

THE OLDER CHARITIES OF PLYMOUTH.

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THE fact that there are extant a series of official reports on the Charities of this kingdom may seem to some to render the work undertaken in this paper unnecessary. Those, however, who are familiar with these documents, and especially with the report of the first enquiry, upon which all the others are based, will know that the reports are often fragmentary, often inaccurate, often perfunctory; and moreover that in the earlier investigations, more particularly, the standard of judgment was not that which would accord with the clearer views of the present day. The original Commissioners were not wholly to blame for this. They had in hand a difficult and a novel task, and they met with hindrances on every side. Here from sheer laziness, and there of set purpose, they were kept in ignorance of matters it was essential they should know; and documents were reported to be lost, which not only did exist, but were easily accessible. Their report upon the Plymouth Charities, which they examined into in 1820, is neither better nor worse than most of its fellows; but it is meagre and inexact to a degree that deprives it of fully half its value, and in many points is seriously misleading. Moreover, from the necessary limitations of the enquiry, it does not deal so fully with the beginnings of the Charities as historically is desirable, and its biographical hints are scanty in the extreme. The object of this paper is to supply the deficiencies thus indicated—to trace from original sources¹ the inception of the various Charities included within its scope; to indicate their first character and purpose, with the changes that have taken place in their operation; and to recal the memories of a host of forgotten benefactors of the ancient town of Plymouth,

¹ Not a single statement is given second-hand where an original document is available.

whose names have long been hidden under the dust of ages, and whose tardy recognition must in some cases dethrone other men, to whom their good deeds have been appropriated.

I am not without hopes that the retrospect, by no means wholly satisfactory, may have its value also in emphasizing the present need of widespread reform in relation to our endowed Charities. One point upon which I would lay special stress is the evidence afforded of the need for an extension of the principle of the Mortmain Acts, to the prohibition of the locking up of any real property in charitable endowments. The only charitable freeholds sanctioned should be those of lands or houses absolutely in possession and use. Not only is the contrary course, as I believe, opposed to the welfare of the nation, but (and this chiefly concerns us here) it has been a fruitful source of neglect and fraud. The interests of Charity property have, as a rule, been nobody's interests; decay and dilapidation have been suffered unchecked; tenants have turned leases into freeholds; trustees have fulfilled the letter of their trusts and pocketed the unearned increments; neighbours have encroached, and bit by bit nibbled away field after field; rent charges have been withheld because it has been known that the Charities to which they belonged were too poor to fight. From all these causes the Plymouth Charities have suffered.

Under the head of our Older Charities I include all those established among us prior to the end of the seventeenth century. Nor is the line thus drawn a purely arbitrary chronological limit. It comprises, not only Charities of which the origin has been lost in antiquity, but the whole of the charitable work of that great Puritan age, which is the most glorious period in the history of Plymouth. The century between the accession of Elizabeth and the death of Cromwell is the proudest epoch of our corporate life. Throughout that hundred years, with hardly an exception, our mayors were men of mark, and our "twelve and twenty-four" sturdy burghers, who respected the rights of other people, and who jealously maintained their own. Of the threescore mayors who by turns held chief sway in Plymouth during this period, there were not a dozen who did not enter more or less heartily, and in no formal manner, upon undertakings of pure benevolence—building hospitals for the poor, asylums for the orphan, almshouses for the aged; feeding the hungry, clothing the naked; finding work for the unemployed, capital on easy terms for the struggling tradesman,

and free education for all who sought it. While Puritanism prevailed in Plymouth such good works went steadily on. Old Charities were conserved and new ones created. Hardly a will in these days seems to have been considered complete without some recognition of the needs of poorer brethren and sisters; and many were the Plymouth folk, thriving far away, who remembered the necessities of the humbler dwellers in their native town.

But with the Restoration a new era dawned. Philanthropy was soon at a discount. True, a few earnest men and pious women continued for a while the traditions of a better time; but, so far as the community at large was concerned, there set in a period of corruption and sycophancy, which towards the close of the last century transformed the Corporation that had dared to hold its own against a king into a knot of time-servers, ever at the bidding, for the sake of loaves and fishes, of the Ministry in power. The Charities were neglected, mismanaged, plundered; some disappeared altogether, others were diverted to alien purposes. Mischief was then done that can never be retrieved. The reputation of Plymouth and of Plymouth's public men would lose little and gain much if the eighteenth century could be blotted wholly out of its annals.¹

With these preliminary observations I proceed with our enquiry.

THE MAUDLYN.

It is much to be regretted that we have practically no materials for the history of the Maudlyn, or Leper House, at North Hill, which occupied in part the site of the present Blind Asylum. If not the oldest of the Plymouth Charities, which is probable, it must have been of great antiquity; and yet its notices are very few and very indefinite. I should not be at all surprised some time to learn that it dated from the fourteenth century, or even from the thirteenth. Frequented seaports in the Middle Ages were peculiarly liable to be assailed by leprosy; and a town which attracted by its necessities at such an early date Franciscans, Carmelites, and

¹ Under the operation of the Municipal Reform Act the management of the municipal charities of the Corporation was transferred to a body of trustees specially created, with whom it remains; and the Corporation are now held responsible to them for a capital sum of £525, and an annual payment of £25 7s., made up as follows: White's Gift, £11 15s.; Hewer's, £4; Baron's, £2; Collins's, £2 10s.; Hill's, £2 12s.; Ackerman's, £2 10s.

Dominicans, must have been very exceptional if it did not both need a leper-house and have its needs supplied. Nevertheless it is not until the sixteenth century that the existence of such an establishment in Plymouth finds record; and the general absence of reference to it in the Corporate accounts seems to point to its having had an independent status. Some payments, however, are noted; and one of these being 5s. for a hundred of reed, we may be tolerably certain that the house was a thatched building.

It has been stated that the Maudlyn of Plymouth was dedicated to the Trinity and St. Mary Magdalene, and that it was the occasion of a dispute with the Prior of Plympton in 1370, at which date it was said to be of unknown antiquity. This, however, is an error, which arose from confounding Plympton and Plymouth, the lazar-house of Plympton being that really in question. The only important record concerning our Maudlyn House is the entry in the Chantry Rolls (1547) that there was then in Plymouth an almshouse called "Goddeshowse for the releife of impotent and lazare people with owte any certayne nomber appoynted." At the date of this report there were fourteen inmates; but sometimes there were twenty, more or less, "as the occasyon of tyme dothe offerr." Beside their "mansyon howse," they had the rents of lands given by different benefactors, amounting to £14 7s.

The Maudlyn is mentioned in 1569 as the subject of an intended gift by William Weeks, and it is shown in the Cecil and British Museum maps of the Plymouth Leat as existing about thirty years later. When it disappeared we cannot say, but it must have been somewhere within the next half-century, since at the siege the site was occupied by a fort. It is quite possible that the siege was the cause of its destruction; for we have the record of a sale in 1648 to John Martyn of land "neere the late howse called the mawdlyn howse . . . neere Plymouth," which appears to indicate a very recent removal. The road leading thither was long afterwards called Maudlyn Lane.

The property of the Maudlyn was no doubt vested, as was customary with these establishments, in the residents, who commonly formed a corporate body. It may, therefore, have been alienated by the last survivors; but it does appear strange that I have never been able to find any trace of its existence, though it must have been, if land, of considerable extent (according to the current average rental, at least 100 acres); while if it consisted of

houses, there must have been several. None of it can be followed in connection with any of the other charities of the town, though there are properties belonging to some of these of whose dedication to charitable purposes there is no record. But it hardly seems possible that it can have passed into or through the hands of the Commonalty without some evidence of the fact. The Maudlyn may have held property in the town under the Corporation, though it does not appear in the ancient rentals under that name; for there is a record in 1491-2 of rents paid by the "wardens of St. Mary," and this *may* mean St. Mary Magdalene.¹

THE ALMSHOUSES.

The "Almshouse of Plymouth," known in late years as the Corporation Almshouse and the "Old Church Twelves,"² is the most ancient charity existing in the town. It finds mention in the oldest Corporation rental extant (6 and 7 Henry VII., 1491-2), in which the Wardens of the Almshouse (Custod domq Elosinar) are set to pay 2s. 4d. No doubt some, at least, of its belongings formed part of the manorial property which passed to the Mayor and Commonalty under the Act of Incorporation from the Priory of Plympton; but whether the house itself existed before that time is uncertain. Still there are grounds for believing that it did. Its destruction in 1868 revealed the semi-Norman arch now in our Museum, which unquestionably formed part of the original Church of St. Andrew; at least, there is no other local building to which it can be assigned. This would carry back the erection of the Almshouse to the date of the substitution of old St. Andrews by the present fabric, unless the arch had formed part of another building in the interim. And for the Church reconstruction, the only dates we have are the erection of the south aisle of the Virgin in 1385, of the north aisle of St. John the Baptist in 1441, and of the tower about 1460. No doubt the Almshouse was the "Hospitale House" mentioned by Leland "on the north side

¹ The house of the Fraternity of Corpus Christi—the Municipal Guild—passed to the Mayor and Commonalty. In 1610 we read: "William Brooking and John Brooking for a Tentt adioyning to the Church yard wherein Robert Stephens weaver nowe dwelleth, knowne by the name of Corpus Christ house, w^h the garden to the same house adioyning on w^{ch} garden certen dwelling houses are buylded. viij^s."

² Simply because it stood by the Church in Catherine Lane, at the eastern end of the Municipal Buildings.

of the churche ;" and as in the latter part of the fourteenth century Plymouth was a flourishing and wealthy town, it is at least fairly probable that both the Almshouse and the Maudlyn were founded at that period. The Almshouse, if we may trust the comparative features of the rental cited, was well-to-do in the reign of Henry VII. ; for against the 2s. 4d. paid by its wardens, the wardens of "St. Andrew of Plymouth" paid 6d. only ; those of St. Mary the same ; the holders of the Holy Cross (*Ten sci crucs*) the like amount ; the Fraternity of Corpus Christi, 1d. ; and the Prysten House (*Domq psbiteros*), which came nearest, 2s. 1d. And there are other reasons for holding that even thus early it had been somewhat liberally endowed. The old records of the Borough Court mention at this date the existence of a toft in the south of Buckwell Street belonging to the Almshouse. The next mention of property I have found is an entry in the White Book that the deeds of lands given by William Randall to the Almshouse were put into the Corporation chest September 26th, 1561. Moreover, on the 1st December following it was "given to understand" that Johanna Lake had left the remainder of her lands to the Almshouse. Also that "Mother Hacker" had given a piece of land upon "Crosse Downe" (it immediately adjoined the present Workhouse site, east and south) to the Almshouse after the death of Thomas Clowter ; while Clowter, on his part, gave to the same charity the reversion after his death of a house at Briton Side.

And when four years later (1569) William Weeks (Mayor 1549-50, 1558-59), for reasons which do not appear, bound himself to make certain gifts to the town (including payments of £4 to some good use ; of 20s. each to the poor men's coffer in the church and to the Almshouse ; four good wainscots and 3s. 4d. towards making of "puys" in the church ; a pledge to maintain and repair during his life the "cause" at Coxside which he had built ; and a promise of 5s. to the poor people at the Maudlyn), he promised to leave 6s. 8d. a year, out of whichever house of his the Corporation might choose, either towards the repair of the Church or to the Almshouse, "which ye like best."

There are some curious references in an account of Nicholas Slanning, Town Clerk, against the Corporation in 1566, which deals mainly with expenses incurred about the vicarage, but also touches the Almshouse. Ten shillings are paid to Mr. Peryam (William Peryam, who sat for the town in Elizabeth's first Parlia-

ment) for drawing a bill "to be layd in the plyament howsse for the almeshowse;" and Mr. Fletwoode has another 10s. for his services in connection therewith, including speaking "in its favour in the howsse." Moreover the "sergeant of plyament" had 5s. (and subsequently a shilling more) to put the Speaker in mind of the Almshouse Bill. I am not aware, however, that any Act of Parliament was actually passed.

