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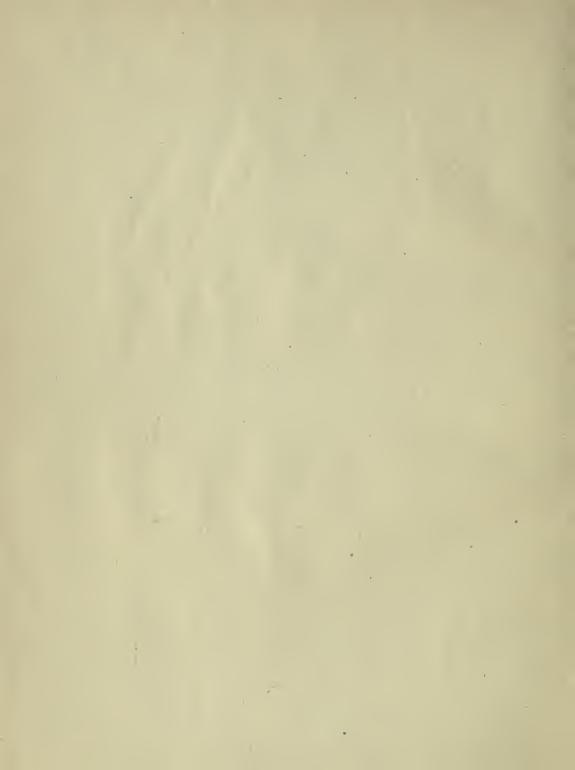
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INDEX OF MUNICIPAL OFFICES.

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INDEX

OF

MUNICIPAL OFFICES:

COMPILED FROM THE APPENDIXES TO THE FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1835.

WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

BY

G. LAURENCE GOMME,





LONDON:

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INDEX OF MUNICIPAL OFFICES:

ENGLAND AND WALES.

INTRODUCTION.

- 1. It is hoped that the following Index of Municipal Offices in England and Wales may prove of use, not only to the General use of historian and student of our local institutions, but the Index. also to those political thinkers who are now paying so much attention to the important question of local self-government. It is much to be lamented that it is necessary to appeal to two classes of readers here: it should not be so. The first mentioned need not necessarily belong to the second; but the second should in every way be identified with the first. So much reform of our old local institutions has taken place without any consideration as to their past history; so many empirical schemes have been fashioned; in short, Local Boards and Poor Law Boards, Commissioners and Parochial Committees, have been in so many cases called upon to do duties which properly belong to the already existing parish vestry or municipal borough, that there is danger of losing sight of that wonderful machinery of local self-government which has made England so powerful in her national government. To concentrate within a small compass one definite portion of local government institutions is an undertaking, therefore, not unfitted for the work of the INDEX SOCIETY.
- 2. The source from which the Index has been compiled is the Appendixes to the Report of the Commissioners on Source of inthe Municipal Corporations of England and Wales, formation. published in 1835, and upon which the Act of William IV. "for the regulation of municipal corporations in England and Wales" was founded. This Act, dealing with 178 boroughs,

swept away many of the old privileges and customs, and, therefore, for the purposes of the historian, the Reports of the Commissioners represent an important epoch in the history of municipal institutions, as an authentic, if meagre, record of customs which no longer exist. So little attention had been paid to our municipal archives prior to this period, that the information contained in these reports almost seems like a revelation of new facts. We are now, however tardily, recognizing the vast importance to historical research of documents generally stowed away in the damp rooms of a Town Hall as old rubbish; and, accordingly, municipal history is acknowledged as a not unimportant feature of national history. Some boroughs, like that of Stratford-upon-Avon, have allowed the historian to publish their records, and such magnificent folios as that produced by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, amply justify the idea of the value of such documents beyond the local circle. Mr. Davies' York Records is another instance; while on the general subject we have now Merewether and Stephens' History of the Boroughs and Municipal Corporations of the United Kingdom, and Thompson's little book on English Municipal History. But the work has not been taken up too soon. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, reporting to the British Archeological Association on the municipal archives of Dorset, found that a large part of the town papers of Weymouth were in private hands, being only thus saved from the waste-paper basket,1 and we learn from the Historical Manuscripts Commission that Mr. James Sherren had rescued them from a stable, where they had been deposited to await the tender mercies of the housemaid and fire-grate (5th Report, p. 576). We may be spared the fear of such possible vandalism in the future it is hoped, and certainly the labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commission will greatly help us herein. In the six Reports already issued by this Commission the archives of the following English boroughs have been reported on: Abingdon, Axbridge, Berwick-on-

¹ It is worth quoting Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps' words in full here, I think: "At Weymouth I find that a large part of the town papers are in private hands, belonging to Mr. Sherren, who acquired them at the time when the Municipal Reform Act, amongst other evils, led to the ousting of what in many places was deemed dusty rubbish. It is fortunate that Mr. Sherren intervened to save from the waste-paper basket, by purchase, a quantity of curious matter of great local interest."—The Municipal Archives of Dorset: British Archæological Association, vol. xxviii. p. 28.

