Statue of John Carpenter.
(By G. Nixon)
In the City of London School.
MEMOIR
OF
THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
JOHN CARPENTER,
Town Clerk of London
IN THE REIGNS OF HENRY V. AND HENRY VI.
AND FOUNDER OF
THE CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL:
WITH
AN APPENDIX
OF DOCUMENTS, AND PARTICULARS OF BENEFACIONS
TO THE SCHOOL.

BY THOMAS BREWER,
SECRETARY OF THE SCHOOL.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

DAVID SALOMONS

LORD MAYOR,

A MUNIFICENT BENEFACCTOR TO THE CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL;

AND TO

WARREN STORMES HALE, Esq.,

THE ORIGINATOR OF THE SCHOOL, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE

COMMITTEE FOR MANAGING ITS AFFAIRS;

THIS MEMOIR

OF THE EMINENT CITIZEN

WHOSE BENEFACITION FORMED THE BASIS OF THE SCHOOL

AND ENTITLES HIM TO BE REGARDED AS ITS FOUNDER

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THEIR OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT

THOMAS BREWER.
PREFACE.

TWENTY years have elapsed since the author of the following pages, then a clerk in the Town Clerk's office, was induced, by the interest felt in the measures taken at that time for establishing the City of London School, to collect, for the information of the members of the Corporation of London, some particulars of the personal history of John Carpenter, whose benevolent bequest formed the basis on which the institution was founded.

Brief and imperfect as was the account then given, its production was attended with many difficulties and much laborious re-
search, partly from the object of inquiry being separated from our own times by the wide interval of four centuries, and partly from the peculiar character of the materials available for such a purpose.

This gratifying result, however, followed the publication, that it served to commemorate to a considerable extent the character and actions of one who deserves to be had in honourable and lasting remembrance, while it also created and kept alive a desire to collect, as subsequent opportunities might offer, such additional information as might serve to give a fuller view of his life and character, and furnish some illustration of the times in which he lived, and the associations by which he was surrounded.

Under the influence of this feeling, the author, by continuing his researches and investigations, has been fortunate enough to add very materially to the information previously acquired, and to possess himself of many
facts which contribute to a more complete development of Carpenter's history, and greatly enhance its interest and importance.

Amongst the most valuable acquisitions thus made may be mentioned a Will of John Carpenter, and another of his wife Katharine; both of them are now brought to light for the first time, and contain many highly interesting particulars not obtainable from any other source.

With the advantage of so greatly increased a store of information, it has been considered advisable that the biography should be entirely rewritten; therefore, although the facts set forth in the former account are of course restated, the work now produced is not merely a much enlarged but essentially a new one.

The production of this work has been undertaken in compliance with the directions of the Court of Common Council, by whom
the author was specially desired to prepare it, and cause it to be printed; and he now cheerfully submits the result of his labours to their notice, in the hope that they may derive gratification from the knowledge which it imparts of the personal qualities and good deeds of the individual, whose benefaction has led to the establishment of one of the most important and useful institutions under their care and management.

The success which has followed the establishment of the City of London School is probably unprecedented in the history of any similar institution. The good which it has already been the means of effecting is beyond calculation; and the principles on which it has been conducted have met with such cordial approval, that, by the generosity of various benefactors, many gifts and endowments have been bestowed upon it for the advantage of its pupils, which tend both to increase its usefulness and to elevate its rank amongst public schools.
By desire of the Committee of the School, who are anxious that a grateful record of such benefactions should be preserved, a detailed account of them is given in the Appendix, as a fit accompaniment to a narrative of the origin of the school.

In presenting to public notice this biography of one eminent citizen of London who is distinguished as a friend of education, advantage is taken of the opportunity to advert to the many other instances in which a like regard for education has been manifested by individuals whose names are enrolled amongst the citizens of this great metropolis. The number of grammar schools, in various parts of the country, which owe their foundation and endowment to the piety and liberality of citizens of London, many of whom sustained the high offices of alderman, sheriff, and lord mayor, far exceeds what might be supposed, approaching as it does nearly to a hundred. So striking a fact, which probably has no parallel in any other class of men,
redounds largely to the honour of the citizens; and, when viewed in connection with the many other charities which had a similar origin, seems to encourage a belief in the existence of some powerful influence peculiarly favourable to the exercise of philanthropy involved in the system of fraternity by which citizenship was formerly characterized. But however that may be, it is to be regretted that due honour has not ere this been done to the memory of such benefactors to their race by some collective account of them, and of their good deeds. It will be seen in the course of the following pages that the subject has occupied a portion of the attention of the writer, who has made some progress in an undertaking of the kind, and entertains hopes of being able to prosecute it still further.

April, 1856.
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MEMOIR.

MEN who have been distinguished from the mass of mankind by the possession of rare talents, the exercise of noble virtues, or the accomplishment of great deeds—especially if their career has had any appreciable influence upon the welfare of their fellow men—have in all ages been honoured by some attempt to preserve their memories from utter oblivion, to point out to their own or succeeding ages their peculiar merits, and to spread the knowledge of the benefits which they have been the means of conferring.

It seems to be a principle implanted by nature in man, to admire and to reverence any human being who earns an unquestionable title to be regarded as a benefactor to his race; and the feeling is one that is not only amiable as an expression of gratitude, but has a beneficial tendency in stimulating the mind to follow good examples.

Considerations such as these would be reasons sufficient for inviting attention to a notice of almost any one of the long list of distinguished worthies which
the history of our native land, or the more limited annals of this proud metropolis, could furnish for our contemplation. But the object of the following pages will be to present a memoir of the life and times of an individual whose history has hitherto been but very imperfectly known, though one act of his benevolence has preserved his name from oblivion for upwards of four centuries, and ensured a lasting remembrance and veneration, as the Founder of that great and flourishing educational establishment The City of London School.

John Carpenter, who is the person referred to, lived in an age which some are accustomed to regard as little better than those earlier times which are generally designated as the dark ages; though it would be more accurate to describe his time as the later portion of the mediæval age, the vigil, if we may so call it, of that brighter era which brought in the revival of learning, the reformation of religion, the cultivation of art and science, the spirit of enterprise which led to important geographical discoveries, and a long train of other glorious advantages which have been progressively developing themselves ever since.

The materials for his biography are unfortunately too scanty to allow us to speak with certainty upon every point in his history; but still, by persevering inquiry and patient investigation, the writer has been able to gather sufficient particulars to furnish (he
hopes) a tolerably correct idea of the leading incidents of his life, and the chief features of his character.

The exact year when Carpenter was born has not been discovered. Neither parochial registers, nor the more modern system of recording births, had come into vogue so early; nor is there any family pedigree or monumental inscription extant to assist us in the inquiry. From some facts, however, which are well ascertained, it may be inferred that he was born somewhere about the close of the long reign of Edward the Third, or the beginning of the disastrous career of his ill-fated successor Richard the Second, whose accession to the throne took place in the year 1377.

His father's name was Richard Carpenter, and his mother's Christina. The father, there seems reason to believe, was a citizen of London, engaged, like most citizens of his time, in some trade. The rolls of Parliament of the 5th Rich. II., 1381, contain a pardon, in which several persons of the name of Carpenter are mentioned as being excepted from its benefits, and amongst them one who is described as Richard Carpenter of Billiter lane, London. The city records also contain an entry of a recognizance entered into in 1410 before the mayor and aldermen, by two citizens, respecting the guardianship of an orphan, one

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a Parish registers were first established in England in 1535.
b Will of Katherine Carpenter: Appendix No. IV.
c Rot. Parl., vol. iii. p. 112.
d Liber I, fo. 97 b.
of the parties to which is John Norman, goldsmith, and the other Richard Carpenter, chaundeler. These two entries may possibly refer to one and the same person, and that person be the father of our John Carpenter, but of this there is no positive evidence; and yet it would appear rather a singular coincidence if there were no connection.

The parents of John Carpenter had other children besides him, both sons and daughters. One of them at least was senior to him; he bore the same name of John (for it was then not uncommon for two brothers to be named alike), and our John (if so we may call him) was distinguished by being described as John Carpenter junior, or the younger. Stow in more than one place calls him Jenken Carpenter, which the readers of Chaucer will know is the diminutive of John, as Simkin is of Simon.

The name of his other brother was Robert; and it seems probable that he was a brewer, for a Robert Carpenter was, in 1422, deputed by the company of Brewers, with another member of the same craft, to go with the mayor to Gravesend, to put in force an ordinance of parliament for the removal of weirs in the Thames. The father and mother were both buried in the church of St. Martin Outwich, in Bishops-

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* Will of Carpenter, &c.
* Surv. of London, pp. 244, 329.
* In the Wife of Bath's Prologue "our prentis Jankin" is spoken of.
* The Reeve's Tale.
* Herbert's Livery Companies, vol. i. p. 67.
gate street, and so also were some other members of the family.

The subject of the present biography appears to have been early destined for other pursuits in life than those of trade, and to have accordingly received what may be termed a learned education. From the nature of his benefaction we cannot but regard him as a person endowed with an enlightened appreciation of the advantages of sound instruction, and therefore it will be interesting briefly to notice what was probably his own early training.

It is well known that long before his time a public school was attached to every cathedral, and almost to every monastery; but besides these seminaries of learning, which were more or less designed to train persons for the service of the church, there were established in all the chief cities and towns of England considerable schools, in which the youth were instructed, not only in reading, writing, and grammar, but also in several other branches of literature, as rhetoric, logic, and theology. We are told by William Fitzstephen, who flourished in the reign of Henry the Second, and has left an exceedingly interesting account of the city in his time, that there were three of these eminent schools in London firmly established,

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k Wills of Carpenter and his wife: Appendix, II. and IV.
m Carlisle's Endowed Grammar Schools, preface, p. xix.
besides others that were occasionally opened by such masters as had obtained a high reputation for their learning.

"On festival days," he observes; "the masters assemble their pupils at those churches where the feast of the patron saint is solemnized, and there the scholars dispute, some in the demonstrative way, and others logically; some again recite enthymemes, while others use the more perfect syllogism. Some, to show their abilities, engage in such debate as is practised among persons contending for victory alone; others dispute upon a truth, which is the grace of perfection. The sophists, who argue upon feigned topics, are deemed clever according to their fluency of speech and command of language. Others endeavour to impose by false conclusions. Sometimes certain orators in their rhetorical harangues employ all the powers of persuasion, taking care to observe the precepts of the art, and to omit nothing apposite to the subject. The boys of the different schools wrangle with each other in verse.


o Fescennina carmina (derived from Fescennia, a town of Etruria,) were rude jesting dialogues in extempore verse, full of good-tempered raillery and coarse humour. From these verses others took their name, which were more licentious and scurrilous, and gave rise to an epithet for any coarse rude jesta.—Notes on Horace, by the Rev. A. J. Maclean, Ep. ii. 1, 145: "Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem," &c.
"and contend about the principles of grammar, or "the rules of the perfect and future tenses. There "are some who, in epigrams, rhymes, and verses, use "that trivial raillery so much practised amongst the "ancients, freely attacking their companions with "Fescennine licence", but suppressing the names, "discharging their scoffs and sarcasms against them, "touching with Socratic wit the failings of their "schoolfellows, or perhaps of greater personages, or "biting them more keenly with a Theonine tooth p. "The audience,

"Well disposed to laugh, 
With curling nose double the quivering peals q."

As the practice thus vividly described by Fitzstephen in the twelfth century continued to some extent down to the time when Stow wrote his Survey of London four centuries later r, there can be little doubt that it affords a correct insight into the nature of the school training which Carpenter was subjected to.

But there is another highly important feature in the education of his time, which should not go un-

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p This proverbial expression was derived from Theon, a poor freedman of Rome, in Horace's time; a man of malignant wit, who, provoking his master, was turned out of his house, with the present of a small coin, and told to go and buy a rope to hang himself.—Maclean's Notes on Horace, Ep. i. 18, 82: "Qui dente Theonino cum circumroditur," &c.

q The original of this last line is from one of the Satires of Persius: "Ingeminant tremulos naso crispane cachinnos."—Sat. iii. v. 87.

r Stow's Survey, 1603, p. 74.
noticed. In the time of Edward the Third, the children in grammar schools were not taught English at all. It was the policy of the first Norman kings, long continued by their successors, to get rid of the old English or Saxon language altogether, and to make the people familiar with the Norman-French, the language of the conquerors. The statutes of the realm were written in French; so were the decisions of the judges, and the commentaries on the laws in general. In the beginning of the reign of Edward the Third Holcot complains that children learned first the French, and from that the Latin language; and that there was no regular instruction of youth in English. So Higden, who died in 1362, in his Polychronicon, states that "children in schools, against the usage and manner of all other nations, be compelled for to leave their own language, and for to construe their lessons and their things in French; and so they have since the Normans came first into England. Also gentlemen's children be taught for to speak French from the time that they be rocked in their cradle." John de Trevisa, a writer of a later date, and the translator of Higden, says that John Cornewaile, a master of grammar, was the first to change the teaching in grammar schools by the substitution of English for

* Knight’s Life of Caxton, p. 11.
† Hallam’s Literature of Europe in the Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 64.
‡ Stat. 36 Edw. III., c. 16.
French. Mr. Hallam remarks that "the English was " seldom written, and hardly employed in prose till "after the middle of the fourteenth century;" the earliest English book being Sir John Maundeville's Travels, written in 1356. In 1362, an Act of Parliament passed, that all causes in the courts of law should in future be pleaded, discussed, and adjudged in English instead of French; and it appears that English soon superseded its competitor so completely that, by 1385, in all the grammar schools of England the teaching of French was left off, and English substituted in its stead.

Being designed for the profession of the law, it was a matter of necessity with Carpenter that he should be conversant not only with English and Latin, but with French also; and it is probable that his legal studies were pursued at one of the Inns of Court, which were then places of great resort for those who desired to obtain a competent acquaintance with the laws.

Either from his having adopted the profession of the law, which implied a certain amount of learning, or for the reasons applicable in other cases, where the title is employed to denote the possession of a superior degree of knowledge in general, we find him after-

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\(\gamma\) Stow's *Survey*, p. 78.
wards usually styled *clericus* (clerk), a term which, besides being used to designate ecclesiastical persons, was formerly employed also to signify in a general sense a learned man, or man of letters. Thus Chaucer, in the prologue to his Clerk's Tale, calls Petrarch "a worthy clerk." Berthelet, the printer of the *Confessio Amantis*, calls the author "that excellent clerk, "the moral John Gower." And Caxton, in speaking of an edition of the Æneid which he had published, says it was "made in Latin by that noble poet and "great clerk Virgil."

That Carpenter was a man of attainments superior to many of his contemporaries, of intellectual capacity, and of high moral worth, will be more and more evident as our narrative progresses. We shall find him amidst the busy scenes of active life still exhibiting a studious character, displaying a fondness for literature, cultivating association with learned men, and, by that endowment which has been the chief means of preserving his name from being entirely forgotten, providing for the continuous encouragement and spread of education. He seems therefore justly entitled to the distinction which has been alluded to, in the most honourable sense in which it was accustomed to be employed.

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*Encyclopaedia Britannica, seventh edit., vol. vi. p. 74.*


*Knight's Life of Caxton, p. 186.*
He seems to have first entered on public life in some capacity connected with the department of the Town Clerk of London. That officer has always been one of the highest functionaries attached to the corporation; but his duties in former times were far more decidedly of a legal character than they are now. Next to the Recorder he was the chief officer in the local courts of law, called the Hustings, and the Mayor’s Court, both of them tribunals of very extensive jurisdiction and practice in civil matters. All the process, pleadings, and records were under his superintendence and that of his subordinate officers. All suits were conducted by a limited number (generally not more than four) of sworn officers, latterly called the attorneys of the court, but in former times clerks of the outer court, or clerks to the Town Clerk. Some such appointment as this appears to have been held by Carpenter, who, in course of time, was elected by the mayor, aldermen, and commons to the superior office of Common Clerk or Town Clerk. His election took place at a common council held on the 20th of April, 1417, in the fifth year of King Henry the Fifth; and it is marked by circumstances which reflect the highest honour upon him for his good feeling. It appears that the former occupant of the office, under whom Carpenter had served, was obliged to retire through inability to continue the performance of his duties; but Carpenter generously proposed to sacrifice
part of the emolument of the office for the benefit of his predecessor during his life, and solicited from the common council the grant to the same individual of a free residence in the house which he was then occupying at the Guildhall.

"The same day," says the entry in the records of the city, "it was granted by the said mayor, aldermen, and common council, at the cordial and diligent instance of John Carpenter, that John Marchaunt, for the good and laudable service which hitherto and of long time in the office of common clerk of the said city he hath faithfully exercised and occupied, shall have and hold, for the term of his life, to him and his assigns, one mansion which he inhabiteth, situate above the middle gate of entrance to the Guildhall of the said city, between the tenement of Thomas Wotton on the east part and the cemetery of the church of St. Lawrence on the west part, without anything rendering for the same. And also at the instance and by the consent of the said John Carpenter it was then and there granted by the said mayor, aldermen, and common council, that the said John Marchaunt shall have and receive annually during his life, at the four principal terms in the year and usual in the city of London, of the commonalty of the aforesaid city, by

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*c Liber I, fo. 194 b.*
"the hands of the chamberlain for the time being, 
"ten pounds sterling pertaining to the office and the 
"ancient fee of the common clerk of the said city; 
"and that John Carpenter, his clerk, who then and 
"there into the same office was elected and admitted, 
"shall have and receive annually, of the commonalty 
"aforesaid, the rewards and robes, and the other fees, 
"commodities, and profits and emoluments whatso-
"ever to the office aforesaid belonging and pertain-
ing, together with the fee of ten pounds aforesaid, 
"which shall fall after the death of the said John 
"Marchaunt, &c. And it was granted by the same 
"John Carpenter, then and there, in full council 
"aforesaid, that he, during the life of the said John 
"Marchaunt, would not demand, or procure to be 
"demanded, any of the fee of ten pounds aforesaid 
"to the said office pertaining."

During the time Carpenter held the office of town clerk, or common clerk, he was also frequently called the secretary of the city. It is rather remarkable that this designation, though not inappropriate at any other period—for a large portion of the town clerk’s duties, apart from those which have been already alluded to, are strictly analogous to those of a secretary—has not been met with in the records of the city as being applied to any town clerk but Carpenter.

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d Liber K, fo. 165, 189; and Journal No. 3, fo. 64 b, 65.
The city records in the year following his accession to office contain a somewhat curious public document, which is subscribed with his name; and, being one of the very few entries of that period which are in English, is worthy of introduction here, not only as a specimen of composition which will admit of favourable comparison with other examples of English writing of the same date, but also because it furnishes a glimpse of the habits and character of the common people of that age. It is entitled a "Proclamation upon judgment of the Pillory," and was no doubt read or exhibited to the populace assembled to witness the punishment of the offender. It is in these words d.

"For as moche as Thomas of Forde of Caunterbury, sawyer, otherwyse called Thomas of Forde, sothevyer, that here stant, be a solempe enquest, afore the mair and aldermen taken, was endited, and aftur be another enquest atteint and convict, of hideous trespasses and disseites, that is to seye, that he now late cam to oon Jonet, that was ye wyfe of Javyn Cook of Estchepe, seing that he was a sothevyer, and trewely wolde telle her where CCul and more was become, with a litel cofre closed, be her housbond in his life was beried in the ground, if it so were that she wold paye as well for the sollel instrumentes that longen to his craft, as for his mete

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d Liber I, fo. 212.
"and drinke that he spended al ye mene while that
he were in this toun, and with that also that she
wolde ensure him to be wedded to him, which Jonet,
nat knowyng his falsnesse and disceit, paied at his
byddynge, for his instrumentes and mete and drinke,
xls. and more onward, and, innocently trystyng
to hes wordes and behest, behot [promised] hym
for to do all that he desired, with that condiçón
that he wolde performe and do as he hadde hight
and promised; the whiche Thomas, contynuyng his
falsnesse and disceit aboveseyd, wityng [knowing]
wel that he might ne cowde nat perfourme that he
had behight [promised], delaied her forth fro day
to day, til at the laste he knouliched his falsnesse,
and proferred hem amendes: and in the same wyse
he begiled and discyveyd an other woman, that
hight [is called] Naverne Mauncell, behetyng [pro-
mising] her for to gete a geyne half a gowne of
cloth of gold which was stolen out of here kepyng,
and made here to spende upon hym, upon trust
therof, xvij s. vjd. and more. For the which fals-
nesse and discyeotes, the mair and aldermen, willyng
that suche shall be war be hym in tyme comyng, hav
awarded, after ye costyme of this cite, that he, as
a fals lyere and discyver of ye comune peple, shal
stonde here upon ye pillorye thre market dayes,
ech day an hour, with a westen aboute hys necke,
in tokene of a lyere. "CARPENTER."
About three months from the date of Carpenter's election to office, Henry the Fifth—who, after the victory gained at Agincourt in 1415, returned to England, where he was received with the highest possible demonstration of enthusiasm, and remained two years—commenced his second invasion of France, setting sail on the 23d of July, 1417, and landing his forces on the 1st of August, at Beville.

During this campaign Henry sent repeated letters, setting forth his proceedings and successes, to the mayor and aldermen of London, many of the originals of which are still in existence, and also some of the answers to them, which no doubt proceeded from the pen of Carpenter as the city's secretary. Some of these documents are exceedingly interesting; and a biographer of Henry the Fifth (the late Rev. J. Endell Tyler), who has introduced a few of them into his work, laments that such indisputable records are not all published, or rendered accessible to every one who would wish to consult them.

Amongst them is one from the mayor and aldermen in reply to an appeal from the king, dated from his camp before Rouen, entreat sent him to send and send to any small vessels as they could, with victuals, and especially with drink, for the refreshing of him and his army. The king's letter was received on the 19th

August, 1418, and the city's answer, dated 8th September, was sent by two of their officers, with thirty butts of sweet wine, that is to say, ten of Tyre, ten of Romeny, ten of Malmesey; and a thousand pipes of ale, with two thousand five hundred cups for the host to drink out of; all which they besought the king, in terms of great flattery and profound loyalty, "be
"nigly to receive and accept, not having regard to
"the small value of the gift itself, which is simple,
"but to the good will and high desire that your poor
"givers thereof have to the good speed, worship,
"and welfare of your most sovereign and excellent
"person."

There can scarcely be a doubt that Carpenter, whose services in the city are spoken of in a document which will be hereafter quoted as dating "from the time of his youth," had, previously to his election as Town Clerk, accustomed himself to habits of investigation into the constitution and government of the city, and acquired a familiarity with the laws and customs which regulated the administration of its affairs. It is exceedingly probable that his reputation in this respect may have had much to do with his being selected to fill the important office just mentioned. This will sufficiently explain, what it would otherwise be difficult to account for, that within two or

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three years after his election he was able, notwithstanding his many important avocations, to write a large volume on matters relating to the city, which displays much research and knowledge of the subjects on which it treats, and has always been regarded as a book of great value and authority. It is still preserved in the archives of the corporation, together with a transcript or duplicate copy of it made by Robert Smith, Comptroller of the Chamber in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The volume, which is in Latin, purports to be a collection of the laws, customs, privileges, and usages of the city, principally extracted from the rolls, charters, and documents of authority which were then in possession of the corporation. The contents of the several treatises and collections, regarding the city's rights, are, at the end of the compilation, digested by way of calendar, and an index is given to the pages of the volumes from which these contents are extracted.

The volume was at first called Liber Albus (or the White Book), but that name is now generally applied to the transcript, and the original designated as Liber Niger (or the Black Book). This change in the name

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8 For making the copy of the book abovementioned Smith was rewarded by the Court of Aldermen, on the 25th October, 1592, with the sum of thirty pounds.—Repertory No. 20, fo. 370 b. He was the founder of a grammar school at his native place, Market Harborough, in Leicestershire, of which he appointed the lord mayor and aldermen patrons.
was most likely not adopted until after the copy of the book had been made; and it is not improbable that both the change and the copy owed their origin to the following lines, written by some person, evidently prior to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, on the first leaf:

"Qui Liber Albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo,
Factus et est unctis pollicibusque niger;
Dum tamen est extans, istum describite librum,
Ne semel amisso postea nullus erit:
Quod si nullus erit (nonnulla est nostraque culpa),
Hei! pretii summi perdita gemma, Valeh!"

The motives which led to the compilation being made, and the end that it was designed to answer, are explained with much force and clearness in a short preface or introduction, a translation of which is here introduced, as tending to throw some light upon the character and pursuits of its author, whose unostentatious disposition would not allow him to record to whom the merit of the compilation was due, in any other way than by modestly inscribing his name "Carpenter," on the inner side of the first leaf, in much the same way that persons are now in the habit

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These lines have been rendered into English verse by the compiler's friend Mr. Josiah Temple, of Guildhall, as follows:

This book, which once was white, has black become,
Mark'd through and through by many a greasy thumb;
Copy its leaves while yet you have the power,
Which may be lost if left beyond this hour:
For if through fault of ours the book be lost,
Farewell! a gem is gone of greatest cost!
of inscribing their name in books, to denote to whom they belong:—

"Because the fallibility of human memory, and the shortness of life, do not allow us to attain a proper knowledge of everything worthy of remembrance, even where we possess the written evidence of facts, especially if this appear without order or regularity, yet is this still more the case with regard to those things whereof no written account exists; and when, as not unfrequently it happens, all the aged, the more skilful and discreet rulers of the Royal City of London are carried off by pestilence, almost we may say at once, the younger persons who succeed them in the government of the city are often-times, in various instances, surrounded with difficulties, from the very want of such a writing: and thus perplexity and controversy are many times caused amongst them in rendering their judgments. It has been therefore long deemed necessary, not by the governors of the city only, but by those also who are subject to their rule, that some volume,

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1 Carpenter is not the only officer of the city who has left such a memorial of his industry and research. There are in the archives of the corporation two other manuscript volumes of great value and antiquity, one of which, called "Liber Horn," was compiled by Andrew Horn, Chamberlain of London, in the year 1311, in the reign of Edward the Second, and purports to contain "all the statutes, ordinances, charters, liberties, and customs of the city, and orders of the Justices Itinerant at the Tower of London and at their iters, together with the charter of the Liberties of England, and the statutes made by Henry
"which, from its containing the regulations of the
"city, might be designated a Repertory, should be
"compiled from the remarkable notices and memo-
randa scattered without order or distinction through
"the several books, rolls, and charters of the said
"city; and because such a design—for what cause
"it is not known, without it be from the excessive
"labour it must demand,—has not been hitherto car-
"ried into effect, a volume of such a description is
"now compiled in the mayoralty of the illustrious
"Richard Whityngton, mayor of the said city, that
"is to say, in the month of November, in the year of
"our Lord's incarnation One thousand four hundred
"and nineteen, and in the seventh year of the reign
"of King Henry the Fifth after the conquest; con-
taining in itself not only those laudable obser-
vances which, albeit they are not written, have yet
"been accustomed and approved in the said city,
"that they may not hereafter be destroyed and lost
"in oblivion, as likewise such things, worthy of note
"and remembrance, as are written, but scattered

the Third and Edward the First." This is an exceedingly curious
volume; and its value as a register of some of the early statutes
(authentic copies of which are in many cases very scarce) is particu-
larly noticed in the edition of the Statutes of the Realm printed under
the authority of the Commissioners for Public Records (folio, 1810,
vol. i., Introduction, pp. xxxviii. xxxix.). Horn was also the compiler
of the well-known treatise on the ancient common law of the realm,
entitled The Mirror of Justices (Crabb's History of English Law, p. 214).
The other manuscript volume above alluded to is styled "Liber Dun-
"about, and without order, in the manner before de-
scribed; that, by their being known, as well the rulers
of the city as the ruled may know with greater se-
curity what henceforth should be done in rare and
unusual cases."