The original Almshouse was probably an important building. It had a chapel, licensed by Bishop Lacy in 1540—*capella hospitalis prope cimiterium ecclesie parochialis*. Moreover, the site was originally much more extensive than the remnant which continued to the present generation—with herb-garden, orchard, fields, and barn. 38th Elizabeth Serjeant Hele let to his servant, John Ryder, a close of land and quyllet of meadow between the lane leading from Plymouth towards "the late salt mylle" of the south, the lands of the Almshouse west, and "the old mylle poole called Soure poole" north. And within the next half-dozen years the nature of an encroachment is specified in a lease granted in 1602 to Robert Trelawny, of two houses newly builded on part of "the gardaine of the almeshouse of Plymouth north of the same, adjoining the lane leading from the West Churchyearde stile towards Stonehouse . . . and in the southside of the same waie, in the west parte of the said churchyearde and of parcell of the Schoolehouse there." These houses with gardens adjoining reached twenty-five yards from the churchyard, to the door and way leading into the Almshouse barn.

An early benefactor of the town of Plymouth was John How, priest. He bore the same name as the last Prior of Plympton, but there is no direct evidence to show whether the two are one; and a John How appears as paying 3s. 6d. in the old Town Rental already quoted, 6 and 7 Henry VII. I am inclined to believe, however, that the John How who founded the charities and the prior are the same. The bill is still extant under his hand and seal, dated September 30th, 1563, in which How gives to John Derye, Mayor of Plymouth (also 1557-8), and John Forde, alderman (Mayor 1555-6, 1562-3),

These pcells of goods here specified, to witte, one clothe of blew velvet imbrodred wth flowers of venys gold & silek. Also one white sute of vestyments for priest diacon and subdiacon wth one Cope of the same sute of silke.

Also one red sute of vestyments for priest diacon and subdiacon w^t x Copis of the same red sute. Also one other red sute of vestyments for priest Diacon & subdiacon w^t one cope of the same sute, to this intent & ende that these forsaide pcells of goods may be solde by the said M^r John Derye & M^r John Forde. And that the mony recaved for the same goods be distrybuted vnto the power accordyng their wisdom and descretion.

A letter from How, dated "at M^r Willm hychyns howse at hawle the xxx of January"—the year not named, but addressed to Derry as Mayor, and therefore in 1564—thanks the Mayor and his brethren for their liberal gifts,¹ and states that he had "appoynted to disb^rus twenty pounds in mony to be paid by you & yo^r towne to my frynd Nicholas Barfot to the intent that he shalbe one of them that shall ex^rcise the crafte of clothe wevyng w^tin yo^r towne. And that he be bownd in forty pounds to pay an yerely rent to yo^r towne of xxvj^s viij^d yerely to be paide, vntill suche tyme as the saide Nicholas his heirs executors or assignes make vnto yo^r toune a sufficient state of lands or rent of the clere yerely valew of xxv^s to the use of the pow^r. And that he be bownd to make that state w^tin xij yere next ensuyng." A post-script says that it is to be specified in the covenant that the first quarter's payment of this rent is to be at the feast of the Annunciation, 1565. How desires to be heartily commended to the Mayoress, and commends the Mayor "to the grace of god which eu^more p^rsue you."

There is another letter of a somewhat similar purport from How, dated 27th April, 1565, in which he desires that out of his moneys the Mayor and Commonalty should advance (the letter is addressed to Derry and Ford) to his servants, William Morgane and Richard Morgane, and to Stephen Hechings, £20 each, upon due security. They were to have these sums interest free for the first year; but each year thereafter were to pay £1 6s. 8d. until they should each assure "unto you for the relief of the poor people" lands or tenements to the clear yearly value of 20s. for ever.

How seems to have died not long after this letter was written, certainly before the close of Derry's mayoralty; for on the 21st September following Robert Bekett, his executor, who lived at Cartuther, writes to the Mayor cautioning him against giving up "cteyne Coopes" which "crteyne men doe gredely seke to haue

¹ There are entries of his being entertained, and presented with sugar and marmalade, &c.

them out of yo possession," and stating that he intended to see his friend's will carried out.

The final issue of this was the grant, October 3rd, 1566, by John Derye and John Forde to the Mayor and Commonalty of £100, the proceeds of How's gift, on condition of the payment of £6 13s. 4d. annually to the widows of the Almshouse of Plymouth.

How, however, had previously given a large sum; for the "White Book" records, under date December 16th, 1565, that Richard Hooper (Mayor 1548-9, which may help to fix the date of this donation) and John Hooper were to make proper conveyance of How's gift of £8 a year, or to be handed over to Mr. Beckett's care. How was also the chief donor in 1560 towards the large bell for the town.

There are a few imperfect accounts of How's Charity during the reign of Elizabeth yet extant. In 1567 the total sum apparently amounted to £180; for there are entries of the following loans, for the most part at 10 per cent. interest: William Hawkins, £40, interest £4; Richard Morgan, £20, 40s.; Mr. Yelcombe (Ilcombe), £20, 40s.; William Gyll, £10, 20s.; John Feltwell, £10, 20s. This £100 is set forth to itself. Then follows an account of £80: Rychard Hoper, £20, 40s.; Mr. Yelcombe, £20, 40s.; John Hoper, £40, £4; Nicholas Barfeat, £20, 26s. 8d. The total interest was thus, in 1567, £19 6s. 8d. In 1570 the amounts due on loan were: W. Hawkyns, esq., £17; John Derry, £14; John Ilcombe the elder, £11; William Byll, £14; William Morgan and Mr. Beckett, £20; W. Ferneworthy, £11; William Bound, £25 6s. 8d.; Gregory Cock, £43; the town owed £6 for interest of £20; and there was in Walter Peperell's hands, "that Mr. Martyn had," £10. The receipts in 1583 were £19 17s. 8d., the highest noted; and the regular expenditure was 10s. for a dinner; 3s. 4d., town clerk's fee; 20d., serjeant's fee; and 6s. 8d., "my fee;" "other charges" not adding materially to the total.

How's Charity has now for many years been represented by the payment by the Corporation of £14 13s. 4d., under two agreements, for the occupants of the Almshouse.

The oldest existing accounts of the Almshouse Wardens date in 1729 (not 1783, as stated in the Report of 1820), and set forth the town rents "allotted" by the Mayor and Commonalty towards the maintenance of the people in the Almshouse. But these rents were

the rents of properties belonging to the Almshouse, and not to the Mayor and Commonalty at all; and while the Charity had to be content with these merely nominal yearly payments, the Mayor and Commonalty aforesaid long before that date had learned to appropriate the fines levied for the granting of fresh leases, which in the aggregate was not less than £1000 a turn!

From Town Surveys and other sources we learn that during the seventeenth century the Almshouse estate comprised the following properties: Close at Coxside, $1\frac{1}{4}$ acre; Roper's Piece (which was "landscore" land, by the West Hoc); Mayes Cross; tenement at Underwood, in respect of which 3s. 4d. was paid to the Mayor of Plympton; Tamelarie Closes (2) and Bickland, adjoining Cross Downe, and an enclosed part of Cross Down; Almshouse Park and other closes at Borrington, 11 acres, 5s. high rent paid to Mr. Harris; and houses, &c., in Lyneham Street (2), Stilman Street, Whimple Street, Patherick Street, Southside, Vennell Street, by the Almshouse (2), Tin Street (2), Trevill Street, Green Street (2), High Street (2), Looe Street (2), Batter Street (4), near the Church Stile (4), Finewell Street, Briton Side, Hoe Lane, Buckwell Street, Woolster Street (2), Peacock's Lane, Kinterbury Street, and "near the Old Castles," formerly Mr. Sparkes'.

And we find, on the other hand, in a rental of 1610:

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| The Wardens of the Almshouse for certen lands | vijjs viij ^d |
| Of them for the Tenement lying in the north side of Loostreat wherein John fryer the sadler latelie dwelt w th the Curtilage and herbe garden adioyning | vjd |
| Item pd to y ^e Almshouse wardens for y ^e Tente in y ^e southside of y ^e Church stile in y ^e tenure of John Sheperd | xij ^s |

In 1615 and following years the Almshouse Wardens had 12s. for the rent of a house in which "thold myles" dwelt; and in 1630 Richard Tapscott had £2 for one year on account of the Almshouse, in consideration of £40 which remained in Mr. Colmer's hands.

Among further notices of old Almshouse endowments and property are the following:

Oliver Harry, of Plymouth, by his will in March, 1595, left small bequests to the poor people of the Almshouse and the Maudlyn. Edmund Fowell (town clerk), in 1659, granted a rent-charge of 10s. for the Almshouse out of land adjoining the road leading from Hampton Shute to Plympton; and John Lanyon, in 1674, left £50 to better its revenues, which cannot now be traced.

Under the Act by which the Guardians of the Poor were incorporated (1708), it was provided that *all* the public almshouses in the borough should be transferred to that body: "All and every the Alms-houses, or Houses commonly used for the Habitation of Poor People, lying within the said Borough or Town, as are belonging to the Mayor and Commonalty of the said Town, or to either of the said Two Parishes." Nevertheless in some mysterious way the Corporation have stuck, and do stick, to the "Old Church Twelves"—though in a new form—as the sole illegal remnant of their charitable trusts. The reason for this retention in direct defiance of the Act of Parliament does not seem to have occurred to the Commissioners, who took things very much as they found them. It is perfectly clear, however, when it is seen how valuable was the Almshouse estate, and how profitable its management to the Mayor and Commonalty. To hand over the Almshouse would have involved the surrender of the property; for the pleasant fiction that the rents had been "allotted" to the Charity would not have stood the test of enquiry. There being no transfer, there was no enquiry, and matters continued on the same footing. The properties were leased, commonly for ninety-nine years on lives, on substantial fines, for nominal rents, which latter were all that the Charity received. Thus at the beginning of the present century the endowments of the Corporation Almshouses comprised: "£6 13s. 4d. from the Mayor and Commonalty in accomplishment of their indenture with John Ford and John Dery (How's Gift); £8 for the accomplishment of another pair of indentures between them and John How, Clerk; devisees of Mr. Clark for the Manor of Sutton Pill, 2s. 8d.; chief rent of Doidge's Garden, 6d.; annuity out of two fields late Gilwell's, 10s.; from the Orphans' Aid for the Latin School, £1 2s.; Rawlyn's Gift for butter on fish days, £3; Conventiary Rents of small amounts for properties near the Church Stile, How Street, Woolster Street, Basket Street (four houses), Finewell Street, Reed's Garden, Buckwell Street, Batter Street, Tin Street, Synagogue, Colmer's Lane, Lower Street, Pike Street, High Street, Loader's Lane, Bilbury Street, Little Hoe Lane, Tamalary Closes, May's Cross, Burraton, and Underwood." These properties were treated as purely Corporate properties when the sale of the Corporate estates was effected, some half-century ago, and the proceeds of the sale put into the Corporation pocket. The rents, however, were regarded as a con-

tinuing liability. At present a definite sum of about £80 is annually paid out of the Corporate funds towards the support of the widows in the newly-erected Corporation Almshouse in Green Street. Moreover, the Municipality keep the entire block in repair.

We take the other Almshouses in chronological order.

The foundation deed of Fownes's Almshouse exists in counterpart among the muniments both of the Corporation and the Guardians. Nevertheless no document relating to this Charity could be found to be produced before the Charity Commissioners at their original enquiry. The reason for this lies possibly in the fact that the Almshouse had been demolished, the site sold, and the money appropriated to other purposes without legal authority, not many years before. The deed, dated 1628, recites that Thomas Fownes (Mayor 1610-11, 1619-20) had lately created and "new buylt the said Hospitall and Almshouse conteyning thirteene roomes." The almspeople were to be elected by the Mayor and Commonalty, with the "assent and agreement of Thomas Fownes and his heirs for ever; notice of every election being given 10 days prior at his dwelling-house in Vintry Street." This Almshouse did pass to the Guardians under the Act of Incorporation. It lay between Bedford and Basket Streets, with a frontage of 54 feet to the former, and a superficies of 2859; and was for twenty-four decayed and aged people. Having been suffered to become dilapidated, it was called a nuisance, and in 1808 was pulled down, and the ground sold for £500 to the Mayor and Commonalty, as portion of a site for the proposed hotel and theatre. When another position was chosen for that building, part of the site of the Almshouse was thrown into the street. The money is stated to have been laid out on the Workhouse; but the Charity Commissioners questioned the right of the Guardians to dispose of these buildings, and it now seems with good cause. The building was said to have been allowed to fall into decay because there was no endowment; but I do not see how this can have been, when in September, 1656, we have Timothy Alsop acknowledging to the Mayor and Commonalty that he owed the Charity £100 with interest.