Tweed, Bridgwater, Bridport, Cambridge, Coventry, Dartmouth, Faversham, Folkestone, Fordwich, High Wycombe, Hythe, Kingston-on-Thames, Launceston, Lydd, Morpeth, New Romney, Norwich, Nottingham, Rye, St. Albans, Sandwich, Tenterden, Totnes, Wallingford, Wells, Weymouth, Winchester, and York. From such materials as these we learn some of the archaic institutions of our municipal boroughs, but it will be seen that they deal with only a very small section of the municipalities of England. The Reports of the Municipal Corporation Commissioners, however, deal with the whole of them (with the exception of London) in respect of (1) their existing state, (2) their jurisdiction and powers and the administration of justice, (3) mode of electing and appointing officers and members, (4) the privileges of the freemen, (5) the nature and management of their funds and property. Each borough has been reported on separately and always in the same form, and we are thus enabled to collect parallel information in every instance. This, however, does not apply to London, which was dealt with altogether differently, and I accordingly had to turn to other authorities for the enumeration of the offices belonging to that city. It has been impossible under these circumstances to do equal justice to our subject, so far as it is connected with London: because the literature applicable to it is so vast 1 and vet so incomplete, and because, were we once to attempt to deal with London on any subject in connexion with municipal history. our researches could not be confined within the limits of an introduction. London is altogether unique in its past history and its present position. More than any other city in England, it affords evidence of a continued existence from Roman times: more than any other city in the world, it presents to the historian evidence of the clashing of the Roman and Teutonic systems of polity; of a development of local institutions altogether without a parallel in other history, and, in fact, brought about by influences belonging simply and entirely to the era of modern civilization. Under the protection of these various considerations, therefore, I have contented myself with simply setting

¹ Lord Coke, in his time, had reason to write that "to treat of the great and notable franchises, liberties and customs of the City of London, would require a volume in itself."

out in the Index the offices now existing in London, as shown in the annual accounts issued by the Chamberlain of the City.

3. It is not often that the report of a parliamentary commission can be of so much service to the cause of history Historical importance of as that which deals with the condition of the munici-Reports on pal corporations of England and Wales. Standing Corporations. as it does between the old and the new, as the record of institutions which have to a great extent been self-developed and not created by legislation, it concentrates within its pages a mass of information which, in the absence of local histories, is of great value. But unhappily this information is neither exhaustive, nor so critically accurate, as the historian must require. The pages bear unmistakable signs of hasty and purely official work, and one has to lament that the protests of Sir Francis Palgrave and Mr. Hogg should be so well founded. Appreciating to the full what is to be found in the three thousand pages devoted to the subject, I fear that my Index of Municipal Offices will be found to be deficient in many little points which more accuracy of detail in the Reports would have prevented.

Still it is only necessary to contemplate for one moment the progress of municipal history in England to understand the position that these Reports occupy as the most valuable record of a very important epoch. Whatever may be alleged as to the borrowing of our municipal institutions from Rome, it is certain that we cannot point to any very considerable group of towns and urge that their history argues the adoption of Roman institutions. York, Chester, Lincoln, Leicester, London, and Canterbury would at all events exhaust the list, and the question arises, therefore, what element in the general development of English municipal history do the remaining 279 towns represent? It is certainly a mistake to suppose that, because at the present day many of these towns are insignificant in size, possess little or no wealth, and are occupied by a scant population, therefore they should not enter into the subject of English municipal history. There can be no doubt that the Anglo-Saxon invasion and conquest brought things pretty nearly to a level, and that towns starting up from the new circumstances did not derive so much benefit from a former prestige as in other circumstances they would have done. During the progress of national history we see

groups of towns rising into prominent importance, new groups springing into existence, other groups beginning to decay. But to understand the full significance of this factor in English municipal history, a synthetical arrangement at one definite period of the recorded institutions of towns making up these several groups is positively necessary; and it is in this position of importance that I would place the Reports of the Commissioners of 1835, notwithstanding the lamentable defects in the information supplied, already alluded to. We learn thereby to appreciate and understand the position occupied by such towns as London, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, and others, as types of the fullest development of municipal institutions; we learn to class in groups such towns as Maidstone, Norwich, Oxford, Hull, and others, where local vigour has given way to corruption, and where some of the most historical rights and privileges have been swept away; we gather from such groups as Nottingham, Malmesbury, Berwick-on-Tweed, Chippenham, Marlborough, Arundel, and others, that many of our municipal institutions had a previous existence as township, or even village, institutions; and lastly, groups consisting of Aberystwith, Cardigan, and most of the Welsh boroughs, and a few English, such as Altringham, Dursley, Romford, Wootton-under-Edge, show us that the old manorial privileges have also entered into the construction of English municipal history. Information thus arranged from materials collected within the space of two years. and therefore belonging to the same period, enables the scientific historian to study the question from that comparative point of view which is the basis of all modern research, enables the student of municipal institutions to demonstrate what the constitutional historian asserts must be the case, only under forms which he is scarcely able to identify, and which lie outside his scope and period, namely, that relics of the older system survive in the modern corporations.1

4. Bearing in mind what I have attempted to explain is the archæological value of the Reports from which Scope of the the present compilation is made, it will not be introduction. exceeding the proper limits of an introduction, I think, to

¹ See Stubbs' Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 424.

give an outline of the contribution made by that portion of the subject now in hand to the general question of municipal history. It is necessary to guard against the supposition that this outline is intended for an exhaustive treatment of the view I venture to entertain—it can only be suggestive of what may possibly hereafter be done upon the lines now indicated. To a certain extent, of course, the Index explains itself, and students will apply to it for their own information to be used in their own way, for their own purposes. But there still remains something to be done by the compiler—something which it is hoped may be found acceptable as an indicator to a great deal more that may follow further research.