It is no slight testimony to the character and dis-
position of Carpenter to find that his services were
frequently besought in the capacity of an executor to
the wills of persons who left behind them property
which they desired to have applied to beneficent pur-
poses, and that he evinced a ready willingness to lend
himself to the accomplishment of their views. It
shows on their part the great trust and confidence
which they had in him, and the reliance they placed
on his discretion, as well as his fidelity; while on his
part it exhibits a readiness to serve his friends, and to
be instrumental in promoting works of piety and cha-
rity, which indicates a mind of decidedly social ten-
dencies and benevolent susceptibilities.

The writer has been able to trace four instances in
which he undertook duties of this kind, and no doubt
there were many others which have escaped discovery.
The first of these is in the case of John Marchaunt,
his predecessor as Town Clerk, whose death happened

"thorn," and was written by William Dunthorn, Town Clerk, between
the years 1461 and 1490. In its contents it is similar to Liber Albus.
The city rewarded Dunthorn, for his labour in making it, with the
considerable sum of 115l. 3s. 3d. (Journal No. 8, fo. 91.)
in 1421\(^k\), about four years after his retirement from office. The next instance is an appointment, in the same year, as executor of two wills of William Est, a citizen of London\(^l\), who left a reversionary bequest of his property for pious uses, which are thus enumerated; namely, in releasing poor prisoners confined for debt; in marrying poor girls of good fame and honest conversation, not having any marriage portion of themselves; in mending the ways about the city of London; and in other works of charity as might best seem to please God, and save the testator’s soul, and the souls of his father and mother, and all the faithful deceased.

The third and most important instance is that of the celebrated Sir Richard Whityngton, the far-famed hero of the well-known civic romance, whose honours were not confined to being, as Bow bells had predicted, “thrice lord mayor of London,” for he held that high office four times\(^m\), and is otherwise distinguished in civic history.

Whityngton’s will is dated the 5th of September, 1421, and was proved and enrolled in the court of Hustings in London, in 1423\(^n\). By it he left all his lands and tenements in London, which were very

\(^k\) Rolls of Deeds and Wills, No. 150, memb. 9.
\(^l\) Ibid., memb. 4 dors., and memb. 7.
\(^m\) In 1397 (part of the year), 1398, 1407, and 1420.
\(^n\) Rolls of Deeds and Wills, No. 151, memb. 9 dors.
considerable, to his executors, with directions, after attending to certain specific objects, to apply the residue of his property in works of charity for his soul, as they would wish him to do for their souls in a similar case. The other executors besides Carpenter were John Coventre, alderman, John White, clerk, and William Grove. Coventre was an ancestor of the present Earl of Coventry; he was sheriff of the city in 1417, and lord mayor in 1425. He died on Easter Monday, 13th April, 1429, and was buried in the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, where a monument was erected to his memory. White died in or about the month of January, 1424.

The fourth instance of Carpenter's executorship which has been discovered is in the case of a will of a person named Hugh Kynder, citizen and Tailor, at a much later period, the will being proved by him in 1441.

The large discretionary powers which testators in those times were accustomed to vest in their executors, of which the above-quoted wills of William Est and Sir Richard Whityngton are instances, must have frequently been productive of a considerable amount of labour and responsibility; we may reasonably sup-

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* Liber K, fo. 71.  
* Stow's Survey, 1603, p. 259.  
* Rolls of Deeds and Wills, No. 152, memb. 13, and No. 153, memb. 9, compared.  
* Ibid., No. 170, memb. 1 dors.
pose that faithfully to carry into effect such a will as that of Whitington would claim from a conscientious man a large portion of his attention, and the numerous notices which are to be found of charitable and public acts done in Whitington's name, though performed by his executors, fully bear out the supposition.

In fulfilment of the trust reposed in them, Carpenter and his colleagues, after procuring the necessary licences from the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, completed the foundation, which Whitington had begun in his lifetime, of a college in the church of St. Michael Royal, for five chaplains, one of whom was to be the master; and an alms-house adjoining to the church for thirteen poor men, of whom one was to be called tutor. On these establishments they settled an ample endowment, and, after making ordinances and statutes for their regulation, they twice procured a confirmation from the king and the parliament.

Malcolm, quoting Strype, says, "There are extant in the custody of the Mercers the original ordinances of Richard Whittington's charity, made by his executors Coventry, Carpenter, and Grove, fairly written; where, on the first page, is curiously illumined the said Whittington lying on his death

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1 These charters and ordinances, dated in the 3d, 5th, and 10th of Henry VI., are printed in the Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. iii. part 2, pp. 177, 178, 189, and Addit. 99. See also Rot. Parl. vol. iv. p. 392.
"bed, a very lean, consumed, meagre body, and his "three executors and a priest, and divers others "standing by his bed side." Malcolm adds, "the "other figures mentioned by Strype are a physician "holding an urinal, and a groupe of thirteen figures, "the front one of which is doubtless Robert Chester-"ton the first tutor of the alms-house (his hair is "distinguished from the rest, being grey), and his "twelve alms-men attending him. The head-piece of "the ordinances, which Strype says is curiously illu-
"mined, is really a drawing with a fine-pointed pen; "the ink by time is changed to a brown, and the "faces and hands are tinted with red, heightened with "white, and the hair with brown; the emaciated figure "of Whittington is tinted with a sallow pale brown. "The names of Carpenter, Coventry, and Grove are "written on the figures intended for them x."

The ordinances themselves, which there is reason to believe were drawn up by Carpenter, who seems to have been on all occasions the most diligent, as he was probably also the best informed of the executors, are very curious and interesting; and, as the intro-
ductive portion of them shows the illumination just mentioned to be the representation of something like an actual scene, besides setting forth the motives for

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x The annexed engraving of this illumination has been copied from the original by the kind permission of H. E. Barnes, esq., of Mercers' Hall.
the foundation of the charity, a quotation from the opening part is here introduced, as follows:

"To alle the trewe people of Cryste that shalle se or here the things which be conteyned within these present letters, John Coventre, Jenkin Carpentre, and William Grove, &c., executors of the testament of the worthy and notable merchaunt Richard Whittington, late citezin and Mercer of the cite of London, and oftentimes meyer of the same cite, sending gretyng in our Lord God everlastynge.

"The fervent desire and besy intention of a prudent, wyse, and devout man shall be to caste before, and make secure the state and the ende of the shorte liffe, with dedys of mercy and pite; and namely to provyde for such poure persons which grievous penure and cruel fortune have oppressed, and be not of power to gete their lyving either by craft or any other bodily labour: whereby, that at the daie of the last judgement he may take his part with them that shal be saved. This considering, the foresayde worthy and notable merchaunt Richard Whittington, the which while he leved had ryght liberal and large hands to the needy and poure people, charged streitly on his death bed us his foresayde executors to ordeyne a house of almes, after his death, for perpetual sustentation of such poure people as is tofore rehearsed, and thereupon fully he declared his will unto us."
They then go on to relate their manner of fulfilling his injunction, and to lay down regulations to be thereafter observed.

On the 12th of May, 1423, Whityngton’s executors obtained letters patent from the king, authorizing them, in fulfilment of the will of Whityngton, to pull down and rebuild the city gate called Newgate, and the gaol there. The grounds on which this measure was rendered necessary are stated to have been, that the prison was “feble” (or decayed), “over litel, and “so contagious of eyre that it caused the deth of many “men.” Besides executing this public and expensive work, they erected several bosses in various parts of the city for supplying spring water; repaired the hospital of Saint Bartholomew in West Smithfield, and contributed largely to the building and furnishing with books the library at the convent of the Grey Friars, and also to the completing of the present Guildhall; and, adjoining to the chapel attached to the last-mentioned building, they, in conjunction with the executors of William Bury, erected “a fayre and “large liberarye” for preserving the books and other documents of the corporation in.

They likewise

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* Rotuli Patentium 1 Hen. VI., m. 31; and Liber K, fo. 13.


b Stow’s Survey, ed. 1603, pp. 210, 303, 364, 376, 320, 273, 277. Stow, speaking of this library, says, “The books were in the reign
obtained a charter from the king, dated the 14th of February, 3d of Hen. VI., 1425\textsuperscript{c}, confirming a grant of Richard the Second, whereby the Mercers of London (of which mistery Whityngton was a member) were created a brotherhood, with a chaplain and four keepers, for the relief of such of their mistery as should come to decay from misfortunes of the sea and other casualties; and granting that thenceforth the keepers and commonalty of the said mistery should have a common seal, and be able in law to plead and be impleaded. The effect of this charter was to make the mistery (what it had not previously been) a corporate body, with perpetual succession and other legal incidents. Perhaps as a consequence of this valuable boon Carpenter was solicited to become a member of the new corporation, for we find him afterwards occasionally described as citizen and Mercer.

In 1430, Carpenter obtained a licence from the king, dated 12th of January, to found a chantry for one chaplain, in the chapel of the Virgin Mary over the charnel on the north side of the church of Saint Paul, with an endowment of eight marks ayear\textsuperscript{d}; which he accordingly founded by an ordinance dated

\begin{itemize}
\item "of Edward the 6. sent for by Edward Duke of Somerset, Lorde Protector, with promise to be restored shortly. Men laded from thence three carres with them, but they were never returned." – Survey, p. 276.
\item \textit{Rot. Pat.} 3 Hen. VI. p. 2, m. 18; and \textit{Liber K}, fo. 175b.
\item \textit{Rot. Pat.} 8 Hen. VI. m. 21; and \textit{Liber K}, fo. 78b.
\end{itemize}
on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14th September) following. In this ordinance he expressly declares the endowment to be made with certain goods of Richard Whityngton and others entrusted to his administration.

It was probably about the same time that he "caus’d," as Stow relates, "with great expenses, to bee curiously painted upon boord about the north cloyster of Paules, a monument of Death leading all estates, with the speeches of Death, and answere of everie state." Concerning which painting a more particular account is given by the same author, in another place, as follows: "There was also one great cloyster on the north side of this church [St. Paul’s], inviroring a plot of ground, of old time called Parndon churchyard, whereof Thomas More, deane of Paul’s, was either the first builder or a most especial benefactor, and was buried there. About this cloyster was artificially and richly painted the Dance of

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* Stow’s *Survey*, p. 110.
* Stow’s *Survey*, p. 329.

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* This designation has generally understood to have been derived from the name of Machabre, or Macabre, who is said to have been a German poet and physician, and to have been the original author of the verses that have usually accompanied the painting of the Dance of Death (vide Pennant’s *London*, vol. ii. p. 135; Brayley’s *Londoniana*, vol. iii. p. 171); but the late Francis Douce, esq., F.S.A., in a very learned work entitled "The Dance of Death, exhibited in elegant engravings on wood; with a Dissertation on the several representations of that subject, but more particularly of those ascribed to Ma-
"Machabray," or Dance of Death, commonly called "the Dance of Paul's; the like whereof was painted "about St. Innocent's cloyster at Paris, in France. "The meters or poesie of this dance were translated "out of French into English by John Lidgate, monke "of Bury; the picture of Death leading all estates; "at the dispence of Jenken Carpenter, in the reign "of Henry the Sixt." He adds that "in this cloyster "were buryed many persons, some of worship and "others of honour; the monuments of whom, in num-"ber and curious workmanship, passed all other that "were in that church." After giving some further particulars respecting a library and chapel which oc-
cupied part of the same site, he concludes by stating that "in the year 1549, on the 10th of April, the "said chappell, by commandement of the Duke of "Sommerset, was begun to bee pulled downe, with "the whole cloystrie, the Daunce of Death, the tombes "and monuments, so that nothing thereof was left

caber and Hans Holbein" (1833, 8vo), takes great pains to prove this to be an error, and maintains that "there never was a German or any "poet whatever bearing such a name as Macaber." His opinion is that "Macaber" is a corruption of "Macaire" (the French mode of spelling Macarius), the name of a saint who was one of the principal figures in a painting by Andrew Orgagna, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, representing the story of a French metrical work of the thirteenth century, entitled Les trois Morts et les trois Vifs. He also states, chap. iii. p. 28–34, that "the earliest authority that has been traced for the "name of Danse Macabre belongs to the painting at the church of "the Innocents at Paris," A.D. 1424; and that that painting has pre-
fixed to it the story of Les trois Morts et les trois Vifs.
"but the bare plot of ground, which is since converted into a garden for the pettie canons.""

Stow says that the bones of the dead which had been "couched up in a charnell under the chapel were conveyed from thence into Finsbery field (by report of him who paid for the carriage), amounting to more than a thousand cart loads, and there laid on a moorish ground, in short space after raised by soylage of the citie to beare three milles." "This indecorous disinterment and removal of the dead" (says Mr. Brayley), "was the occasion of exciting much odium against the Protector Somerset; and his great enemy, the Earl of Warwick, made it one of the means of accelerating his ruin."

Although Stow only mentions one place besides Saint Paul's where a painted representation of the Dance of Death was exhibited, it appears from Mr. Douce's Dissertation that "the subject was very often represented, not only on the walls, but in the windows of many churches, in the cloisters of monasteries, and even on bridges, especially in Germany and Switzerland; it was also sometimes painted on church screens, and occasionally sculptured on them, as well as upon the fronts of domestic dwellings."

1 This spoliation was made by the Protector Somerset, in order to obtain materials for building his palace in the Strand.—Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 73.  
3 Chap. ii. p. 17.
Previously to its becoming a subject of pictorial art, we learn from Warton's History of English Poetry\textsuperscript{m} that it used to be represented in a kind of spiritual masquerade by ecclesiastics, habited in person and character; and as thus acted it is supposed that it may have been alluded to in the Visions of Pierce Plowman, written perhaps as early as 1350.

The most celebrated of the paintings of the Death Dance (and which was in existence until about the year 1806) was that at Basil in Switzerland, in the churchyard formerly belonging to the convent of Dominicans. The name of the artist who executed this painting is unknown; it was for a long period attributed to Hans Holbein, but Walpole, in his Anecdotes of Painting, has clearly shown this to be an error, it having been executed some years before Holbein was born; it, however, probably suggested to that artist, who was a native of the place, the painting on that subject which he did execute, though it seems doubtful whether that which has been repeatedly engraved and published as his was really his production.

The immediate cause of this representation at Basil is stated by Walpole\textsuperscript{o} to have arisen from the plague which raged there, and carried off people of all de-

\textsuperscript{m} A mutilated carving of it in wood still exists in the cemetery of Saint Maclou at Rouen.

\textsuperscript{n} Vol. ii. pp. 43 and 364, 8vo edition.

\textsuperscript{o} Anecdotes of Painting, vol. i. p. 123.
grees, during the sitting of the General Council at Basil, which began to meet in 1431. On the cessation of that calamity, the painting was executed on the walls of a cloister, and is said to have been intended both as a memorial and a warning.p. And, on the supposition that the date of the painting at St. Paul’s was subsequent to the year 1438, in which year the pestilence extended its ravages into this country, with the addition of a famine, it is not improbable that, in having this appalling dance poured into the new cloisters at St. Paul’s, Carpenter was actuated by the same motives that are ascribed to the inhabitants of Basil, and that it was intended both as a memorial and a moral lesson.

In the latter character reference is made by Sir Thomas More, in treating of the remembrance of death, to “the Dance of Death pictured in Poules q;” and a writer of our own day, in a tale founded on events which occurred in the age in which this celebrated picture was set up, has ingeniously introduced the subject in the same spirit. Two friends are represented as viewing the buildings about the ancient cathedral church of St. Paul, and especially the cloisters round the burial place called Pardon Church-

p Mr. Douce states that nearly all the convents of the Dominicans had a Dance of Death; and remarks that, as these friars were Preachers by profession, the subject must have been exceedingly useful in supplying texts and matter for their sermons.—Dissertation, p. 36.
haw, when one addresses the other in the following moralizing strain:

"Look round these cloisters, and behold how choice they are embellished with the Dance of Death. Truly this is a meet representation for a burial-place. See you there how the grim spectre assaieth the gay gallant, who thought himself right well defended by a flask of sack from all calamity. Then behold the glutton, who in vain prayeth that the fearful dart shall be stayed from him while that he finisheth his peacock pye. The fair dame, before her polished mirror of purest metal, on which no spot of rust might in any case be endured, for it would hide so much of her comely flesh, falleth in her youth; while the grim great-grandmother in eighty years hath not acquired cunning sufficient to elude his swift pursuit. The beggar cannot crouch so low but he is found out. And further on, mark you the king with crown on head, sceptre in hand, and sword by side; he cannot, with all his armies at his back, make such show of stomach as shall scare the destroyer from advancing."

This far-famed painting consisted of a long train of all orders of mankind, from the pope to the very lowest of the species, each figure having for a partner the spectral personification of death, who was repre-

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9 More’s works, edit. 1557, folio, p. 77.

sented leading the sepulchral dance, and shaking the last sands from his waning hourglass. The colloquial stanzas between Death and his victims, which existed both in German and Latin, were translated into French; and it was from the latter language that Lidgate made his English versification for the picture about St. Paul's, which verses are to be found in Dugdale's history of that church, as well as in his *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

It may be here remarked that this picture, and the accompanying verses by Lidgate, exhibit Carpenter somewhat in the character of an encourager of two of the fine arts, painting and poetry, and seem to point to a personal acquaintance with Lidgate, the monk of Bury, one of the most versatile writers of his age.

We have seen how sedulously Carpenter laboured faithfully to fulfil the trusts of those who made him the administrator of their benefactions. We may perceive also, from the fact now about to be mentioned, that he endeavoured, with equally laudable anxiety, to prevent the abuse of a trust by others, and to restore the proper application of a bequest which had been left for charitable purposes, but had been per-

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* Brayley's *Londiniana*, vol. iii. pp. 173–4; “The Dance of Death *“* from the original designs of Hans Holbein, engraved by W. Hollar, “*“* with descriptions in English and French,” 1818, pp. 14, 15; and Douce's *Dissertation on the Dance of Death*, 1833, *passim*. M. Langlois of Rouen it is believed has also published a work on the same subject.

* Edit. 1818, p. 419.
verted, by those who were entrusted to dispense it, to sinister uses.

The rolls of the parliament held in the 9th of Henry VI., 1430 x, contain a petition from Carpenter, complaining of the nonpayment of a sum of four marks per annum, which had been devised for the relief of the prisoners in Newgate, by Sir John Pulteney, knight, formerly mayor of London, to be paid by the master and priests of the chapel of Corpus Christi beside the church of St. Lawrence in Candlewick street, out of lands left to them, but which they refused to pay, as no power was given by the will to distress for the same. Carpenter therefore prayed a remedy, by the grant of a power to distress upon the lands charged with the payment thereof. The petition was complied with, and he procured letters patent from the king, dated 12th of January, 1431, authorizing the mayor and chamberlain of the city for the time being to distress for the amount whenever it should be in arrear y.

This praiseworthy proceeding affords a happy illustration to a remark of the quaint Dr. Fuller, who, in his History of Cambridge, says, "I conceive this is " the best benefaction: to recover the diverted donations of former benefactors; partly because it keeps "eth the dead from being wronged, restoring their


y Rotuli Patentiurn 9 Hen. VI. pt. 1, m. 14; and Liber K, fo. 86.
"gifts according to their true intention; partly be-
cause it keepeth the living from doing wrong, and
continuing their unjust detentions.""

On the 23d of February, 1431, the city granted to
Carpenter and his wife Katherine (and by this we
learn the fact of his being a married man) a lease of
some premises in the parish of St. Peter, Cornhill, in
the ward of Lime-street, for a term of eighty years,
on condition of annually rendering for the same a red
rose (unam rosam rubeam) a, for the first thirty years,
and a yearly rent of twenty shillings for the remainder
of the term b. The document describes the premises
in question as adjoining on one side the garden of
Lord De la Zouch, whose house, we learn from Stow c,
abutted on the high street, then called Cornhill street,
but now Leadenhall street. As it is clear that Carpen-
ter resided in these premises (for he mentions the fact
in his will), it is worth recording that the spot now
forms part of the market at Leadenhall.

The terms on which Carpenter obtained this grant
appear singularly favourable, and perhaps may have
been designed as some acknowledgement of his past
services to the city (for he had at that time been Town
Clerk about fourteen years), or at least may be re-

a Fuller's History of Cambridge, p. 72.
b The red rose was the distinguishing badge of the Lancaster family,
of which Henry the Sixth, then king, was a member.
c Liber K, fo. 86 b.

garded as a mark of the estimation in which they were held. This view is somewhat confirmed by another grant of a different kind, made some years later.

On the 14th of December, 1436, the city, in order to show their sense of the value of the services he had rendered them, and that he might thereafter enjoy the greater quiet and tranquillity, granted him a patent of exemption, under their common seal, from all summonses, watches, assizes, juries, recognizances, inquisitions, and assemblies whatsoever, within the city, and from being compellable against his will to take any other burthen or office than that which he then sustained. This privilege, which must have been a very important one in those days, was possessed by but very few persons, and was never conferred on any one but under some special circumstances, such as the rendering of important public services, and not unfrequently in return for the payment of a considerable sum of money.

The terms of this grant would appear to indicate that Carpenter at this time began to entertain a wish to be relieved from the burthen of some of the public duties to which he was liable, and to prepare for retirement into private life; but it shows the high place which he occupied in the esteem of his fellow-citizens, as well as the generous character of his own feelings,

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4 Liber K, fo. 165.
that, notwithstanding this privilege of exemption, he in the same year was elected one of the representatives of the city in a parliament summoned in the first instance to meet at Cambridge, but subsequently determined to be held at Westminster. The election for the city was made in an assembly of the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty, and is recorded in these words:

"Tuesday the 20th day of November, in the fifteenth year of Henry the Sixth (1436).

"This day Henry Frowyk and Thomas Catworth, aldermen, were elected for the Parliament, by the said mayor and aldermen; and John Carpenter, junior, and Nicholas Yoo, draper, were elected for the Parliament by the commonalty e."

One of the chief reasons for holding this parliament, which met on 21st January, 1437, was to obtain money to carry on the war in which the country was involved with France; and accordingly, amongst other measures, a grant was procured of a tenth and a fifteenth, to be levied on the property of the laity, and to be payable, the one half within the ensuing year, and the other half in the year following f.

Upon a grant of this sort being made in parliament, the representatives of each particular county, city, and borough were, in the estimation of the law,
looked upon as having made it so far as regarded their respective localities, and were required to nominate the collectors, and return their names to the Chancellory; upon which letters patent, appointing the persons so named, and requiring them to account for their collections to the Exchequer, were issued by the crown. The nomination made by Carpenter and his colleagues, of the collectors of the tax imposed as above mentioned, is, in accordance with his characteristic love of order and preciseness, entered on the city's records in the form of a Latin document, of which the following is a translation:

"The present indenture witnesseth that Henry Frowyk and Thomas Catteworth, aldermen, John Carpenter, junior, and Nicholas Yoo, commoners, the four citizens elected for the city of London to be in the parliament of our lord the king, held at Westminster on the 21st day of January in the fifteenth year of his reign, have nominated the four persons underwritten, to levy, collect, and receive the tenth granted to our lord the king in the same parliament, by the men of the city aforesaid; viz.

" Thomas Bernewell and Aldermen.
" John Atheile,
" William Deer, pewterer, Commoners."

John Wotton, draper, Commoners."
The important position which Carpenter occupied at this time is also evident by a curious and interesting fact connected with the corporate history of the city of Norwich.

In the year 1437, in consequence of various contests between the citizens of Norwich and the authorities of several ecclesiastical establishments there and in the neighbourhood, in which the citizens rendered themselves liable to the displeasure of the crown, their liberties were seized into the king’s hands, who, displacing the mayor and other functionaries, appointed as custos or warden of the city, John Welles, an alderman of London, who had been lord mayor in 1431. Welles, although armed with arbitrary power, seems to have used his authority with great discretion, and in a conciliatory spirit; and, after holding the office about a year, he promoted an application to the crown for a restoration of the liberties. Amongst the means employed for this purpose was the obtaining the counsel and aid of John Carpenter, to whom a joint application was made by Welles and the citizens of Norwich, to request his intercession with the king’s council. The pressing necessities of the king occasioned by the continued war in France, and the offers of voluntary aid on the part of the citizens, operated in furtherance of the desired object; and when, through the interference of Carpenter, the matter was brought under the notice of the privy council (although a
disposition was shown by the king's advisers to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity of making heavy exactions from the citizens), it was agreed that the terms of submission should be prescribed and settled by the archbishop of York and Carpenter; and the result was that, in 1439, the citizens of Norwich had their liberties and franchises fully restored to them.

Some time about this period Carpenter resigned his office of Town Clerk, which he had held upwards of twenty-one years. It is somewhat singular that no entry is to be found in the city's records of his resignation, as in the case of his predecessor, though there is one of the appointment of his successor, a Richard Barnet, or Bernat, on the 4th of October, 1438.

In the following year the king issued a writ, dated 26th September, 1439, convening another parliament; and on this occasion Carpenter was again selected to represent the city, in conjunction with Sir William Estfeld, knight, and Robert Clopton, aldermen, and Galfrid Feldyng, commoner. In the record of this

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1 John Kemp, who had been successively bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and London. He was at this time lord treasurer, and afterwards became a cardinal, lord chancellor, and archbishop of Canterbury. He died in 1454.—Heylin's *Help to English History*; Turner's *History of England*, vol. iii. pp. 164, 169, 178.


1 *Journal No. 3*, fo. 164.
election he is described as "late common clerk of the " city." He was the only one of the four who had been sent to the preceding parliament; and as it was the general practice at that time to choose men who had not served the city in that capacity before, his selection a second time may be regarded as a strong testimony of the estimation in which his fellow-citizens held his services.

This parliament assembled at Westminster on the 12th November, and continued its sittings there until the 21st December, when it was prorogued until the 14th of January, and ordered to meet at Reading.

In connection with this parliament the records of the city contain two or three very curious entries, which are well deserving of notice. One of them, which is dated the day preceding the meeting at Westminster, is to the following effect; viz., "Wednesday the 11th day of November [18 Hen.VI., 1439, the mayor and thirteen aldermen being present]. This day very many of the more notable citizens of the city were appointed to consider of those things which might seem advantageous for the city and the kingdom, and to intimate them to Sir William Estfeld, knight, and his fellows elected for the parliament now coming." That a written communication of the kind alluded to was made in consequence

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m Journal No. 3, fo. 25 b. This election is not mentioned in the list of representatives in Maitland's History of London, vol. ii. p. 1197.
to the city members is apparent by an entry, of a date subsequent to the adjournment to Reading, in these words: "Thursday, 25th day of February [1440]. Let a letter be written to Sir William Estfield to parliament." And afterwards there is another brief but significant entry that, "This day was declared the report of the knights who were at the parliament; viz., Estfeld, Clopton, Carpenter, and Feldyng." These particulars clearly present to view the fact that the doctrines which have sometimes been put forth in modern times, with regard to the relative positions of a representative and his constituents, may derive some support from the precedents of a former age. For, in the instance before us, it appears that the representatives of the city were instructed as to the views and opinions of their constituents, upon matters of both local and general importance, and that they afterwards rendered an account of their proceedings, for the satisfaction of those whom they represented.