The history of Miller's Almshouse is still worse. Alice Miller, about 1655 (in which year £10 was paid in lieu of stones

promised her by the town towards building expenses), erected an Almshouse "in the churchyard" (St. Andrew), containing ten rooms, for twenty people; and in May, 1660, endowed them with a rent charge of £10 a year, out of her estate at Broadley. Under her will, August 30th, 1664, she left Broadley, so charged, to her cousin, Richard Burdwood; and in March, 1681, James Burdwood, his son and heir, the rent being in arrear, and the premises "for the most part waste and unoccupied, and encumbered beyond the value of the inheritance," conveyed the estate to the Mayor and Commonalty, and the proceeds were applied for the benefit of the almspeople. When the estate passed to the Guardians, under the Act of Incorporation, it was under lease to Richard Opie at £6 a year only; and notwithstanding this enormous depreciation in value since 1660, when the £10 rent charge left a surplus, the Charity Commissioners reported that there was no reason to believe any of the property had been lost. To me the evidence seems quite the other way; and the minute books of the Guardians in later times contain numerous complaints of encroachment by the various lessees, who, subsequently to Opie, included the Burdwoods, Sir Masseh Lopes, and Sir Ralph Franco. No map, however, exists by which these points can be settled; and all that can be definitely said is, that a farm which was worth over £10 a year in 1660 could not have fallen to £6 in 1720 without loss or malversation of some kind.

Anne Prynne's Almshouse, adjoining Miller's, was erected in 1651-2; for there is a record under that year of two elm trees being cut down in the churchyard, "for the better building of Mrs. Prynne's Almshouse there." The next year she is recorded as having left an annuity of 10s. a year, charged on a house in Notte Street, for the "preching of a sermon yearllie for ever on the Third day of December in Remembrance of the Townes then deliverance from the enemie anno 1643;" and this amount was received by George Hughes. No information concerning this Charity was vouchsafed to the Commissioners, save the one fact that both Prynne's and Miller's houses were pulled down for the improvement of Bedford Street in 1791, the materials being sold by auction, and the trustees of the Stonehouse Turnpike giving £100 for the land. The Commissioners questioned the authority to sell, but considered that the money received in this case, as in

that of Fownes's, had been spent beneficially in building a school and an infirmary in the Workhouse. A committee minute of the Guardians avers, however, that the Pigmarket Almshouse (Fownes's) was re-erected at the west end of the Workhouse Yard. £10 of the rent of Broadley is now applied to the occupants of the Almshouses in Green Street.

The destruction of these Almshouses was attended by unpleasant consequences to the occupants, who naturally were disinclined to leave the shelter to which they had as good a right as the Mayor of Plymouth to his house. When Fownes's came to be destroyed, Mr. Henry Woolcombe wrote, on behalf of the Guardians, to the Corporation: "Sunday noon, Jan. 3, 1808. . . . As I find I shall never get the inhabitants of Fownes's Almshouses to quit until they perceive that the building is actually taking down, may I beg the favour of your proceeding to do so forthwith. I will inform the people to-morrow that on that day se'nnight the workmen will begin to take it down."

With these facts before us, perhaps we may put a different value upon the work of the gentlemen who recorded their good deeds on the tablet in the old wall of the churchyard, and set forth at full length how they had "beautified" the town by pulling down filthy and loathsome Almshouses. Probably there is no readier way of getting rid of a Charity than to neglect it until it falls into decay, and then to demolish it because it has not received attention.

The original New Church Almshouse in Green Street was founded by John Lanyon (Mayor 1672-73), who by his will, September 15th, 1674, gave £300 to the use of the poor people of Charles, for building an almshouse. The site was conveyed, October, 1678, by John Trelawny the elder (Mayor 1686-87) to John Martyn (Mayor 1664-65, 1691-92) and others acting on behalf of the Corporation, the cost being £50 3s. The almshouse was built thereon, and conveyed by Martyn and his coadjutors to the Mayor and Commonalty, September 26th, 1680; and it remained so vested until the Act of Incorporation. Lanyon's bequest being insufficient, £100 left by John Gubbs to the poor of Plymouth, and other monies, were applied to the same purpose.

After the demolition of the Almshouses of Miller, Prynne, and Fownes, there remained only the ancient Almshouse—the "Old

Twelves," in Catherine Street, a small Almshouse "Behind the Twelves," belonging to the Guardians, and the "New Church." When, in 1868, the Guildhall site had to be cleared, and the Church Alley Almshouses removed, an arrangement was made by which the New Church Almshouse was rebuilt; and the Almshouses of the Corporation and the Guardians now form one block, with additional accommodation. This, if somewhat tardily, may be held to have partially atoned for the old misdeeds.¹

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS.

The misreading of a date by one original investigator, has caused the foundation of the Grammar School to be antedated sixty years, and assigned to the reign of Henry VII. instead of that of Elizabeth. "Always verify your quotations" was Dr. Routh's dying advice to his friends; and the historical enquirer who does not test his materials whenever possible by the original documents is guilty of something more than mere carelessness. It was, then, in 1561, and not in 1501, as was hastily thought from the indistinctness of the third figure in the date, that the Corporation of Plymouth founded the Grammar School, by private subscription. I quote the formal entry in the White Book, with the list of subscribers :

xiiij Die July 1561.

In the guilhaile w^t thassent of John Elliott Maio^r w^t the more pt^e of the xij and xxiiij^r ther assembled it was determynd concluded and vtterlie agreed vpon that one Thom^s Brooke should supplie thoffice and function of a teacher or Scholem^r wⁱⁿ this towne so longe as he therin shall decentlye behave hym selfe and in consideracion of an annuall stipend of x^{li} quarterly to be paid by the receivo^r he the said Scholem^r shall freelye teache all the children native and inhabitaunt w^t wⁱⁿ the Towne and that he also for his lodginge and refuge shall hawe to his owne vse the chambers over the almes howsse chapell and the said chapell for his scholehowsse and that he shall teache no other but gramer and writinge. Itm ther it was by thassents aforsaid fullie agreed that all suche psons whose names be herin ingrossed as hawe given anye some or somes of moneye toward and for the stipend aforsayd shall for nonpayment of such somes of moneye as they of ther mere good willes hawe gyven toward the vse aforsayd be Distreyned and Distreinable for the same.

¹ Jory's Almshouses at Coxside do not fall within the scope of this paper, as they were founded in 1702. They were erected for twelve widows, and endowed with various properties; and are managed by a body of trustees. Col. Joseph Jory the founder, was a native of Plymouth, and gave the town its largest mace.

The names are :

John Elyott, mayor, 13s. 4d.; Thomas Clowter, 6s. 8d.; Lucas Cocke, 5s.; Richard Hoop[er], 5s.; William Weks, 10s.; John Icombe, 10s.; John Derye, 5s.; Edward White, 5s.; Nicholas Bickford, 6s. 8d.; William Lake, 6s. 8d.; Nicholas Slannynge, 13s. 4d.; William Hawkyns, 8s.; John Ford, 6s. 8d.—The Twelve.

William Symons, 20s.; Robert Hampton, 16d.; Edward Cocke, 16d.; Thomas Byrt, 2s. 8d.; John Sampson, 6s. 8d.; John Hawkyns, 8s.; Thomas Hampton, 5s.; William Howe, sen., 1s.; Thomas Crowne, 4s.; John Maynard, 2s. 8d.; John Martyn, 5s.; Gregory Cocke, 2s. 8d.; John Waddon, 2s.; Thomas Perkyns, 2s. 8d.; Walter Pepperell, 2s. 8d.; Christopher Earle, 13s. 4d.; John Vosye, 3s. 4d.; Henry Brecnall, 2s.; William Brokinge, 16d.; Richard Encscott, 4d.; Mr. Edmund Euston, 10s.—The Twenty-four.

Richard Lybbe, 10s.; George White, 3s. 4d.; Robert Holman, 1s.; George Bolton, 16d.; John Rewbye, 16d.; John Greninge, 5d.; John Lyght, 1s.; John Worgow, 2s.; John Lewys, 4s.; William Griffyn, of Compton, 2s.; Wm. Chiswyll, 4s.; Wm. Jeffrye, 16d.; Thomas Williams, 1s.; Wm. Griffyn, 1s.; John Whyte, 1s.; Wm. Makey, 8d.; Wm. Blake, fletcher, 16d.; Wm. Gill, 16d.; John Peny, 10d.; Roger Tremlynson, 8d.; Also Lyle, 10d.; Robt. Wood, 20d.; John Bealbery, 2s.; Thos. Turner, 16d.; John Sannde, (?) 2s. 8d.; Nicholas Barford, 2s.; John Bery, 2s.; John Temycombe, 2s.; John Harvy, 16d.; Thos. Hoyle, 3s. 4d.; Thos. Barrett, 6s. 8d.; John Roche, 1s.; John Hoop[er], 20d.; Also Pera, 3s. 4d.; Nicholas Browne, 5s.; Thomas Bickley, 5s.; William Brown, 10s.; John Genyns, 3s. 4d.; John Hayleston, 16d.; Wm. Huchins, 6s. 8d.; John Estcott, 3s. 4d.; Walter Battishill, 3s. 4d.; Bawdon Hooker, 2s.; John Burnard, 5s.; Richard Pers, 2s. 8d.; Jas. Hampton, 16d.; Henry Blase, 16d.; John Foote, 1s.; Wm. Battishill, 2s.; Margaret Bunting, 16d.

The earliest entry I can find in the Receivers' Accounts relating to the school is of this same date (1560-1), when, among other notices of work done on the school-house, thirty-six perches of wall are said to have been built, at 10d. a perch. "The school-house" and "the house in the churchyard" are also mentioned together in such a manner as seems to indicate contiguity. The accounts from 1549-50 to 1559-60 are, however, missing. After 1560-1 entries referring to the school are of frequent and at length regular occurrence. In 1564-5 Robert Woode has 30s. for the "scolems table," probably diet. In 1565-6 the schoolmaster's fee is set down at £2 13s. 4d., while 10s. was spent on his table and bedstead; and in the same year the "little schoolmaster" had 3s. 8d. In 1568 the "two" schoolmasters had £1 6s. 8d. for half a year's wages. These payments appear to have been made by way of supplement to the private subscriptions.

Upon this footing the school was maintained for several years, until an arrangement was effected with the Crown in respect of the vicarage, an interest in which had been acquired by the Corporation, partly by purchase from a Mr. Maslar. The advowson had belonged to the Priory of Plympton, and had been charged with a pension of £8, which came to the Crown on the dissolution of the Priory. This pension had fallen into arrear to the amount of £112; that is to say, it had not been paid from the accession of Elizabeth, for the arrangement entered into was declared by letters patent February 20th, in the fifteenth year of her reign (1572).

These letters set forth that the revenues of the vicarage, so burdened with the pension and the heavy arrears, were unable to maintain a vicar, since no one could be found to undertake the duties for the remaining portion of the value. Wherefore, on the undertaking of the Mayor and Commonalty, that they and their successors for ever should find a fit person to serve the cure, and should support a free grammar school in the town, paying unto the chief master a stipend of £20 per annum, the Queen granted and assigned to the said Mayor and Commonalty and their successors the arrears of the said pension, the pension itself, and the advowson of the vicarage. Beyond this we have the fact, that at the time when authority was given by letters patent and by Act of Parliament 17th Charles I. (not Charles II., as the Commissioners state in their report), for the division of the parish of St. Andrew and the erection of Charles Church, the advowson was again confirmed to the Mayor and Commonalty on the same condition, among others, of the maintenance of a free grammar school, and the allowance to the schoolmaster of the stipend of £20 per annum.