The Index supplies us with a list of no less than six hundred and fifty-three different offices, but unfortunately this does not include all the ancient offices of the old corporations. In some cases officers who had no longer any functions to perform, though still appointed, have not been enumerated; 1 but, taking the materials as supplied to us, there is plenty to allow of a valuable contribution to municipal history. In no instance are the names of the officers of Roman origin. Standing out in bold relief are first of all the distinctly municipal officers. The Mayor with his Bailiffs, attended by the officers of civic dignity, either the Mace-Bearer, the Sword-Bearer, the Dragon-Bearer, or sometimes the Serieant-at-Mace, and surrounded by the Chamberlain, Recorder, Town Clerk, Aldermen, Burgesses and Common Councilmen, represent the fullest development of municipal institutions. Most of the towns possess some such an organization as this, varied of course in details of methods of election or of manner of holding assemblies, but from a general view substantially the same. Looked at a little more closely, we find still existing a class of offices which takes us back to the burghal constitution of old times. Thus Borough-holders, Portreeve, Reeve, do not belong to late developments of municipal history. A still further outlying circle of history is traceable from the existence of many offices belonging to the

¹ Thus the "Brookwarden" of Arundel is only mentioned by accident, as it were, and his office is one of the most valuable for historical purposes.—See Tierney's History of Arundel, p. 708. So again some of the obsolete offices at Congleton, which are of the most interesting nature, are given, but quite as an exception, while "several subordinate officers" of Altringham, Over, etc., are not enumerated.

old township regulations, for instance, Ale-conners and Aletasters, the Borsholders, Constables, Town Corporal, Town Crier, Headboroughs, Tithingmen and Minstrels. And finally a still further progress into early history is made by a consideration of offices relating to purely agricultural matters. Municipal freedom and power is the offspring of mercantile rather than of agricultural progress, and if we are compelled to look beyond municipal history for the origin of such offices as those of Fen Reeve, Fieldgrieve, Grassman, Hayward, Herd, Pinder, Pound Driver, Woodward and the rest, I cannot think it will be at all too remote, taken in connexion with other circumstances, to suggest the time when the present municipal town was little more than an agricultural community of the type now known to have once existed throughout Europe.

This is, stated shortly, the view I venture to take of the results of an examination of the offices that once existed, and may perhaps still exist, in many of our municipal towns. I put it forward with all deference, because I am quite aware that, in order to establish it on its firmest basis, many other considerations would have to be given which could hardly find a place in the present introduction. I think this conclusion sufficiently established from the list itself to be able to state it, as I have done, broadly and generally, as a contribution to the whole question of municipal history, which assuredly wants re-writing with the new materials at hand. But in addition to. nay, in confirmation of, the archaic view which, as I contend, may be obtained by grouping into outlying circles of historical antiquity the offices belonging to our municipal institutions, there is the all-important fact to notice that, at the time of the Report of the Commissioners, it was a general rule for officers chosen for certain functions to be regarded as a part of the legislative body—a notion which, without doubt, belongs to times when the separation of constitutional authorities had not been completed, when legislative, judicial and executive functions were confounded; a notion, in point of fact, which belongs to

¹ May I here refer to a paper I read before the Society of Antiquaries in June 1878, compiled from the Reports of the Municipal Corporation Commissioners, and entitled, On Traces of the Primitive Village Community in English Municipal Institutions, in a Letter to William J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A. This deals with corporate property only.

the domain of ancient law and early society, which is inherited rather from our Teutonic primitiveness than from Roman culture.

I would, therefore, rather wish in this introduction to treat of Otherviews of the historical aspect of the whole subject, than to the subject. take each office separately and explain its duties and meaning and the derivation of its title. This part of the subject, however, most certainly wants attention; for we may turn in vain to the pages of Nares, Cowell and Jacob for an explanation of some of the titles to be found in the list. Again. many officers perform functions totally at variance with their titles, a fact which opens the way to much interesting history. The various and sometimes extremely intricate modes of appointment, and the particular feast-days upon which in many cases it was absolutely necessary that the appointments should be made, ought also to receive the attention of the student. And, moreover, what is further needed, is to collect the titles of those obsolete offices which do not find a place so late as 1835. In point of fact this is strictly necessary to confirm the conclusions I venture to deduct from the present list; for it is only upon the supposition that most, if not all, of the municipal boroughs at one time or other possessed the most distinctive of the offices set out as giving evidence of past history, that my arguments are entitled to the full force I would give them. That this was the case, of course, I fully believe; and I hope that in course of time I may be able to restore many titles at present lying hid amongst other historical archives.1