It appears now to have become a settled desire with Carpenter to retire from public life altogether, for we find that, in 1439, the year of his last election to parliament, he obtained letters patent from the king, dated 3d of December, 18th of Henry VI., exempting him for the whole of his life from all military and

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p Journal No. 3, fo. 29. o Ibid, fo. 35 b.

p Ibid, fo. 37 b.
civil duties whatsoever, among which are included being returned to parliament, and receiving the honour of knighthood. This patent, the original of which is still extant amongst the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum, is to the following effect:

"R. H."

"The King to all his bailiffs and faithful people greeting. Know ye that of our special grace, at the humble request and for the ease of our dearly beloved John Carpenter the younger, late secretary of our city of London, who in services to us and our progenitors there and elsewhere, from the times of his youth, not without great pains and unwearied loyalty, as well commendably as faithfully hath laboured earnestly, we have given and granted, for us and our heirs, as much as in us is, to the same John, that he for the whole of his life shall have these liberties, that is to say, That he shall not be placed

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q By a statute of the time of Edward the Second, persons who had land of 20l. ayear in fee or for life were obliged to take the order of knighthood. (Fosbroke's *Encyclopaedia of Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 748.) In Maitland's *History of London*, vol. i. p. 127, will be found a copy of a writ, addressed to the sheriffs, 18 Edw. III., 1344, requiring all citizens who possessed 40l. ayear in fee to become knights. This was done to assist the king in raising means for prosecuting his wars in France. And at the very time that Carpenter obtained the above grant, many persons who were liable to the imposition of knighthood, and refused to receive it, were obliged to submit to fines. Indeed the practice of extorting fines on this pretence was carried to such an extent, that the Commons petitioned that it might be enacted that no man should be fined twice for not receiving knighthood, but the Crown
nor impanelled in any great assize arrayed or to be
arrayed within our realm of England, nor in any
other assizes, juries, inquisitions, attaints, or reviews
whatssoever, although they may affect us or our
heirs; nor be sworn or placed upon the trial of any
arraignment, assize, or panel, before whatsoever jus-
tices of us or our heirs to be taken. And that he
shall not be appointed nor assigned a leader, tryer,
or arrayer of men at arms, hobellers t, or archers;
nor custumer, searcher, comptroller, taxer, or col-
lector of any customs, taxes, talliages, aids, or subsi-
dies whatsoever, to us or our heirs howsoever grant-
ed or to be granted. And that henceforth he shall
not be nor be elected knight for any county, nor
citizen for any city, to come to the parliaments of
us or our heirs. And that he shall not be made
mayor, sheriff, escheator, coroner, constable, bailiff,
justice of the peace or of sewers, nor other commis-

refused its assent to the bill.—Nicolaæ's Proceedings, &c., of the Privy


* These initials are in the king's autograph. It was a customary
practice in Saxon times for sovereigns to attach their royal mark or
sign to charters and grants. Several of the early charters of the Con-
quoror exist, bearing his mark; but after the conquest it is rare to find
any such, the general use of seals having entirely superseded for many
centuries the custom of manual subscription.—Archæological Journal,
No. 15, September, 1847, p. 251.

† Horsemen very lightly mounted for reconnoitering, carrying in-
telligence, harrassing, &c., similar to the Cossacks.—Fosbroke's Ency-
"sioner, officer, or minister whatsoever of us or our
"heirs. And that he shall not by any means be con-
"strained or compelled by us or our heirs, nor by the
"justices or ministers of us or our heirs whatsoever,
"to take upon him the degree of knighthood, or any
"of the burthens, offices, or employments aforesaid,
"or hereafter to undergo, perform, or occupy any
"other office, but therefrom shall be wholly free and
"entirely exempted by these presents. And further
"of our abundant grace we have given and granted to
"the same John, for us and our heirs, that although
"he may be hereafter chosen, ordained, or assigned to
"any of the burthens, offices, or employments afores-
"said, or to undergo, perform, or occupy any other
"office, contrary to the force, form, or effect of this
"our present grant, and shall refuse to undertake,
"perform, or occupy such offices or burthens, yet by
"occasion of such contempt he shall not in any wise
"incur any fine, forfeiture, loss, or damage, in body
"or goods, but that our own present charter of ex-
"emption, by the aforesaid John or any other whom-
"soever in his name, before whatsoever justices and
"ministers of us and our heirs in whatsoever place of
"record through our whole realm aforesaid, shown,
"upon such showing shall surely take effect and be
"allowed to the same John without any other writ or
"process for that purpose further to be prosecuted,
"or proclamation to be made. And therefore we
command that the same John be not contrary to
our present grant in any manner disturbed or bur-
thened. In testimony whereof, &c.
"Witness, &c."
"W. P. le Bardolf, Chamberlain u."

Although Carpenter was now free from the ties of office, and the obligation to perform any kind of public duty, it is quite certain that he did not lead a life of inactivity. He continued to devote a portion of his time to voluntary acts of usefulness, and probably to engage with increased devotedness in the duties incident to the connection which we shall presently see he had formed with several religious brotherhoods in the city. Besides this, it would appear that the city were still desirous of occasionally availing themselves of his acquaintance with municipal affairs, and his general legal knowledge and abilities. Hence we find that, on the 10th of June, 1440, the mayor and aldermen voted him twenty marks for certain labours which he had performed for the city, but what they were is not specified*. Again, in the following year he was engaged as counsel for the city in the Star-chamber, in a suit instituted by the dean of the collegiate church of St. Martin-le-grand, complaining of the sheriffs of

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* This document, which is in Latin, has been published in the Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, 8vo, 1835, vol. v. p. 111. * Journal No. 3, fo. 44.
the city having violated the privilege of sanctuary belonging to that church, by the forcible seizure of an offender who had fled thither after being rescued from the custody of one of their officers. There is still extant in the records of the city a petition from the sheriffs to the common council, setting forth the facts which had occurred, and that they had been grievously menaced by the authorities of the church for what they had done; and they prayed that the matter might be communed of with the counsel of the city, and in especial with John Carpenter; and that the defence might be conducted at the common cost of the city, "considering" (as they say) "that this cause "is every freeman's cause, and the good and true "keeping and defending of the liberties of this fa- 
"mous city is the welfare of every man that is inha-
"bitant therein y". Stow says, on the authority of a book written by one of the officers of St. Martin's, that "the complaint and suit was learnedly answered "by the citizens, by their counsel Markham, Ser-
"jeant-at-law, and John Carpenter, late Common "Clerk of the city, who offered to prove that the said "place of St. Martin had no such immunity or liberty "as was pretended;" and that Carpenter (so con-
"fident and so earnest was he) "offered to lose his "livelihood if that church had more immunity than

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1 Liber K, fo. 189.  2 Survey, p. 309.
the least church in London." So serious an assault upon a privilege which the church in those times cherished with extreme tenacity was hardly likely to be successful, and the matter terminated in judgement being given in favour of the dean and against the city. But the case led to several improved regulations being laid down with regard to the privilege of sanctuary at St. Martin's.

About the same time that he was thus serving the city, by stoutly defending their liberties against the mischievous abuses and encroachments of ecclesiastical power, we find him acting the humbler part of an arbitrator for the settlement of differences between two private individuals. On Thursday the 16th of March, 1441, it is recorded that "This day T. Seynt John and William Morys mutually promised to stand by the arbitrement of the Recorder and John Carpenter, in all causes pending between the afore-said parties." So acceptable were his services as a man of probity, uprightness, and sagacity, that the king and his council, a municipal body, or a private individual, were equally ready to confide matters of importance which concerned their interests to his judicious management and decision.

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a Liber K, fo. 298 b; and Kempe’s Historical Notices of the Collegiate Church of St. Martin-le-grand (where the arguments employed on each side are set forth at some length), pp. 129–130, and p. 146.
b Journal No. 3, fo. 80.
In the same year in which the last-mentioned events occurred, namely 1441, it appears a grant was made by the king, of the manor of Thebaudes (or Theobalds), in the village of Cheshunt in the county of Hertford, with its appurtenances, to John Carpenter, master of St. Anthony's hospital in London, John Somerset, chancellor of the king's Exchequer, and John Carpenter junior, citizen of London; to hold the same of the crown by the annual render of one bow of the value of two shillings, or two shillings in money, and one barbed arrow of the value of threepence, or three-pence in money. And shortly afterwards the same persons received from the king a grant of divers privileges and exemptions in the said manor. The person here styled "John Carpenter junior" was the subject of the present memoir; the other person of the same name was a man of some note, who had been provost of Oriel college in Oxford, and in 1437 was chancellor of that university; in 1444 he was appointed bishop of Worcester, and filled that see until his death in 1476. He was a great benefactor to the cathedral church and diocese of Worcester, as well as

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c Fuller mentions him as a "learned writer," and a benefactor to King's college, Cambridge. He was also one of the compilers of the statutes of that college on its foundation by Henry the Sixth in 1444. *Rot. Parl.*, vol. v. pp. 87, 163.

d *Lysons's Environs of London*, vol. iv. p. 29; *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, p. 283, 19 Hen.VI.

e *Rot. Pat.* 19 Hen.VI. part 2, m. 27.
to the university of Oxford, in which he had been brought up. He was buried at his native village of Westbury upon Trin, near Bristol, where a plain altar monument was erected to his memory, with a skeleton lying on the top of it.

The hospital of St. Anthony, for whose benefit the above grants were made, was an establishment in Threadneedle street, founded in the reign of Henry the Third, by the brethren of St. Anthony of Vienne in France: it consisted of a master, two priests, a schoolmaster, and twelve poor brethren, besides their proctors and other officers and servants, and it would appear that our John Carpenter was at this time connected with it as one of the members or officers.

The school at St. Anthony's hospital appears to have long enjoyed a high celebrity, and in the scholastic disputations amongst the grammar schools in London, according to the testimony of Stow, commonly presented the best scholars. He says, "out of this school have sprung divers famous persons,

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g Tanner's Notitia Monastica, by Nasmith, 1787: Middlesex, viii. London, 28. The building lately known as the Hall of Commerce now occupies part of the site of St. Anthony's hospital.
"whereof, although time hath buried the names of
many, yet in mine own remembrance may be num-
bered these following: Sir Thomas More, knight,
lord chancellor of England, Dr. Nicholas Heath,
some time bishop of Rochester, after of Worcester,
and lastly archbishop of York and lord chancellor
of England, Dr. John Whitgift, bishop of Wor-
cester and after archbishop of Canterbury, &c.\(^n\)". The celebrated Dean Colet, the founder of St. Paul's
school, was also educated at St. Anthony's\(^i\).

Carpenter's life of active usefulness was now draw-
ing to a close. Although not an aged man, his evident
desire to withdraw from the fatigues and cares of pub-
lic life, and the language employed in the grants of
exemption which he procured both from the city and
the crown, seem to imply that he may have been the
subject of impaired health, or of some bodily infirmity
tending to shorten life.

The writer of this biography has not been able to
trace any event in Carpenter's life subsequent to the
date of the occurrences last mentioned. The gift
which he made to the city for purposes of education
had long caused it to be an object of great desire that
his Will, by which the trust is supposed to have been
established, but of which no copy had ever been known

\(^n\) Stow's Survey, p. 75. \(^i\) Knight's Life of Colet.
to be in the possession of the corporation, should be brought to light; but, after very diligent search in many probable quarters, that important document is still undiscovered. The search, however, has not been entirely a fruitless one, for the writer had the gratification, a few years back, of discovering amongst the records of the Commissary Court of London, kept in the cathedral of St. Paul, a will of John Carpenter, which, although it does not relate to the disposition of his lands and tenements (which, according to a common practice in his time, formed the subject of a separate will), yet supplies valuable information on many other points, and gives a most interesting insight into a variety of particulars of a personal character, which could not possibly have been acquired at this remote period from any other source; and for much of what remains to be said of him we are indebted to this document.

We have been able to trace a considerable portion of what may be termed the public life of John Carpenter; and now we have fortunately the means of displaying him a little in his more private capacity.

We learn by this will, which is dated 8th March, 1441, that he lived (and most likely died) in the house which, as already mentioned, had been granted to him by the city. This house he describes as his new tenement or hostel, wherein he dwelt, in the parish of St. Peter in Cornhill, with the garden adjacent,
and the houses, cellars, sollars, and other appurtenances, situate as well on the north side of the same hostel, towards the high street, as on the south side of the said garden, near the ancient chapel of Leadenhall. This description seems to imply that it was a residence of some magnitude, and one befitting a person of good position in the social scale. Indeed there is reason to believe that Carpenter was the possessor of considerable wealth, that he lived in a style of comfort and even luxury, and that he maintained no very small household of servants and dependants.

There are many deeds of conveyance enrolled in the Court of Hustings which show that he was constantly acquiring fresh property. There are also in the will of which we possess a copy, allusions to his other will, which prove that he left thereby considerable landed property. Besides this, the quantity of plate which he appears to have possessed, and the numerous bequests of money which he left, with other circumstances, clearly indicate that his means were very ample. He speaks in his will, in a style of humility and self-reproach, of "my silver vessels which have very often served me for the unreasonable and vain glory of the world;" and also of "my furred gowns and other sumptuous vestments, which, God forgive me, I have many times abused in superfluous and useless observances."
Another thing which throws some light upon his circumstances in life, as well as his domestic character, is, that he appears to have had a chaplain resident with him, and to have been provided with other accessories for the administration of the services of religion in his own house, in the same manner that the nobility and other persons of rank of his time were. In one part of his will is this clause, "I give and bequeath to Sire William Taillour, chaplain, dwelling with me, as a memorial of me, my book De Meditationibus et Orationibus Sancti Anselmi;" and, in another part, he says, "I give and bequeath, for the service in the church of St. Martin Outwich, where my parents lie buried, my great missale, and my best silver-gilt cup, together with my silver-gilt paxarium, and my two phials or cruets of silver, and my casula of white damaak, with all its trimming."

k Those of the clergy who had not graduated were entitled "sir," and graduates were called either "master" or "doctor."—Fosbroke's Encyclopedia of Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 801.

1 For notes on this and other books hereafter mentioned see the Appendix, No. I.

m Of these articles, dedicated to sacred uses, the following explanations may be given: the missal is the book containing all things to be daily said in the service of the mass; the silver-gilt cup was doubtless intended for a chalice; the pax (paxarium or paxboard) was an image or representation of our Lord's passion, or some other sacred emblem, painted or embossed on a piece of wood or metal. Sometimes (as probably in the present case) it formed the cover of the chalice used at mass. At the words Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum (the peace of the
Carpenter appears to have had no children of his own, but yet he evidently took pleasure in having a family circle about him. He bequeaths substantial tokens of his regard to several nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of his two brothers; and one of these, Katherine, daughter of his brother Robert, he speaks of as having been with him from her youth. And, in another place, a legacy is left to a "little Christopher," who had been with him from his cradle. Many of his servants also he names, and leaves legacies to; and to some who were old and poor, he leaves annuities for their lives.

We have seen that he was in some way connected with the religious establishment of St. Anthony in Threadneedle street; and his will has brought to light the fact, that he was also a brother of the convent of the Charterhouse, London, and likewise of the fraternity of Sixty Priests of London. It may appear rather singular that a person not under monastic vows should

Lord be always with you), it was kissed by the priest, and then handed to the people for the same purpose, as a substitute for the ancient kiss of charity which communicants gave each other. The phials or cruet were vessels in which the wine and water were presented at the altar before consecration. The casula (or chasuble) was the principal vestment of the priest at mass. It was always constructed of rich materials, and frequently profusely embroidered, and trimmed in a costly manner.—(Hart's Ecclesiastical Records, pp. 236, 238, 251, 256; Boulteel on Monumental Brasses, &c., p. 97). An inventory of the church ornaments of St. Martin Outwich, made in 1515, mentions, amongst other articles, the following, which not improbably were those be-
be a brother of a conventual establishment, and that a layman should be a member of a fraternity of priests. But examples of a similar kind are not so rare as might be supposed. Benefactors were frequently received into confraternity with a monastery. Without any renunciation of the world, this entitled them to a participation in all the prayers and merits of the brethren during life, and to masses after death. The privilege was conferred by a formal document engrossed upon vellum, often beautifully illuminated, and sealed with the common seal of the brotherhood. The following are a few apposite instances of the practice: John Ewin, citizen and mercer, who was a great benefactor to the mendicant order of Grey Friars, entered the order as a lay brother. Sir William Walworth, the celebrated lord mayor who slew the rebel Wat Tyler, described himself in his will as a brother of the fraternity of Chaplains in London; and left to every chaplain thereof two shillings, that


n Established by Sir Walter Manny, in 1371, for monks of the Carthusian order.

o Hart's Ecclesiastical Records, p. 78; and Lewis’s Life of Wyclif, 8vo, 1820, pp. 24 and 301, where a copy is preserved of one of these letters of fraternity, granted by the Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, to the mother of Dean Colet.

they might have his soul remembered in their masses and prayers, and attend his burial. Sir Thomas More also seems to have been a brother of the Charter-house, London, for, according to his biographer, "he gave himself to devotion and prayer in that place, religiously living there, without vow, about four years."

It is said to be a safe clue to a man's character to know who are his chosen associates and friends; and if we were left to form a judgement of Carpenter by this rule, our conclusion could not fail to be a highly favourable one.

His association with his learned namesake Doctor John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, in a public trust, has already been alluded to (p. 52); but it is evident that there must have been a connection beyond this subsisting between them, viz., a private intimacy, for Carpenter not only leaves to his reverend friend, "as a memorial" of him, "that book on architecture which Master William Cleve" gave to him, but he likewise appoints him, in conjunction with his own brothers, as one of the supervisors and coadjutors of the executors of his will. This "learned and good

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q Excerpta Historica, quoted in Herbert's History of St. Michael Crooked Lane, p. 135.

r Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More, by Singer, p. 5. This was in the earlier part of his career, and before he married.
"man" (as Mr. Endell Tyler calls him) was fellow-student with and intimate friend of Prince Henry (afterwards Henry the Fifth) when residing at Oxford, and pursuing his studies under his uncle Henry Beaufort. He was not raised to the episcopal dignity till after our John Carpenter's death. He established a fellowship and several scholarships at Oxford, by which, and by other liberal benefactions, he showed himself to be a great promoter and encourager of learning.

Carpenter's friend Master William Cleve, who had given him the book on architecture just mentioned, was also an ecclesiastic, and besides that, like some others of his class, was a skilful architect. He is described in the proceedings of the privy council as the king's chaplain, and clerk of the works; and by a petition of his, which is there set forth, he appears to have executed considerable works for the king at the palaces of Eltham, Shene, and Westminster, and also at the Tower of London.

Sir John Neel, another ecclesiastic, was also one of Carpenter's intimate friends. He was master of the house or hospital of St. Thomas of Acres (or de Acon) in Cheapside, and held the adjoining living of Cole-

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* Memoirs of Henry the Fifth, vol. i. p. 27.
† See note (t) on p. 57.
church*. He was one of the four clergymen who, in 1447, presented a petition to parliament, setting forth the lack of grammar schools and good teachers in the city of London, and praying leave (which was granted to them) to establish schools, and appoint competent masters in their respective parishes of Allhallows the Great, St. Andrew Holborn, St. Peter Cornhill, and St. Mary Colechurch. In support of their application the petitioners made the following quaint but sensible averment: "It were expedient," say they, "that in London were a sufficient number of scholes, and good enfourners in gramer; and not for the singular avail of two or three persones grevously to hurt the moltitude of yong peple of al this land. For wher there is grete nombre of lerners and few techers, and al the lerners be compelled to go to the few techers, and to noon others, the maistres waxen rich of monie, and the lerners pouver in connyng, as experyence openlie shewith, agenst all vertue and ordre of well publiky." The only one

* This hospital was founded in the reign of Henry the Second, for a master and brethren, by the brother-in-law and sister of Thomas Becket, in honour of his memory, and on the spot where he was born.—Stow's Survey, p. 271. Colechurch stood in the Old Jewry. A former incumbent, Peter of Colechurch, was the builder of the first London bridge in stone, about 1176.—Ibid., p. 23.

of the schools established in consequence of this petition which has survived to the present time is the Mercers' school, which was formerly held at St. Thomas de Acons (the site of Mercers' Hall), and of which John Neele may be said to be the founder. Carpenter's friendship towards him is shown by the bequest of a book, which he describes as "that book " cum Secretis Aristotelis, and De Miseria Conditi-" tionis Humanae, and other notable things, which " my master Marchaunt gave to me."

Master William Lichfeld, rector of Allhallows in the Ropery (or Allhallows the Great, Upper Thames street), was another of Carpenter's friends, and to him he left a legacy of twenty shillings. He also was one of the petitioners for the establishment of additional grammar schools in London. Stow says "he was a " great student, and compiled many books both moral " and divine, in prose and in verse." He mentions one intitled "The complaint of God unto sinful " man;" and adds that "he made in his time three " thousand and eighty-three sermons, as appeared by " his own handwriting, and were found when he was " dead." Warton describes one of Lichfeld's poems as "a metrical dialogue between God and the peni-" tent soul, which is preserved in manuscript at Caius " college, Cambridge." He mentions him as a doctor

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* Stow's Survey, p. 236.
in theology, who shone most in prose. He was one of the "famous preachers" who inveighed with such boldness against the evil practices and enormities of the privy council of Henry the Sixth, that some of the courtiers told the king they caused insurrections amongst the people against him; and it is said that sermons to this purport were sometimes addressed to the king himself; and that, in consequence, "Lord "Say, with others, would not suffer any one to preach "before the king unless they saw his written sermon "first, or unless he would swear not to preach against "his ministers' actions or councils b."

Dr. REGINALD PECOK, another celebrated divine, was also amongst the number of Carpenter's friends, and was remembered by him by a money legacy. He and Master William Lichfeld were likewise entrusted with a discretionary power in the bestowment of some of Carpenter's "good or rare books," which are not specifically named. Master Pecok was at that time the master of Whityngton's college of St. Michael Royal. He was one of the eminent scholars patronized by the duke of Gloucester—the "good Duke Humphrey." In 1444 he was appointed bishop of St. Asaph, and was translated to Chichester in 1449. He was one of the most learned men of his age, and

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was as much distinguished for his moderate and conciliatory spirit as for his high talents and extensive acquirements. His writings upon certain doctrines and practices of the church drew down upon him the hatred and jealousy of some of the hierarchy. He was charged with favouring the tenets of the Lollards; and was cited, in 1457, to appear at Lambeth Palace, before twenty-four learned doctors, with his books. He was convicted of heresy, and would have been burnt but for his abjuration of the opinions he had promulgated. This abjuration he had to make in the presence of thousands of spectators at St. Paul's Cross, delivering at the same time, with his own hand, fourteen of his books, to be there destroyed by fire. Although he thus saved his life, he did not obtain his liberty: "he was sent to Thorney abbey in the Isle of Ely, there to be confined in a secret closed chamber, out of which he was not to be allowed to go. "The person who made his bed and his fire was the only one who might enter and speak to him without the abbot's leave, and in his presence. He was to have neither pen, ink, nor paper; and to be allowed no books except a mass-book, a psalter, a legendary, and a bible." Pecok is said to have died in his prison after a confinement of about three years. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the church to destroy

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*Southey's Book of the Church, i. 392.*
them, some of his works still remain, especially an answer to certain of the more extravagant opinions of the Lollards, which, it has been remarked by Mr. Hallam, "contains passages well worthy of Hooker, "both for weight of matter and dignity of style." The cruel treatment of Bishop Pecok has left a stigma upon the authorities of his time which will never be effaced.

Master William Byngham, another distinguished promoter of learning, had this friendly notice taken of him by Carpenter: "I give and bequeath to Master William Byngham, as a memorial of me, that book "which Master Roger Dymok made, 'contra duo-
"decim errores et hereses Lollardorum,' and gave to "King Richard, and which book John Wilok gave "to me." This William Byngham was rector of St. John Zachary, London. He petitioned Henry the Sixth, in 1439, in favour of his grammar scholars, for whom he had erected a commodious house at Cambridge, called God's house, adjacent to Clare Hall, to the end that twenty-four youths, under the direction and government of a learned priest, might be there perpetually educated, and be from thence transmitted in a constant succession into different parts of Eng-

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\(d\) Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 476; Pictorial History of England, vol. ii. p. 147; Lewis's Life of Pecok, etc.

\(e\) Pat. 17 Hen. VI., part 2, m. 16; Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 552; Potts's Liber Cantabrigiensis, p. 291.
land, to those places where grammar schools had fallen into a state of desolation. The king granted a charter of incorporation to the establishment, which was subsequently removed to another site, and eventually merged into Christ's college. 

These were some of the men whose friendship was cultivated by Carpenter, and with whom he lived on terms of intimacy: men occupying positions of note amongst the learned of their times, diligent students themselves, and at the same time actively endeavouring to promote the spread of knowledge, and inculcate the love of learning in others. It is pleasing to be able to trace the community of feeling subsisting between such men and our venerated founder. That he shared in their taste for literature is evident from the collection of books which he had formed—a collection which, in an age when books were a rare possession, and printing was unknown, must have been a very valuable one. And that he participated in their desire to disseminate knowledge is abundantly proved in two ways; first, by the gift he made

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"It is interesting to observe that he mentions several of these books to have been gifts from his friends, a proof both of their personal esteem, and of their regarding him as a man of letters.

In order to give a better idea of what Carpenter's collection of books consisted of, a list of those which are mentioned in his will is given in the Appendix (No. I.), with a few bibliographical notices, which the writer trusts will illustrate in some degree the literature of the period, and the character of Carpenter's reading."
for the special purpose of promoting education, and which has resulted in the establishment of our City School; and secondly, by the direction in his will, that, if any good or rare books should be found amongst the residue of his goods, which by the discretion of Master William Lichfeld and Reginald Pecok might seem necessary to the common library at Guildhall (which, it will be recollected, he had been partly instrumental in having built), for the profit of the students there, and those discoursing to the common people, then that those books should be placed by his executors, and chained in that library, under such form that the visitors and students thereof might be the sooner admonished to remember him in their prayers.

The list of men of note with whom Carpenter was brought into close and friendly association might be extended much further; but, as it would be tedious to mention all, a few more only shall be named from amongst those who sustained high offices in the city, and are most distinguishable for their public virtues and charities.

Of the famous Sir Richard Whityngton sufficient

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* This interesting bequest proves the library at Guildhall to have been not merely a private collection, but designed for general use, and is an early instance of the existence of a public library properly so called. The books bequeathed to it by Carpenter were no doubt included in the spoliation by the Protector Somerset, as mentioned in a former note (9), p. 38.
has already been said to render unnecessary any further notice, but the following civic worthies are deserving of remembrance in the catalogue of Carpenter's friends.

