hearty to undertake for a few weeks the onerous duties of Lord Mayor, when Sir John Allott died in September, 1591, before the end of his term of office. In 1593, Hayward helped to decide what City bills should be presented to Parliament, and to choose the site of a new plague hospital. On 4 December, 1593, he attended the Court of Aldermen for the last time.¹ The next day he was dead.²

No mention of Sir Rowland's specific services to London can give any idea of his unwearied devotion to the city of his adoption. He seems to have undertaken humble duties and great affairs with equal enthusiasm, to have been as ready to view a jutting window as to appear before the Queen or Privy Council,³ as zealous to decide which minstrels should keep a dancing school as to get a monopoly cancelled.⁴ His chief interest, beside the City hospitals and prisons, lay in the provision of sufficient corn and water to meet the needs of the ever-growing city. In the days before the New River, the water supply was a source of constant anxiety, and Hayward spent much time in visiting springs and conduits, and in interviewing Peter Morris, the early engineer who drew water from the Thames by an engine near the Bridge.⁵ Whenever the City liberties were threatened by the sovereign, the Council, the Tower, by lords, bishops or neighbouring towns, Hayward was almost always chosen to defend them, from the time of his first mayoralty till his death.⁶ Again and again he was asked by the Court of Aldermen or the Privy Council to arbitrate in disputes, a proof of

¹ Repert. 22, fo. 311b; 23, fos. 22b, 125b, 129b. (Appendix (j)).

² *Inq. p. mortem, ut supra*, III, 210.

³ Repert. 22, fo. 369; 22, fo. 143; 17, fo. 298b.

⁴ Repert. 18, fo. 232; 19, fos. 15b, 20, 84. (Appendix (e)).

⁵ Repert. 14, fos. 472b; 15, fos. 60b, 68b, 70, 276b; 16, fos. 249b, 268b; 17, fo. 25b; 21, fo. 202; 20, fos. 95, 97, 120b; 21, fos. 255b, 576.

⁶ References too numerous to quote in full, but the following examples may be given: Repert. 16, fo. 162b; 18, fo. 362b; 19, fos. 191, 222, 415, 498b.

his high reputation for fairness and good judgment.¹ He frequently helped to settle the affairs of the livery companies,² and in his latter days, as Surveyor of the Bridgehouse estates, had much to do with the disposal of City property.³ He helped with the repairs of St. Paul's, Christ Church and Ludgate,⁴ and spent time and thought on coping with the plague.⁵ Amidst the rush of work that burdened the Corporation in the sixteenth century, owing to growth of population and social distress,⁶ he played a part unequalled by any other Tudor alderman.

Hayward is said to have died at his manor at Hackney,⁷ but was buried in the parish church of St. Alphage, London Wall (originally the church of Elsynge Spital), which he had served in life, often auditing the Churchwardens' accounts. So prominent a parishioner was he that the south aisle, where he and his large family sat, was called in 1582 "Sir Rolandes syde of the Church." A beautiful monument, with a figure of Sir Rowland in the middle, and his two wives, each with her eight children, on either side, was erected to his memory by order of the parishioners at a meeting held on 22nd March, 1598-9.⁸ When St. Alphage was closed in 1917, the bodies of the dead were removed to Ilford. It was

¹ Repertories *passim*: *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1577-8, p. 187; 1578-80, p. 236.

² References too numerous to quote in full, but some examples may be given: Repert. 15, fos. 8, 61, 379b; 18, fos. 42, 354b; 19, fo. 91b; 21, fos. 425b.

³ See for example Repert. 21, fos. 303b *et seq.*, 581 *et seq.*; 22, fos. 16b *et seq.*; 23, fo. 64 *et seq.*

⁴ Repert. 16, fos. 227, 228b, 230, 241b; 19, fo. 127; 20, fos. 52, 62, 82b, 285b; 21, fos. 44, 272, 347.

⁵ Repert. 15, fos. 258b, 327; 16, fo. 451; 17, fo. 2b.

⁶ *Tudor Economic Documents*, *ut supra*, I, 130; II, 306-8; see also Miss E. Jeffries Davis on the Transformation of London in *Tudor Studies*, presented to Prof. A. F. Pollard, 1924, pp. 287-314. I owe Miss Jeffries Davis much kind help with this paper.

⁷ J. J. Baddeley, *Aldermen of Cripplegate Ward* (1900), p. 49.