I should perhaps notice that for statistical purposes Mr. Fletcher has compiled a list "of the principal and of the inferior officers with the number of boroughs in which each office is mentioned to have been found," and which is given in the Journal of the Statistical Society (vol. v. p. 162). But besides leaving out many that are included in the present list, Mr. Fletcher's object was statistical; mine is historical—Mr. Flet-

¹ Thus, from the Thirty-eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, we hear of several offices not included in the present List. Amongst these are the Alnager of Bristol, Hull, Norwich, York; the Water Bailiff of Chichester and Dartmouth; Customer of Boston, Gloucester, Newcastle; Garbler of London; Heyward and Woodward of Worcester; Mayor of Hardleigh; Searcher of Bristol, Gloucester, Hull, Newcastle and Sandwich. And other instances are mentioned in the text later on.

cher's, in fact, to point out "the necessity of clearing away some of the antiquated machinery;" mine to urge the importance of recording the facts and preserving the spirit of antiquity.

MUNICIPAL OFFICES.

5. Of course the most important municipal office is that of the head-man of the borough. We find the title of this office disputed by nine different kinds of officers. As will be seen by reference to the Index, the large majority of towns have a mayor as the chief officer, but, as the exceptions to this rule form a very interesting phase of our inquiry, I give here a table showing the titles of the head-man of those boroughs which do not possess a mayor:—

Alderman.—Bury St. Edmunds, Grantham, Malmesbury, Wokingham.

Aldermen (two).—Denbigh, Ruthin.

Bailiff.—Andover, Bewdley, Bishop's Castle, Blandford, Brecon, Buckingham, Cefn Llys, Chippenham, Chipping Sodbury, Crickhowell, Daventry, Great Dunmow, Dursley, Garstang, Hay, Ilchester, Knuckless, Leominster, Llandovery, Lydd, Pevensey, Presteign, New Radnor, Rhayader, Romney Marsh, Seaford, Wenlock.

Bailiff, High.—Kidderminster, Ludlow, Ruyton.

Bailiffs (two). — Aldeburgh, Brading, Bridgnorth, Bridgort, Caerwys, Cardiff, Chipping Norton, Clitheroe, Clun, Cowbridge, Droitwich, Dunwich, Eye, Farnham, Godmanchester, Ipswich, Kingston-on-Thames, Lichfield, Montgomery, Morpeth, Newport (Salop), East Retford, Rhuddlan, Scarborough, Southwold, Tamworth, Tewkesbury.

Chamberlains (four).—Alnwick.

Constable of the Castle.—Carnarvon, Conway, Harlech.

Guild Stewards .- Calne.

Portreeve.—Aberavon, Beccles, Chard, Kenfig, Kilgerran, Lampeter, Langport-Eastover, Laugharne, Llanelly, Llantrissent, Loughor, Neath, Swansea, Usk, Yeovil.

Portreeves (three).—St. Clears.

Stewards.—Gateshead.

Warden.—Godalming, Louth, Sutton Coldfield.

It will be seen at once that the old Burghal constitution, which, as I have pointed out, still gives historical evidence of its existence, is first brought into notice by the Portreeve as head man of the borough; but, leaving the consideration of this office until the next section, we will now briefly notice the remaining chief officers.

The office of Mayor was borrowed from France at the time when our Norman sovereigns brought French customs on to English soil. The earliest spelling of the word is 'meyres' or 'meires' in the Vision of Piers Plowman; Sir Thomas More spells it 'maire,' and Fabyan 'mayre,' and it is not until Bacon that we find it written 'major, maioralitie,' giving the idea that the word was borrowed from the Latin 'major,' instead of through the French 'majeur' from the Latin accusative 'majorem.' Indeed, so clearly does the title seem to be the work of the Anglo-Norman period that Thierry (Tiers Etat, vol. ii. p. 1, Eng. Trans.) speaks of the mayor as an addition to the original consular government, which came in first in the Aquitanian cities under Norman or English rule.

There can be no doubt, I think, that this officer was the nominee of the people as against the increasing power of the crown. The old portgerefa had become little more than the servant of the king, and during that period of European history when the towns both on the Continent and in England began to regain some of that liberty which feudalism had checked, there was a great deal of international sympathy and a corresponding international progress. As Professor Stubbs says, the ancient liberties of the English were not unintelligible to the townsmen of Normandy; the rising freedom of the German cities roused a corresponding ambition in the towns of Flanders; and the struggles of the Italian municipalities awoke the energies of the cities of Provence. The immediate effect of this was the appointment of an officer who would once more represent the citizens and not the king. The portgerefa had disgraced his

¹ The passage in which the word occurs is the one chosen by Mr. Skeat for his Parallel Extracts from Twenty-nine MSS. of Piers Plowman (E. E. T. S.). There are altogether ten different variations in the spelling in the twenty-nine MSS., but those mentioned in the text occur in fourteen instances. The other spellings do not vary much.