Sir William Sevenoke, grocer, mayor in 1419; a man who rose from obscurity to great eminence, and founded and endowed the grammar school and almshouses in his native place of Sevenoaks in Kent, and which are in existence to this day. He is the first on the long list of citizens of London who are distinguished as founders of grammar schools

Sir Robert Chicheley, grocer, mayor in 1411 and 1422. "He appointed by his testament" (says Stow), "that on his mind day [dies commemorationis] a competent dinner should be ordained for two thousand four hundred poor men, householders of this city, and every man to have two-pence in money. More, he gave one large plot of ground thereupon to build the new parish church of St. Stephen, near unto Walbrook, &c." Sir John Rainwell, fishmonger, mayor in 1427, who gave certain lands and tenements to the city to discharge the inhabitants of three wards in London

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h The writer of the present biography has been long collecting materials for a series of memoirs of these worthies; and, amongst others, has completed a full account of the life of Sir William Sevenoke.

1 Brother to Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury and founder of All Soul's college, Oxford, and to William Chicheley, alderman, sheriff in 1409.

k Stow's Survey, p. 110.
(Billingsgate, Dowgate, and Aldgate) from payments for fifteenths\(^1\), and for other public purposes\(^m\).

Sir John Welles, mayor 1431, who has been already mentioned as being appointed by the king custos or warden of Norwich\(^p\). He was a great benefactor to the new building of the chapel by the Guildhall, and was there buried. "Of his goods the standard in "West Cheap was made, to which he caused fresh "water to be conveyed from Tyburn, for the service "of the city\(^o\)."

Sir William Estfeld, mercer, mayor 1429 and 1437, and knight of the Bath; one of the representatives of the city with Carpenter in the parliament of 1439. He also had water conveyed from Tyburn to a conduit in Aldermanbury, and to another in Fleet street, and from Highbury to Cripplegate\(^p\).

Sir Stephen Browne, grocer, mayor 1438 and 1448. In his first mayoralty there was a great famine, and wheat being at a high price in London, he sent vessels to Prussia, and caused corn to be brought from thence in great quantity, whereby he brought down the price from three shillings the bushel to less than half that sum\(^q\).

Philip Malpas, one of the sheriffs 1440 (the year of the dispute with the dean of St. Martin's about

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\(^1\) A Fifteenth was a tax levied by parliament, amounting to a fifteenth of every man's personal estate.—Jacob's *Law Dictionary*, 1732.

\(^m\) Stow's *Survey*, pp. 110, 209, 236.
sanctuary). He gave by his testament one hundred and twenty-five pounds to relieve poor prisoners; and every year for five years four hundred shirts and smocks, forty pairs of sheets, and one hundred and fifty gowns of frieze to the poor; to five hundred poor people in London six shillings and eight-pence each; to poor maids' marriages one hundred marks; to highways one hundred marks; twenty marks ayear to a graduate to preach; twenty pounds to preachers at the Spital, the three Easter holidays, &c., He dwelt very near to Carpenter, in the ward of Lime street, of which he was the alderman.

Robert Large, mercer, mayor 1439. He gave to the church of St. Olave Jewry two hundred pounds; towards rebuilding St. Margaret's Lothbury, twenty-five pounds; to the poor, twenty pounds; towards repairing London bridge after part of it had fallen down, one hundred marks; towards vaulting over the water-course of Walbrook, by St. Margaret's church, two hundred marks; to poor maids' marriages, one hundred marks; to poor householders, one hundred pounds, &c. He was the person to whom William Caxton served his apprenticeship, and whose mercantile dealings in foreign parts afforded Caxton the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the in-
vention of printing, which he introduced into this country.

These particulars serve to give some idea of the character of the times in which Carpenter lived, and of the men with whom he was wont to associate.

But it is time to notice more particularly his own benefaction, to which posterity is so much indebted, and which has furnished the occasion for the present biographical notice of him. Interesting as the other facts in his history are, they are made more so to us by that one great fact, which has not only contributed more than any other circumstance to preserve his name from oblivion, but, from the important results to which it has led, and the advantages that have accrued and are likely to accrue from it to the present and future generations, will cause his memory to be cherished with increased and lasting interest.

The writer regrets deeply that he is able to present no better account of the origin and nature of that gift of John Carpenter which formed the basis of the City School, than what is furnished by the meagre but yet valuable statement recorded by Stow, that "he gave tenements to the citye for the finding and bringing up of foure poore men's children with meate, drinke, apparell, learning at the schooles in

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* Knight's *Life of Caxton.*
the universities, &c., until they be preferred, and
then others in their places for ever u."

This is the earliest description that is now extant
of Carpenter's benefaction, but yet it is a century and
half later than the period of the gift. Although it is
not known precisely what authority Stow relied upon
for his statement, there is no room to doubt that, in
its essential points, the account given by the vener-
able historian of our city is perfectly correct. His
character, as a painstaking investigator and accurate
relater of facts, is a guarantee for the authenticity of
his statement, which, if no other proofs existed, would
go far towards establishing its correctness; but we
have in addition a continuous tradition to the same
effect, corroborated by a carefully preserved rent-roll
of the property derived by the city from Carpenter.
There is besides the evidence of long usage as to the
application of his bounty, which, although falling
short in some respects of what is described as being
his intentions, serves to strengthen the probability of
the account given being a correct one.

The oldest book of accounts which the city now
possesses (the earlier ones having been destroyed in
the great fire of 1666, and a later conflagration at
Guildhall in 1786) is for the year 1633; it contains
a description of the property in question, in its then

u Stow's Survey, p. 110.
existing state, and an account of what it produced; and also an account of the annual payments at that time under Carpenter's bequest. These are the earliest particulars that can be referred to, and therefore are here introduced:

"The Rentall of the lands and tenements sometime of the City of London.

"Robert Child, for the tenemt Beade, against St. Buttolph church in Thame-street, to him demised for xxxv yeares from Xpınas 1615 viijli

"Mary Leake, late Richard Edmond, for the tenemt Peacock in Thamestreet, to the said Edmonds demised, for xxxj yeares from Xpınas 1612 vijli

"Robert Rowden, late William Hicks, for the tenemt Crowne against St. Magnus church, to John Vaux demised, for xl yeares from Mich'as 1600 vijli xiiij s viijd

"Daniel Hills, late John Beeston, for the tenemt Greene Dragon in Bridge streete, to him demised for xlv yeares from Mich'as 1626 iiij li

"John May, executor of Margarett Pen-nell, for a close with th'appurtenances containing by estimation five acres more or lesse, and being in the parish of St. Giles
"in the feilds, to her demised for xxj yeares
"from the Annunciation 1626 — — iiijll
"Edward Gurdon, assignee of Roland Wil-
"son, assignee of Daniel Winch, executor
"of Daniel Winch grocer, deceased, for the
"tenemt Three Crownes in West Cheape,
"neare the signe of the George late called
"the Ramping Lyon, being parcell of the
"lands late Sr Nicholas Bacon, knight, late
"lord keeper of the great scale of England,
"and by him conveyed to the use of the
"citty by exchange, to Daniel Winch, fa-
"ther of the said Daniel, demised for xxv
"yeares from Mich'as 1616 — — xll
"William Carpenter, for certayne tenemts
"and gardens in Houndsditch, to him de-
"mised for xlj yeares from Mich'as 1626,
"with covenant to new build within five
"yeares, which tenemts and gardens were
"heretofore conveyed to the citties use as
"aforesaid, and of late the said lord keeper's  xll
"Suma — — — xlixll xiiij iiiijd

"Payments due by the bequest of Mr. John Car-
"penter.
"Paid to this accomptant [Mr. Robert
"Bateman, Chamberlein of the Cittie of
"London] for overseeing foure poore chil-
"dren being found at schoole and learning,
"by the bequest of the said Mr. John Car-
"penter, due for this yeare, vjs viijd; and
"to the comptroller of the chamber for like
"consideraçon, vjs viijd - - - xiijs iiijd
"Paid to the rent-gatherer, for gathering
"the rents x and potaçon mony of the said
"Mr. John Carpenter - - - xxiijs iiijd
"Paid to the freinds of the said foure chil-
dren, for barbor, schoole, hose, shoes, and
"other necessaries for the said foure chil-
dren, due for this year - - - iijli
"Paid for the coëmons of the said foure
"children, due for lij weekes ended at
"Mich'as 1633, after the rate of iijjs vjd the
"week - - - - - - ixll ijs
"Paid to the freinds of the said foure chil-
dren, for vj yards of London russett for
"the coats of the said foure children against
"Christide 1632, xxxvjs; and for vj yards
"of new cullor for the coats of the said

x There are two entries of a much earlier date in the city's records, which seem to illustrate this item. The first is dated 17th April, 1492, and relates to the profite of the clerk of the chamber. It mentions, amongst other sums, 3s. 4d. per annum to be payable to him by the will of Carpenter (Lüher L, fo. 293 b). The other entry is dated 8th March, 1526, and is to the effect that, upon considering a complaint of a person against the then chamberlain, concerning the collectorship of the rents and tenements belonging to the Chamber, and also of
"foure children against Whitsontide 1633,
"xxxvj$; and for xxiiiij yards of cott'en, with
"buttons, and making the said eight coats,
"xxvj$ - - - - iiij$ xvj$.

"Paid to the deane and chapter of West-
"minster, for quitt-rent out of the tenem$,
"Crowne, over against the north side of
"St. Magnus church neare London bridge,
"late in the tenure of John Vaux, due for
"vij yeares ended at Midsomer 1633, at iiij$
"aycare, xxiiiij$; and to the same for quitt-
"rent out of the tenem$ Greene Dragon in
"Bridge streeete, due for like tyme, at iiij$
"aycare, xxiiiij$. Suma - - - - nihil $.

"Paid to Mr. Robert Marsh the citties
"sollicitor, for so much by him disbursed
"for respite of homage due to the king's
"matie for a close in the parish of St. Giles
"in the fields, v$ iiiij$; and for his own fee,
"iiij$ iiiij$ x. Paid more to him for charges
"disbursed for a discharge of issues lost

Rainwell's lands and Carpenter's, the court of Aldermen decreed that the office belonged to the chamberlain for the time being.—Reperitory No. 7, fo. 93 b.

$ The arrears were paid in the following year. Although not paid regularly, these quit-rents were an annual charge of £.

$ These two amounts appear to have been regular annual charges, as they occur in the accounts of subsequent years; but the next charge was not an ordinary one, and does not occur in the following years.
"returnable against Sr. James Cambell and
" others about the same close, xxvj's viijd.
" Suma, as by two bills appeareth — xxxv's iiiijd
" Suma tot's of the paymts due by
" the bequest of the said Mr. John
" Carpenter — — xxj½ xijd

From these particulars it appears that, in 1633, the
rental of the property amounted to 49l. 13s. 4d. per
annum, and the charges upon it to 20l. 13s. 4d. per
annum.

We are unable to trace the gradual increase in
value which the property subsequently underwent;
but whatever it was, the surplus was absorbed in the
general funds of the city, and the charity remained
on the same limited footing until nearly two centu-
ries later.

In the year 1823 the commissioners for inquiring
into charities made a report on those under the ma-
agement of the corporation of London, including
that of John Carpenter, in which they set forth, that
great pains were stated to have been taken, by search-
ing the archives of the corporation and other places
for the will of John Carpenter, without effect, but that
it was understood that Carpenter charged certain pay-
ments for charitable purposes upon lands and ten-
ements in Thames street, Bridge street, St. Giles's in
the Fields, Westcheap, and Houndsditch; and that
the corporation have property in those several places,
answering, or pretty nearly so, to the description of the property mentioned in the account book of 1633, as derived by them from Carpenter.

The commissioners gave an extract from the book, so far as concerns the payments in respect of the charity, that is to say, omitting the items in respect of quit-rents and homage; and conclude with the following statement:

"The same payments continue to be made under the will of John Carpenter (except the sum of 6s. 8d. formerly payable to the comptroller of the chamber, which is now merged in the general compensation he receives for his duties), being a total of 19l. 10s. This 19l. 10s. is payable in the following manner: To the chamberlain, as receiver of the rents, and for attending to the application of the charity, 1l. 10s.; the remainder, being 18l., is paid by the chamberlain in four sums quarterly, to four persons, freemen of London, selected by him as proper objects, to enable each one to pay for the education of a son, from the age of seven to fourteen.

"The chamberlain requires the parents from time to time to bring the copy-books of their children, and other specimens of their progress, to satisfy him of the proper application of the testator's bounty, and this has been the practice for many years back. Very little remains out of the respective shares of the persons benefited, after the object of education
"is satisfied, to be applied in clothing. The parents
or friends of the children are required, quarterly, to
give to the chamberlain receipts for the payment
of their children's education, which receipts are
entered in the city's acquittance book a."

The income derived from Carpenter's estate had by
this time increased to several hundred pounds ayear,
but the commissioners expressed no opinion as to the
extension of the charity. The attention of the corpo-
ration however being directed, in consequence of the
commissioners' report, to the state of the several cha-
rities under their management, and the possibility of
increasing their efficiency, the common council, on
the 18th of January, 1827, after several reports from
the committee for letting the city's lands, to whom
the consideration of the subject had been referred,
agreed that the management and appropriation of
Carpenter's charity should be altered and extended
in the following manner; namely, that four boys from
the age of eight to sixteen years, sons of freemen of
London, to be nominated from time to time by the
lord mayor, should be sent to the grammar school at
Tonbridge in Kent b, under the management of the
Skinners company and the superintendence of Dr.
Knox, there to receive the benefit of a classical and

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a Tenth Report of Charity Commissioners (dated 28th June,
b Founded by Sir Andrew Judd, kt., lord mayor in 1551.
commercial education, and religious instruction in the principles of the Established Church of England, and to be boarded and clothed at the city's expense; and that the parents or friends of each boy, on his attaining the age of sixteen, upon certificate of his merit and good conduct during the period of his being at the school, should be entitled to the sum of one hundred pounds, to be applied towards his advancement in life; and that the general superintendence of the charity, and the providing of clothing for the boys, should be under the direction of the committee of city lands, assisted by the chamberlain of London for the time being.

By this arrangement, the annual expenditure in respect of the charity was increased from 19l. 10s. to about 420l. But this change in the administration of the charity, although a great improvement, yet having from the first been objected to by some members of the corporation on the ground of the expenditure of such a sum upon so inconsiderable a number of beneficiaries, and of the religious restriction, was,

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c Proceedings of Common Council, 21st June, 1826, p. 69; 20th July, 1826, p. 82; 14th December, 1826, p. 126; 18th January, 1827, p. 13; 5th December, 1833, p. 160.
d On the 18th December, 1828, a notice of motion was given in common council by Mr. Richard Taylor, for a reference to a committee to report on the best means of making the sum voted for the purposes of education, as above mentioned, available for the benefit of the largest possible number of the sons of bond fide freemen-householders of the city, and none other; but on the 11th May following it was withdrawn.
in the course of a few years, superseded by another alteration, which merits still higher commendation, and deserves to be particularly detailed.

Until about the year 1829, there existed in the city, under the authority of an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of Charles the Second, an establishment called the "London Workhouse," which was for the relief and employment of the poor, the punishment of vagrants and disorderly persons, and the maintenance, education, and apprenticing of poor children. This establishment was supported by assessments upon the inhabitants of the several parishes in the city, the produce of the labour performed by the inmates, and some property which it had become possessed of by several bequests; but the institution having gradually decayed and ceased to be of any real utility, the inhabitants of the city became anxious to be relieved from the expense of its continuance. The corporation therefore, in the year 1829, applied to parliament and obtained an act for discontinuing the workhouse, and appropriating the produce of the property with which it had been endowed, amounting to about three hundred pounds per annum, for the support of a school for the maintenance and education of poor and destitute children, and for apprenticing such children to honest and industrious trades; and, in furtherance

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* 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 12.  
† 10 Geo. IV. cap. 53, private.
of that object, the corporation also agreed to contribute out of their own funds the sum of two thousand pounds.

Under the authority of this act, an attempt was made to found a school of the description therein mentioned, and for that purpose to raise funds in aid of the above endowment by voluntary contributions; but though the corporation agreed, as already mentioned, to contribute the sum of two thousand pounds, and upwards of a thousand pounds more were received from other sources, principally in sums of twenty pounds each, which was the qualification for a governor, owing to the restrictive character of the school, as imposed by the act during its progress through parliament, and other causes, after a lapse of several years the object remained still unaccomplished.

The governors, having been unable to procure suitable premises in the city whereon to erect a school, presented a memorial to the common council on the 1st of August, 1833, requesting their assistance in obtaining that object by a grant of a part of the city's estates. The committee for letting the city's lands, to whom the memorial was referred by the court, finding, upon examination, that there were many difficulties in the way of the establishment of the institution in the manner then contemplated, presented a report on the subject, recommending that, as Honey-lane market yielded but little profit to the
corporation and afforded no convenience to the public, the market should be discontinued and the site thereof appropriated as requested; provided an Act of Parliament could be obtained to authorize the same, and such alterations were made in the general arrangements of the school as to secure to the citizens of London the education of children on the most liberal and improved principles, and upon a more extensive scale than that contemplated by the existing Act of Parliament.

The same committee subsequently presented another report (in consequence of a reference which had been made to them on the 30th of May, 1838, respecting the propriety of consolidating Carpenter's charity with the intended school), in which they stated that, although it was considered that the trust required to be performed under the will of Carpenter extended only to the providing of education, clothing, and commons for four boys, yet, as the estates bequeathed for the purpose had considerably increased in value, and then produced upwards of 900l. per annum, they were of opinion that, provided the alterations in the constitution of the school were effected which were recommended in their former report, the sum of nine hundred pounds should, after its opening, be annually contributed by the corporation towards its support; and that, instead of four boys being sent to Tonbridge school, a like number should be selected,
according to merit, as vacancies might arise, to be clothed, boarded, and educated at the expense of the new establishment, up to the age of sixteen years, and, upon quitting, become entitled to the sum of one hundred pounds each, upon receiving a certificate of merit and good conduct while at the school.

The court of common council having agreed to these several recommendations, and to a further report recommending an application to parliament to carry the arrangement into effect, a Bill was introduced into the House of Lords for the purpose. This bill met with considerable opposition in the upper house, which led to the omission of those parts of it relating to the funds originally belonging to the London Workhouse, thus leaving the institution in the same imperfect state that it was then in, but at the same time authorizing the carrying into effect all the other arrangements proposed, by the establishment of a school altogether separate and distinct from it, with the endowment from the estates of John Carpenter. With this alteration the bill passed both houses of parliament, and received the royal assent on the 13th day of August, 1834.

It is intituled “An Act to establish a school on the "site of Honey-lane market in the city of London b.”

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b 4 and 5 Will. IV. cap. 35, private.
It recites that the corporation were desirous of establishing a school in the city for the instruction of boys in the higher branches of literature; that the yearly sum of 19l. 10s. had for many years been paid out of the rents and profits of lands and tenements belonging to them, which were usually called the estates of John Carpenter, formerly Town Clerk, towards the education and clothing of four boys, sons of freemen of the city, which payment was believed to be made in pursuance of the will of the said John Carpenter, but that such will could not be found; and that the corporation were willing, instead of paying the said annual sum, to charge the property called the Carpenter estates, together with other property belonging to them, with the payment of the perpetual annual sum of nine hundred pounds towards the support of such school; and also that the market called Honey-lane market, which belonged to them, should be abolished, and the site thereof appropriated for the purposes of such school. The enactments which follow, for the purpose of carrying these objects into effect, declare (amongst other things) that the market shall be discontinued from the 25th day of December, 1834, and the site appropriated for a school, which shall be for ever maintained by the corporation "for the religious and virtuous education of boys, and for instructing them in the higher branches of literature, and all other useful learning." That the com-
mon council shall make regulations for the management of the school, in which regulations provision shall be made that the authorized version of the Holy Bible be used and taught, and that morning and evening prayers be read in the school. That the first and second masters shall at all times be chosen from such candidates only as shall be certified to be best qualified for the duties by six professors of King’s college, and University college, London. That the estates derived from Carpenter, which are set forth in the schedule to the act, shall be charged with the payment of 900l. per annum towards the support of the school, and the yearly sums payable in pursuance of his will be deemed to be included in such sum of 900l.  

The act also authorizes the common council to delegate to a committee the general superintendence of the affairs of the school.

Under the powers thus obtained, the corporation gave up the site of ground occupied by Honey-lane

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1 The endowment of 900l. ayear did not absorb the whole amount of rental which, at the time of passing the act, was derived from Carpenter’s bequest. The property has since become enhanced in value; and in a few years, when many of the existing leases expire, will yield a very greatly increased revenue. Considering the intention with which the property was originally bestowed, and the generous interest taken by the corporation in the promotion of education, it is not improbable that at some future day it may become a question with them whether the entire income of Carpenter’s estates should not be devoted to the purposes of education. The property, according to the description in the schedule to the act, appears to comprise the follow-
market, and erected thereon, at an expense of nearly 20,000l., the spacious and commodious edifice thenceforth known as The City of London School, from competitive designs furnished by J. B. Bunning, esq., whose talented services have since become devoted to the corporation in the character of city architect. The first stone of the building was laid on the 21st October, 1835, by Lord Brougham, who had rendered important aid in overcoming some of the difficulties which occurred during the progress of the bill in parliament; and the school was opened with upwards of four hundred pupils on the 2d February, 1837, when

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In Lower Thames street</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cheapside</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Houndsditch</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tottenham-court road, east side</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alfred place, west side</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ditto, east side</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>South crescent</td>
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<td>North crescent</td>
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<td>Store street</td>
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<td>Chenies street</td>
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Making a total of 119 houses, besides other buildings. Of which number of houses the leases of thirty-two have but between seven and eight years to run; those of the others expire at various periods more remote.

* On this site formerly stood the two parish churches of Allhallows, Honey lane, and St. Mary Magdalen, Milk street, which were both destroyed in the great fire of 1868. Some remains of them were discovered in digging for the foundation of the school.
an inaugural address was delivered in the presence of the lord mayor (Alderman Kelly) and a large assemblage of the members of the corporation, &c., by the Rev. Dr. Ritchie, professor of natural philosophy and astronomy in University college, London.

An institution was thus formed where the sons of those who are concerned in the various trading, commercial, and professional pursuits that constitute the wealth and importance of London, may receive a sound and liberal education, suited to the advanced state of society, and calculated to qualify them for any of the various situations in life that they may be called to fill; an establishment which, while it reflects honour upon the corporation for their liberality, sheds an additional lustre upon the memory of the individual whose charitable bequest has enabled them to accomplish so laudable an object.¹

Before quitting this subject, justice demands that it should be recorded that the merit of originating the scheme for establishing the City of London School belongs to Warren Stormes Hale, esq., deputy, a member of the common council for the ward of Coleman street, who, amidst many public services of importance to his fellow-citizens, has especially distinguished himself by his devotedness to the promotion of popular education, and other benevolent works,

¹ Some particulars of the subsequent endowments and benefactions bestowed on the school will be found in the Appendix, No. V.
and has earned a title to the warmest gratitude and respect of his contemporaries, while his memory will live in the hearts of thousands in future generations.

During the years 1833 and 1834, in which the subject was under the notice of the committee of city lands, he presided over the committee as chairman; and, being cordially supported both by the committee and the corporation generally, his exertions were crowned with the success which has been mentioned. Through the same generous support of the corporation he has had the happiness of seeing a scheme, subsequently brought forward by him, for founding an asylum for orphans of the freemen of the city, carried out in the recently established school at Brixton, for the maintenance and education of one hundred orphan children, which, with the sanction of parliament, enjoys the endowment formerly belonging to the London Workhouse, and which was denied to be granted to the City of London School. In compliment for such services, and in acknowledgement of the interest continuously taken by him in promoting the welfare of both these establishments, Mr. Hale has, from the commencement of each of them, been appointed from time to time the chairman of their respective committees of management.

Having disposed of this matter, let us refer again to Carpenter's Will, in order briefly to set forth the
manner in which some portions of his property were bequeathed which have not yet been specified.

The introduction to this interesting document is characterized by an impressive seriousness, which is well deserving of being quoted. It is in these words:

“In the name of God, Amen. I John Carpynter junior, citizen of London, cogitating with earnest meditation how brief are the days of man, and that many persons, losing their time in leisure and enjoyment, are suddenly beset with trials, and die very often intestate: Willing therefore, with God as my guide, whilst yet in the enjoyment of life and health, and before languor clouds my reason, so to dispose of my frail and transitory goods, that at the time of my departure from this world I may more calmly direct my whole mind to the Lord God my Saviour and Redeemer, and return him thanks for benefits bestowed, and humbly ask pardon for my transgressions: it is for this that, being sound in body and mind, thanks be to God, I do now make, ordain, appoint, and declare this my last will and testament.”

After commending his soul to God and the whole college of saints above, he directs his vile corpse to be buried near the pulpit, before the entrance of the chief chancel of the church of St. Peter of

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m A translation of the entire Will is given in the Appendix, No. II.
“Cornhill,* and he gives minute directions for the manner in which his funeral shall be performed, and the religious ceremonies which, according to the custom of the age, should be observed and kept, and what payments should be made to the clergy and the poor who should be present thereat.

To his wife he bequeaths (over and above those twenty librates of land †, and rent, which he had bequeathed and assigned to her by another will, made of his lands and tenements ‡) one hundred marks sterling in ready money, and fifty marks weight of his bettermost gold and silver jewels and vessels not bequeathed in his present will, together with the moiety of all his kitchen vessels and utensils pertaining to his house or hostel in London. Also he gives to her the house itself (which has been before described) for a term of twenty years; and for the remainder of the term he had in it he gave it to the rector and church-

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* The hope of obtaining the prayers of the living was one of the chief reasons which induced the desire to be buried where attention might be attracted to the tomb in frequented churches, and in the most conspicuous parts of them.—Quarterly Review, on Sepulchral Monuments, Sept. 1842, p. 430.

† A librate of land (librata terra) contained four ooxgangs, and every ooxgang thirteen acres; but, according to some opinions, a librate was so much land as was worth twenty shillings ayear (Cowell’s Interpreter). In Henry the Third’s time, he that had quindecim libras terra was to receive the order of knighthood.

‡ It is most likely that, by the will here referred to, Carpenter bequeathed to the city the lands and tenements which they acquired from him.
wardens of St. Peter's, Cornhill, to provide for certain religious observances, for the relief of the poor, and towards the repair of the church.

He left ten marks to be disposed of and distributed whilst he was lying at the point of death, or within two days after his death, amongst his poorer neighbours, and twenty marks afterwards, within the next year, at the good discretion of his executors.

Then follow a number of legacies to his relations; viz.

To his brother Robert, as a memorial, and to superintend the execution of his will, one of those two silver-gilt cups with a lid, which Thomas Knolle gave him, weighing twenty-five ounces.

And in like manner to his brother John the other of the same cups, of the same weight.

To Richard, son of his brother Robert, for the increase of his estate, when he should arrive at full age and mature discretion, one hundred shillings.