This salary of £20 a year was for the time a liberal one. It attracted hither William Kempe, an M.A. of Cambridge, a poet, and author of a work on education. It was the same amount that the Mayor was then allowed for his yearly fee, and it was certainly over a third of the whole revenues of the vicarage. Thus in 1592-3, when the vicarage was farmed by Kempe, he paid £40; while George Baron gave £10 for the rent of the vicarage house. Moreover, we have definite evidence of what was considered in those days the due division of the income of the living, in the fact that in 1600 Upham, the vicar, had £34 to Kempe's £20. And

Henry Wallis, who succeeded Upham, was bound under a penalty to pay the £20 every year. In the time of the Commonwealth the difference between the shares of the vicar and the schoolmaster had become greater; but then the Mayor and Commonalty made up the ministerial stipend to what was regarded as an adequate amount, out of the town revenues, and doubled the payment of the schoolmaster. The stipend, in fact, never represented the whole of the outlay on the school, as we see even from such entries as the payment of 14s. 8d., in 1592, to Kempe, towards building his study and trimming his chamber. Probably the Almshouse Chapel and its appurtenances continued to be the school-house and master's residence,¹ with sundry alterations, until, in 1657-8, the old school-house in the Orphans' Aid, in which so many Plymothians now living were educated, was erected at the cost of the Mayor and Commonalty, though subsequently rented from the other Charity, and in some way associated with the Almshouse property, which it adjoined, and which received a small annual payment from the Orphans' Aid on its behalf.

The Corporation at this time undertook indeed what was essentially the foundation of the Grammar School on an enlarged basis. Not only did they build the new school-house, but they resolved that in future the salary should be £40, with the Orphans' Aid house and garden; and that forty boys should be taught free, the master being allowed to make his own advantage for the rest. Upon this understanding, on the 8th July, 1658, articles of agreement were entered into with Nathaniel Conduit, of Ilminster, who became the first master in the new premises.

It is not my purpose to trace the history of the Grammar School in detail. It will be sufficient to say that in the last century it lost its free character altogether, and became simply a subsidized school of the ordinary classical type; though under the mastership of Dr. Bidlake, which ended in 1810, it attained a high and well-deserved reputation. On the appointment of Dr. Bidlake's successor, the salary, then £30, was raised to £50, on the condition that two sons of poor freemen of Plymouth should be educated therein free; and at the present time ten boys are educated on payment of two guineas per annum. The only other

¹ It and the dwelling attached were leased, in 1710, to William Strong, at a fine of £70, and on condition that £60 should be laid out in altering the premises.

change for notice is the removal from the old premises, which had become very inadequate for the purpose. A payment was then made in lieu of the school-house to the master; and this has been continued, the Corporation now paying £20 as salary, and £50 for the school-house. The fee farm rent of £8 granted to the town by Elizabeth, and once paid to the Prior, is now paid to the Corporation by the Rev. Dr. Wilkinson; so that the expenditure on the salary is only £12 on the part of the town.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the Grammar School is not fulfilling its original intention of providing free education for the sons of the inhabitants, or any fair proportion of them, and that the payments made by the Corporation are alike unworthy of the object in view and of such an important body. I shall be asked, Where is the money to come from? There need have been little difficulty on that head if the interests of the school had been properly regarded. Unquestionably when the school was founded at least a third of the revenues of the vicarage was set aside for its maintenance; and the £20 stipend was specified, not as a bare maximum, but as indicative of the *substantial* support that was to be given to the cause of education. Morally, at least a third of the tithe rent-charge of Plymouth belongs to the Grammar School now; and as that rent-charge approaches £1100, the Grammar School, if its rights had been strictly conserved, would have £400. Legally, it seems to me also open to question how far the Corporation, when they sold the advowsons of the vicarages under the Municipal Reform Act (after making a very handsome revenue of next presentations), were entitled to pocket the whole of the money as they did. That the Municipality should in this way pocket thousands of pounds, and give in return but one yearly twelve, was never what was intended between the first parties to the bargain; and if the advowsons themselves could not be charged with the liability (and it should be remembered that their purchasers paid for them upon the full current value), the Corporation should have made an equitable arrangement of their trust, and not have appropriated the "unearned increment" in so masterly a way.

Hele's Charity begins with a feoffment by Elize Hele, January 9th, 1632, of all his estates to his own use during life, and after his death to his wife Alice Hele, John Maynard, John Hele, and

Elize Stert, and their heirs in trust, to employ the same in some godly, pious, and charitable uses. They gave £500¹ and £20 a year about 1640 for the benefit of poor children in the Hospital of Poor's Portion; and in 1649 John Maynard and Elize Stert, the survivors, definitely applied the profits of certain of the lands for "the maintenance of poor children to be placed and educated in and preferred from the Hospital of Poor's Portion." Subsequently £2000 left by John Lanyon, under his will, September 15th, 1674, for the benefit of the poor people of the Hospital of Poor's Portion, was laid out in the purchase of properties in Plymouth, the rentals being applied in the maintenance and education of children, as with Hele's Charity, and the two being managed by the same set of trustees. Hence originated what is now known as Hele and Lanyon's School, but in the last century as the Red and Blue Boys—those brought up on the Hele Charity being dressed in blue, and those on the Lanyon in red. It was a purpose of the original scheme of the Hele Charity that children of "extraordinary parts of memory and otherwise" should if possible be sent to the universities. On other Hele foundations this has been done, but never in Plymouth.

To trace the history of this Hele and Lanyon Charity fully would require a paper to itself. Among all the endowed Charities of Plymouth not one has been so muddled, so wrested from its original intention. Hundreds, if not thousands, of pounds have from time to time been wasted in litigation and the solving of legal quibbles; while about £300 went early in the century by the insolvency of the then steward, Mr. Cleather, through whom various Charities of Plymouth lost over £1500. Much of the difficulty in the management of the Hele Charity has arisen from the fact that there are three sets of parties interested—the hereditary trustees, who are the heirs of Sir John Maynard; the official trustees, in whom the Lanyon property is also vested; and the Guardians; and at different times various schemes have been drawn up to settle points in dispute between them. In this way a Charity intended for the elevation of pauper children has been

¹ The £500 was to be invested in lands; and after payment of £10 each yearly to certain ministers, one child was to be maintained for each £8 of income—the Mayor and governors of the hospital appointing three, and the trustees the fourth. One year's income might be allotted to place each child out.

turned into a middle-class school, and the real owners deprived of their legitimate rights. Not a word can be said against the present educational management of the school; but, so far as I know, there is not a single boy there of the class for whom it was originally intended.

Take the deed of 1658, by which Sir John Maynard and Elize Stert settled the estates. The revenues were to be applied (among other matters) "towards the maintenance of poor children to be placed and educated in and preferred from the hospital in Plymouth, commonly called the Poor's Portion;" and none were to be admitted "but orphans who have no father, or whose fathers cannot maintain them;" while guarantee was to be given on behalf of outside places that children from them, if they became unfit for the hospital, should be maintained by the parishes to which they belonged. When the hospital passed to the Guardians under the Workhouse Act, the trustees dealt with the Hele Charity independently of the Guardians, and nominated the lads without reference to the workhouse until 1805, when the Guardians successfully maintained the rights of the children in the workhouse, and the trustees chose the two-thirds of the recipients who were under the deed of 1658 to belong to Plymouth, from a list presented to them annually by the master of the workhouse. Lanyon's Charity, which at first admitted girls, had precisely the same history.

In 1821 a formal agreement was entered into between the Guardians and the trustees to settle certain disputes which had arisen. In this the same principle was affirmed, but with certain limitations, which have really led to the present condition of affairs. The boys were placed under the care of the Guardians, and the schoolmaster nominated and paid by them in consideration of his educating the other male children in the hospital. "But the boys maintained and educated on this Charity" were "always to be kept as distinct as possible (both in and out of school) from the paupers in the house"—elsewhere called "the general poor."

While the old hospital was occupied as the workhouse Hele and Lanyon's School was conducted therein, originally as an integral part of the establishment, then as an adjunct, in separate apartments in the workhouse, which the Guardians were bound to provide. It has now its own house in the Tavistock Road; and the only connection between it and the workhouse under the latest scheme is, that the Governor of the Guardians has certain rights

of nomination, which are *not* exercised in favour of workhouse children, but in favour of lads who may or may not have a claim on the score of poverty, and whom it has been the custom to pass in at one door of the workhouse and out of another, to keep up the paltry pretence that they are preferred from the Hospital of Poor's Portion!

Joan Bennett's Trust was founded under her will, bearing date August 10th, 1650. She left certain premises in Plymouth (Old Church Lane) to the Mayor and Commonalty, to the intent that £6 of the yearly proceeds should be paid for the preaching of twelve sermons in the parish church of Maker, by Jasper Hicks, of Landrake, or whom he might appoint during his life (afterwards, her other executors had the appointment, and finally the Mayor and Commonalty); the residue to be paid quarterly to the poor of Maker. And certain other premises, in Southside Street, the profits of which were to be applied for the maintenance of two scholars in the study of divinity at Oxford or Cambridge, or one of them; one student to be of the posterity of her husband's brother's sons, and the other of the posterity of one of her sisters. Furthermore she left £30 to be lent out in sums of £10 for four years or less, gratis, to young tradesmen of Plymouth, well and piously affected; another £50 to be lent out in like manner for the same period, gratis, to "two able and religious ministers of the gospel;" and out of the profits of her properties in Plymouth, formerly the land of Pollard or his wife, £6 a year, for preaching a sermon monthly in the "Great Church" of Plymouth, every Saturday before the first Lord's-day, or before the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and during the term she had in the same property, by Mr. George Hughes, minister of Plymouth, or such as he should appoint—the residue of the profits to go to the increase of the maintenance of the two scholars; £20 was also left to be given to poor people of Plymouth—ancient men or poor widow women. Finally, after a number of personal bequests, Joan Bennett left the whole remainder of her property for the purchase of the freeholds of her leasehold interests, or of other lands, "to the end that the portions appointed by me for the maintenance of the said scholars and the lecture in the towne of Plymouth may be ppetuated and continue foreu^r if god shall see please." The executors were George Hughes, Jasper Hicks, Andrew

Trevill, and Christopher Ceely; and Hughes attended her on her death bed, March 10th, 1651 (1652), when he added a codicil by way of nuncupative will.

Mrs. Bennett was sister of Nicholas and William Hele; and Nicholas Bennett was her last husband. Her sisters were Agnes Evens and Elizabeth Parker, and Andrew and Stephen Trevill were her cousins. That Mrs. Bennett was a Puritan her will proves; but while a Puritan she was no ascetic. Her bequests include two diamond rings, other rings, pearl and coral bracelets, a broad Spanish piece of plate, two beare bowls, and all the effects of a well-plenished house, while her husband had a "beaten gold" hatband.

Christopher Ceely eventually handed over the will and deeds of the properties to Andrew Trevill, the last surviving executor; and Trevill's son-in-law, Dr. Burthogg, on his death, to the Corporation, who held them in 1676.

There is no trace to be found of the moneys bequeathed by Joan Bennett to be lent on loan, nor of the bequest for the endowment of the sermon in Plymouth. The Maker Trust continues; but had long ceased to be, if it ever was, under the management of the Mayor and Commonalty of Plymouth, at the date of the Charity enquiry of 1820; and the only interest these matters have to us therefore is the proof they afford that the testatrix was a Presbyterian, and that her endowment was not intended for the education of Episcopalian clergymen, to which it has been at times applied. It is possible, as the Charity Commissioners suggest, that the payment of £6 for the sermon may have lapsed in consequence of the lands on which it was charged not being freehold; but that will not account for the disappearance of the £80 stock for loan; nor does the way in which what remains was treated inspire much confidence in the trusteeship of the Mayor and Commonalty.