² Hist. of King Richard. ³ Chron. Ellis edit., p. 313. ⁴ Hist. of Henry VII. ⁵ See Freeman's Comp. Pol., p. 345, whence this is quoted.

⁶ Const. Hist. i. p. 422.

position; the English townsmen were largely intermixed with Normans; and English towns felt the benefit of the European struggle for municipal freedom. Under these circumstances, with the new birth of popular election, they would have a new title for their head-man; and, thus, no doubt, the old English title of portreeve gave way before the claims of the new Anglo-Norman title. London was the first to elect a Mayor in 1189 or 1191, and, though Mr. Coote thinks a charter was granted at the time,1 the first extant or known charter was not granted until 1214 by King John. Other towns quickly followed: York temp. Ric. I.; King's Lynn in 1204; Bristol in 1217; Oxford in 1229; Chester in 1247; Rye in 1304; and as we approach the reigns of Richard II. and the Lancastrians, all the most important of the old boroughs elect Mayors instead of their old provosts or bailiffs. But still with the majority of the boroughs the title of mayor was not introduced until much later, generally about the reign of Elizabeth and James I.

The duties of the Mayor as set forth in the Reports are extremely various, and have no doubt grown with the growth of municipal power. He usually presides at the quarter sessions of the borough, and is often a judge of the Court of Record; he is often Coroner, and Keeper of the gaol; generally Clerk of the market and Judge of the Pie-poudre Court. In a few ports, as at Rochester, he is Admiral, to the exclusion of the Admiralty of England, and in others, as at Carmarthen, Haverfordwest,

Southampton, he has a concurrent jurisdiction.3

The manner of election differed considerably in most of the towns from the popular election, which no doubt was the original mode. The Commissioners in their Report summarize the various modes of election, and there appeared to be only

relating to the Ancient Duties of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London.—Archeologia, vol. xxxvi. pp. 97-104. And also to the old account of "the office of the Mayor of Bristol," in Toulmin Smith's Gilds, p. 413.



¹ See a most interesting paper on "The Lost Charter," read at the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. Also Stubbs' Select Documents, pp. 257, 300.

2 We learn this from Hist. MSS. Com. vol. v. p. 503, though here again, as at London originally, there is no charter. Perhaps the most curious instance of a Mayor being elected without the power of a Charter is at Overton in Flint. In 1830, at a convivial party, it was resolved to elect a Mayor annually, the price of the dignity being a dinner to be given upon his going out of office.

3 I may here refer to Mr. Payne Collier's Account of a MS. by Thomas Norton, relative to the Archivet Thus of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London.—Archaen-

twenty-one boroughs in which the commonalty had a free right of election.1

Passing, for the present, from the Mayor as head-man, I will just glance at the position of the remaining officers who were in some boroughs the chief officer. The oldest of these is of course the Bailiff. No less than twentysix boroughs had retained down to 1835 the old method of being governed by two Bailiffs, and thirty by one Bailiff.2 Oxford was governed by two in 1229; King's Lynn in 1204; York temp. Richard I.; and London, according to Fabyan, in 1180; and frequently the appointment of the Mayor is in place of the Bailiff.4 Other towns had only one Bailiff as head-man. as Canterbury temp. Henry II. The office appertains originally to manorial institutions. The derivation of the name seems to be from a root signifying a safe keeper or protector,5 and was brought into England at the Conquest, though the office answers to the earlier praefecti or prepositi maneriorum or villarum of the Saxon and Domesday period,6 whose business it was to collect the rents, to levy distresses, to prevent trespasses, to keep the peace, and to do all the offices of equity and right between the lord and the tenant. The title of Bailiff is used for many other offices besides municipal, and we have no direct testimony as to how it was that a Bailiff became the head-man of a borough. In the opinion of Professor Stubbs, all towns were originally in demesne of some lord, bishop, or king, and all the inhabitants were less than free.7 As chartered privileges came gradually into existence at the instance of the lord of the town, it is very possible that the Bailiff of the lord became the head-man of the borough. His power amongst the tenants and freemen must have been very great,8 and it is noticeable that many of the Bailiffs who appear as head-men of the Boroughs

¹ By the Act of William IV., one uniform rule was adopted for all municipal boroughs—the Council elect the Mayor on the 9th of November in every year from the Aldermen or Councillors.

² It is worth noticing, perhaps, that the Mayor is required to have served the office of Bailiff at Coventry, Laneaster, Northampton, Tenby, and vice versa at Boston.

See Chron., Ellis edit., p. 299.

See Bridgwater in Hist. MSS. Com. vol. i. p. 99; also Chipping Sodbury, sub voce.

⁵ Coke upon Littleton, 61b.

⁶ Ellis, Introd. to Domesday, vol. i. p. 245.

⁷ See Introd. to Toulmin Smith's English Gilds (E.E.T.S.), p. lx. ⁸ Ellis, Introd. to Domesday, vol. i. p. 245.

in the present list were appointed by the Lord of the Borough.¹ The mode of election in some of the other cases is very curious, and I do not think it will be objected to, if I give the following instances.