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9 The distribution of gifts, or doles, under such circumstances was of frequent occurrence in Roman Catholic times. The intention appears to have been to excite the recipients to pray for the soul of the dying person. The practice did not immediately cease at the Reformation; for, in 1561, Sir Rowland Hill (said to be the first protestant lord mayor), in his last illness, caused twelve pence to be distributed to every householder in each ward of the city (Machyn's Diary, p. 270); and, in 1566, Sir Martin Bowes, alderman, gave directions for thirty pounds, which he kept ready told out in a little bag in his iron chest, to be distributed amongst the poor of his ward at the time he was near dying (Will of Sir Martin Bowes in Prerogative Court).
And to John, son of his brother John, other one hundred shillings.

To Joan, daughter of the said Robert, at her marriage, one hundred shillings, and a silver piece (described as "unam bassam peciam"), with a lid chased after the manner of a rose, with a little round apple and a sun gilt at the summit, and a salt-cellar, and twelve silver spoons.

To Katherine, another daughter of the same Robert, who had been with him from her youth, at her marriage ten marks sterling, and articles of plate like those bequeathed to her sister.

To Margery, daughter of his brother John, a bequest similar to that above mentioned to her cousin Joan.

To the Charterhouse of Shene, the Charterhouse near London, and the fraternity of Sixty Priests of London (of which two last he was a brother), forty shillings each.

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* As she bore the same christian-name as Carpenter's wife she was probably their god-child, and so had been adopted by them. She afterwards became the wife of Piers Hulk (See Will of Carpenter's wife).

* In Surrey. Founded by Henry the Fifth in 1414 (Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. i. p. 973). By command of Henry the Seventh, Shene changed its name to Richmond, which was the title of nobility he bore before gaining the throne.

† This hospital for the poor was founded by Rahere, minstrel of King Henry the First, between 1123 and 1133.—Stow's Survey, p. 376.

‡ A college officer, now called manceiple, whose duty is to provide victuals for the establishment.—Fuller's History of Cambridge, p. 39.
To John Bukberd, master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, West Smithfield, twenty shillings.

To Sir Reginald Pecok, master of the college of St. Michael in Royal (Whityngton's college), twenty shillings; to every chaplain of the college, three shillings and fourpence; to every other chaplain, not being a fellow, two shillings; to every clerk, twenty pence; to the choristers, to be shared equally between them, forty pence; and to the mancipient, twenty pence.

To the poor of the hospital near the said college, twelve pence.

To every recluse in London, and for seven miles round, three shillings and fourpence.

To the prioress of Halywell, and to every nun there, twenty pence.

To the prioress of Stratford, and to every nun there, twenty pence.

To every house of the four orders of friars mendic-

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* A person who, under a religious vow, led a life of seclusion in a cell or hermitage. Such persons were supposed to hold celestial intercourse, and to possess peculiar sanctity.—Foebroke's *Encyclopaedia of Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 803.

y Haliwell, a priory of Black Nuns, near Shoreditch, founded between 1108 and 1127.—Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 684.

z The nunnery at Stratford, Essex, was an establishment which for many generations was celebrated as a school. Amongst Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrims was a Nun, of whom he says,

"And French she spake ful sayre and fetisly
After the schole of Stratford atte Bow."
cant and friars of the Holy Cross in London, thirteen shillings and fourpence; and to every brother, a priest of the same houses, three pence.

To every poor lay brother and sister of the hospital of St. Mary within Cripplegate; and also to every poor sister in the hospitals of St. Mary without Bishopsgate, St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, St. Katherine near the Tower, and St. Thomas in Southwark, twelve pence.

To be disposed of, at the discretion of his executors, amongst the poor lepers at Holborn, Locks, and Hackney, and the poor madmen at Bethlem, forty shillings.

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a The orders of mendicant or begging friars were limited by the Council of Lyons to four; viz., the Dominicans or preachers, called Black Friars; the Franciscans or Minorites, called Grey Friars; the Carmelites, or White Friars; and the Augustins (Stow's Survey, p. 280). These orders, but particularly the Dominicans, very much resembled the Jesuits of modern times. In them were found the most learned men and the most popular preachers of the age (Golding's History of St. Thomas's Hospital, p. 24). The friars of the Holy Cross were called Crossed, Crutched, or Crowched Friars (Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 328).

b Founded by William Elsing, citizen and mercer, for one hundred blind people, and called Elsing spital. The site is now occupied by Sion college.—Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 347-8.

c Called St. Mary Spital: founded in 1197 by Walter Brune, sheriff of London, and his wife. It had one hundred and eighty beds for the poor.—Stow's Survey, p. 498.

d Founded by Maud, wife to King Stephen, for a master, brethren, sisters, and almswomen (Stow's Survey, p. 498). Removed, on the formation of St. Katherine's docks, to Regent's park.

e First founded by the prior of Bermondsey in 1213.—Stow, p. 416.
To be disposed of by turns, in food or money, amongst the poor prisoners of Newgate, Ludgate, the Fleet, Marshalsea, and King's Bench, and also in the prison of Convicts at Westminster, one hundred shillings.

His books, such of them as have not been before mentioned, he disposed of as follows:

The book "Bibliæ abbreviatae," with the "Historiae Provinciarum" at the end, which John Sudbury gave him; to Sir David Fyvian, rector of St. Benet Fink; and five marks to undertake the execution of his will.

That little book called "Prosperus de vita contem-

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f Persons afflicted with leprosy were not allowed to remain in the city, but were removed to lazaret houses or hospitals provided for them in the suburbs. The one at Holborn was the hospital of St. Giles in the fields; the Lock was in Southwark, at the end of Kent street. A district in the neighbourhood is still called Lock's fields. (Stow's Survey, pp. 444, 500). See an interesting paper on leper hospitals by Mr. Pettigrew, in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. xi. pp. 9, 95.

s The hospital of St. Mary of Bethlem, for lunatics, was founded in 1247, by Simon Fitzmary, sheriff (Stow's Survey, p. 186). It was removed from Moorfields to St. George's fields, Southwark, in 1815.

h Ludgate, a prison for debtors being freemen of the city, now forms part of the Debtors' prison in Whitecross street. The Fleet and the Marshalsea have been consolidated with the King's Bench, under the name of the Queen's prison. The prison of Convicts at Westminster was a prison belonging to the Bishop of London, for clerks convict, and formed part of the gate-house of the monastery. It stood at the western entrance of Tothill street, and was pulled down in 1778.—Walcott's Memorials of Westminster, pp. 273-278.

1 It is a curious circumstance that, after the lapse of four centuries, the rectory of St. Benet Fink, being united to that of St. Peter-le-poors, is at the present time held by Dr. Vivian.
plativa," with other things in the same, and five marks sterling; to William Chedworth, another executor.

The book called "Speculum morale regium," made for a some time king of France; to Robert Langford, late his clerk.

His little book containing "Alanus de planctu," with other notable things; to John Crouton, late his clerk.

His other little book containing "Alanus de Anticlaudiano," and other notable things; to Richard Mordan, late his clerk, with thirteen shillings and fourpence.

All his books in French, which belonged to Sir Thomas Pykworth chivaler, containing in the beginning the ten commandments, the twelve articles of faith, the seven theological virtues, and other things, and at the end, "Dispositio et regimen bellorum duorum et acierum guerrarum;" to John Brown, late his clerk.

All that paper book, containing "Philobiblon Ricardi Dunelmensis," "Quidam de vetula," "Alanus

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k Carpenter's wife appointed Richard Mordan one of her executors, and left him a rose piece of silver, chased. (See her Will).

1 Sir Thomas Pykworth was a man of considerable note in the reign of Henry the Fourth. He was a member of the privy council, and several times ambassador to the French, and afterwards became governor of Jersey and lieutenant of Calais (Nicolas's Proceedings, d.c., of Privy Council, vol. i. pp. 238, 246, 261, 253, d.c.). He was buried in the priory of Bermondsey (Stow's Survey, p. 421).
de planctu," and Tractatus dictaminis;" to Richard De Lefeld, his clerk.

The little book "De corpore pollecie," in French; to Richard Lovell, late his clerk.

His little book "De parabolis Solamoni," "Ecclesiasticus," "Seneca ad Callionem," "De remedii utriusque fortunæ," and "De quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus," together with "Sententiae diversorum prophetarum," translated from Greek into Latin by Master Peter de Alphense, and "Liber de regimine dominorum," otherwise called "Secretum secretorum Aristotelis," to Robert Blount, late his clerk; also to the same Robert the use of all his little books or quartos of the modes of entry and engrossing of the acts and records as well according to the common law of the realm as the custom of the city of London, so that, after the decease of the same Robert, they may remain to the chamber of the Guildhall of London, for the information of the clerks there.

To Nicholas Mason and John Elys, his clerks m, he bequeaths five marks, to be shared equally between them, and so many of his little books or quartos "De devotionibus, moralitatibus, et dictaminibus," as shall seem fit by the discretion of his executors.

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m John Elys appears to have continued in the service of Carpenter's widow up to the time of her death in 1458. She leaves him several bequests, and also desires that he shall be appointed to receive certain rents devised by her. (See her Will).
To Agnes Page, his old servant, over and above her salary, forty shillings.

To Margaret Elys, for her advancement when she shall come to full age, or be married, five marks.

To little Christopher, who had been with him from his cradle, when he shall come to full age, if he be then of good disposition, five marks for his advancement.

To John Reynold n, twenty shillings.

To John Polley, thirteen shillings and fourpence, and one of his gowns at the choice of his wife.

To John Colop, twenty shillings.

To Agnes Vertesance o, ten shillings.

To Joan Gerard, ten shillings.

To Robert Umfrey, twenty shillings, over and above the annuity which he had assigned him by his other will in aid of his sustenance while he lives.

He willed that his wife, out of his goods, should support and maintain the poor and impotent Richard Gray, so long as he was willing to stay with her; but otherwise, that he should have in aid of his sustenance sixpence every week, or that annuity which he had assigned to him for his life by his other will.

The residue of all his goods and chattels not bequeathed by his will, after payment of his debts, if

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n Carpenter's wife left several legacies to Reynold, whom she describes as "my cousin." (See her Will.)

o Carpenter's wife left "to Agneya Vertesanz, ancress of Seynt Mighell's, at Seynt Albons, vjs. viijd." (Ibid.)
any there were, he left to his executors to dispose of in works of piety and mercy, as they might think most pleasing to God, and profitable to the salvation of his soul.

It is impossible to read such a description of the manner in which Carpenter disposed of his worldly goods without being struck by the extent and variety of his gifts, the thoughtful consideration with which he bestows them, and the wide range of his comprehensive benevolence: the impulses of religion,—the claims of relationship, of friendship, and of social and domestic life,—the various duties incident to his favoured position, and especially the claims of charity, are all here shown to have met with that attention and regard which indicate a character of mind that claims for its possessor our warmest admiration.

He appointed as his executors his wife Katherine, with the beforenamed David Fyvian and William Chedworth; and the beforenamed Master John Carpenter (of St. Anthony's hospital), and his own brothers Robert and John, to be their supervisors and coadjutors. No record has been discovered of the exact date of his death; but, as his wife left provision by will for keeping an anniversary for him on the 12th day of May in every year, it may not unreasonably be assumed that that was the day of his decease, but whether in the year 1441 or 1442 remains uncertain. His will was proved by the executors in the Commis-
sary Court of the Bishop of London, on the 12th of May, 1442. According to the directions contained in his will, he was buried under a tomb before the door of the chancel or choir of the church of St. Peter Cornhill; but the fact is not mentioned by Stow, or any other writer who records the names of persons buried there.

Some entries in the city's records a few years after his death show that, amongst his other public services, he had acted as a kind of trustee in dispensing a large bounty given by Cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, towards the repair of London bridge.

It appears that on the 14th of January, 1437, "the great stone gate, and tower standing upon it, next Southwark, fell suddenly down into the river, with two of the fairest arches of the bridge";" and Stow says, to the repairing thereof divers wealthy citizens gave large sums of money.

It was probably at this time that the cardinal, whose residence in Winchester house, in the immediate neighbourhood of the catastrophe, would prompt him to assist in the work of restoration, entrusted to Carpenter, as one on whom he could fully rely, the appropriation of the sum of one thousand pounds, munificently given by him for the works of the bridge.

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p Wills of Katherine Carpenter.
q Thomson's *Chronicles of London Bridge*, p. 271.
r Stow's *Survey*, p. 61.
A portion of this amount remained unexpended long after Carpenter's death, in the hands of his executors. The cardinal himself died on the 11th of April, 1447, and, on the 19th of August following, an entry occurs in the city records to this effect; viz.

"Memorandum: to communicate with the executors of John Carpenter, on account of one thousand pounds of the money of the lord cardinal, in what manner it was expended about London bridge.

"And that the bridge-masters be called before the mayor and aldermen to say and certify where and in what manner the piles and stones purchased by John Carpenter were used."

There is no doubt that Carpenter's executors were able to render a satisfactory account, for we find that two years later they still had a portion of the money in their hands, which had not been required to be expended on the bridge, and that they agreed to lend the same for a limited time to the city, on the personal security of the mayor and aldermen. The entry of this rather curious transaction is as follows:

"A common council, held the 22d day of December [1449]. This day by the said mayor and aldermen it is granted and agreed that the two hundred pounds sterling, hitherto remaining in the custody of the executors of the testament of John Carpenter,

* Journal No. 4, fo. 205.
lately granted by Henry, of happy memory, late bishop of Winchester, for the repairing of London bridge, shall be borrowed for a time towards payment, &c., of one thousand pounds, to be paid to the executors of the testament of Thomas Haseley, knight, for the purchase of the Billingsgate; so that twenty aldermen, by their written obligation, shall be bound to the forenamed executors of the said late John Carpenter, for security for repayment of the same two hundred pounds to be made on the feast of St. Michael next coming, viz., every of the said aldermen in 10l., &c.

Also it is granted and agreed that two hundred pounds of that five hundred marks, to be levied at the feast of St. Peter ad vincula [August 1st] next coming, lately in common council granted to the use and in part payment of the said one thousand pounds, shall be given up in satisfaction of the said two hundred pounds in form aforesaid.

Firstly, Thomas Chalton, mayor, is bound by his written obligation to Katherine Carpenter, David Fyvian, clerk, and William Chedworth, executors of the testament of John Carpenter, in 10l. sterling, the date whereof is the 23d day of December, in the twenty-eighth year of Henry the Sixth.

Also Henry Frowik, alderman, by his written obligation of the aforesaid date, is bound to the same executors in 10l. sterling.
"Also John Hatherle, alderman," and so on to the number of twenty in all t.

And still later there is an entry to the following effect; viz., "Saturday the 29th day of July [1452] came here Katherine Carpenter, widow, and acknowledged herself to have received and had of German Lynch, goldsmith, 155l. sterling, which the same German had in his custody of the goods which the Lord Henry, late cardinal of England and bishop of Winchester, during his life, gave towards the repairs of London bridge; of which 155l. the said Katherine doth acquit the said German, according as by a certain acquittance in the rolls of memoranda, inrolled in the time of William Gregory then mayor, plainly appears u."

Cardinal Beaufort was the third son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and consequently uncle to Henry the Fifth, and great-uncle to Henry the Sixth. He was made bishop of Lincoln in 1398, and translated to the see of Winchester in 1405; he was subsequently raised to the degree of a cardinal, and also several times held the office of lord chancellor. He was the wealthiest and one of the most powerful personages in the realm, and repeatedly lent large sums of money to the king, for which he held the king's jewels, and even his crown, in pawn. He lies buried

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1 Journal No. 5, fo. 31.  
2 Journal No. 5, fo. 83.
under a magnificent tomb in the cathedral of Winchester.

In the year 1448 the city purchased of Carpenter's widow some property belonging to her near Leadenhall, for the purpose of enlarging the common garner there for the store of corn for the supply of the city; and in 1453 she sold them some other ground there, which was occupied by a chapel that had been erected by Simon Eyre, late mayor of the city.

She lived until the year 1458, and left two wills, one relating to her personal property, proved in the Commissary Court of London, and the other relating to real property, which was proved in the court of Hustings of London. Both these documents are given at length in the Appendix, Nos. III. and IV.

It will perhaps assist in some degree the attainment of a just view of the life and character of John Carpenter, and the formation of a right estimate of the influences by which he was surrounded, to take a brief survey of some of the events and circumstances of contemporaneous occurrence and interest.

A very slight acquaintance with history will suffice to show that the reigns of Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, and Henry the Sixth (which comprise the period within which Carpenter

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\* Journal No. 4, fo. 231, 242. \* Journal No. 5, fo. 114.
lived) were full of events of deep interest and importance, both to that and succeeding ages, whether viewed in relation to political, social, or religious affairs.

In the events of political importance, much prominence is assignable to the long continued and desolating wars which were carried on between England and France, and in which occurred the renowned victories gained by English prowess at Agincourt and other places. A more impressive picture of the horrors of the strife between the two nations could scarcely be drawn than is furnished by the instructions given to the English ambassadors who were authorized to attempt a pacification in the year 1439. They were to represent "that the wars for the crown of France had now lasted above a century; that in this period more men had perished in the contest than the population of both kingdoms then amounted to; and that all the world did not contain so many noble princes, knights, squires, and men of feats as these wars had destroyed." The orators were to add, "that it was too great sorrow and horror to think or hear that so much blood had been shed; that the Christian faith, which might have been dilated through the world, had in consequence greatly decreased; and that either the conflict must be terminated or one nation must destroy the other."

The dethronement and ignominious death of Richard the Second, as the result of his arbitrary and dissipated course; together with the frequent insurrections and civil commotions which disturbed the "able but remorseless career" of his vanquisher and successor Henry the Fourth and the reigns of the two following kings, are also to be numbered amongst the political occurrences of great moment which distinguish the period in question a.

As respects the social aspect of the age, it may be remarked as one of its distinctive characteristics that the English government and constitution was throughout this period gradually assuming a more settled form; the royal prerogative was declining, the king became more dependant for his income upon parliamentary aids and grants, the power of the commons in controlling public affairs greatly increased, and the general condition of the people experienced many meliorations and improvements b.

Under Edward the Third much had been done for the advancement of domestic manufactures, particularly that of woollen cloths, and for the improvement and extension of commerce. In his reign the incorporation of many of the city companies, with

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grants of valuable privileges, took place, having most of them previously existed only as voluntary guilds or fraternities. Instances soon began to be of frequent occurrence of individuals rising to great wealth, and sometimes to rank and power, through the successful pursuit of trade. The city of London in particular went on increasing in wealth and importance, and showing signs of progress and improvement. To have the support and assistance of the citizens became an object of great importance to successive kings, from whom they were, on that account, enabled to obtain many valuable charters of privileges. In municipal history "the reign of Richard the Second is a remarkable æra, as we must refer to this period the constitution of the city government as at present established in the commonalty in common council assembled." We may judge of the consideration in which the citizens were held at this time from the circumstance that in the assessment of the famous poll-tax, which gave rise to Wat Tyler’s rebellion, the lord mayor was taxed the same as an earl, and the aldermen as barons.

Amongst other events at this period, of importance to London, may be mentioned the visitation of a de-

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e Norton’s Commentaries, p. 154, quoting Cotton’s Abridgement of the Records.
structive plague, in 1407, which carried off thirty thousand victims.

In 1411 the corporation, feeling the inadequacy of the small building in which they had been accustomed to meet (and which gave the name to the street where it was situate, now called Aldermanbury), commenced the erection of their present spacious Guildhall. Other improvements and works of public utility, equally indicative of the city's progression, occurred about the same time; as for instance, in 1410, the erection of the Stocks market on the site where the Mansion-house now stands. In 1414 an additional gate or postern in the city walls was erected at Moorgate. In 1415 the first attempt was made at lighting the streets; when the mayor, Sir Henry Barton, ordered housekeepers to hang out lanterns in the winter evenings between Allhallows and Candlemas. In 1419 Leadenhall was erected as a public granary, in which corn might be stored against a time of dearth; and, in 1423, Newgate was rebuilt by the executors of Sir Richard Whityngton, and conduits were erected in several places for better supplying the

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*f Maitland's *London*, vol. i. p. 185.  
*Stow's Survey*, p. 273.  
*h Stow's Survey*, p. 521.  
*k Stow's Survey*, p. 521.  
1 Maitland's *London*, vol. i. p. 187.  
1 *Ibid.*, p. 188.  

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city with water. Public processions and pageants of great splendour were also frequently indulged in during the period under review.

With regard to religious affairs, the period is full of interest. It was then that Wycliffe, "the morning star of the reformation," by his teaching and his writings, was spreading doctrines which, in the language of a writer of the Romish church, "were soon to revolutionize the minds of many, and to shake the pillars of papal power." He gave to his countrymen the first translation into the English language of the entire Scriptures, and maintained the right of every one to read them for himself. By his erudition and intellectual capacity, and his vigorous exposure of the errors and abuses of the church, his followers became so numerous that they were supposed to amount to one half the kingdom. The Lollards, as they were called, became the objects of the bitterest hatred and persecution by the clergy, who, although losing their hold on the popular mind, yet had influence enough to procure (but not, it would appear, without recourse to surreptitious means) the hateful enactment for putting those whom they adjudged to be heretics to

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p Thomson's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. i. p. 68.

q Ibid., p. 65.


death by burning. This detestable law was passed in 1401; and it was not suffered long to remain inoperative. The first victim under it was William Sawtre, a priest of St. Osith's in London, who was brought to the stake in Smithfield, in March, 1401. In 1410, one Badby, called in some accounts a tailor, in others a smith, suffered a similar death in the same place, on which occasion the Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry the Fifth) was present, and tried, without avail, all his powers of persuasion to shake the constancy of the poor man, and induce him to recant his heretical opinions. Other victims followed from time to time, the foremost amongst them being a man of noble rank, who had been a friend and associate of the king himself, viz., the famous Lord Cobham.

The period of which we are speaking was also distinguished for the great schism which prevailed in the church of Rome, and tended much to weaken its influence through the contending claims of two and even three rival popes, all pretending to infallibility at the same time. The council of Constance, convened

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1 Stat. 2 Hen. IV. c. 15.


3 Holinshed's Chronicles; Thomas Walsingham's Historia Anglica.

4 Pictorial History of England, book v. chap. ii. Rapin says of Lord Cobham, he was the first nobleman who suffered for the reformed religion. For courage, learning, and capacity he had few if any equals in the age he lived in; and his memory has been honoured in all subsequent times (Hannay's History of the Representation, p. 124).
in 1414, asserted the superior authority of general councils over the nominal head of the church, by deposing each of these pontiffs, and attempted to restore the peace of the church by electing another. By decrees of this council the celebrated John Huss was condemned to the stake in Bohemia, and vengeance wreaked upon the lifeless corpse of the English reformer Wicliffe, by his remains being dug up from his grave and burnt, and ignominiously thrown into a river.

Notwithstanding the existing discouragements and impediments to mental advancement, various influences were at work in this age, in different parts of Europe, tending to the revival of learning, and the spread of knowledge amongst the people. The labours of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, the cultivation of Grecian literature, the introduction into Europe of algebra from the Arabians, the encouragement given to learning by the family of Medici in Florence, are circumstances the influence of which conferred on this period a peculiar importance and interest.

With regard to England in particular, the æra is remarkable for its being that in which English litera-

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* Bell's *View of Universal History and Literature*, 1833.
* Berington's *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, book vi.; Hallam's *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, vol. i. chap. 1, 2.
ture may be said to have had its origin. It was the age which produced the numerous works of Wicliffe, Chaucer, Gower, Maundeville, the accomplished James the First of Scotland, and other English writers, whose labours contributed so much to the cultivation and improvement of the language and literature of this country c.

Brief and imperfect as it is, this review of the period in which it was Carpenter's lot to live will suffice to show that it was one of stirring interest to those who were contemporary with it, and fraught with results of enduring importance to succeeding ages.

The details which have been given of the life and actions of John Carpenter carry with them so clear an indication of the general character of the man, that it would be superfluous to extend this narrative by any elaborate disquisition on the subject. But still there are some strongly marked facts and features which may without impropriety be alluded to in drawing this memoir to a close, as tending to enhance our interest in him, and to increase our reverence for his memory.

In the first place, it is worthy of remark that from his early youth to the close of his life he seems to have been constantly engaged in pursuits intimately

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connected with the public interests, and especially those more immediately affecting the welfare of his native city; and there is ample evidence both of the great usefulness of his labours for the public good, and of the high degree in which they were appreciated at the time. His whole course seems to entitle him to be regarded as a man habitually acting under the influence of religious principles, and in the exercise of a piety eminently practical; and there are decided proofs that he was a staunch lover of justice, and an inflexible opponent to wrong doing, however influential the quarters in which it might be exhibited. His taste for literature, and his intimate association with men of learning, who were distinguished for their efforts to promote the advancement of society in a degree beyond most of their contemporaries, confer also a peculiar interest upon his personal history. And the genial benevolence of mind which seems to have marked the whole course of his life, and is especially evident in the disposition which he made of his property, adds a charm to his character which will ever render it worthy of endearing remembrance. These and other points which might be referred to, which will doubtless occur to the mind of an attentive reader of the foregoing memoir, must, we think, lead to the conviction that the individual who forms the subject of it was something more than an ordinary every-day man, and that his career was
strongly marked by characteristics which claim distinctive admiration and applause.

It only remains to add that the corporation of London, who have good reason to exult in the eminent position which the City of London School has attained under their fostering care, have, in a spirit of just gratitude, honoured the memory of John Carpenter, by causing a statue of him to be placed in a conspicuous part of the building, with an inscription, which presents a faithful outline of his character and good deeds, and will form an appropriate conclusion to the present narrative. It occupies five sides of an octagonal pedestal, and is as follows:

To the Memory of

JOHN CARPENTER,
an eminent citizen of London
and member of the Company of Mercers,
who lived during the reigns of
Henry V. and Henry VI.
and who bequeathed
to the corporation of this city
certain lands and tenements
for the purpose of
maintaining and educating four boys
and sending them to the Universities;
from which bequest resulted
the foundation and endowment of
The City of London School,
under the authority of
an Act of Parliament,
A.D. M.DCCC.XXXIV.
He was distinguished by
his general attainments and learning;
his knowledge of the
laws, customs, and privileges of this city;
his integrity of character, and universal benevolence.
From his earliest youth he was devoted
to the service of his fellow-citizens,
and throughout the course of his life
proved himself
a ready defender of their rights
and a zealous promoter of their interests.
He was elected
Common Clerk or Town Clerk of London,
A.D. MCCC.XVII.,
and held that office for twenty-one years,
during which period
he compiled the valuable treatise still extant
under the title of "Liber Albus."
He likewise
represented the city in Parliament,
A.D. MCCC.XXXVI. and MCCC.XXXIX.