According to their own showing to the Charity Commissioners of 1820, from 1678 to 1795 the Corporation had received in rents £2174 18s. 7d., against which they had only paid exhibitions to the amount of £732. In that year the house was burnt; and they allowed £500 to the tenant toward rebuilding (it is always easy to be liberal with other people's money). £500, or over £4 a year, was also claimed by them as deduction for rates, taxes, repairs, and expenses of receiving the rents, while they allowed nothing on the

other side for the interest of the constantly-accumulating balance, which would have paid very handsomely for all these expenses. However, in 1799, they did acknowledge a debt to the Trust of £442 18s. 7d.; and we may be thankful that they disgorged even so much. From that date down to the time of the enquiry of 1820, the Corporation continued to receive and use the rents; but they made no application of the funds because no persons had been able to prove their descent under the will; and possibly, if the Commissioners had never investigated the business, nothing more would ever have been heard of Joan Bennett and her gift to the poor scholars of Plymouth. A few years later there was a Chancery suit; and in 1834 it was ordered that failing claimants of descent the sons of inhabitant householders should be chosen. The bulk of the Charity property now consists of accumulation of income.

ORPHANS' AID.

The real founder of the Hospital of Orphans' Aid had been forgotten, apparently for centuries, until I disinterred his will among the archives of the Corporation. His name was William Laurence, and he was a merchant, living at Foxhole. His will was made December 3rd, 1612; and its opening words show that he was one of the old-fashioned Puritans within whose ranks all that was worthy in Plymouth at this time was to be found. He commends "my soule to god in Crist, the onelye fountine and originall cause of life and saluation to me and all true beleivers." And then he bequeaths to Thomas and Nicholas Sherwill, merchants, £100, to be paid at the return "of the good shippe called the Jonathan of plymouth whereof I am part owner from her now intended vioage to the Straights in the parts beyond the seas, and of the proceeds and returne of my goods and adventure now in the said shipp the said voyage," the condition being that within seven years after the testator's death the Sherwills should erect and build a "convenient Almshouse" in Plymouth for "poore people . . . to dwell and inhabite therein or for the education and bringing vp of poore children or orphants of the same borough." Further he bequeathed to the Mayor and Commonalty "to the use and for and towards the relcife and mayntenance of the said poore people and orphants which shall from time to time dwell or be brought vpp in the saide howse," or in default of the Sherwills erecting such a house then

to the same purpose in any such house erected by other persons within the said seven years, four pounds annually out of his lands and tenements at Tor for ever.¹ Another 20s. a year was left to the Mayor and Commonalty out of Tor towards the maintenance of a "preacher of the Word" at Tidneham, Gloucester; and £20 to the "stocke to sett y^e poor to worke."

We learn from the will that the testator was a man of means. He dwelt in a leased house at Foxhole, now vulgarised into Vauxhall, which he left to his wife Margaret Laurence, and after her to William Laurence his nephew, son of John Laurence. Tor, which he had bought of Christopher Gaye, he left to his wife for life, then to his brother Henry Laurence for his life, and finally to William Laurence and his heirs. Hundiscombe he held under lease from Henry Laurence, and this, with two houses at the Church Stile, he left to Nicholas Sherwill, on his paying £100 to the widow. To Henry Laurence he left the corn standing at Hundiscombe, and his quarter part of the "God speede." His brother Richard lived in a house at Briton Side, leased to the testator by John Amadas; and to Richard he left the lease of this messuage, with "pallace, mast house, masts, dial-boards," &c. The other details of the will do not concern us here.

The Sherwills were faithful to their trust; and well within the seven years the work was done. A memorandum made upon a loose piece of paper, which has fortunately been preserved, places the cost of endowing and incorporating at £301 9s. 5d.; and of building and walling and planting the orchard at £457 13s. 4d., total £759 2s. 9d. William Laurence's £100 had thus borne good fruit. A memorandum on another loose scrap of paper shows that it had been supplemented up to July, 1616, by the following gifts: Abraham Colmer (Mayor 1615-16, 1627-28), £100; John Clement (Mayor 1614-15), £120; Nicholas Sherwill (Mayor 1618-19, 1628-29, 1637-38), £120; Thomas Sherwill (Mayor 1608-9, 1617-18, 1626-27), £120; Humphry Fownes (Mayor 1588-89, 1596-97), £50; — Proctor (a legacy), £20; John Bound (Mayor 1621-22, 1630-31), £10; W. Heale (Mayor 1629-30, 1638-39), £10; W. Hill, £20; William Birch (Mayor 1640-41), £10. Laurence's £100 was received from Clement, who married his widow.

¹ This is the estate of Nether Torr or Oaten Arishes, now forming Sir John Gayer's Charity, and still charged with the annuity.

There is extant the detailed account of the building charges kept by Thomas Sherwill, beginning March 7th, 1615, on which day Mr. Robert Trelawny had £18 10s. towards the redeeming of Mr. Mathew's lease, "being the on halfe of the pryse thereof," and ending August 28th, 1618. In this account there are some entries of small gifts from poor people, such as shillings from lightermen and the like; and Mr. Robert Trelawny (Mayor 1607-8, 1616-17, 1627-28) appears as a liberal benefactor in addition to those already named, giving a house occupied by one Robert Bray, bringing in £2 8s. annually. He also seems to have taken half the cost of Mr. Mathew's lease; and pays £6 13s. 4d., with £10 16s. 1d. for the "remayner of the poole" (that is, of the dues of Sutton Pool). A precedent was sought for the deed of incorporation, and a copy of that of Dr. White's Temple Hospital in Bristol obtained. Mr. Glandville's man had 11s. for writing and engrossing, and Sir Matthew Cary 2s. 4d. for his fee; while the enrolment cost 6s. £100 was paid to Mr. Fownes in 1618 for a house in Stillman Street, and £25 to Mr. Colmer for his gardens in Mudd Street—Buckwell Lane.¹

The actual site of the Hospital was the tenement leased by Matthews, granted by the Corporation for the purpose, and in consideration of the "cost and great charge" of the Sherwells in acquiring the lease, at a yearly rent of 22s. Land of Dabernoun's Chantry adjoined it on the south; and may have been the occasion of Dr. Aaron Wilson's subsequent fruitless complaint that the town had built a Hospital where the Vicar had anciently a house. Other lands of this Chantry were in Old Town and near Tothill. The founder was Thomas Dabernoun. A John Dabernoun was one of the servants of the Black Prince, steward of Lydford, keeper of the fees of the Prince as Duke of Cornwall, and lessee, in the reign of Edward III., of the Water and Pool of Sutton.

An account with Abraham Colner, Robert Trelawny, Thomas Sherwill, and Nicholas Sherwill, governors, states the expense of "building erecting founding & incorporating the sayd Hospital wth the dyet apparell & other necessities of the orphans" to December 24th, 1620, at £833 7s. 5d., of which up to the 29th

¹ On the parchment back of the book are the mottoes: "Ni deus domum ædificat frustra laborant ædificatores;" and, "He is a father of the fatherlesse & a Judge of widdowes euen god in his holy habitation."

September preceding the founders and first benefactors had given £734 Os. 1½d., so that £99 6s. 3½d. remained due.

The property conveyed under the foundation deed consisted of (1) three messuages and a close adjoining the Hospital on the west; (2) two gardens in Mudd Street; (3) a house in Stillman Street; and (4) two houses in Southside, with a close of land at Laira,¹ and two closes in Egg Buckland, called Awter's Well (or Will)—all these latter being the property of Arthur Pollard, Esq., deceased. The question naturally suggests itself whether this property, once Pollard's, was not itself a special endowment.

In the following year there are entries of receipt, which set forth the details and values of the original endowment, as follows: House in Stillman Street, £5; tenement at Southside, 16s.; two messuages lately built by Joseph Gubbes at Southside, piece of ground at the Lary, and 16 acres of land at Egbuckland called Auterswell, £1 13s. 8d.; shop at Southside Quay, 4s.; three messuages and gardens adjoining the hospital on the west, and a close in Old Mill Lane, 6s. 8d.; part of a dwelling-house and shop, 48s.; building on the wall of the town, 4s.; two gardens in Mudd Street, 25s.; dues of Sutton Pool, collected by John Barnes (£13 6s. 8d. was paid the Prince for rent), £22 3s. 7d. The total receipts, with a legacy of £10 from John Waddon,² were £43 15s. 11d.; the expenditure, £33 16s. 2d. "Richard Isteed phisition" was tutor, and had £11 14s. for the diet of four orphans for three-fourths of a year.

There is not here, nor anywhere else that I know of, save in the Receiver's Accounts for 1602-3, any definite reference to a gift by Walter Mathewe to the town of certain houses for the use of poor fatherless children, a pair of indentures concerning which were written in that year at the cost of 5s.

This is the Walter Mathewe who was Mayor in 1604-5, who built the conduit in Briton Side at his own cost, and who is said by Yonge to have been servant to Sir Richard Hawkins, as his wife had been to Dame Hawkins. According to the story, the two ladies quarrelled for precedence, and the knight's wife gave

¹ This was a landscore containing 133 yards, at 36 feet a yard. Awter's Will was let on a life lease, and the fine paid by Robert Berry for a reversion at the end of the century was 37s., the rent being 10s.

² He also left £10 to the "poor stock" of Plymouth, and £5 to the poor people of Plymouth.

the mayoress a box on the ear. "It made great disturbance, at length it was composed, and s^r *Rich^d* gave y^e town a house, somewhere in y^e market street for satisfaction." How far this is true one can hardly venture to say; but it is a fact that two houses in Market Street, or Whimble Street, formed part of the endowment of the Poor's Portion.

Mathewe's gift may seem to have had some connection with the lease of the site already noticed, but it is clear on consideration that it had not; and there is little doubt that it is included among the properties already named. The Corporation seem to have concentrated divers gifts and bequests applicable to a common purpose. We have direct evidence that this was so with the Poor's Portion.

Robert Rawlyn (Mayor 1620-21, a captain in Parker's last expedition), whose will is dated February 15th, 1626, was a liberal benefactor to the town generally, but to the orphans in particular. He left £10 to the poor; £10 to the poor stock; £125 to be lent to poor seafaring men in sums of £10 and £5, at 4 per cent.; and £125 to be lent to poor tradesmen and young beginners. Two houses in Batter Street and the residue of his property was bequeathed to the "Orffiantes Ayd," with the expression of a wish that one of the children therein should belong to Compton Gifford. Of the interest of the first £125, £3 was to be spent in providing butter for the Almshouse people on fast-days; £2 was to be paid for the poor of the tithing of Compton Gifford. Of the interest of the other £125, 10s. each were to be paid to the poor of Plymouth, Stonehouse, St. Budeaux, Stoke, Egg Buckland, Western Peverell, and Saltash; and the remaining 30s. at Christmas to the poor of Plymouth.

That the remainder given to the Orphans' Aid was a substantial amount is shown in his recognition by the "twelve and twenty-four," in 1647, as the chief *founder* of that Charity, of which he was certainly the chief supporter. The greater part of his gift had been applied in the purchase of the moiety of the Drake lease of the mills, which then produced £150 a year; and the Mayor and Commonalty at this date resolved that only eight orphans should be maintained out of the mill income; and that as much money should be saved as possible, "to raise some considerable sum for the future support of that house, and keepe in memory

the acte of soe good a benefactor." The Commissioners of 1820 had an idea that the £250 loan stock had never been received by the Corporation, inasmuch as all the payments thereout are, and have long been, made from the funds of the Charity (save the 30s. to the poor of Plymouth, which has dropped). The real explanation, however, seems to be that all Rawlyn's bequest was applied directly in furthering the objects of the Hospital. The Corporation still pay, and have long paid, £20 a year to its funds.