At Brading two Bailiffs, senior and junior, are elected every year. The two Bailiffs for the time being, the two for the preceding year, and the deputy Steward, hold what is called a private meeting. One inhabitant who has served the office of Constable is chosen senior Bailiff; two others, who have also served as Constables, are put in nomination for junior Bailiff. This meeting is held at the summons of the senior Bailiff a few days before a Court-leet, which is held about the 9th October. At the Court-leet the senior Bailiff is presented, and the jury chooses a junior Bailiff from the two put in nomination. The proceedings of the private meeting are always kept secret until the Court-leet.

At Chippenham the Bailiff is chosen annually on Michaelmas Day. The Bailiff and burgesses meet in an upper room of the Guildhall and the freemen in a room below. The Bailiff and burgesses select two of themselves, whose names are carried down to the freemen by the under-bailiff. The freemen elect the Bailiff from the two candidates, signifying their choice by sticking a pin in the name of the one chosen. The candidates are generally chosen according to ancientry or from the burgesses who have not yet served the office.

These two instances are perhaps sufficient to afford an idea of some of the more curious and intricate methods of election; and without doing more than mentioning the towns of Godmanchester, Ilchester, Kingston-on-Thames, Rhuddlan, and Scarborough as further instances, we pass on to the next office.

I will now draw attention to the Alderman as the head-man of the borough; and let me say at once, that the appearance of this title among our municipal institutions is man. distinctly of late origin. Aldermen were first chosen in London²

¹ Namely at Cardiff, Caerwys, Cefn Llys, Chipping Sodbury, Crickhowell, Dursley, Hay, Knuckless, Presteign, Rhayader. At Alnwick, a document printed by the Commissioners states that the Bailiff of the Lord was the chief officer of the town.

² Fabyan's Chron., edit. Ellis, p. 332; though Palgrave asserts, without naming his authorities, that London seems to have had aldermen from time immemorial.— Hist. of Eng. Com., vol. ii. p. cccl.

in 1241, at Oxford in 1256, and so on; and I do not think it possible to separate the Alderman, as head-man of the borough, from the body of Aldermen (one being chosen from each ward of the borough) as a portion of the Common Council of the borough, at least so far as the introduction of the title is concerned. But although we cannot trace an earlier adoption of the title than the date mentioned above, the connexion between the alderman of the municipal boroughs and the primitive alderman of the old Germans is an interesting historical fact, as clearly traceable as the philological derivation.

The Ealdorman, the princeps of Tacitus, the princeps, or satrapa, or subregulus of Bede, the dux of the Latin chroniclers. and the comes of the Normans-Stubbs, Const. Hist. vol. i. pp. 111, 112 1—was originally the chief of a district which comprised several townships - tunscipas, vici, Tac. Hist. iv. 15 - both township and district being founded in the olden times upon a genealogical rather than a geographical relationship. settlement in England, influenced unquestionably by the Romanized population who survived the conquest, soon led to the substitution of geographical for genealogical relationship upon which to base the institutions of the national state, and the earliest sign of this is the Ealdorman becoming the chief of the hundred and the shire. The Burghs at this time were governed by the Burgh-gerefa, port-gerefa, or wic-gerefa; 2 and we practically lose sight of the alderman in his progress to the modern earl and duke.

Unfortunately, it is just at this juncture that constitutional historians leave the subject. Sir Francis Palgrave contents himself with the assertion that the municipal magistrates continued in undisturbed possession of the name,3 which, besides being refuted by the assertion of Professor Stubbs that the municipal system has in the alderman the representative of the gild,4 does not advance the history of the subject.

As a first, and most important, step in this history, it should be understood that the Anglo-Saxon Burgh, like the rest of the

¹ See also Palgrave, Eng. Com. vol. ii. p. cccl; Kemble, bk. ii. cap. iv. vol. ii. of Saxons in England.

³ See Kemble's Saxons in England, cap. vii. bk. ii. "On the Towns."

⁴ Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 424.

Teutonic settlements in this island, was based upon the family organization—that is, the primitive family of ancient law, founded upon blood relationship. The proofs of this cannot be stated now, because it is a question belonging to national history, but such a statement only amounts to saying that the barbaric conquerors of the Roman Empire had not advanced along the lines of civilization any further than had the Latins before the construction of the Twelve Tables, the Greeks before the composition of the Iliad, or, in fact, any further than the earliest progressive stages of either of the great Arvan peoples who have successively occupied European or Asiatic territory. The next step was the constitution of the Burgh as a territorial unity, hedged and walled round for the purposes of defence, definitely fixed as a military station of the empire. But within this constitutional organization the inevitable consequences of such political progress were going on. Old primitive influences were giving way—the family organization was gradually undermined, and an appeal made to artificial or political organization instead. It is at this stage that we are introduced to the initial history of the Gilds. I cannot see why in this, as in other instances, we must either hold everything to be borrowed from Roman civilization, or else developed from Teutonic barbarism.² The truth is, both are right. The Roman collegium developed out of exactly a parallel state of political progress as the Teutonic Gild; both are of essentially home growth. The old Anglo-Saxon family had given way just as the old Roman family had given way centuries before; but our Anglo-Saxon forefathers at this juncture had in their very midst a ready-made institution, if I may so say, belonging to the stage of political development to which they were insensibly progressing-namely, the Roman collegium. That they should have clothed their new Gildships, therefore, with a considerable amount of Roman drapery, is not to be wondered at; but that it was not all Roman, or, rather, that the bearers of this Roman clothing were Teutonic in blood, is shown by the titles given to the officers of this new institution. We come again upon the

See Mr. Coote's Secular Gilds of London, also Romans of Britain, p. 383.
 Toulmin Smith's English Gilds.