As one of the
Executors of Sir Richard Whittington,
he conferred essential benefits
on the city
by promoting various public works,
especially
the erection of Conduits,
the rebuilding of Newgate,
the enlargement of the Hospital of Saint Bartholomew,
the completion of the Guildhall,
and the formation of a Library attached thereto,
to which he subsequently bequeathed
sundry rare books
for the benefit of students
resorting to the same.
In token of his eminent services,
he was honoured
both by his sovereign and fellow-citizens
with peculiar immunities
and privileges.
He left munificent bequests
to the Charterhouse,
and the Fraternity of Sixty Priests in London,
of which brotherhoods he was a member,
as well as to many other
religious establishments and persons;
also
to the hospitals of
Saint Mary within Cripplegate,
Saint Mary without Bishopsgate,
Saint Bartholomew in Smithfield,
Saint Katherine near the Tower, and
Saint Thomas in Southwark;
to the houses
for poor Lepers at Holborn, Clerkenwell, and Hackney,
and for poor Madmen at Bethlem;
and
to the poor prisoners in Newgate, Ludgate,
the Fleet, Marshalsea, and King's Bench,
and the Prison of Convicts
at Westminster.

He died
on the xiliith of May, mcccc.xli.;
and was buried
before the chancel of the church of
Saint Peter, Cornhill,
of which parish
he was an inhabitant and a liberal benefactor.
Thus
his comprehensive charity
embraced all the necessities
of his fellow men;
and
the general conduct of his life
exhibited the character
of one who
(in the words of Holy Writ)
desired
"To do justly, love mercy,
and
"walk humbly with his God."
APPENDIX.
APPENDIX.

I.

LIST OF
BOOKS BELONGING TO JOHN CARPENTER,
WHICH ARE MENTIONED IN HIS WILL,
WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES, &c.

1. "My little book containing 'Alanus de Anticlaudiano,' and other notable things."

The "Anticlaudianus" is a Latin poem of nine books, much in the manner of Claudian, and written in defence of Divine Providence against a passage in that poet's Rufinus. It was a famous book in the middle ages (Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. cxxxii., and vol. ii. p. 166). "It "treats," says Mr. Turner (History of England, vol. iv. p. 166), "on the seven arts and sciences, and morals, with "great fluency of versification and some good precepts." Chaucer alludes to the work in his House of Fame, book ii. line 478. There are as many as three copies of it in the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, viz., Vespasianus A x. (1) fo. 1; Titus D xx. (18) fo. 138; Cleopatra B vi. (3) fo. 87. There is also an old French translation of it in Bibl. Reg. Paris. MSS. cod. 7632.
Alanus de Insulis (or Alan de l’Isle), a poet and divine, who died in 1202, is described as one of the greatest of the schoolmen (Newman’s Life of St. Stephen Harding, chap. vii. p. 69). Mosheim says of him he was “a logician who made no mean figure among the disputations tribe; who applied himself also to the study of chemistry, and published several moral discourses, in which there are many wise and useful exhortations and precepts” (Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 618). It is not clear whether he was an Englishman or not. An account of his life and writings may be read in Tanner’s Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p.16. (Turner’s History of England, vol. iv. p. 166).

2. “My little book containing ‘Alanus de planctu,’ with other notable things.”

“De planctu naturae,” the plaint of nature, by the same author as the last, is a work partly prose and partly metrical. It is quoted by Chaucer in his poem The assembly of Foules, line 816. Several copies of it exist in the British Museum, Cottonian MSS. Vespasianus B xxiii. (4) fo. 84; Cleopatra B vi. (4) fo.154; and Harl. MSS. 492.

3. Alanus de planctu.
The same work, with other tracts, in a paper book.

4. “My book ‘de meditationibus et orationibus Sancti Anselmi’.”

Anselm was archbishop of Canterbury in the reigns of William the Second and Henry the First. He died in 1109. His comprehensive knowledge and intellectual powers caused him to rank in literature as the first man of his age.
He delighted in the interior exercises of devotion, and was one of the most eminent masters in the contemplative way. His meditations and prayers have been extolled as exhibiting a most tender and exalted devotion, and a deep knowledge of the spirit of Christianity (Möhler's *Life of Anselm* translated by Rymer, intro. p. xii. pp. 20–23; Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, April 21; Berington's *Literary History*, book iv. p. 172). Anselm's works were printed in 1675, and again in 1721. A MS. copy of the Meditations exists in the Harleian collection, No. 178: I have an old English translation in manuscript, and a copy printed at Rome 1697.

5. "That book on architecture which Master William Cleve gave to me."

For an account of Master Cleve see page 61.

6. "That book 'cum Secretis Aristotelis,' &c., which my master Marchaunt gave to me."

7. Liber de regimine dominorum, otherwise called Secretum secretorum Aristotelis.

The "Secreta Secretorum" was a very popular book in the middle ages. It was a sort of an abridgement of the Aristotelian philosophy, which, it is pretended by the mystic writers, Aristotle made in his old age, and addressed to his pupil Alexander the Great. The work was treated as genuine, and explained with a learned gloss by Roger Bacon. It was also transcribed and illustrated with a commentary for the use of Edward the Third; but it was a spurious compilation, filled with many Arabian innovations and absurdities. It was partly translated into English verse by
Lidgate, and Gower also was indebted to it for the greatest part of the eighth book of his Confessio Amantis. It is alluded to by Chaucer in the Canon Yeoman’s Tale (v. 16915). Manuscript copies of it exist in the Vatican library at Rome, the Bodleian library at Oxford, and in the Cottonian and Harleian collections in the British Museum, where also are some printed editions both in Latin and English. In the public library at Cambridge is an early English edition, with the following title: “The secret of secrets of Aristotyle, “with the governale of princes and every manner of estate; “with rules of helth for body and soul, very profitable for “every man, very gode to teche children to rede English. “Newly translated out of French, and emprent at Lon-“don by Robert Copland, in 1528.” (Warton’s History of English Poetry, vol. ii. pp. 230–1; Tyrwhitt’s Notes on Chaucer, &c.). I have in my possession a rare Latin copy, printed in Gothic letter at Lyons, in 1528.

(Including also No. 15).


This is now an uncommon book. An English translation of it, printed upon vellum in 1521, is in the public library at Cambridge, with the following title: “The book which “is called the Body of Policie: and it speketh of vertues “and good maners. Imprinted at London, without New-“gate, in St. Pulker’s parysh, by John Skot, the year “Mcccxxxj.” (Hartshorne’s Book Rarities in the University of Cambridge, p. 164.)
10. De miseria conditionis humanae.

(Contained in the book given him by his master Marchant, No. 6.)

This work was written about the year 1200, by Cardinal Lotario, afterwards Pope Innocent the Third. An edition of it was printed at Cologne, 1496 (Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. ccii.). A manuscript copy (perhaps the very one that had belonged to Carpenter, was, in 1448, in the library of Elsing spital in London Wall (Malcolm's Londinium Redivivum, vol. i. p. 29). Other copies are still to be found in the British Museum, amongst the Cottonian MSS. Vespasian D xiii. No. 4, fo. 98; and in the Harleian MSS. No. 323, 17, and No. 325, 12.

11. De remediis utriusque fortunae.

A treatise "on the remedies of both extremes of fortune," written in Latin by Petrarch in 1353, in the form of dialogue. It made a great noise when it appeared, and was quickly translated into French, Italian, and Spanish. It was printed as early as 1471. Though generally attributed to Petrarch, Dr. Dibdin says it was written by Hadrian, a Carthusian monk (Bibliotheca Spenceriana, vol. iii. p. 452). I have in my possession a Latin copy printed in 1616; and also a curious black-letter English version, entitled "Phys- sicke against fortune, as well prosperous as adverse; writ- ten in Latin by Francis Petrarch, and now first Englished " by Francis Twyne: London, 1579." For a character of the work see Life of Petrarch, by Thomas Campbell, 1841.

12. Dispositio et regimen bellorum duorum et acierum guerrarum.
13. "That book which Master Roger Dymok made, "contra duodecim errores et hereses Lollardorum,' "and gave to King Richard, and which book John "Wilok gave to me."

Roger Dymok was a learned Dominican and professor of theology. His work against the doctrines of Wicliffe and the Lollards was addressed to Richard the Second, and was also openly attached for public perusal to the gate of Westminster hall at the time a parliament was assembled (Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 242). A copy is mentioned by Leland as existing in the library of Croyland abbey (*Collectanea*, vol. iii. p. 30); and it appears to have had a place also in the libraries of several other religious houses. (Hunter's *English Monastic Libraries*).


15. Historiae Provinciarum.

16. Law books of forms and precedents.

Described as "books of the modes of entry and engrossing of the acts and records, as well according to the "common law of the realm as the custom of the city of "London."

17. Philobiblon Ricardi Dunelmensis.

A remarkable treatise on "the love of books," written about 1343, by Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham, chancellor and treasurer of Edward the Third. Mr. Hallam says of him, "we may justly praise Richard of Bury for his zeal in collecting books" (he is said to have possessed more
books than all the bishops of England together: Warton’s *Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i. p. cxv.) ; “and still more for “his munificence in giving his library to the university of “Oxford, with special injunctions that they should be lent “to scholars.” (*Literary History*, vol. i. p. 105). The work is still worthy of being read, as containing some curious illustrations of the state of literature. Its object peculiarly was “to excite a love of general study; an encourage-“ment of new books; a desire to collect them; a taste for “the liberal arts; indulgence for poetry; and an increased “facility to students to read the books that were obtained.” (Turner’s *History of England*, vol. v. p. 458–9). Copies of the work exist in the Harleian MSS. No. 492, and the Cottonian MSS. App. iv. No. 4, fo. 103. It has been several times printed, *viz.*, at Cologne, 1473; Spires, 1483; Paris, 1500; Oxford, 1598; Leipsic, 1674. An English translation, with notes by Mr. Inglis, was published in London in 1832 (of which I possess a copy); and another more recently, by Mr. W. S. Gibson of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.


St. Prosper was a learned layman of Aquitaine, living A.D. 408–463, and secretary to the pope St. Leo the Great. His work on the contemplative life is mentioned by Petrarch as being in use in his time as a school book (*Hallam’s Literary History*, vol. i. p. 110). But Butler, in his account of St. Prosper (*Lives of the Saints*, June 25th), considers this work not to have been written by him. A copy, printed in 1487, is included in Osborne’s catalogue of the Harleian library, vol. v. No. 7392.
19. Quidam de vetula.

An hexameter poem in three books, formerly attributed to Ovid. It is quoted as his in the Philobiblon (edit. 1832, p. 62), and is printed in some of the early editions of his works (ibid. p. 140, note). Mr. Hallam, in his Literary History (vol. i. p. 105) calls it "a wretched poem." Warton says it was translated into French by Jean le Fevre, by command of Charles the Fifth; and adds in a note the following particulars respecting it: "Polycarpus Leyserus "supposes this piece to be the forgery of one Leo Protono- "tarius, an officer in the court at Constantinople, who "writes the preface (Hist. Poes. Med. Æv. p. 2089). He "proves the work supposititious from its several arabicisms "and scriptural expressions, &c. Bradwardine cites many "lines from it (Advers. Pelag. p. 33), as does Bacon in his "astrological tracts. It is condemned by Bede as heretical: "in Boeth. de Trinit.: Selden intended a dissertation on "this forgery (De Synedr. iii. 16)." History of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 316.

20. Seneca ad Callionem.

A copy of this work, by Lucius Annaeus Seneca, a cele-
brated Stoic philosopher born about the beginning of the Christian æra, is in the Cottonian MSS. Vespasian E xii. (13) fo. 115 b.

21. Seneca de quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus.

This work on the four cardinal virtues (Prudence, Justi-
tice, Temperance, and Fortitude) was a great favourite in the theological ages, and is attributed to Lucius Annaeus Seneca (mentioned above). But Warton says, "It is sup-
"posititious. It was forged about the year 560, by Martia-
"nus, an archbishop of Portugal, whom Gregory of Tours
"calls the most eminent writer of his time." (History of
among the Cottonian MSS. Vespasian E xii. (10) fo. 106;
and I possess a curious Latin copy, printed in black letter
at Nuremberg, in 1507.

22. Sententiae diversorum prophetarum: translated
from Greek into Latin, by Peter de Alphense.

Peter Alphonsus was a converted Jew, in 1106. He pub-
lished a dialogue, which seems to have been no contemptible
defence of Christianity against his countrymen. He was
eminent for sacred and profane literature (Milner's Church
History, vol. iii. p. 89). He compiled in Latin, under
the title of Disciplina Clericalis, a collection of stories derived
from the East, many of which were very popular in the
twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries (Gesta Roman-
pp. 449-50).


(Included in the same volume with Nos. 11, 14, 20, 21).
The "Paraboles of Salomon" are also mentioned by
Chaucer as being joined with other works in forming a sin-
gle volume (Wife of Bath's Prologue, line 6251-63). A copy
of the Parabola Salomonis is mentioned as being in the
library belonging to Elsing spital, London Wall, in 1448
(Malcolm's Lond. Rediv., vol. i. p. 27). There are two copies
in the British Museum, one in the Cottonian MSS. Vesp.
D vi. No. 1, the other in the Harleian MSS. No. 211 (147).

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This work was probably the second part of an encyclopaedic compilation, made about the middle of the thirteenth century, by Vincent de Beauvais, who lived under Louis the Ninth of France, and, on account of his extraordinary erudition, was appointed preceptor to that king’s sons. The entire collection consists of ten volumes, and is entitled “Speculum naturale, morale, doctrinale, et historiale.” The Speculum morale is chiefly a compilation from Thomas Aquinas and other theologians of the same age. (Hallam’s Literature of Europe, vol. i. p. 160; Warton’s History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 140).

25. Theology. “My book in French, which belonged to Sir Thomas Pykworth, containing the ten commandments, the twelve articles of faith, the seven theological virtues, and other things.”

For a note respecting Sir Thomas Pykworth see p. 98 (b).

26. Tractatus dictaminis.

A copy of “Tractatus de natura epistolaris dictaminis” exists among the Cottonian MSS. Cleop. B vi. (8) fo. 230.

Also sundry books “de devotionibus, moralitatisbus, et dictaminibus;” and sundry “good and rare books,” of which no particular description is given.
II.

WILL (No. 2) of JOHN CARPENTER.

From the Registry of the Commissary Court of London.

(TRANSLATION.)

In the name of God, Amen. I John Carpynter junior, citizen of London, cogitating with earnest meditation how brief are the days of man, and that many persons, losing their time in leisure and enjoyment, are suddenly beset with trials, and die very often intestate: Willing therefore, with God as my guide, whilst yet in the enjoyment of life and health, and before languor clouds my reason, so to dispose of my frail and transitory goods that at the time of my departure from this world I may more calmly direct my whole mind to the Lord God my Saviour and Redeemer, and return him thanks for benefits bestowed, and humbly ask pardon for my transgressions: it is for this that, being sound in body and mind, thanks be to God, I do now make, ordain, appoint, and declare this my last will and testament in form following. In the first place, with all possible devotedness, I do commend my sinful soul to the Lord Jesus Christ my Saviour and Redeemer, and to his glorious mother

* So numbered because in it is recognized (as appears on pp. 134, 142) the existence of another will, relating to his lands and tenements, but which unfortunately has not hitherto been discovered.
Mary, and the whole college of all the saints above; and my vile corpse to be buried near the pulpit before the entrance of the chief chancel of the church of St. Peter of Cornhill, where I am a parishioner; willing that my funeral shall be made in an humble manner, to wit, with a black woollen cloth to be put upon my bier, and a wax taper of ten or twelve pounds at my head, and another at my feet, and with four or six torches at the most to be held around me, without any attendance of the rich or other worldly pomp. And I will that the torch-bearers be honest and virtuous poor indigent persons, to be chosen according to the discretion of my executors; and that each of them shall have for his labour, and to pray for my soul, twenty pence, and one gown with a hood of strong russet cloth, lined with blanket. And that my same executors, after my funeral is over, shall bestow the aforesaid black cloth upon some poor and devout person, man or woman, to clothe himself therewith, and to pray for my soul. And I will also that the wax tapers aforesaid, after my said exeques, shall serve, as long as they will last, at the burial of the poor in the church of St. Peter aforesaid; and that the torches aforesaid likewise, as long as they will last, shall serve at the celebration of divine service in the same church, and in the church of St. Martin Outwich where my parents lie buried. For I bequeath to the high altar and to the rector of the said church of St. Peter, for my tithes and oblations, if any there be forgotten or unpaid, thirteen shillings and four-

\[b\] His wife, in her Will No. 1 (Appendix III.), desires to be buried "in the chirche of Seynt Petre in Cornhull, before the quere doore there, "where John Carpynter my late husbande lieth."
pence; and to the same rector devoutly to keep and celebrate my exequies in the same church during one month after my death, and to each of the other chaplains there to pray for my soul, and to be present at my said exequies during the same month, six shillings and eightpence; and also to each of the parish clerks of the same, three shillings and fourpence; and to the fabric or repairs of the same church forty shillings. Also I bequeath for the sustenance and finding of a fit and devout priest to celebrate divine service daily in the same church for my soul, and the souls of my said parents and of all the faithful deceased, during the three years next after my death, twenty pounds c. I bequeath also to the fabric of the said church of St. Martin forty shillings; and to the rector of the same, to keep my exequies in form aforesaid during the month, ten shillings; and to each of the other chaplains of the same church, to pray for my soul and the souls of my same parents and of all the faithful deceased, and to be present at my same exequies, and to celebrate daily in the same church for the same souls during the said month next after my death, six shillings and eightpence; and to the parish clerk there, three shillings and fourpence. Also, to the praise and honour of God and of St. Martin, and that my soul, and the souls of Katherine my wife and of my said parents, may be the more heartily remembered in the devotions and divine services henceforth to be made within the same church of St. Martin, I give and bequeath for the service in the same church my

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c Both he and his wife left subsequent provision for the continuance of a like daily service. And she also provided for a perpetual anniversary on the 12th of May, in the same church, and on other days in other places.—See p. 135 of this Will: and her Will (No. 2) in Appendix IV.
great missale, and my best silver-gilt cup, together with my silver-gilt paxarium, and my two phials or cruets of silver, and my casula of white damask, with all its trimming. Also I will and bequeath that out of fifty marks weight of my silver vessels, which have very often served me for the unreasonable and vain glory of the world, shall be made and provided, according to the discretion of my executors, ecclesiastical vessels and ornaments, for continual service in the said churches of St. Peter and St. Martin, to the praise and honour of God. In like manner, I will that my furred gowns and other sumptuous vestments, which, God forgive me, I have many times abused in superfluous and useless observances, may be sold, and with their price be purchased, and given out to poor devout persons having need thereof, competent clothing, according to the discretion aforesaid. Moreover, I give and bequeath to the said Katherine my wife, over and above those twenty librates of land, and rent, which I have bequeathed and assigned to her by another will made of my lands and tenements, one hundred marks sterling in ready money, and fifty marks weight of my bettermost gold and silver jewels and vessels not bequeathed in my present will, together with the moiety of all my kitchen vessels and utensils pertaining to my house or hostel in London. Also I give and bequeath to the same Katherine all that my new tenement or hostel wherein I dwell, in the parish of St. Peter in Cornhill, together with the garden adjacent, and the houses, cellars, sollars, and other appurtenances situate as well on the north side of the same hostel towards the high street, as on the south side of the said

\[d \text{ For particulars of this grant see page } 38.\]
garden, near the ancient chapel of Leadenhall, in which said tenement or hostel, with the garden, cellars, sollars, and the other appurtenances aforesaid, I the aforesaid John Carpynter have an estate and term of seventy years and upwards now to come, by grant of the mayor and commonalty of the city aforesaid, as in divers indentures thereof made between us fully appears: to have and hold all the aforesaid tenement or hostel, with the garden adjacent, and the houses, cellars, sollars, and other its appurtenances, to the aforesaid Katherine, for the term of twenty years next following after my death, if the same Katherine shall happen so long to live; but all my estate and term therein to come after the said twenty years, and immediately after the death of the same Katherine if she shall die in the mean time, I give and bequeath to the rector of the church of St. Peter aforesaid, and the wardens of the works and ornaments of the said church, to have and to hold to them and their successors during all the same term thereafter to come, for the exhibition and finding, with the emoluments and profits of all the said tenement or hostel, with the houses, cellars, sollars, gardens, and all other its appurtenances, a fit and honest chaplain to celebrate divine service in the church of St. Martin aforesaid, during five years after the said hostel with the said appurtenances shall come into their hands, for my soul and the soul of the said Katherine, and also the souls of our parents, benefactors, and all the faithful deceased; and after the same five years, to dispose and distribute, out of the same emoluments and profits, yearly, during the whole term thereafter to come in the aforesaid tenements

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*e. She lived about fifteen years after him.*
with the appurtenances, four pounds sterling amongst the poorer honest persons of the parishes of St. Peter and St. Martin aforesaid; that is to say, in each of the same parishes forty shillings, at the terms within written, to wit, on Christmas eve, on Easter eve, the eve of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and the eve of St. Michael, by equal portions, and this according to the discretion and conscience of the rector and wardens of the churches aforesaid for the time being; and all the residue which shall remain out of the like profits, over and above the due repair and charges of the tenement aforesaid, to be disposed of yearly about the necessary repair of the works and ornaments of the church of St. Peter aforesaid: Saving always and reserved out of the emoluments and profits aforesaid, twenty-six shillings and eightpence sterling, to be taken and yearly divided between the rector and wardens of the same church for the time being, in equal portions, for their labour and diligence done and applied about the fulfilment of the premises. Also I bequeath ten marks to be disposed of and distributed whilst I am lying at the point of death, or within two days after my death, amongst my poorer neighbours in the parish of St. Peter and in the next parishes; and twenty marks afterwards by turns, within the next year, at the good discretion of my executors. Also I give and bequeath to my brother Robert, as a memorial, and to superintend the execution of my present will, one of those two silver-gilt cups with a lid which Thomas Knolle gave me, weighing twenty-five ounces; and in like manner I give and bequeath to my brother John the other of the same cups, being of the same weight. Also I give and bequeath to my kinsman Richard, son of my said brother Robert, for the increase of his estate when he
shall arrive at full age and mature discretion, one hundred shillings sterling. Also in like manner to John, son of my brother John, other one hundred shillings sterling. Also I give and bequeath to Joan, daughter of the said Robert, at her marriage, one hundred shillings sterling, and "unam bassam peciam," with a lid chased after the manner of a rose, with a little round apple and a sun gilt at the summit, and a salt-cellar, and twelve silver spoons. Also I bequeath to Katherine, another daughter of the same Robert, who has been with me from her youth, at her marriage, ten marks sterling, and "unam bassam peciam," with a lid with a little round apple on the summit of the cover, weighing twenty-three ounces and a half, with a salt-cellar and twelve silver spoons. Also I bequeath to Margery, daughter of my said brother John, one hundred shillings at her marriage, and "unam peciam stantem," with a lid with a red flower (cum blodio flore) enamelled as well on the bottom of the piece as on the cover, and a salt-cellar, and twelve silver spoons. Also I bequeath to the prior and convent of the Charterhouse of Shene forty shillings. Also I bequeath to the prior and convent of the Charterhouse near London, of which I am an unworthy brother, forty shillings; and to the fraternity of Sixty Priests of London, whereof I am likewise a brother, forty shillings. Also I give and bequeath to Master John Carpynter, warden of the hospital of St. Anthony's, as a memorial of me, that book on architecture which Master William Cleve gave to me; and in like manner I

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See note respecting her on page 94 (*).  
For particulars respecting him see pp. 52, 60.  
For notices of the several books mentioned in this will see Appendix I., p. 121.  
See page 61.
give and bequeath to Sir John Neell\textsuperscript{k}, master of St. Thomas de Acon, that book "cum Secretis Aristotelis," and "De miserio conditionis humanae," and other notable things, which my master Marchaunt gave to me. Also I give and bequeath to John Bukberd, master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew in West Smithfield, twenty shillings. Also I give and bequeath to Master William Lichfeld\textsuperscript{l}, rector of Allhallows in Roperia, twenty shillings; and to Sire Reginald Pecok\textsuperscript{m}, master of the college of St. Michael in Riola, twenty shillings; and to every chaplain of the said college, three shillings and fourpence; and to every other chaplain, not being a fellow, celebrating in the same church or college, two shillings; and to every clerk of the same college or church, twenty pence. And I humbly beseech the said priors, convents, and other priests, my most dear fathers, that they will deign to have me heartily and especially remembered in their devout orisons as long as they shall please. Also I give and bequeath to the choristers of the said college, to be shared equally amongst them, forty pence; and to the "mancipium" of the same college, twenty pence. Also I bequeath to the tutor, and to each of the poor of the hospital near the said college, heartily to pray for my soul, twelve pence. Also I give and bequeath under the same form to every recluse in London, and for seven miles round, three shillings and fourpence. Also I bequeath to the prioress of Halywell, and to every nun there, under the same form, twenty pence; and in like manner to the prioress of Stratford, and to every nun there, twenty pence. Also I give and bequeath to every house of the four orders of Friars

\textsuperscript{k} See p. 61.  \textsuperscript{l} See p. 63.  \textsuperscript{m} See p. 64.
Mendicant and Friars of the Holy Cross in London, thirteen shillings and fourpence; and to every brother, a priest of the same houses, three pence to pray for my soul. Also I bequeath to every poor lay brother and sister of the hospital of St. Mary within Cripplegate; and also to every poor sister in the hospitals of St. Mary without Bishopsgate, St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, St. Katherine near the Tower, and St. Thomas in Southwark, twelve pence. Also I give and bequeath forty shillings sterling to be disposed of, at the discretion of my executors, amongst the poor lepers at Holborn, Locks, and Hackney, and the poor madmen at Bethlehem. Also I bequeath one hundred shillings to be disposed of by turns in food or money, according to the discretion of my executors, amongst the poor prisoners of Newgate, Ludgate, the Fleet, Marshalsea, and King’s Bench, and also in the prison of Convicts at Westminster. Also I give and bequeath to Master William Byngham, as a memorial of me, that book which Master Roger Dymok made, “contra duodecim errores et hereses Lollardorum,” and gave to King Richard, and which book John Wilok gave to me. Also I give and bequeath to Sire William Taillour, chaplain dwelling with me, as a memorial of me, my book “de meditationibus et orationibus Sancti Anselmi,” beginning “Meditationes quæ me consolantur,” &c., so that he may bestow that book after his decease upon some devout person to pray for our souls. Also I give and bequeath to Sir David Fyvian, rector of the church of St. Benet Fink, as a memorial to think of my soul, that book “Bibliae abbreviatae,” with the “Historiae provinciarum” at the end, which John Sudbury

\[n\] See p. 66.
gave to me. And moreover I give and bequeath to the same Sir David five marks sterling to undertake the execution of my present will. Also I bequeath to William Chedworth that little book of mine called "Prosperus de vita contemplativa," with other things in the same, and five marks sterling to undertake the like execution of this my will. Also I bequeath to Robert Langford, late my clerk, as a memorial of me, that book of mine called "Speculum morale regium," made for a sometime king of France; and to John Crouaton, late my clerk, as a like memorial of me, my little book containing "Alanus de planctu," with other notable things; and to Richard Mordan, late my clerk, in like manner thirteen shillings and fourpence, and my other little book containing "Alanus de Anticlaudiano," and other notable things. Also I bequeath to John Brown, late my clerk, a like memorial of me, all my book in French which belonged to Sir Thomas Pykworth chivaler, containing in the beginning the ten commandments, the twelve articles of faith, the seven theological virtues, and other things, and at the end "Dispositio et regimen bellorum duorum et acierum guerrarum." Also I bequeath in like manner to Richard De Lasfeld, late my clerk, all that paper book containing "Philobiblon Ricardi Dunelmensis," "Quidam de vetula," "Alanus de planctu," and "Tractatus dictaminis." Also in like manner I give and bequeath to Richard Lovell, late my clerk, the little book "De corpore polacie," in French. Also I give and bequeath in like manner to Robert Blount, late my clerk, my little book " de Parabolia Solamonis," "Ecclesiasticus," "Seneca ad Callionem," "De remediis