The necessities of the Corporation, brought about by the siege, caused them to borrow freely of the funds of the Charities in the town, as well as of individuals. There is the fullest evidence, however, that a strict account was kept. The Orphans' Aid seems to have been the most wealthy body, and to have been the most largely drawn upon. The £1500 paid for the moiety of the Drake lease of the mills, during the siege of course produced practically no return to the hospital; and when the lease ran out the Corporation had become largely in debt to the Charity. £1400 of this debt was, however, cancelled in 1653 by the settlement on the Hospital of a fourth of the mills (then fallen in hand) and of the water in the leat; and this arrangement lasted down until 1805, when the fourth was repurchased by the Corporation for £1800. This led, in 1840, to the Charity Commissioners filing a bill against the Corporation to recover the property; but in 1845 the Master of the Rolls decided that the Charity had no legal claim. The produce of the mills to the Charity from 1666 to 1803 averaged £60 5s. 7d. The highest year was 1712 = £107 2s. 1d.; while in some years, as in 1766, it yielded nothing.

It would be tedious to attempt to follow the fluctuations of the Corporation debt to the Orphans' Aid. In 1660, including three years' port dues, at an average of something over £20 a year, it was £566 7s. 11½d.; but of this £300 was allowed for the lease of the New [Grammar] School, on which the Charity received as rent £15. In 1685, however, the debt is set at £1393 14s. 6d., exclusive of the Mill accounts.¹

The Orphans' Aid may be regarded as in its character strictly a Corporation foundation. Though founded by deed poll July 17th, 1617, by Thomas and Nicholas Sherwill, the site had been granted them April 14th, 1615, subject to the fee farm rent of £1 2s.,

¹ About 1650 the revenues of the Charity were: Mill rent, £160; yearly revenues, £44; Mr. Edgcumbe's annuity, £10; Sutton Pool, £6. Total, £220.

by the Mayor and Commonalty; and the Sherwills by their foundation deeds provided that the Hospital should be under Municipal management. The ex-Mayor was to be governor, four of the aldermen assistants, and two of the "twenty-four" wardens; and the Mayor and his brethren, from the time that there should not be three of the first founders or benefactors surviving, were to have the sole direction and visiting of the Charity, and the placing and displacing of the orphans. For this reason, though they had ample reason given them not to take anything for granted, the Commissioners of 1820 made no investigation of the affairs of the Hospital. It is now under the control of the trustees of the Municipal Charities.

Though appropriated solely to boys, the original intention seems to have been to include girls within its benefits. At any rate the seal, the draught of which cost 1s. 6d., shows five orphans, of whom *three* are females.

HOSPITAL OF POOR'S PORTION.

In May, 1589, John Berry, of Plymouth, left (1) a house to one Thomasine Collyn for life, charged with 6s. per annum to the relief of the poor; (2) lands and tenements which he had bought of Mr. Foster "near Plymouth Church" to his kinsman, William Berry, of Bideford, Jane his wife, and their heirs; failing such heirs, in succession to Mark Berry, Thomas Berry, and Roger Berry, and their heirs male; and failing either of these, the reversion to the Mayor and Commonalty for the maintenance and relief of the poor for ever—this land was also charged while it continued in the Berrys with a second annuity of 6s. for the relief of the poor; (3) lands and tenements at the Southside which he had bought of John Amadas and Edmund Specott, in succession to Marke, William, Thomas, and Roger Berry and their heirs male (likewise charged with an annuity of 6s. for the relief of the poor), and the reversion as before to the Mayor and Commonalty for the maintenance and relief of the poor for ever.¹

¹ Among other bequests were 20s. each to the "poore men's boxe of Plymouth and Tamerton;" 4d. each to every occupant of the Almshouse and the Maudlein; sundry pieces of white tin; a mazer cup "of silver" to Thomas Collin; his best gown to Peter Anthonie, goldsmith, and his second best to Thomas Piers; 10s. to Mr. Gill, curate of Plymouth; 5s. to the preacher of his funeral sermon; and 2s. each to his godchildren.

By this will John Berry virtually became a principal founder of the Hospital of Poor's Portion.

Neither Mark nor William Berry had any male issue; Roger Berry died without issue; Thomas Berry had one son and two daughters. This son, Thomas Berry the younger, also died without issue, but left the property at the Southside to his wife and her heirs, considering himself the owner in fee-simple. Then the Mayor and Commonalty stepped in and claimed the reversionary rights; and the property was leased in 1626 by the widow, Elizabeth Berry, to Robert Trelawny and others for the use of the poor on payment of £70. Disputes arose with the daughters of Thomas Berry the elder, but the Mayor and Commonalty sustained their right; and this property (both 1 and 3; for the house left to Collyn for life was also at the Southside) became a portion of the endowment of the Hospital of the Poor's Portion, the annuities merging.

Concerning 2 we have less definite evidence. Its descent was not limited to heirs male in the case of William Berry, and it would seem that he did have daughters, in which case the reversion might not have accrued. He died about 1607. At the same time we have in that case to account for the disappearance of the third annuity of 6s. As the property was near the Church, the idea naturally suggests itself that it may very well have formed part of the original site of the Hospital, especially as the Hospital was not built until after the other Berry property had been acquired by the Mayor and Commonalty. That it did fall into the hands of the Corporation seems proven by the entry in 1637 of the allowance to John Clement and William Beale of four years' arrears of Berry's land "by the church."

Here, however, we have to bear in mind that when the Hospital was built the Mayor and Commonalty claimed that it had been erected on their land—three tenements, the annual rental of which was £2 8s.,¹ and, what is somewhat strange, that they in effect had payment for it. There is a curious order in the White Book, which sets forth that the three messuages and tenements on the site of which the Hospital had been erected were worth twenty marks a year in clear annual value. And whereas this was so, and whereas also the Corporation were possessed of three closes of land containing about six acres, then in the occupation of Philip

¹ A tenement next the churchyard conveyed to the Poor's Portion, was in 1609 in the occupation of Daniel Northerell, clerk.

Andrews and Robert Barker, which three closes were charged with the payment of £2 6s. 8d. yearly to the poor, it was agreed that this yearly payment should lapse to the Corporation in exchange for the Hospital site; and that if at any time the Court of Chancery, or such competent authority, should insist upon the payment of this rent-charge, the wardens of the Hospital should pay the Corporation £200. These three closes were in the possession of the Corporation, so charged, as early at least as 1612. Two of these, adjoining the Mill Pool, were in the occupation of Wm. Parker; one in that of Sir Warwick Hele.

Other properties belonging to the poor in that year, and subsequently in part transferred to the Hospital as portion of its endowment, were a tenement in High Street, and a piece of land on Crosse Downe (clearly the Moore Splatt, of which more hereafter), in the occupation of Richard Hitchins, at a rent of 38s.; a tenement in Market Street, and a garden in High Street, rented by Wm. Pinsent, at 15s. (also transferred), and late White's tenement in Old Town, rented by John Waddon, at 6s. 8d. Three rent-charges of 6s. each were then paid on the Berry property; and the total rental receipt was £6 4s. 4d.

There is, then, ample evidence that early in the seventeenth century there were in the hands of the Corporation of Plymouth various properties and rent-charges belonging to the poor of the town, which they sought to make available in various ways. Moreover, the extant poor accounts, which commence in the year 1611, show that the poor funds were being continually increased by small legacies, which if they had only been treated as capital instead of revenue would have accumulated to a handsome sum. It was almost a habit of the good people of Plymouth to remember the poor in their last wills and testaments, by small bequests, even if the amount was only 5s., though the average would be nearer £5. As many as half a dozen of these legacies occur in single years; but save when specified to be spent in certain special ways they must have operated to the relief of the ratepayer, and not to that of the poor, as in the case with several endowments in Plymouth now.

One of the chief directions in which our Elizabethan ancestors sought to be really charitable was that of "setting the poore on worke"—finding employment for them if they could not find it for themselves; and it was out of an effort of this kind that the

Hospital of Poor's Portion developed. So early at any rate as 1597, we find the Corporation moving in this direction.

There is extant a copy of a petition by one William Woulfe, serge weaver, to the king, dated 1606, in which he complains that the Mayor and Aldermen of Plymouth had induced him nine years previously to come to that town from Exeter, for the purpose of instructing twenty poor children in the art of spinning worsted. His statement was that he was promised £50 for the first year, and £100 for the next, "which some of a hundred pounds they then also promised to lend unto him for seven yeares then after the effecting the premises, and likewise promised him they would from tyme to tyme duringe the said terme at their costes and charges after the first yeare mayntayne the said 20 poore children with meat drinke and apparell; and likewise that he should have out of every shipp that belonged to the same which came from the Newfoundland 100 of fishe, and a house rent free." The rejoinder of the Mayor and Aldermen was that Woulfe was a wasteful and untruthful person, and his charges "most false." Mr. Foynes had agreed to lend him £30 and no more [Foynes or Fownes was Mayor when the agreement was made], and the town to provide the children with apparel, and to give him 1s. a week for the diet of every child "whom he should sett at work and instruct in his science." Woulfe had wasted his £30 and was no longer able to put the children to work for want of credit.

In 1611 we find entries of children being placed with William Weeks to be trained in a similar way. And then we are carried a step further, by a curious memorandum in one of the old Corporate Apprenticeship Books, apparently in the handwriting of Matthew Boyes, the town clerk, which records what appears to have been the first attempt to establish a workhouse, in the old castle.

In the name of god, the 25th of September an^o 1610. A note of provision^s delivred into y^e Castle for the pore to thence they maye be there placed and sett on work wch is but abeginninge for a fewe and for a tryall thereof the wch I praie god continewe and augment to his glorie & theire comfort

| | |
|----------|---------------------------------------|
| Imprimis | 2 bedsteads |
| | 2 new Large Canvas sheets |
| | 2 paire of newe blankits |
| | 2 Canvas bouldsters |
| | 2 whyte rougs |
| | 5 turnes 2 paire of wollen cards |
| | 5 spilles and 5 wharvars (?) strings. |

In subsequent years we find that the work consisted chiefly of picking oakum, spinning worsted stockings, and weaving.

Such was the way in which the Mayor and Commonalty led up to the establishment, in 1630, of the Hospital of the Poor's Portion; the foundation deed of which, executed by Sir John Gayer, Abraham Colmer, and Edmund Fowell, in performance of the trust reposed in them by the then Corporation, is dated May 4th of that year. The Hospital stood, as most Plymothians will recollect, in Catherine Lane, immediately to the south of the Orphans' Aid, and bore over the entrance gateway the pious motto, "By God's helpe throvgh the Christ." The regulations concerning the provision for religious teaching and exercises were very particular and strict. The management of the Hospital was vested in the Mayor and Magistrates (or Aldermen) and Common Council.

As in the case of the Orphans' Aid the necessities of the Corporation during the early part of the seventeenth century led them to borrow from the funds of the Poor's Portion, and the debt was dealt with in much the same fashion.

Thus in 1658 an annuity of £30 out of the shambles for ever was settled on the Hospital, in consideration of £600. But the dealings with the Poor's funds were never so extensive as those with the Orphans'; and the only money owing to this Hospital by the Corporation in 1685 was £129 17s. 3d., besides £100, the bequest of John Lanyon; and certain arrears of the rent charge of £30. The rent charge is still paid, though the old shambles have long disappeared, only it goes to Hele's Charity, and not to the Poor's Portion, the £600 purchase-money being a part of the funds arising from the Hele gift.

The Hospital ceased to be a private Charity in 1708, when the already-cited act of Parliament was passed creating the existing Corporation of Guardians, and transferring to them the Poor's Portion, with all the charitable trusts and gifts "given, devised, or disposed in general terms for the use of the poor of the town, or of either of the parishes of St. Andrew and Charles." This act also provided that the names of all benefactors to the Workhouse shall be inscribed in "capital golden letters" for ever in the chief room; and that a moiety of the accumulated funds from fines, and of all future fines of the Hele estate, should be paid over to the Guardians.