Ealdorman: he is the chief officer—the graceman—of the Gild.1 It is a long history, but not a difficult one from this point, to trace the gradual approach of the Gild to the Burghal community, the gradual amalgamation of both into the municipal corporation of modern times, or, according to the views of Mr. Coote in reference to London, the ultimate overturning of the old Burghal constitution in favour of the Gild constitution.2

Thus I think we have dealt sufficiently at length with the chief municipal officer. The other titles-Warden, for the Chief Gild Stewards, Chamberlain, Constable of the Castle Officer. -call for little or no remark. The two first belong to the same category as that of the Alderman just treated of; the Chamberlains of Alnwick were appointed by agreement between the Earl and Countess of Northumberland and the Corporation, and the Constables of the Castle are simply the officers of the Lord of the Borough.

Immediately surrounding the chief officer, attending upon him The officers of in his official capacity, assisting to support his municipal dignity, are the officers known as Dragon Bearer, Mace Bearer, Officer of the Silver Mace, Staff Bearers, Standard Bearers, Sword Bearer, White Mace Bearer, and oftentimes Serjeant-at-Mace. Most of the old boroughs possessed a distinctive symbol by which as a collective body, as a corporate unit of the State, they were recognized beyond their own boundaries. Thus the Harrow of Canterbury, the White Ship of Bristol, the Black Ram of Coventry, the Leopard of Salisbury, the Wolf of Worcester, the Dragon of Gloucester, the George of Nottingham, the Boar's Head of Windsor, the Wild Rat of Northampton, and the Griffin of Leicester, were unfurled on the side of the Yorkists at the Battle of Towton.3 And although such symbols were not unknown among the early Teutons, as, for instance, the "Ward Staff" of Aungar Hundred described by Sir Francis Palgrave,4

¹ Stubbs' Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 418; Smith's English Gilds, p. xxxviii; Madox's

Firma Burgi, p. 30.

² Secular Gilds of London, p. 22: Mr. Thompson thinks that the Merchant Gild merged in the corporation in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.—See Eng. Mun. Hist. p. x. Introd.

³ See Thompson's Eng. Mun. Hist. pp. 78, 190.
4 Eng. Com. vol. ii. p. clviii. See also "the Dumb Borsholder" of Chart, described in Arch. Cantiana, vol. ii. pp. 85-8.

the official dignity and importance belonging to the municipal mace or its equivalent appear to me to belong to a somewhat later cycle of custom than that represented by the Teutonic group. As the symbol of the power of the central government in municipal matters, it was generally engraved with the Arms of England, as appears by the charters granted to Beaumaris, Bishop's Castle, Chester, Clun, Congleton, and Oswestry, which are quoted by the Commissioners. The charter of Elizabeth to Beaumaris states that the maces shall be gilt or of silver, and that the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses "shall meet us, our heirs, and successors, and also our children, without the said borough and within the limits of our county of Anglesey," as often as they repair to the borough, and that the Mayor and Bailiffs shall bear the maces "before us, our heirs and successors, and our children, through the said borough." The charter of the same sovereign to Bishop's Castle empowers the appointment of the Sergeantsat-Mace and the carrying of two silver maces, "in order to augment and preserve the splendour and authority of our aforesaid borough." 1 The privilege of having gold or silver maces carried before the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London was not granted until the reign of Edward III., and there is no doubt that we owe the introduction of this municipal privilege to our Norman sovereigns.2 But in representing the authority of the central government, it undoubtedly carries us back, by analogy at all events, to the Roman municipal constitution which was so elaborate in its ceremonial detail. We may have borrowed the mace from France, as we did the word by which it is known,3 but we were quite ready to receive its symbolism and to make it fit in with the general system surrounding it. And as a matter of fact the older system is represented, not by the mace, but by the sword and the dragon. The latter Mr.

² The silver mace of Ruyton dates from 2 Edward II. It has the inscriptions "Liberum Burgu de Nova Ruyton," and "Edmund comes Arun.," decorated with the Arundel Arms and those of England and France. The Silver Mace of Flint is spoken of as of great antiquity.

3 French masse, from obs. Latin matea.

¹ There are many instances in Corporation accounts of the importance once attached to the Mace. Thus at Banbury in 1651 a loan was raised "towards the buying and paying for a new mace for the said Burrough, and repaireing the old mace."—Beesley's Hist. of Banbury, p. 449. Yet just before the new Act of 1835 came into operation, the maces, which were of silver gilt, had been disposed of for the liquidation of their debt. -Ibid. p. 548, note 43.