* See note (k) on page 98.
utriusque fortunæ," and "De quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus," together with "Sententiae diversorum prophetarum," translated from Greek into Latin by Master Peter de Alphenæ, and "Liber de regimine dominorum," otherwise called "Secretum secretorum Aristotelis." Also I will that the same Robert may have for the whole of his life, if he will, the use of all my little books or quartos of the modes of entry and engrossing of the acts and records as well according to the common law of the realm as the custom of the city of London, so that, after the decease of the same Robert, they may remain to the chamber of the Guildhall of London, for the information of the clerks there. Also I bequeath to Nicholas Mason and John Elys p, my clerks, five marks sterling, to be shared equally between them, and so many of my little books or quartos "de devotionibus, moralitatibus, et dictaminibus" as shall seem fit to be done by the discretion of my executors. Also I bequeath to Agnes Page my old servant, over and above her salary, forty shillings sterling. Also I bequeath to Margaret Elys, for her advancement when she shall come to full age or be married, five marks. And to little Christopher in like manner, who has been with me from his cradle, when he shall come to full age, if he be then of good disposition, five marks for his advancement. Also to John Reynold, twenty shillings. Also I give and bequeath to John Polley thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling, and one of my gowns at the choice of my wife. Also I bequeath to John Colop twenty shillings sterling; also to Agnes Vertesance q ten shillings; and to Joan Gerard ten shillings; and to Robert Umfrey twenty

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p See note (m), page 99. q See note (o), page 100.
shillings, over and above the annuity which I have assigned him in aid of his sustenance whilst he lives, as appears in the other will made of my lands and tenements. Also I will and ordain that my wife out of my goods shall support and maintain the poor and impotent Richard Gray, so long as he is willing to stay with her; but otherwise, that the same Richard shall have out of my goods in aid of his sustenance whilst he lives, by the hands of my said wife, sixpence every week, or that annuity which, in my other will made of my lands and tenements, I have assigned to him for term of his life, at the choice of my aforesaid wife. And the residue of all my goods and chattels not bequeathed in my present will, after payment of my debts if any there be, I give and bequeath to my executors within written, to dispose of them in works of piety and mercy, as they may think most pleas-

* This clause is very curious and deserves particular notice. It furnishes another instance (in addition to those mentioned on pages 37 and 49) of Carpenter's opposition to the illegal encroachments of ecclesiastical authorities, although it at the same time shows how difficult it was to avoid succumbing to those abuses. The powers claimed by the clergy in matters relating to wills were frequent subjects of contention in the middle ages. They not only contrived to contravene the jurisdiction of the secular courts in testamentary affairs, but, on the pretence of having jurisdiction in all matters which concerned the regimen of souls, assumed to interfere in the most serious manner with the power of testators to dispose of their property. The ecclesiastical registry came to be considered as a tribunal to judge of the propriety of the dispositions and expressions of the will of the deceased, which, if not found agreeable to the clergy, they scrupled not to alter or abrogate. Hence testators sometimes inserted prayers to the pope or the church to maintain their wills. The canon law annexing to the episcopal office the power of seeing to the execution of legacies given to pious uses, parties were cited to appear before the bishop's court to produce the will, which was subjected to the bishop's approval and interpretation, in which ample scope was afforded for self-interest to exercise its influence.
ing to God and profitable to the salvation of my soul, without making any inventory of such my goods and chattels to any ordinary; and, that the lord ordinary to whom the insinuation and proof of my present will shall belong shall not molest nor challenge my same executors for the like inventory, as he neither ought nor is bound to do, especially as the last wills of the deceased are to be observed most carefully, I give and bequeath to the same lord ordinary twenty shillings sterling. Provided always, that if any good or rare books shall be found amongst the said residue of my goods, which, by the discretion of the aforesaid Master William Lichfield and Reginald Pecok, may seem necessary to the common library at Guildhall, for the profit of the students there, and those discoursing to the common people, then I will and bequeath that those books be placed by my

The state of open corruption and violence of the ordinaries in the reign of Edward III. is evident from certain constitutions made by Archbishop Stratford in 1342. The preamble of one of them recites that ecclesiastical judges would not permit the executors of deceased persons to dispose of their goods according to the directions of their testators, and the sanction both of the law and the canons; that they took to themselves the moveables of testators and of intestates (which, after payment of debts, should be applied to pious uses): and it ordained that bishops and other ecclesiastical judges should not intermeddle in effects of testators, except so far as the law permitted, under any pretence whatever, but should freely permit the executors to dispose of them. It seems that it was against some similar abuse and violation of law that Carpenter was desirous of recording his protest, although it is evident how mistrustful he was of the respect that would be paid to it, by his leaving to the ordinary a considerable legacy expressly to obviate his interference with the intentions of his will.—See an "Inquiry into the origin, the progress, the actual state, and the attempted reformation of our testamentary jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and lay," by Samuel Gale, esq., of Lincoln’s inn, appended to the Fourth Report of the commissioners on the law of real property, 1833.
executors and chained in that library, under such form that
the visitors and students thereof may be the sooner admo-
nished to pray for my soul. And I do make, appoint, and
ordain to be my executors of this my will my said wife,
David Fyvian, and William Chedworth; Master John Car-
pynter and my aforesaid brothers to be their supervisors
and coadjutors. In testimony of all and singular which
things to this my present will I have set my seal. Dated
at London, on the eighth day of March in the year of our
Lord one thousand four hundred and forty-one, and in the
twentieth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth after
the Conquest.

This present will was proved before us A. P.
commissaries, &c., on the twelfth day of May,
in the year of our Lord, &c., forty-two, and
administration, &c., was committed to the exe-
cutors named therein.
III.

WILL (No. 1) OF KATHERINE CARPENTER,

WIFE OF JOHN CARPENTER.

From the Registry of the Commissary Court of London.

Anno Dni Millimo CCCmo lvijmo.

IN DEI NOMINE, Amen. The viijth day of the moneth of February, the yere of our Lord Mcccclvith, and the yere of the regne of Kyng Harry the VIth after the conquest of England xxxvith, I Kateryn Carpynter of London, widow, beyng in my gode and hole mynde, blessed be God, make and ordayne this my present testamnet and last will in the maner and fourme ensuyng. First, I recōmende my soule to Almyghti God my makar and my savoure, to oure Lady his blessid moder, and to all the holy company of hevyn; and my body to be buried in the chirche of Seynt Petre in Cornhull, before the quere doore there, where John Carpynter my late husbande lieth. Also I woll that, at the tyme of myne exequies and buryeng, that there be iij tapres, one at the hede an other at the fete, and no mo, with iij torches, of the which, after myne exequyes, I bequeth the ij of theyme to the said chirech of Seynt Petre and the other ij to the chirech of Seynt Mighell in Basyngeshawe. Also I bequeth to every of the iij ordres of freres, viij viijd. Also I bequeth to every recluse and ankeresse abowte London, iij iijd. Also I bequeth to Agneys Vertsanz, ancrese of Seynt Mighells
at Seynt Albons, vjd viij'. Also to the ancresse of Seynt Peters at Seynt Albons, iiij' iiiij'. Also I bequeth to the Charterhouse of London, vjd viij'. Also to the Charterhouse of Shene, vjd viij'. Also I bequeth to the parson of Seynt Petre in Cornhull my somer hallyng of tapestry-worke a. Also I bequeth to Sr William Taillour b, xij' iiiij'. Also I bequeth to Dame Elenore my best cloke; and to John Elys c my best cloke next after. Also I bequeth to Master Adam d, which syngith in the said chirch of Seynt Petre for my husband and me, my little chasid pece with the covertill of sylver and overgilt. Also I bequeth to Kateryn dourter of Robart Carpynter e and wiff of Piers Hulk, my best towell. Also I bequeth to Elyne, some tyme my servint, and now wiff to a fishmonger of Olde Fishstrete, my next best towell. Also I bequeth to Reynolde f my cousyn, and to his brother, my ij masars g which I use dayly. Also I

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a Halls and other chambers at this time frequently had their walls hung with tapestry, which was suspended with hooks, and taken down, and carried with the owner on a change of residence (Archaeological Journal, June 1845, p. 172). According to Stow (Surrey, p. 275), Nicholas Alwyn, grocer, mayor in 1498, left by will 73L 6s. 8d. for a hanging of tapestry to serve for principal days in the Guildhall; but the historian adds, "how this gift was performed I have not heard."

b Mentioned in her husband's will as chaplain dwelling with him.—See page 139.

c One of the clerks of her husband, to whom he left a legacy (see page 141). He is again mentioned in this will; and in her second will is appointed to collect certain rents devised by her.

d Mentioned in her second will as "Adam Gerard, chaplain."

e Mentioned in John Carpenter's will, as having lived with him from her youth.—See page 137.

f John Reynold also received a legacy under her husband's will.—See page 141.

g Mazer, a broad standing cup or drinking-bowl.—Bailey's Dictionary.
bequeath to the said Reynold a cilor testour, with the hangyng of blu bokeram, which is in the chamber in the gardyn, with my best fetherbed. Also to his brother an other fetherbed. Also I bequeath to the said Reynold a coverlet, and a testour of tapastery work with a white bordour powdrid with the name of JHS and roses. Also I bequeath to the said Reynold, and to his brother, my pewter vessels dayly usid in my keehyn, evenly to be departed betwene hem bothe. Also I bequeath to the said Reynold a peyre of blankette, and a chest stondying at the bedis fete with a doublle bottom. Also to his brother a litill chest of vir. Also I wolle there be do a masse and a dirige for me in the day of my sepulture, at the colage of Richard Whityngton, at which dirige the master shall have viijd, and every fellow

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h The canopy or covering at the head of a bed. A contemporary manuscript in the public library at Cambridge has a description of the interior of a chamber in a castle, which contains the following lines:

"Hur bed was of assurc,
With testor and celure [canopy],
With a bryt bordure
Compassyd ful clene.
* * * *
There was at hur testere
The kynges owne banere.
Was nevere bede rychere
Of empryce ne qwene."

Archæological Journal, Sept. 1844, p. 244.

i This description of a somewhat rich bed-head may be illustrated by the following lines from Drayton’s Poly-oibion, s. 26:

"Who, led from room to room, amazed is to see
The furnishures and states, which all embroderies be.
The rich and sumptuous beds, with tester-covering plumes;
And various as the sutes, so various the perfumes."

k The "Dirige" formed part of the office for the dead.
vj d, every conductor iii j d, every clerk iii j d, and every chris- 
ter i j d. Also to the tutor of the Almouse howse vj d, and 
to every poore man and woman of the Almouse house iii j d, 
to be at my dirige. Also I bequeth to Letuse my servit a 
peyre of shets, and a coverying that lieth on her owne bed. 
Also I bequeth to Robt, clerk of Bassyngshawe, whom I 
make myne executor 1, a rose pece of silver, chasid. Also 
Richard Joly, an other rose pece to be myne executor 2, which 
pece is of silver, and chasid. Also I bequeth to Ric. Mor-
don, to be over sear of my testament m, a rose pece of silver, 
and chasid. Also I bequeth to John Elys, my servit, a 
rose pece of silver with a covertle of the same, chasid; also 
myne hangyng branche of laton n that hangeth in my hall; 
also my litill morter of brasse with the pestell of ired. And 
the residew of all my silver vessells, and of all my other 
goods, I wolde they be solde be myne executor s and given 
in almesse to pore peple for my sowle, prayeng theyme, and 
as fer as I may chargyng theyme, godely to do for my sowle 
as they wolde be do to. Furthermore, where as there be 
xls expressid in my former testament o, of quyte rentz, and 
of the pencön of the Gildehall, which I have ordeigned by

1 Described in her second will as Robert Welwyk.
2 Mordan was a clerk to her husband, who left him one of his books 
(see his Will page 140). She also appointed him an executor of her second 
will, in conjunction with Welwyk and Joly.
3 Latten, a hard mixed metal, closely resembling brass.—Archæological 
4 This “former testament” was in all probability revoked and another 
substituted for it; as one applicable to the same description of property, 
and for effecting similar purposes, was made subsequent to the date of this 
will. In it the bequest in favour of John Elys is repeated in more specific 
terms. It will be found in Appendix No. IV.
the said testament to be disposed by thadvice of myne
executeurs and other to the sustentacûn and fyndyng of
a prest and other thyngs to be done for my master John
Carpynter sowle and myne in the said chirk of Seynt Peter
in Cornhull, and in the chirk and colage of Ric. Whityng-
don, and in the chirk of Seynt Martynes Otwiche, I woll
that be the suffraunce of ye parson of Seynt Peter in Corn-
hull and chirchwardons for the tyme beyng, John Elys of
longe tyme my servînt have the office to receyve xx marcs
of the said Gildshall to me due for terme of yeris, and to
receyve the quyte rentz expressid in my former testament,
and to delryer thayme and every parcell of theyme to the
said parson and chirch wardons for the tyme beyng, ac-
ccording to my seid testament of qwite rentz. Provided, for the
xl which of the xx marcs I have ordeigned to be disposed by
the said parson and chirch wardons for the tyme beyng to
the said chirch works and other thyngs, I woll be theire
suffraunce that the said John Elys have xxvjs for his la-
boure and viijd as longe as he dothe well thereyn. And the
xiijd iiiijd residue of the said xl I woll the chirch wardons
have it for her laboure of the other chargs of my said tes-
tament. Yeven at London, the day and yere abovesaide.

Also I bequeethe the same John Elys my litell cloth with
an image of our Lady and Seynt John Baptist over the
chamber dore .

P This "litell cloth" was probably a piece of embroidery. In the Archaeo-
logical Journal for January 1845, is a paper by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne,
on "English mediaeval embroidery," which shows the various uses to which
that art was applied; and it is somewhat singular that, amongst other in-
stances, he quotes one of an ornament, made by royal command, very similar
to that above alluded to. In 35 Hen. III., 1252, "Edward of Westmin-
"ster is commanded to order a banner to be made of white silk, and in
the centre of it there is to be a representation of the crucifixion, with
the effigies of the blessed Mary and St. John, embroidered in orfrais,
and on the top a star, and a new crescent moon" (Hardy's Introduction
to the Close Rolls, p. 46). Mr. Hartshorne says such modes of ornamenting
chambers are frequently alluded to in early wills.
IV.

WILL (No. 2) OF KATHERINE CARPENTER.

From the Rolls of the Court of Hustings, London a.

(TRANSLATION b.)

Common Pleas holden in the Hustings of London, on the Monday next after the feast of St. Petronilla Virgin [May 31st], in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth after the Conquest [1458]. The testament of Katerine Carpenter, late of London, widow, relict of John Carpenter.

On the said day and year came hither Robert Welwyk, one of the executors of Katerine Carpenter, late of London, widow, and made proof of the testament of the same Kate- rine, as regards the articles touching lay fee, by John Pyppond and John Elys, citizens of London, witnesses sworn and diligently examined; who say upon their oath that they were present when the same Katerine made her testament in the manner following:

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a On the 28th April, 1458, an order was made by the lord mayor and aldermen, fixing 3f. as the fine to be paid to the chamber for the enrolment of this will, by reason of divers quit-rents bequeathed in mortmain.

b My acknowledgements are due to the Rev. Joseph Harris, M.A., one of the masters of the City of London School, for his friendly assistance in making this translation.
IN THE NAME OF GOD, Amen. On Wednesday the last day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and fifty-seven, and in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth after the Conquest, I Katerine Carpenter, widow, citizen of London, relict of John Carpenter junior, formerly common clerk of the said city, reflecting with careful meditation how short and transitory are the days of man, and how many are suddenly involved in calamities, while therefore I am sound in mind and memory I conclude, make, and ordain my present testament, containing my last will, as regards the disposal of certain quit-rents of mine below mentioned, issuing from certain lands and tenements within the city of London, in the following manner.

Imprimis: I give and commend my soul to Almighty God my creator and redeemer, and to his mother the blessed Virgin Mary, and to all his saints; and my body to be buried as I have fully declared in another testament of mine concerning my moveable goods previously made.

Item: I give and bequeath to Hugo Damelet, rector of the parish church of St. Peter in Cornhill, London, and to the wardens of the works and ornaments of the same church and to all the parishioners of that church, those thirty and three shillings annual free and quit rent, which I have

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* This will seems to have been made to take the place of one of earlier date.—See page 148 (c).
* Damelet was rector from 1447 to 1476.—Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 525.
* A large building in Guildhall yard (adjoining the south side of Guildhall chapel), which was purchased by the city of Thomas Bakwell, in the reign of Richard the Second, and converted into a market for woolen cloths. It was rebuilt in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and again after
yearly issuing from a certain tenement of the mayor and commonalty of the city of London, called Bakwelhalle, with the appurtenances, situate in the parish of St. Michael in Bassycheshawe, London, and from houses, lands, and tenements of the said mayor and commonalty, with their appurtenances, situate in the parishes of St. Peter on Cornhill aforesaid and of St. Botolph near Blyngesagate, London, and which I the said Katerine lately held jointly with William Chedworth and Robert Langford (who released to me all their right, interest, and claim therein by their writing dated the twenty-first day of the month of April, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth after the Conquest), by the gift, grant, and confirmation of John Godney late mayor, and of the commonalty of the city of London: to have, levy, and receive annually the aforesaid thirty and three shillings annual free and quit rent at the four principal divisions of the year in equal portions, together with the power of distraining for the same rent as often as it may be in arrear unpaid, to the aforesaid rector, wardens, and parishioners and their successors for ever, under the form and conditions following; to wit, that the said rector and wardens and parishioners and their successors keep and observe, or cause to be kept and observed, in the said church of theirs every year for ever, on the fire of 1666. In 1829–21 it was pulled down, with the chapel, in order to provide a site for the new courts of justice, &c.—Brayley’s Londiniana, vol. i. p. 114.

7 Chedworth was one of her husband’s executors, and Langford one of his clerks.

8 The grant here referred to seems to have been the consideration she received for the property she parted with in 1448 to the city, as mentioned on page 106.
twelfth day of the month of May if no lawful impediment prevent, or within two days next preceding or following that day, whichever may be better or more convenient, solemnly, devoutly, and separately, one anniversary by note for the soul of the said John Carpenter my late husband, and for my soul, and for the souls of all the faithful departed, in the form following, to wit: a certain honest cloth being first placed on the preceding evening before the door of the chancel or choir of the same church, beyond the tomb where the body of the said John my late husband resteth buried, with one suitable wax candle at the head and another at the feet of the same tomb burning, let the rector of the said church, or his locus tenens, and all the chaplains and clerks of the same church, devoutly and distinctly chant and sing a Placebo and Dirige, with lauds, and with the full service for the dead used and accustomed on anniversaries of this kind; and on the morrow let them celebrate in the same place one high mass of Requiem, by turns, by note reverently and devoutly; and let two of their chaplains separately celebrate two masses without note, with the special collects and commemorations in the canons of their masses to be made for the aforesaid souls; and let each of the said wardens at the said high mass offer to God, for the aforesaid souls, one penny; but these exequies being finished, let the said rector or his locus tenens, the chaplains and clerks, meet round the said tomb, and sing this response, "Liberà me Domine,"

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h The phrase "with dirige and placebo" often occurs in the details of funeral ceremonies. The Dirige, part of the 5th psalm, was borrowed from the first nocturn in the matins of the office for the dead. Placebo was taken from the anthem "Placebo Domine," &c., with which the vespers for the dead open.—Fosbroke's Encyclopaedia of Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 814.
with others used for the dead in such cases, and then let them say the psalm "De profundis," with the appropriate versicles and prayers for the souls aforesaid; and let them also strike the bell of the same church during the time of the aforesaid exequies, as the custom is in other anniversaries of this kind, that the devotions of those who hear that striking may be more especially and more devoutly excited to pray to God for the souls commemorated. And further, that the same rector and wardens of the aforesaid church of St. Peter for the time being do choose and cause to come thirteen of the more virtuous poor of either sex, namely, seven of the parish of St. Peter aforesaid, and six of the parish of St. Martin Oteswich, London, to be present at the said exequies throughout, and specially to pray for the aforesaid souls; provided always, that no common beggar, nor any other who may have had daily food from any fraternity or mystery of London or elsewhere, be nominated, chosen, or be of the number of these thirteen poor. And immediately on the complete finishing of this anniversary, that the rector and wardens divide and distribute each year sixteen shillings from the said thirty and three shillings rent, in form following; namely, that they pay and distribute to each of the chaplains of the said church of St. Peter for the time being, for their labour and diligence shown in the premises, fourpence; and to each of the parish clerks of the same for the time being, officiating on the said anniversary, fourpence; and to the same parish clerks between them, for the striking of the said bell, two shillings; and to each of the said thirteen poor present and praying at the said exequies, threepence; and for the wax appointed and used on the same anniversary, two shillings; also to the
said rector, if he shall have been present at the aforesaid exequies, twenty pence, and if he shall have been absent only ten pence; and that they receive and retain twenty-one pence for each of the said wardens, for their labours and diligence in the collection of the said rent, and the keeping of the said anniversary, and for their offering aforesaid; and that they honestly and faithfully lay out and distribute the remainder of the same sixteen shillings, if any thing shall remain, among the more virtuous poor parishioners of the said church of St. Peter. And further, that the said rector and wardens and parishioners receive, have, and retain for themselves and their successors every year for ever seventeen shillings remaining rent out of the said thirty and three shillings, for the support of the beam-light and other lights of the same church, on condition that no poor parishioner or servant of the said parish of St. Peter, at the holy paschal season or at any other time whatever, at the Lord's table, shall be kept back [arceatur], or any way compelled to pay for any paschal light, commonly called candel silver, about the same paschal season, in the aforesaid church of St. Peter ordered or to be ordered. And if it should happen that the aforesaid anniversary, or the said payment or distribution of sixteen shillings to be made in the form aforesaid, should cease in any year after my decease, or be negligently or remissly withdrawn, delayed, or not take place, or that any of the poor or servants of the aforesaid parish of St. Peter,

1 An enormously thick wax candle, which was lighted on the morning of Easter-day, the wax itself being curiously adorned with grains of incense, and inscribed with the epact, dominical letter, &c.; also the names of the reigning pope, king, and bishop of the diocese, and the date of the consecration of the church.—Hart's Ecclesiastical Records, &c., p. 240.
in the same holy paschal season or at any other time whatever, at the Lord's table, are kept back, forced, or compelled to pay for any light before mentioned, in the said church at the same paschal season to be ordered or provided, then I will and ordain that the fee simple and possession of the same rector, wardens, and parishioners of the aforesaid church of St. Peter, and their successors, of and in the aforesaid thirty and three shillings rent, shall altogether finally cease and determine, and be null and void. Nay, from thence accordingly I now give and will by this my present testament the aforesaid thirty and three shillings rent to the rector of the church of St. Martin Otewich, London, the wardens, and the parishioners of the same church for the time being, to have, levy, and receive annually for themselves and their successors for ever, together with the power of distraining for the same annual rent as often as it shall be in arrear unpaid after any feast on which it ought to be paid; on condition that they each year on the day aforesaid, or within two days next preceding or following the same day, keep and observe with six chaplains and the parish clerk of the same church of St. Martin for the time being, if there shall be so many stipendiary chaplains in that church, or with other fit chaplains in the place of those chaplains, failing either all or any of them of the same church of St. Martin (to be elected for all future times by the same rector and wardens of the same church of St. Martin who for the time shall be), the anniversary for the aforesaid souls in the same church of St. Martin, by note; also make and execute the payments to the chaplains and clerk observing the same anniversary, and the distributions among the poor, and all and singular the other things in
their said church of St. Martin; and that the same rector and wardens of the same church of St. Martin for the time being receive and take for their labour and pains in a similar manner and form as the aforesaid rector, wardens, and parishioners of the aforesaid church of St. Peter in the same church of St. Peter ought to make, execute, receive, and take as foresaid.

Item: I give and bequeath to Master John Breux, rector of the aforesaid church of St. Martin Otewitch, and to the wardens of the works and ornaments and the parishioners of the same church, thirteen shillings and fourpence, a third of an annual free and quit rent which I have annually issuing from a corner tenement, late of Robert Ramsey, esquire, situate on Oyster hill in the parish of St. Magnus near London bridge, and which I lately had by the gift, grant, and confirmation of David Fyvian, clerk, William Chedworth, and Robert Langford, citizens of London, as by their writing, which is dated on the twenty-first day of the month of April, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth after the conquest of England, thereupon to me made, fully appears: to have, levy, and receive annually the aforesaid thirteen shillings and fourpence rent, at the times when payment becomes due, together with the

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k Rector from 1451 to 1459.—Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 419.
1 "Then is there a water-gate at the bridge-foote called Oyster gate, "of oysters that were there of old time commonly to be sold, and was the "chiefest market for them, and for other shell-fishes."—Stow's Survey, p. 33. The tenement here spoken of seems to be identical with part of the property left to the city by John Carpenter.

m It is to be found on the rolls of the Court of Hustings, 28 Hen. VI. A previous conveyance of the same quit-rent (with others) is to be found on the Hustings roll, 3 Hen. VI. No. 153, memb. 10.
power of distraining for the same rent as often as it shall be in arrear unpaid, to the aforesaid now rector, wardens, and parishioners of the said church of St. Martin and their successors for ever, under the form and conditions following; namely, that the same rector, wardens, and parishioners, and their successors, keep and observe or cause to be kept and observed, in their said church of St. Martin each year for ever, an anniversary for the soul of the said John late my husband, and for my soul, and the souls of Richard the father, of Christina the mother, and of all the brothers, sisters, and relations of the said John late my husband, buried in the said church of St. Martin, and of all the faithful departed, on the festival or on the day of the saints Cosmas and Damian n, if then an anniversary of this kind, there being no legitimate impediment, can conveniently take place, otherwise on the nearest day to that festival preceding or following, as may be better and more convenient.

[Then follow particular directions as to the manner of observing the anniversary and the payments to be made, which are similar to those in the case of the anniversary to be observed at St. Peter's, Cornhill o, except that no payment is directed to be made for the beam-light. In case of neglect or omission the bequest was to go to St. Peter's, Cornhill, on the same conditions.]