When the Poor's Portion was founded it was endowed with the Hospital Building; five messuages at the Southside—the Berry bequest; a messuage in Market Street (Whimble Street); a garden in High Street; other premises in Whimble Street; the "Moore Splatt" north of Crosse Downe; and two messuages between the Hospital of Poor's Portion and the Hospital of Orphans' Aid.

Of these a portion only now remain. The Hospital and adjoining premises were sold, and their sites form part of that of the Guildhall. The "Moore Splatt" was utilized as a site for the erection of the New Workhouse. All that is left of the five tenements at the Southside now forms the site of Messrs. King and Pinkham's warehouse in New Street. The remainder was sold to the Commissioners of Improvement in 1853 for £400. The Commissioners likewise bought the first house named in Market Street in 1835. It was at the corner of Whimble and Buckwell Streets, and the price paid for the fee was £350. The garden in High Street has long ceased to be part of the Corporate estate. It forms the site of the house now occupied by Mr. Colwill, the grocer, at the corner of Catte Street—in whole or in part; and so early as 1641 Mr. Philip Francis (Mayor 1642-43, 1651-52) is said to have built a house thereon. Francis by his will, dated August 6th, 1658, left an annuity of 40s. a year out of his house in "Foxhole," and this may represent the garden rental. Moreover, Francis left all his lands of inheritance not otherwise disposed of, after failure of his right heirs, to the Mayor and Commonalty, for the use of the poor of the parishes of St. Andrew and Charles equally. The will was proved in 1668; but the poor have never been anything the better for this reversion. The remaining item of the original endowment is now represented by the Guildhall Wine Vaults in Whimble Street. I say represented, because originally it extended from Market or Whimble Street to Higher Lane, but had ceased to do so as far back as a lease to Thomas Redding in 1673; and it is probable that it has been further limited since. The portion next Higher Lane was made the subject of a distinct lease, to one Thomas Durant, something before this date.

Other endowments in the hands of the Guardians include:

A house in North Street, occupying the site of three tenements which were mentioned among the lands of the Hospital in 1641

and had been leased by Nicholas Sherwill to John Young in 1633. There is no trace of the manner in which it came to the Guardians.

A house in Looe Street, purchased, with two small houses communicating at the rear, by the Guardians of one John Roberts, of Plymouth, tallow chandler, in 1722. The two houses in Batter Street were, by the operation of the life leasehold system, allowed to get so disgracefully into decay, that they were eventually pulled down by the Town Council as ruinous, and the sites thrown into the street, shortly after 1854.

An annuity of 40s., under the will of Philip Francis, charged on a house in Vauxhall Street, and paid in equal instalments by Mr. Bellamy and Mr. Treeby.

An annuity of 10s., paid by Messrs. Sparrow and Co. out of Fairpath Field, Cattedown. This represents a gift by one Richard Raddon, presumably the same Richard Raddon who, about 1589, built two houses on Friary Green, and obtained a lease from John Sparke. Nothing, however, is really known of the origin of this charge, which seems to have passed from the Mayor and Commonalty to the Guardians under the Act of Incorporation. In 1828 it was reckoned at 20s., two years in arrear, and charged upon three fields. Mrs. Julian, the owner of one part of the fields, was willing to pay her share; Mr. Langmead, the owner of the other part, refused to pay his, unless the Guardians could show their title. However, so late as 1850 the 20s. was paid—15s. by "Peter Symons, of Stonehouse, out of Stone Park and Little Foxes, Cattedown," and 5s. "Sir R. Lopes, remaining part of 20s. late Julian." Half of this Charity has therefore been lost since the latter date.

Margery Row, by will October 1st, 1666, left the estate of Bridgmoor, St. John's, to the Mayor and Commonalty of Plymouth, for the distribution by the overseers of the poor of 2s. in bread on Friday in every week, the residue to go to the increase of the stock for the use and maintenance of the poor of the borough for ever. It is probable that a portion of this property has been lost.

William Rowe (merchant), by his will April 16th, 1690, left Shute Park, consisting of 3 acres 3 roods and 27 perches, under trust for the distribution of the rents and profits in clothing yearly within ten days after the 25th of December. The rest of his property was devised to such charitable uses as his trustees and their heirs should approve. The Guardians, beyond the field, only obtained £100, the money and the land being handed over by John Crabb, trustee, in December, 1713; but it was not until 1816 that the directions of the testator were followed, the rents and profits up to that time being carried to the general fund of the workhouse—to the relief, of course, of the ratepayers. This property should be most valuable, but has been badly managed. The original site of the Free School was alienated for 500 years at a rental of £10 a year, and in 1824 the rest of the available building land was let on lease for ninety-nine years for the erection of the cottage dwellings in Rowe and Glanville Streets; so that the annual produce of what was once four acres of land in a prominent locality in Plymouth is at the present moment only £51 9s. 5d. Some of the property appears to have been lost. The residue of the personal property of the testator beyond the £100 was invested in Consols. One of the objects specified by him for its application was the education and preferment of poor children, and part of the interest of this capital amount (now £841) is paid to the Free School.

Joseph Palmer, by his will September 12th, 1723, gave an annuity of 40s., to be distributed annually to the poor of both parishes for ever at 12d. per head.

Joseph Maddock, in 1727, bequeathed £1500 to the poor of Plymouth, to be laid out in lands of inheritance, and the proceeds applied in the yearly distribution of clothing on November 1st, one-half to poor in receipt of relief, and one-half to the poor not in receipt of relief. January 7th, 1729, £1475 was laid out in the purchase of £1400 South Sea Stock until suitable lands could be procured. As it remains so invested, the inference is that for the past 150 years no suitable property has come into the market! The produce of this £1500 is at present only £36 18s.

Sarah Webber, by her will October 24th, 1778, left 30, Bilbury

Street, subject to a life annuity to Paul and Mary Chabot of 40s. a year, to the Guardians, for the benefit of the poor of the parish of St. Andrew.

The whole of these Charities are treated as part of the common fund in relief of the poor-rates, with the exception of William Rowe's and Maddock's, which are laid out in clothing; and 2s. a week out of the Bridgemoor rents, spent in bread.

GENERAL CHARITIES.

In 1584 John White, citizen and haberdasher of London (a member of a Plymouth family of note), made the Mayor and Commonalty his trustees in respect of the sum of £250, which was to be employed in making loans for five years at 5 per cent. interest (half the current rate) to merchants between twenty-one and forty-one years of age. Of the interest, £3 each was to be paid annually to the Mayor and Burgesses of Liskeard, Truro, and Lostwithiel; and to be applied in weekly gifts of bread to twelve poor people in each of these towns. The parson of each place was to have 16d. for his pains in distributing the bread every Sunday in his church, and 6s. 8d. was to be paid to a preacher for preaching a sermon in the same parish church on or about the first Sunday in November. The balance accrued to Plymouth.

This was the same John White who gave the Corporation their most ancient piece of plate—the "Union" loving-cup, which bears the inscription: "The gyft of John Whit of London, Haberdasher, to the Mayor of Plymouth and his brethren for euer, to drink crosse one to y^e other at their Feastes and Meetinges. Dated y^e 5th of June, 1585." It is entered in the Black Book as "a cuppe of sylver doble gilte worthe 13^{li} 6^s 8^d."

How long the loans may have been kept up it is difficult to say; but the Corporation had certainly learnt to borrow the money themselves by October 12th, 1664, when it was ordered that £50, the residue of the legacy in hand, should be applied in defending the rights of the Commonalty to Sutton Pool. They admitted the liability in 1685, when £40 was out on loan, and they had £210 in hand for want of borrowers. The payment by the Corporation under this head is £11 15s. annually.

An entry in an Apprenticeship Book—undated, but probably early in the seventeenth century—supplies a list of the monies given to the poor of Plymouth from 1595.

Sir Francis Drake (Mayor 1581-2, Member 1593) had left £10 to the poor; £20 to the poor people of the Almshouse, to be paid in equal instalments over three years; and another £10 to be distributed at the discretion of the Mayor—£40 in all.

Martyn White left £20.

Walter Peperell (Mayor 1575-6, 1590-1) gave £10, to be yearly paid.

John Rewbie left £10.

Mr. Baron (Mayor 1594-5) 20s. annuity, to be charged on his lands for ever.

John Scoble, merchant, in 1591 gave £10, to be converted for the provision of [fire?]wood for the poor, yearly to be employed.

Anthony Goddard left an amount not specified.

John Phillips, merchant (Mayor 1593-4), gave £5.

Sir John Trelawny (Mayor 1597-8, 1611-12) left £15.

Thomas Middleton, merchant, of London, afterwards Sir Thomas, gave £20 to be converted for the provision of [fire?]wood for the poor, yearly to be employed. The Receivers' Accounts say he paid £20 for certain godly uses in 1590-91; and according to a bond entered into by the Mayor and Commonalty, the £20 advanced by Middleton was given in trust for the redemption of articles pawned by people too poor to redeem the same, and for the extension of the terms for which money had been lent thereon.

This list does not include a legacy of £50, and an annuity of £10, left under the will of Sir John Hawkins (member 1571-72) at his death in 1595. £4 15s. was paid to Matthew Boyes, the Town Clerk, in 1598-99, for "making and seeking" this bequest; but I have not been able to trace its payment. The £50 might easily escape notice, as it would not, unless attended by exceptional circumstances, be carried into the general accounts; but it is not easy to see how all mention of the annuity should fail, if it was received. On the other hand the memorial verses placed near the cenotaph of Hawkins, in St. Dunstan's in the East, by his widow, speak of the poor of Plymouth as benefited by his "great and gracious legacy." As she puts it, they

"Have had, now have, and shall have
Many a crown."

Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir John's son, was at his father's death, and for several years after, a prisoner in Spain (until the end of 1602).

This may have caused some delay; and as there does not seem to have been any such feeling on the part of the town as would result from the withholding of such a bequest, but on the contrary the Hawkinses continued to be held in honour, it seems probable that payment was made by the settling of some of the property devoted to charitable uses otherwise unaccounted for. Moreover, in 1637 the Corporation bought the manor of Sutton Vawter of John Hawkins.

Revel's Gift, otherwise the Underwood Charity, consisted of a rent-charge of 13s. 4d. on Tierney's field, of which 9s. 4d. went to Plymouth, and 4s. to Plympton. In 1762 this field was called Dunstone Hill, and was in two ownerships. The total area was two acres forty-three perches. In 1819 it was said to be held by a Mr. Kingdon, under the Mayor and Commonalty; and the Charity was stated in a return of 1786 to be the gift of John Revel. Whether this be so or not there is an odd entry in the earliest extant Poor Accounts of 1612, repeated in subsequent years, that Wm. Reve, of Plympton Mary, had the use of 40s. given by John Revel, whose will was that William Reve should have the same. Reve did not, however, pay anything for interest, and John Revel's name does not otherwise appear; nor can any payment in respect of his legacy have been included in the rents.

Again we find that in the early part of the seventeenth century, the Corporation had a messuage, tenement, and garden, with two pieces of land and appurtenances, at Underwood. And Dorothy Revel, October 4th, 1661, left the Mayor and Commonalty £20 to be lent out at interest, and the proceeds to be given to poor widows who had been formerly housekeepers, and who were not inmates of the Almshouses, on the first of January in each year for ever.

William Hils, Plymouth, merchant, July 30th, 15 James I. (1618), left to the Mayor and Commonalty an annuity of 52s. out of two messuages adjoining Southside Quay, "commonly called the Sampson," and a courtlage. For this they were to give on every Sabbath-day, immediately after morning prayer, "one dozen of middle sort of penny loafe wheaten bread comonly called cheat bread" to the poor in most need, to be distributed by the churchwardens and overseers, under the direction of the Mayor and Justice. Payment commenced the same year, and continues.

April 10th, 1624, there was received £20, the bequest of Robert Cowche of Moteley, "within the pish of Plymouth," to the Mayor and Commonalty for the use of poor artificers, to be lent to them gratis year by year for ever. This has disappeared.