⁸ G. B. Hall, *St. Alphage, London Wall* (1885), pp. 22, 25. For photographs of the monument, see J. J. Baddeley, *Cripplegate Ward* (1921), p. 29, and E. G. O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Hospital* (1923), p. 228.

stated at the time¹ that Sir Rowland's body had been claimed by a descendant, but the gentleman in question Mr. C. A. G. Hayward,² of Honiton, has informed me that his kinsman's coffin had been removed some years before the closing of the church, and buried in a North London cemetery. The porch of St. Alphage is still open to the public, with Hayward's monument as its chief glory. He left money to be spent on weekly loaves for the poor,³ and made a grant of land towards the relief of the sick and aged and the repair of St. Alphage's Church.⁴ His old school at Bridgnorth he endowed with £20 a year.⁵

Hayward died a great landowner, leaving not only Elyngge Spital and Kingshold Manor but also 13 manors in Shropshire, 2 in Wiltshire, 1 on the borders of Bedford and Buckinghamshire, and 1 in Montgomery. He left many other lands and houses, his chief London property beside Elyngge Spital being Jhesus Steeple near St. Paul's, Garlande Alley in the parish of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, with houses, orchards and gardens in Wood Street, Bunting Alley, and Milk Street.⁶

By his first wife, Joan Tillesworth, Hayward had five children who died in infancy and three daughters who all married men of importance, Elizabeth securing Lord Knyvet of Esrick as her second husband, Susannah marrying Sir Henry Townshend to whom she bore a son Hayward Townshend, author of the *Historical Collections*, while Joan's husband was Sir John Thynne of Longleat, grandson of Sir Richard Gresham and ancestor of the Marquis of Bath. Hayward's second wife was Catherine Smyth, daughter of Sir Thomas Smyth of

¹ City Press, 4 Oct., 1919.

² I am indebted to Mr. Hayward for his kind help with this paper. In *Shakespeare and a Lord Mayor* (printed for private circulation by Southwoods (Exeter) Ltd.) Mr. C. A. G. Hayward suggests that Sir Rowland Hayward was the original of Sir Rowland de Bois in *As you Like It*.

³ Maitland, *History of London*, (1756), II, 909.

⁴ G. B. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁵ N. Carlisle, *op. cit.*, II, 340.

⁶ *Inq. post mortem, ut supra*, III, 202 *et seq.*

Ostenhanger Castle, Kent, and granddaughter of Sir Andrew Judd.¹ She is said to have been "a grave matron of XVI yeares"² when she married Hayward, who must have been many years her senior. Of their six children who survived infancy, George, the heir, was knighted at 17³ and died childless⁴ at 28.⁵ Sir John, his only brother and heir, settled down in Kent, where he was sheriff in the last year of James I,⁶ though he seems to have had a love for the cradle of his race, becoming M.P. for Bridgnorth,⁷ where he left £100 to his father's old school.⁸ His four sisters, Alice, Katherine, Mary and Anne all married country gentlemen,⁹ so that not one of Sir Rowland's children, with the possible exception of George, who died young, ultimately settled in London.¹⁰ The Haywards are, indeed, a typical example of those numerous country families, which in medieval and modern times have sent one brilliant member to find fame and fortune in London, but in the next generation have again succumbed to the lure of the countryside.

¹ See inscription on Hayward's tomb (printed in Strype's edition of Stow's *Survey of London* (1720), I, 73 *et seq.*)

² I am indebted to the Clothworkers' Company and their Clerk, P. M. Evans, Esq., for permission to search their records. These contain no original material for Hayward's life, but much interesting information about him, compiled from original and secondary authorities by Samuel Gregory of the Lord Mayor's Office, a member of the Company, 1802-58. *Gregory's Collections*, VII, 56, contains the above statement about Catherine Smyth's age on her marriage.

³ Shaw, *op. cit.*, II, 135.

⁴ *Visitation of Shropshire, ut supra*, I, 235.

⁵ P.R.O., Inquisitiones Post Mortem, Vol. 363, No. 194.

⁶ E. Hasted, *History of Kent* (1782), II, 468; see also II, 63 for Sir John's Kentish Charities.

⁷ In Jan. 1620-1 (*Official Return of Members of Parliament*, I, 452.)

⁸ N. Carlisle, *op. cit.*, II, 340.

⁹ For further details, see Thomas Chichele, *Stemmata Chicheleana* (with supplement, 1765, 1775), Nos. 4, 150, 293, 294 (cited in Hasted, *op. cit.*, II, 468); F. St. Leger, *Stemmata Leodegaria* (1867); Repert. 25, fo. 298b states that Richard Buller, husband of Hayward's orphan daughter Alice, acknowledged in 1601 that his wife's fortune of £1563 17s. 5d. had been fully paid to him.