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n September 27th.

o That these observances and payments were continued down to the time of the Reformation seems probable from the following extract (given in Malcolm's Lond. Rer. vol. iv. p. 409) from the churchwarden's books of St. Martin Outwich, under date 1527:

"Item, monay rescayed for the obitt of Mr. Clerke, xijd; and
for the obit of John Carpenter, xxd; amount - - - ij's viijd"
Item: I give and bequeath to Thomas Eytnburhale, master of the college of St. Michael in Riola, London, and his fellows, chaplains of the same college, those ten and seven shillings annual free and quit rents which I have annually issuing from all that tenement with the appurtenances thereof, which formerly was of Amicia Clevehond, then of John Clevehond, and afterwards of Thomas Knolles, John Stormworth, Henry Barton, William Cauntbrigge, John Brokle, and others, and afterwards of Robert Otteley, William Symmes, Thomas Catworth, and Robert Cawood, situate in the ward of Tower, in the parish of All Saints Berkyngchirch, London, to wit, between the tenement which was lately of the said John late my husband, previously of William Neel, on the east part, and a certain tenement of John Maykin on the west part, and the king's way on the north part, which ten and seven shillings rents I the said Katherine lately held by the gift, grant, and confirmation of the aforesaid David Fyvian, William Chedworth, and Robert Langford, according as by their aforesaid writing, dated the said twenty-first day of the month of April, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth aforesaid, above mentioned, plainly appears: to have, levy, and yearly to receive the aforesaid ten and seven shillings rents to the aforesaid master and his fellows, chaplains of the aforesaid college, and their successors, at the terms at which they shall become due, together with the power of distraining for

p Master from 1444 to 1464 (Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 493). He was an Oxford doctor, and was one of those "famous preachers" who (as mentioned on page 64) exposed the evil courses of the privy council.

q These quit-rents were also included in the previous conveyance, referred to in the note (m) on page 168.
the same rents as often as they shall be in arrear after any
term on which they ought to be paid, under the form and condi-
tion following; to wit, that the same master and fellows,
chaplains, and their successors, in every future year, on the
thirteenth day of the month of June if conveniently may
be, otherwise on the day next preceding or following, do
keep in the church of St. Michael aforesaid an anniversary
for the soul of the said John late my husband, and for my
soul, and for the souls of Master John White and William
Grove, late nominated coexecutors with the said John late
my husband in the testament of Richard Whityngton, and
for the souls of all the faithful departed, and in the form
following, to wit:

[Then follow specific directions similar to those with
regard to the lastmentioned bequest. In case of neglect
or default this bequest was to go to the rector, &c., of
St. Michael Bassishaw, on similar conditions.]

Item: I give and bequeath to the aforesaid Hugh, now
rector of the aforesaid church of St. Peter on Cornhill, the
wardens, and parishioners of the same church, all that an-
nual rent of twenty marks, which I have to myself my exe-
cutors and assigns for a term of years, of the grant of the
mayor and commonalty of the city of London, at the four
principal terms of the year, namely, the feast of St. Michael
the Archangel, the Nativity of our Lord, Easter, and the
Nativity of St. John the Baptist, by equal portions, by the
hands of the chamberlain of the said city for the time being,
from the issues, tolls, and rents of a certain tenement called
Bakwellhalle, situate in the aforesaid parish of St. Michael
in Bassishaw, and all the lands and tenements of the said
mayor and commonalty in the parishes of St. Peter on Corn-

Μ
hill and St. Botolph near Billingsgate, London: to have, levy, and receive annually, during the whole term I shall have it thence issuing, the aforesaid annual rent of twenty marks at the said four terms of the year in equal portions, together with the power of distraining for the same annual rent as often as it shall be in arrear unpaid, to the aforesaid rector, wardens, and parishioners of the said church of St. Peter and their successors, under the following conditions; namely, that the same rector, wardens, and parishioners and their successors, during the same term, do procure Adam Gerard, chaplain, to celebrate divine offices continually in the accustomed manner for the soul of the said John late my husband, and for my soul, and the souls of our parents, friends, and benefactors, and of all the faithful departed, that is to say, a mass in the said church of St. Peter daily, between the sixth and seventh hour, if he shall be so disposed, but otherwise at any other hour, according to his pleasure. And I will that the said Adam shall in each day, ordinary as well as festival, be present at all the canonical hours and divine offices in the same church to sing, and at the antiphon of the blessed Mary on each festival day, and officiate and serve as is becoming at the said obsequies, according to his knowledge and ability, unless hindered by lawful or reasonable cause. Also that they pay yearly during the said term to the said Adam, chaplain,

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* This additional grant from the city, of an annuity chargeable on the same property as that mentioned in the grant referred to on page 153, was probably made in 1453, when the city made a second purchase of her, as mentioned on page 106.

* Her other will contains a bequest to him of a "litle chasid pece with the covertill of sylver, and overgilt."—See page 146.
for his salary, eleven marks sterling; and if the same Adam shall be worn out by the weakness of old age or any other infirmity, so as to be unable to observe the said ministration or obsequies, then I will that he nevertheless receive and have during the aforesaid term the said eleven marks annually. Provided always, that if it should happen that the said Adam dies before the end of the said term, then I will that the said rector, wardens, and parishioners of the said church of St. Peter and their successors, from time to time during the said term, do procure one other fit chaplain to celebrate divine offices continually in the accustomed manner for the soul of the aforesaid John late my husband, and for my soul, and the aforesaid souls, that is to say, a mass in the same church of St. Peter daily whenever he shall be so disposed. And I will that this other chaplain for the time being, on each day, as well ordinary as festival, be present, officiate, and minister, there being no lawful impediment, to sing at all the canonical hours and divine offices in the said church of St. Peter. And I will that the said rector, wardens, and parishioners, and their successors, pay annually during the said term to this chaplain for the time being, for his salary, ten marks sterling. And that they pay to this chaplain for the time being annually during the said term, if he shall be willing to celebrate his mass daily between the sixth and seventh hours throughout the whole year, there being no lawful impediment, or, the said chaplain refusing thus to celebrate, to some other fit chaplain of the same church who shall be willing to celebrate in the usual manner his mass on each day at the aforesaid time throughout the whole year, thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling.
Also I will, bequeath, and ordain that the said rector and wardens of the said church of St. Peter and their successors, according to their discretion and conscience, do lay out and distribute annually during the said term, four pounds sterling among the poor and more virtuous parishioners of the churches of St. Peter and St. Martin Otewich aforesaid, namely, among the poor parishioners of each of the said churches forty shillings; that is to say, on the vigils of Easter, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael the Archangel, and the Nativity of our Lord, in equal portions.

Further, I will that John Elys, citizen of London, who for a long time hath faithfully served me, during the aforesaid term if he shall live so long among men, be the collector of all and singular the aforesaid rents; and that the aforesaid rector and wardens of the said church of St. Peter, and their successors, do pay annually to the said John Elys, for all the aforesaid rents thus annually to be collected and for all the aforesaid donations faithfully to be rendered yearly out of each of his rents, twenty-six shillings and eightpence sterling.

And I will that, after the decease of the said John, the rector and wardens of the said church of St. Peter for the time being do lay out annually during the said term, for the repair of the said church and the ornaments of the same, and for the sustentation of the beam-light and other fit and necessary lights in the said church, twenty-six shillings and eightpence. And also that, after the decease of the said John, the said rector and wardens of the said church of St. Peter, and their successors, shall only be bound to levy the aforesaid annual rent of twenty marks during the aforesaid term, and not by any means to levy the other
aforesaid rents, nor to procure another collector to levy the same other rents.

And I will that the wardens of the said church of St. Peter for the time being do annually retain and have among themselves during the aforesaid term out of the aforesaid annual rent of twenty marks, for their labour and diligence in the procuring and paying of the said chaplain and in the distribution of the said four pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence.

Moreover, of this my testament I make, ordain, and constitute my executors, that is to say, Richard Mordon, Robert Welwyk, and Richard Joly. In testimony of which I have set my seal to this my present testament. Given at London, on the day and year aforesaid.
V.

ACCOUNT OF

THE BENEF ACTIONS AND ENDOWMENTS

FOR PRIZES, SCHOLARSHIPS, &c.,

WHICH HAVE BEEN BESTOWED ON THE CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL

SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

1837.

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{£} & \text{s.} & \text{d.} \\
\hline
10 & 10 & 0 \\
10 & 10 & 0 \\
100 & 0 & 0 \\
400 & 0 & 0 \\
\end{array} \]

By Sir James Duke, alderman, for a prize to the
first boy in the examination in mathematics

By John Tricker Conquest, esq. M.D. F.L.S., for
a gold medal for general proficiency and good
conduct (continued annually)

By Sir James Shaw, bart., chamberlain of Lon-
don, towards a fund for providing prizes to be
given annually

By the Corporation of London, towards establish-
ing an exhibition to one of the universities (the
fine paid by Thomas Tegg, esq., to be excused
from serving the office of sheriff)

The amounts thus marked * are invested in the public funds.
By Sir Moses Montefiore, sheriff, for a prize for proficiency in classics - - - 10 10 0

1839.

By David Williams Wire, esq., under-sheriff, for a prize for classical proficiency - - 10 10 0

By the Rev. Dr. Giles, head-master, as a prize for the best map - - - - - a silver medal.

1840.

By Sir James Shaw, bart., chamberlain, towards a fund for prizes (second donation) - *100 0 0

1841.

By ditto, for the same purpose (third donation) *100 0 0

1842.

By Alexander Rogers, esq., sheriff, for a prize for proficiency in French and German - 10 10 0

By The Times Testimonial Committee, a scholarship to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge \( a \) - - - - per annum, *30 0 0

1843.

By Francis Hobler, esq., the dies for a prize medal for mathematical proficiency, in commemoration of Colonel Mark Beaufoy, F.R.S.

\( a \) For particulars of this scholarship see page 176.
1844.
By Henry B. H. Beaufoy, esq. F.R.S., for the endowment of a mathematical scholarship to the university of Cambridge, of the annual value of 50l. \( (3 \text{ per cent. consols}) \times 1717 \ 0 \)

By Thomas Tegg, esq., in augmentation of the fund for establishing an exhibition to one of the universities \( \times 100 \ 0 \)

By Warren Stormes Hale, esq., chairman of the committee, for a divinity prize \( 10 \ 10 \ 0 \)

1845.
By Sir Moses Montefiore, for a prize for the best classical scholar (second donation) \( 10 \ 10 \ 0 \)

By Thomas Lott, esq. F.S.A., a member of the committee, as a prize to the best writer in the school (continued annually) \( \text{a silver medal.} \)

By Henry B. H. Beaufoy, esq. F.R.S., for the endowment of a second mathematical scholarship to the university of Cambridge, of the annual value of 50l. \( (3 \text{ per cent. consols}) \times 1717 \ 0 \ 0 \)

By ditto, for premiums for lectures “On the advantages of a classical education” \( 52 \ 10 \ 0 \)

\(^b\) For particulars of this scholarship see page 177.
By David Salomons, esq., late sheriff, for the endowment of a scholarship to the university of Oxford, Cambridge, or London, of the annual value of 50l.\(^d\) - (3 per cent. consols) *1666 13 4

1846.

By Warren Stormes Hale, esq., chairman, as a prize for the pupils below the two head classes, for proficiency in arithmetic (continued annually) - - - - a silver medal.

By Michael Gibbs, esq., alderman, as a prize for an English essay "On the influence of the art of printing on the religion, literature, and science of Great Britain" - - - 10 10 0

By ditto, for prizes for punctuality of attendance, and progress in studies - - - 10 10 0

By the Travers Testimonial Committee, for the endowment of a scholarship to University College, or King's College, London, of the annual value of 50l.\(^e\) - (3 per cent. consols) *1666 13 4

1847.

By Henry B. H. Beaufoy, esq. F.R.S., a large picture, containing portraits of the chairman, the head-master, the secretary, and Mr. Hobler, painted by the desire and at the expense of

\(^d\) See page 178. \(^e\) See page 179.
Mr. Beaufoy, as the condition of his consenting
to a portrait of himself being painted at the
expense of the corporation\footnote{The picture and portrait are both preserved in the committee-room of
the school. A marble bust of Mr. Beaufoy was subsequently executed by
desire of the corporation, and placed in the council chamber at Guildhall;
and a duplicate of it is placed in the theatre of the school.} - cost 440 0 0

By ditto, for premiums for lectures and prizes for
essays "On the Fifth Commandment, as the
great moral principle of love of country and
obedience to constituted authorities" - .150 0 0

By James B. Bunning, esq., city architect, as a
prize to the best classical scholar - - 10 10 0

By Sir George Carroll, alderman, towards the
fund for prizes - - - *50 0 0

1848.

By Henry B. H. Beaufoy, esq. F.R.S., for the en-
dowment of a third mathematical scholarship
to the university of Cambridge, of the annual
value of 50l. - (3 per cent. consols) *1716 13 4

By Robert William Kennard, esq., sheriff, for
prizes for proficiency in chemistry and natu-
ral philosophy - - - - 10 10 0

1849.

By Francis Bennoch, esq., a member of the com-
mittee, as a prize for proficiency in writing,
arithmetic, and bookkeeping (continued annually) - - - a gold pen, with silver holder.

1850.
By Henry B. H. Beaufoy, esq. F.R.S., for the endowment of a fourth mathematical scholarship to the university of Cambridge, of the annual value of 50l. - (3 per cent. consols) *1716 13 4

By ditto, for a fund for annual prizes for the encouragement of the study of the works of Shakespeare h - (3 per cent. consols) *1081 1 7

By William Knott, esq., member of the committee, as a prize for proficiency in drawing - a silver watch.

1851.
By Henry B. H. Beaufoy, esq. F.R.S., in aid of the first half-year's dividend on the Shakespeare prize fund - - - - 15 14 10

By Michael Eaton Wilkinson, esq., formerly a member of the committee, as a prize for general industry and progress (continued annually) - 2 2 0

By Donald Nicoll, esq., late sheriff, as a prize for an essay on a commercial subject (annually) 5 5 0

* The premium of eighty guineas for the lectures was awarded to the Rev. Henry Alford, M.A., vicar of Wymeswold, Leicestershire, and late fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Hulsean lecturer.

h For particulars of this endowment see page 183.
By Benjamin Scott, esq., as a prize for proficiency in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and the evidences of the truth of Christianity (continued annually) — — — a Polyglot Bible.

By Sir Chapman Marshall, alderman, for prizes for proficiency in chemistry and natural philosophy (continued annually to 1854) — 5 5 0

By Mr. Henry Judge Hose, B.A. (a former pupil), as a prize for knowledge of mathematical principles in subjects below the differential calculus 3 3 0

By the executors of John Henry Peacock, esq., deceased, towards the fund for prizes (a moiety of a legacy of 100L.) — — — *50 0 0

1852.

By Mr. Henry Judge Hose, B.A., as a prize for the best knowledge of the text of Milton’s Paradise Lost (second donation) — — — 3 3 0

By John Hornby, esq. (a former pupil), as a prize for an essay on natural and revealed religion — 3 3 0

By Richard Lambert Jones, esq., and the committee for a testimonial to him, for the endowment of a scholarship to the university of Oxford, Cambridge, or London¹ (3 per cent. consols) * 725 5 6

¹ For particulars of this scholarship see page 180.
1853.
By William Hunter, esq., alderman, as prizes for essays "On the authenticity and genuineness of the Holy Scriptures" (continued annually at five guineas) - - - - 10 10 0

By George Beaufoy, esq., in fulfilment of the intentions of his late brother Henry B. H. Beaufoy, esq., dec. - the dies for a Shakespeare prize medal.

1855.
By David Williams Wire, esq., alderman, as a prize for an essay "On the application of Christianity to the ordinary duties and obligations of life" (second donation) - - 10 10 0

By Rev. Dr. Jelf, principal of King's College, London, as prizes for the best Greek and Latin poem, or translation into Greek and Latin verse 5 5 0

By R. Hartley Kennedy, esq., alderman, as prizes for good behaviour and regular attendance,

Twelve silver pen and pencil holders, with gold pens.

By the president, treasurer, governors, and medical and surgical officers of St. Thomas's Hospital, a medical scholarship, or free presentation to the lectures and medical and surgical practice of the hospital, bestowable each alternate year, and tenable for three years k:

Value of each presentation from 90£. to 100 0 0

k For particulars of this scholarship see page 182.
By the Company of Goldsmiths, an exhibition to the university of Oxford or Cambridge

per annum 50 0 0

By Richard Nathaniel Philipps, esq. LL.B., for establishing an annual prize for the best Latin composition in prose or verse - - *52 10 0

1856.

By R. Hartley Kennedy, esq., ald. and sheriff, in behalf of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy of Bombay in the East Indies, knight, as a prize for the best essay "On the advantages enjoyed by England through the connection with India" - 21 0 0

By Herbert Lloyd, esq., as prizes for encouraging the study of the English language, the cultivation of an acquaintance with the best specimens of English literature, and the attainment of purity of style in speaking and writing the language (to be continued annually) - 15 15 0

1 See page 182.
VI.

PARTICULARS OF THE SEVERAL

SCHOLARSHIPS AND EXHIBITIONS

NOW ATTACHED TO THE CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL.

CARPENTER SCHOLARSHIPS.

The Scholarships in memory of John Carpenter, the founder of the school, are eight in number, and are intended as rewards for proficiency and good conduct. The appointment to them is determined by an examination in classics, mathematics, divinity, history, and French, conducted by the examiners of the school. The candidates must be between eleven and fifteen years of age, and have been at least three years in the school.

The advantages are, a gratuitous education, and supply of books to a value not exceeding 2l. per annum; an allowance of 25l. per annum towards maintenance, &c.; and a premium of 50l. on leaving the school, to be applied towards the scholar's advancement in life, provided he continues therein three years after election, and obtains a certificate of merit and good conduct during that period from the head master. If a scholar proceeds to the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, or London, with a view to taking a degree, the allowance of 25l. per annum is continued to him for a further period of four years.
TIMES SCHOLARSHIPS.

The origin of The Times Scholarships is thus described on a marble tablet in the school:

This Tablet was erected as a perpetual memorial of the foundation of The Times Scholarships: one in connexion with the City of London School, the other with Christ's Hospital, for the benefit of pupils proceeding from those institutions to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The endowment of these scholarships was effected out of the proceeds of a subscription entered into by English and foreign merchants, bankers, and other persons interested in the preservation of mercantile confidence and security, to testify their warm admiration, and grateful sense, of the moral courage, indefatigable perseverance, and distinguished ability shown by the Proprietors of the Times Newspaper, A.D. M.DCC.XLII., in the ready detection and fearless exposure of a most extensive and fraudulent conspiracy, which, from its subtle and daring character, was unparalleled in the annals of commerce. These distinguished services derived an additional lustre from the unexampled generosity and disinterestedness of the Proprietors, in their refusal to be reimbursed any portion of the heavy expenses incurred in the progress of their noble and arduous exertions.

The scholarship attached to this school is open to all the pupils. The election to it is determined in the same manner as the Carpenter scholarships. The income is 30l. per annum, tenable for four years. The scholars are required to proceed to Oxford or Cambridge within three months after election.
BEAUFROY SCHOLARSHIPS.

The particulars of the first Beaufoy scholarship are thus recorded on a marble tablet in the school:

Henry Benjamin Hanbury Beaufoy, esquire,  
of South Lambeth in the county of Surrey,  
Fellow of the Royal Society, citizen and Distiller of London,  
by deed, dated xxxth December, M.DCCC.XLIV.,  
vested in certain trustees the sum of  
One thousand seven hundred and seventeen pounds stock  
in the Three per cent. consolidated Bank Annuities,  
for the purpose of establishing  
a Scholarship, of the value of Fifty pounds per annum,  
to be called  
The Beaufoy Scholarship,  
and to be enjoyed,  
by pupils of the City of London School  
proceeding thence to the university of Cambridge.  
This scholarship  
is designed to encourage the study of  
mathematical science,  
with an especial reference to its practical application  
to the use and service of mankind,  
and to be  
in furtherance of the objects proposed by the institution of  
the Beaufoy Medal,  
a prize annually given by the Committee of the school,  
in commemoration of  
the scientific attainments of the founder's father,  
the late Colonel Mark Beaufoy, F.R.S.  
the dies for which medal were presented by  
Francis Hobler, esquire, of Walbrook, London,  
A.D. M.DCCC.XLIII.

By similar benefactions in the years 1846, 1848, and 1850, Mr. Beaufoy established three other scholarships of the same description. The election to each of the four scholarships is made by the mathematical examiner of the school upon an examination on mathematical subjects only. The scholars are required to proceed to Cambridge within three months after election, and may hold the scholarships for four years, receiving therefrom 50l. per annum.
SALOMONS SCHOLARSHIP.

This scholarship was founded by Mr. Alderman Salomons, under circumstances which are commemorated by a marble tablet in the school, bearing the following inscription:

DAVID SALOMONS, esquire, citizen and Cooper of London, in the year M.DCCC.XLV.

vested in certain trustees the sum of
One thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds
thirteen shillings and fourpence,
Three per cent. consolidated Bank Annuities,
for the purpose of establishing a scholarship to be called
THREE SALOMONS SCHOLARSHIP,
of the value of Fifty pounds per annum, for the benefit of
pupils of the City of London School proceeding to the university of Oxford, of Cambridge, or of London.
This gift was designed by Mr. Salomons to express his gratitude to his fellow-citizens for having, in the year M.DCCC.XXXV., under new and peculiar circumstances, elected him high sheriff of London and Middlesex; and to commemorate the removal of those civil disabilities which formerly attached to the Jewish subjects of this realm.

Under the conviction that this peaceful triumph of the principles of religious toleration is to be ascribed to the progress of education, Mr. Salomons conceived that the best mode of perpetuating his grateful acknowledgments for so great a blessing would be by contributing to further the cause which, under the guidance of the Almighty Disposer of events, has led to this great result.

Candidates are subjected to an examination in classics, mathematics, divinity, history, and French. The election is made in the same manner as for the Times scholarship; and the conditions attached are similar.
TRAVERS SCHOLARSHIP.

A tablet, with the following inscription, commemorates the establishment of this scholarship:

The Travers Scholarship was established in M.DCCC.XLVI. by the friends and admirers of the late John Travers, esquire, of Saint Swithin's lane, London, as a perpetual memorial of the high estimation in which he was held by his fellow-citizens, for his strict integrity as a merchant and otherwise, his large and benevolent views as a citizen, his disinterested public services, his unostentatious charity, and his general kindness and suavity of manner.

The scholarship is endowed with the annual produce of One thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, Three per cent. Consols, and is for the benefit of pupils proceeding from this school to either University College or King's College, London, in order to qualify for a degree in the university of London.

The value of the scholarship is 50l. per annum, tenable for four years. The mode of election, &c., the same as in the case of other scholarships.
LAMBERT JONES SCHOLARSHIP.

The particulars of this scholarship are inscribed on a tablet, as follows:

**The Lambert Jones Scholarship**

was established in m.dccc.lxi.

by the subscribers to a testimonial for commemorating the public services of Richard Lambert Jones, esquire, a member of the corporation of London, who, as chairman of several of its important committees, was conspicuous for his zealous and able exertions in superintending the rebuilding of London Bridge and the Royal Exchange, and in promoting various other public works tending to improve and adorn the city.

The scholarship, which by the express desire of Mr. Jones was appropriated to this school, is endowed with the annual produce of Seven hundred and twenty-five pounds five shillings and sixpence, Three per cent. Consols, and is for the benefit of pupils proceeding to the university of Oxford, Cambridge, or London.

The mode of election to this scholarship is the same as in other cases, but with the following conditions:

1. Candidates must have been in the school at least three years.

2. The subjects of examination are classics; English, Grecian, and Roman history; and English literature, including an English essay.

3. The scholarship may be held for four years; but it is not tenable with any other scholarship from this school which exceeds the annual value of 30l.

4. The successful candidate must, within fifteen months from his election, matriculate at the university of Oxford, Cambridge, or London.
TEGG SCHOLARSHIP.

The late Thomas Tegg, esq., of Cheapside, bookseller and publisher, for several years a member of the corporation of London, being elected in 1836 to the office of sheriff, paid a fine of 400l. to be excused from serving; and the corporation directed the amount to be appropriated for the benefit of this school towards the establishment of an exhibition to one of the universities. In 1844, Mr. Tegg testified his approval thereof by adding a contribution of 100l. The two amounts are invested in government securities, together with the interest accruing thereon from time to time, as an accumulating fund for a scholarship, to be called "The Tegg Scholarship."

Mr. Tegg accompanied his donation with the gift of a large number of valuable and interesting books for the library of the school; and, on his decease in 1846, bequeathed, "in aid of the Tegg Scholarship," the reversion of one fourth part of the sum of 3000l. stock in government securities, contingent upon the decease of his son John Tegg without leaving any child or children, or, if leaving any such, then contingent upon the decease of all of them without previously attaining the age of twenty-one years, or marrying under that age with the consent of their parents or guardians for the time being.
THE ST. THOMAS'S MEDICAL SCHOLARSHIP.

In the year 1855 the president, treasurer, governors, and medical and surgical officers of St. Thomas's Hospital agreed to place at the disposal of the City of London School and Merchant Tailors School annually, to be appropriated to each school alternately, for the advantage of such pupils as may be destined for the medical profession, a free presentation to the lectures and medical and surgical practice of the hospital.

The election is determined by an examination in classics, mathematics, and modern languages. The successful candidate is entitled to the advantages of the presentation for three years; its value is estimated at from 90l. to 100l. He is required to become a matriculated student at the medical and surgical college of St. Thomas's Hospital within three months after election.

THE GOLDSMITHS' EXHIBITION.

In the year 1855 the Court of Assistants of the Company of Goldsmiths agreed to a resolution "that an exhibition " of 50l. per annum, during the pleasure of the court, be " given to the City of London School; and that the appoint- " ment of the exhibitioner shall be subject to the approval " of the court on the recommendation of the head master."

The head master nominates as the exhibitioner the candidate who is adjudged by the examiners of the school to
be most proficient in classical or mathematical knowledge (or both), and has borne a character for good conduct. Candidates must have been in the school at least three years. The successful candidate must matriculate at Oxford or Cambridge within six months after election. The exhibition is tenable for four years from the date of matriculation, and may be held with any other exhibition or scholarship from the school which does not exceed the annual value of 30l.

SHAKESPEARE PRIZES.

The Committee having determined in 1850 that the munificent liberality shown to the school by Henry Beaufoy, esq., should be annually commemorated by his birth-day being kept as a holiday, he was pleased, in consideration of that day (23d of April) happening to be also the anniversary of the birth and death of Shakespeare, to offer a further benefaction of one thousand guineas, for the purpose of establishing a fund for prizes to be distributed annually, with a view of promoting the following objects; viz.

"To commemorate the birth and genius of Shakespeare; "and to encourage amongst the pupils a taste for reading "and studying the writings of so eminent a man, justly "styled 'our great national bard,' whose works occupy "so prominent a position in English literature, and give a "clearer insight into the manners and customs of the Eliza-"bethan age than any other author; and to make them "available to the pupils in the study of English history, and
also as studies in comparison with the dramatic works of ancient Greek writers, as well as the dramatic writers of France and Germany and other countries.”

The above-mentioned sum has been invested in the purchase of 108l. 1s. 7d. stock in the Three per cent. Consols, the annual produce of which is applicable to the above objects, according to certain regulations prescribed by the deed of endowment.

ARTHUR TAYLOR,
PRINTER TO THE HONOURABLE CITY OF LONDON.
M.DCCCLVI.