In the accounts of money collected in aid of the sufferers by the plague of 1625 there is also a reference to a receipt of £20 as part of a legacy left by Thomas Brockadon.

Mark Cottell, of Cricklade St. Mary, in Wilts, by his will, dated March 8th, 1626, probate of which was granted in the following year, left to the town of Plymouth (where his father had sometime dwelt and was buried) £50 as a stock, the interest of which was to be distributed annually—one half to the poor and sick on St. Mark's day, with a noble to some learned preacher for preaching a sermon on the same day; and the other half every year in the week before Christmas. There is no doubt this money was paid; for in 1631 interest was carried to the credit of the poor account from Mark Cottell's legacy; and in 1634 we have the last distinct trace of it in an entry that £3 13s. 4d. had been received from Nicholas Sherwill in consideration of one £50; and that the Mayor had distributed £4 on account of the other, which he was to be allowed out of the Poor's Portion. There is a record also that money was paid under the will for preaching the sermon as provided. The Charity has disappeared, but it may have been applied to the general account of the Hospital of Poor's Portion.

In February, 1628, Robert Trelawny and John Clement had livery and siesin for the Mayor and Commonalty of four houses in New Street, feoffed by Sir Thomas Wyes of Sydenham, and Sir Samuel Rolle of Insworth. This arose out of a bequest by Benjamin Baron, merchant, of London, of £100 to the Mayor and Commonalty of Plymouth, that they should pay yearly 40s. to the parson and churchwardens of Bickington, to be given to the poor of that parish within fourteen days in bread, shoes, and stockings; also 20s. to be distributed in white and wheaten bread to the poor of Plymouth; the residue of the £100 to make a stock to set and keep the aforesaid poor people of Plymouth "on worke." The £2 have continued to be paid by the Corporation, as set forth in the Report of the Charity Commissioners, to the authorities of Bickington, but as far as Plymouth is concerned the

Charity has disappeared; and a curious fact, which I am unable to explain, is that in 1655 and some subsequent years £20 is said to be paid under the head of "Mr. Baron's annuity" to a certain Mistress Hunt. The receipts were insufficient for this purpose, and the Mayor and Commonalty had to make up the deficiency.

John Scoble, in December, 1629, bequeathed 1s. 6d. weekly to the poor of the town, during the lifetime of his wife, Elizabeth Scoble. He had then left Plymouth, and gone to reside at Wickhampton, in Dorset. She, in October, 1631, bequeathed this sum for ever, to be distributed in bread weekly; and her daughter, Johane Cole, wrote to the Mayor, November 2nd, 1641, that the charitable work begun by her father, and continued by her mother, should not through her neglect "falle to the ground, but shall rather by me receaue enlargement." This letter also is dated from Wickhampton. The accounts of the poor fund show that Elizabeth Scoble commenced payment in 1630; and it was afterwards continued by Cole. It cannot now be traced.

In 1631-32 John Bound (Mayor 1621-22, 1630-31) paid £40 for a grant in fee farm, and granted the town an annuity of 6s. 8d. for ever. Under his will, April 30th, 1642, he gave an annuity of 20s. out of Thistle Park, which was increased by his son Thomas to 40s., and continues.

In 1633 we find a yearly annuity of 20s. given to the Mayor and Commonalty for the use of the poor, under the will of George Baron, gent. The fate of this is unknown.

At this date, too, £1 yearly was paid to the poor out of the "Sheaf."

Hugh Willan, sailor, August 24th, 1644, left all the monies owing to him to the poor of Plymouth.

The most curious bequest I know of in connection with Plymouth comes next in order, and is recorded in an entry in the Receiver's Accounts for 1646-7:

"Itm reed of Mr Thomas Sherwill of London for eight yeares arrearages of an annuities of v^{li} per annum given by Mr Thomas Sherwill M^{re} decd out of his lands att Hundiscombe to the towne to buy powder two yeares of the eight being abated him in regard of the troubles his being the first payment of that annuity to Continue five and twenty yeares . xxx^{li}

Robert Trelawny (Mayor 1633-34; member 1640), under his will of August 24th, 1643, made important bequests for charitable purposes, which, however, came to nothing, in consequence of his dying in prison a Royalist, with his estates under sequestration. Besides £200 towards the building of Charles Church, he bequeathed £600 to the town of Plymouth, on security being given to his heirs for the annual payment of £30. A sermon was to be preached on his birthday, March 25th, in St. Andrew, by the vicar of St. Andrew or Charles, exhorting people to works of piety and charity; and on the same day the £30 was to be distributed by the Mayor and Trelawny's heir male, or his deputy, as follows: 40s. to each of the vicars; £20 to a maid servant of spotless character, that had lived in Plymouth with one master or mistress five years or more, "none but maides are hereof capable;" £5 to a young sailor who had served faithfully five years or more of his apprenticeship in Plymouth; to the town clerk 10s., for keeping the account; the eldest sergeant, 5s.; and the sexton, 5s. The gifts were to be given on nomination, by the heir, mayor, and magistrates, by drawing lots, Trelawny's heir being the drawer; and every third year the heir male was to distribute the £25 to "any of my bloud and poore kindred that he pleaseth." Other charitable bequests affecting Plymouth were £10 to the poor of Plymouth; 40s. to the poor of Penny-cross; £20 to the Poor's Portion; £10 to the Orphans' Aid; £10 to the Almshouse.

Sir John Gayer, one of an old Plymouth family of note, whose will was proved in 1657, left £500 to glaze all the glass windows in the New Church with good plain glass and strong lead, his arms to be set in the last; the residue was to be laid out in land by his cousin John Maddock. Part of the rents were to be paid for preaching twelve sermons a year in the New Church, before the administration of the sacrament—13s. 4d. to the preacher, 2s. to the curate or reader, 1s. to the clerk, and 1s. to the sexton for tolling the bell to give notice. The minister was to be chosen by the Mayor and Magistrates (*i.e.* Aldermen), and six of the testator's kin. The residue of the rents (10s. excepted, for a collation of wine and cakes at the distribution) to buy broad cloaths and kersies, "died into a sadd hair colour," for outward garments for poor people, to be yearly distributed in October.

The land acquired was the estate called Tor or Oaten Arishes, in

the tithing of Western Peverell,¹ the rents of which are duly devoted by the Municipal Charity Trustees to the general purposes set forth in the will, though of course the "minister" is no longer chosen in the manner directed by the Puritan knight. Tor had been purchased by John Ilcombe of Wm. Holande, of Weare, 1st Mary (1553), and became the subject of arrangement with his heirs 34th Elizabeth. William Laurence appears to have held an undivided moiety, which his widow, Margaret, carried for her life to John Clement, whom she subsequently married. William Laurence, the nephew, in 4th Charles I. (1629), leased this to John Madock, at 4s. a year rent for ninety-nine years, on a fine of £57 10s.; and in 1634 sold Madock the fee for £160. The moiety was described as consisting of fourteen acres, and the charge of £4 in favour of the Orphans' Aid was specially reserved. In 1659 it was granted by Madock to the Mayor and Commonalty. Though not specifically bought under Gayer's will, it represents therefore nearly £220 out of the £500 bequeathed. In 1674 by arrangement with Richard Bayly, of Duloe, who then held the other moiety, the estate, which consisted in all of twenty-eight acres, was divided and the joint ownership created.

Burrough's Gift occurs as the title of one of the local Charities, concerning which the Commissioners of 1820 were unable to obtain any clear information. All they could ascertain was that it consisted of £18 paid out of the tithes of Egg Buckland and St. Budeaux; and it was said to be the gift of one John Burrough, to furnish wearing apparel for the poor of Plymouth. With a very queer interpretation of "the poor," which reminds us of the well-known lines—

"The naked every day he clad—
When he put on his clothes,"

the Corporation at the time of the visit of the Commissioners had, for several years, at least, been accustomed to spend it in providing suits for the two town corporals and the governor of the Barbican! The references to this Charity in the records of the Corporation are very few, but they show two things clearly; first, that the founder was not John Burrough, but a certain Mistress Bouroughs (Bourowes); and, secondly, that the object was really to provide clothes for the poor, and not for the town officials; for both these facts are stated in connection with the entry of the first

¹ See the Orphans' Aid.

receipt under the Charity, in 1658. Moreover, there is still extant the deed of purchase by the Mayor and Commonalty, dated September 29th, 1657, from Thomas Fownes, for £288, of this annuity of £18 fee farm rent, arising out of the Rectory and Church of Egg Buckland, which had belonged to the Priory of Plympton, and which Fownes had bought in 1637. Nor need there be any real doubt as to the personality of the donor. There is an entry in the Receiver's Accounts of 1653-54 of £2 10s., spent on a banquet for "Mrs. Trosse, daughter of Mrs. Burroughs of the city of Exon, and her Companye." This Mrs. Burroughs was Rebecca Burroughs, widow of Walter Burroughs (or Borough), twice Mayor of Exeter. He was, during his lifetime and by will, one of the greatest benefactors the city ever had; and she followed his excellent example. There is no direct evidence that she was the founder of the Plymouth Charity; but the inference that she was so can hardly be resisted. This continues.

Moses Goodyear, merchant, left under his will, in 1663, two sums of £50—one to the Hospital of Poor's Portion, and the other to the Old Almshouse, his direction being that these sums should be laid out in the purchase of freehold lands for these two Charities. Nothing is now to be traced of this bequest.

John Hill, in 1672, gave £50 to the Mayor and Commonalty in consideration of the payment by them of 52s. yearly for ever, to be spent in the distribution of twelve penny wheaten loaves every Sunday morning at St. Andrew. This payment is still made.

And next we have the Charity founded by John King (Mayor 1659-60), concerning which there is a tattered draft indenture among the muniments of the Corporation. This was one of the Charities that the Commissioners of 1820 gave up as a bad job. A tablet in Charles Church recorded that in 1676 King had given to the churchwardens and overseers of this parish £100 to be kept as a stock, and the interest distributed in bread; and the Commissioners discovered that the Mayor and Commonalty had acknowledged in 1685 having received the £100 for this purpose, while the returns of 1786 stated that it was then vested in the parish, and producing £4 a year. The Charity had long ceased to operate when the Commissioners visited Plymouth, and they did not trouble themselves to carry the matter any further.

And so with the Charity founded under his will, May 2nd, 1668, by Stephen Ollaver, or Ollavean, or Ollivier, merchant, of Exeter, who left a rent-charge of £5 4s. on his houses in that city, to be distributed by 2s. weekly in wheaten bread in either of the parish churches of Plymouth on every Lord's-day, immediately after the service, to poor people, preference being given to the widows of mariners and seamen. This and other Charities established under his will Ollivier kept up during his life, but it had been lost long before 1820.

The poor of Charles have been more fortunate touching £50 left by Mary Collins, or Gosling, for distribution in bread; for the payment of £2 10s. in respect of this is still kept up by the Corporation. The liability was admitted, like that in respect of John King's endowment, in the deed by which the Corporation properties were transferred, pending the grant of the new charter under Charles II.

No doubt there are other Charities that should be included in the list, but with the exception of a few trifling bequests no record has been preserved of them. Enough has been said, however, to show that we must not rely on the Official Reports either for fullness or accuracy.

MODERN WITCHCRAFT.

SYLLABUS OF LECTURE BY JOHN RICE.

(Read October 23rd, 1884.)

LIMITATION of the word "modern" to witchcraft of the Christian era. Essential idea in modern witchcraft: compact between a human being and Satan. Witchcraft declared a crime by the Early Church. Laws against it. The "Sorcery Bull" of Pope Innocent VIII. The *Malleus Malificarum*, or commentary on the Bull by the Inquisitors appointed under it. The principles of witchcraft; the criminal code and mode of procedure, as laid down by the *Malleus*. Typical trials: at Arras, in France; at Mora, in Sweden. Removal of witchcraft from the English statute-book in 1736. Last execution in Germany in 1749. Last persecution in America in 1692, in Massachusetts. That persecution the only one fully and faithfully recorded. Analysis of it. Inferences. Some confirmatory facts.