¹⁰ Sir John Hayward was, however, buried in the vault of St. Alphage, London Wall. (G. B. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 61).

APPENDIX
DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH
SIR ROWLAND HAYWARD'S CAREER.

(a) LETTER TO CECIL, 1568.

Pleaseth your honor to be informed, that forsomuche as this yeare is nowe farr passed, and that no parsonne ne shipp is taken to be more mete; by goddes helpe to carry with speede and in good saufftie, the Quenes maiesties lettres of Late graunted and consented unto, by your good meanes: for the whiche we render unto youe most hartly thanks: than Thomas Grey of harwiche and his shippe, named the primerose ys. These be humbly to beseche your honor to vouchesaulf to wryte, by our freende and agent this bringer unto the right honorable the Lorde high admyrall of Englande / And therby to instance his Lordeshipp to will and commaunde the said Thomas Grey by wryting to putt himself fourthwith in readynes to doo the said exploit with all possible Diligence./ for it is doubted that the said Grey wille not otherwyse take the said voyage in hande / And so the purpose shulde be utterly frustrated / The avoyding wherof, we have full hope that your honour dothe effectuely mynde / Almighty god preserve your honor Long in good healthe / At London the xi day of September 1568./

your good maistershippes at commandement.

Rowland Haywarde.

John Tamworth.

Endorsed

To the right honorable and our speciall good master, Sir William Cecyll knight principall Secretary to the Quens Maiestie and one of her highnes most honorable pryvye Counsaile./

P.R.O., S.P.Dom.Eliz., vol. XLVII, no. 68.

(b) THE QUEEN'S DEBT TO HAYWARD.

(23 November, 1570.)

The Cittyes
bond

Intratur

Item this daye by order of the Quenes Maiesties most honorable pryvye Counsells lettres dated at hampton court the xxth of December 1570 heare were sealed withe the comen seall of this Cittie nyntene severall Bondes for the Quenes Maiesties debt to the persons hereunder named viz. to Rowland Hayward Lord Maior of this Cyttie (*here follow 19 other names*) to be paid the last of the Moneth of May next comynge./

Repert. 17, fo. 89b.

(c) COMPLAINT AGAINST THE CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENTS.

(8 July, 1572.)

it was ordered that Sir Thomas Offeley and Sir Rowland Hayward knightes (*here follow 5 other names*) shall repaire unto my Lord keeper at his next comynge to this Citee and to desire his good lordshippes lauffull favor for the Fees that one master spilman demaundeth fo the governors of the hospitalls within this citee for passinge certen actes of parliament to charge the same hospitalls/

Repert. 17, fo. 342.

(d) THE QUEEN'S BOND TO THE CITY.

(13 October, 1575.)

The Quenes
Counterbonde

Item this Daye Sir Rowland Heyward knight delyveryd here in open Corte, unto thandes of Master Chamberlyn, the Quenez Maiesties bonde made unto this Cytie, for the paymente of the somme of thyrtye thowsande powndes, lately preste unto her Maiestie, by the Cytizeins of this Cytie for one whole yere.

Repert. 18, fo. 444.

(e) ATTACK UPON A MONOPOLY.

(29 November, 1575.)

Aldermen to
examyn the
pattyn of Acerbo
Velutelli/

Item yt was orderyd that Sir Thomas Offeley, Sir Alexander Avenon Sir Rowland Heywarde, Sir Wylliam Allyn, Sir Leonell Duckett Sir John Ryvers and Sir James Hawys knightes and Master Recorder Master Mershe and Master Norton callynge unto them the Learned Cownsell of this Cytie, and suche others of the same Cytie, as unto them shalbe thoughte good and convenyent, shall Consyder of the valydytie of the Lettres patentes grauntyd by the quenes Maiestie unto Acerbo Velutelli concernynge the sole trade of Currantes and swete oyles, and whether the same graunte maye be by any wayes or meanes prejudiciall or hurtfull to the lybertyez and Charters, grauntyd to this Cytie or to the Comen traffyque of Marchaunttes as well englyshmen as Straingers.

Repert. 19, fo. 15, *et seq.*

(10 December, 1575.)

Artyclez for the
Commys syoners
lately appoynted
for the ex-
aminacion of the
lettres patentes
graunted unto
Acerbo velutelli/

To followe the sute for the repeale of the Lettres patent to Acerbo towching the sole trade of Currantes and sallad oyles are appoynted Sir Rowland Heyward Sir Leonell Duckett Master Recorder Master Marshe and Master Norton, they to ryde to the

Corte on Tuysdaye next, And then to solycite the case, and delyver notes to Cowncellors pryvatly and after to the bodye of the Cowncell/.

Repert. 19, fo. 20.

(5 June, 1576.)

Acerbo velutelli

yt was orderyd by this Corte, that Sir Thomas Offeleye, Sir Rouland Hayward, Sir Leonell Duckett and Sir John Ryvers knyghtes, Master Recorder Master Woodroffe and Master Barne, Aldermen, Master Marshe and Master Norton, shall repayre unto the lordes and others of the Quenes Maiesties most honorable pryvie Cowncell, to renewe their humble sute unto them, that the lettres patentes grauntyd by her Maiestie unto Acerbo velutelli merchaunt strainger may be repealyd and made voyde.

Repert. 19, fo. 84.

For further details of the City's attack on this monopoly, see Repert. 19, fos. 15b, 20.

(f) "SETTING THE POORE ON WORK."

(12 January, 1575/6.)

Orders to be
devysed to sette
roges on worke/

Item yt was orderyd by this Courte / That Sir Rowland Hayward and Sir John Ryvers knyghtes shall Joyne wyth my Lorde mayor and others by his Lordshippe Allreddye appoynted / for good orders by them to be devysed for the settinge of Roages & vagabundes on woorke / in some convenyent place wythin the same Cyttye/

Repert. 19, fo. 23.

(g) ROYAL LOAN TO HAYWARD.

Lones latelic made by hir maiestie owt of the Receipt of Theschequire aswell to diverse Noblemen of the Realme as to others hir maiesties subiectes. . . .

To Sir Rowlande Haywarde and others of the Citie of London the iiijth of maye 1578 to be repayed within one yere m^lm^lm^l li, wherof payed onely m^l li and yet remayneth m^lm^l li.

[Other creditors mentioned in this list are the Earl of Leicester, Sir Henry Lee, the Society of the Copper Mines, Sir James Crofte, Lord Stafforde, Edwarde Dyer.]

Endorsed March 15, 1579/80. Money dew uppon loones Domesticat.

P.R.O., S.P.Dom.Eliz., Vol. CXXXVI, no. 47.

(h) HAYWARD'S PARLIAMENTARY FEE.

(21 March, 1580/1.)

Allowaunces to
the knightes and
Citizens attend-
ing the
parliament

yt was orderyd that Master Chamberleyn of this Cyttye shall paye and allowe unto the knightes and Cyttyzens of thys Cyttye, for theyre attendaunce in the parlyament begone in the xiiijth yeare of her Maiesties reyn theyr due fees by lawe and usage of this Cyttye as followeth For the fee of the knightes, to eyther of them for everye daye of the severall Sessyons of the sayd parlyament whearein they attended iiij^s, and to eche of them xijd for theyre boothyre / And allso for the fees of the two Cytzyens for every daye ijs, to eche of them / and xijd apeece for theyr boatehyre, And to every of the sayd knightes and Cyttyzens, for everye sessyon one skarlet gowne or suche alloweaunce thearefore in money / as hathe byn used, viz. vi^{ll} xij^s iiij^d for every skarlett gowne provyded allwayes that no alloweaunce be made for lyverye for mo sessions then for one sessyon in one yeare.

Repert. 20, fo. 183.

(i) EXAMINATION OF A SEDITIOUS SAILOR.

(30 July, 1588.)

Foster com-
mitted prisoner

yt is orderyd that Gabriell Foster a Saylor who this daye spake veary lewd and seditious wordes upon the Exchange in the presence and hearynge of dyvers honeste Merchaunttes shalbe forthwith committed closse prisoner to the Compter in the Powltrye, and examined this afternone by Sir Rowland Hayward knight.

Repert. 21, fo. 579.

(j) COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER BILLS FOR PARLIAMENT.

(27 January, 1592/3.)

Bylles to be
preferred at the
nexte parlia-
mente

yt is ordred that Sir Rowlande haywarde, Sir John Harte knightes,¹ Master Recorder¹ and all the lerned Cowncell of this Cytie Master Buckell Master Billingsley² Master Offley Master Saltonstall³ Master Gurney Master Moseley and Master Barnham, Aldermen, shall Consyder what bylles are fytt to be preferred at this nexte parliamente for the good and benefytte of this Cytie.

Repert. 23, fo. 22b.

¹ M.P. 1592/3.

² M.P. 1585, 1604.

³ M.P. 1586.