Coote has identified as Roman, at least as the war standard of the West Saxons; 1 and the former was equally of Roman origin,2 representing the old criminal jurisdiction of the municipalities. It is not a little curious to note that while the mace, as shown above, is the symbol of the authority delegated by the central government to municipal bodies, the dragon and the sword appear as the symbol of old municipal powers. They are only mentioned as being granted by charter in the three instances of Chester, King's Lynn, and Liverpool,3 to which must obviously be added Exeter, London, and Norwich, mentioned in Thompson's English Municipal History. But the very wording of these grants assists us to understand that the institution was not a new one. Henry VII. grants to Chester that the Mayor may have the sword borne before him "in our absence, and may cause it to be borne before him with the point upright, in the presence as well as of other nobles and lords of our realm of England who are related to us in lineal consanguinity and others whomsoever, and in any other manner howsoever;" 4 while at King's Lynn, on the contrary, Henry VIII. granted the privilege of carrying a sword sheathed. It is interesting to note that the corporation of Chester successfully defended their right against the Dean and Chapter, and in the award it is granted that "as often as the Mayor repaired to the church to hear divine service or sermon, or upon any just occasion, he was to be at liberty to have the sword of the city borne before him with the point upwards."5 Such, then, is the historical significance I would apply to the ceremonial municipal offices, and here, as elsewhere, it is much to be lamented that we fall short of the number of instances which should properly exist.6 But the citizen of olden times looked upon

¹ Romans of Britain, pp. 432-3.

² In Amiens the insignia of supreme justice consisted of two swords of antique shape carried in the hands of two officials, and a similar custom prevailed among almost all the great Corporations of France, which undoubtedly had a continuity from Roman times.—See Thompson's Eng. Mun. Hist. p. 173.

³ The office of Sword Bearer at Bristol is specially mentioned as being very ancient,

though not mentioned in any of the charters.

⁴ It should be observed that this is simply a copy of older grants of the same privilege, e.g. Norwich temp. Hen. IV. mentioned by Thompson, Eng. Mun. Hist.

⁵ See Hist. MSS. Com. 5th Report, p. 342.

⁶ The Water Bailiff of Bristol carries a "silver oar" as the symbol of authority.

the municipal insignia with a political significance. When he saw the mace and the sword, says Mr. Thompson, when he saw the banner of his community unfurled, his heart exulted in the thought that his fellow-citizens and he constituted a body enjoying entire independence, their own civil and criminal jurisdiction, and a name in the land which kings and lords respected.

The officer carrying the mace is the chief attendant of the Mayor on all public occasions and processions. At Norwich there is a Sword Bearer to carry the city sword; two Mace Bearers to carry the maces; two Standard Bearers; a Dragon Bearer and his assistant; and two Whifflers, who carry swords, which were originally used to clear a way through the people for the processions. (See Notes and Queries, 4th Ser. xii. 284, 354, 397, 416.) At York the Sword Bearer attends the Lord Mayor and Corporation on all state occasions, also the Upper House when assembled in Council, and all corporate meetings for elections and admission of freemen, and he affixes the seal of the Corporation; the Mace Bearer has nearly similar duties to perform, and the officer of the Silver Mace acts as domestic servant to the Lord Mayor on all state occasions.2 But in the majority of the towns we find the duty of carrying the Mace entrusted to the Serjeant-at-Mace, whose original duties were to execute process, summon juries, attend courts of record, and so on.3 The older towns, it will be observed from the Index. have an officer for the specific purpose of carrying the municipal mace or sword, and it is chiefly among the more recently created boroughs that this duty is delegated to the Serjeant-at-Mace. In some towns both officers exist. Thus at Scarborough the Mace-bearer attends the two bailiffs in processions, and the Serjeants-at-Mace both attend them to church4 or elsewhere on public occasions. The far older title of the officer who performed

² The whole subject of Corporation processions wants attention, for there is much to be learned therefrom.

4 At Chipping Norton there is an ancient payment of one shilling for bearing the

mace before the Bailiffs on Sundays to church.

¹ At Buckingham and Scarborough the Mace Bearer is attendant upon the Bailiff; at Yeovil upon the Portreeve; at Kingston-on-Thames there are two for the two Bailiffs.

³ Sometimes, he has assumed other duties; thus at Carlisle he is also Crier; at Blandford Forum he acts as Hayward; at Aberystwith one is Bellman; at Barnstaple one is Chamberlain and one Gaoler; at Launceston the two are the Gaolers; at Penryn they ring the bell for divine service.

the duties of Serieant-at-Mace is Catchpole, and it is interesting to see that in the Borough of Congleton this old title is still

preserved, alongside of the modern Serjeant-at-Mace.2

There is, besides these official dignitaries, a group of officers in Other Offices some towns whose services belong to a more domestic connected circle. The titles of these officers are mostly arranged with the under the heading "Mayor's" in the Index, and can, Mayor. therefore, be referred to easily, but the Chaplain to the Lord Mayor and the Young Men of the Lord Mayor's Household at London, the Mayoress's Serjeant at Oxford, the Organist to the Mayor's Chapel at Bristol, and the Doorkeeper of the Mayor's Chamber at Newcastle, must be added to the list, which gives some idea of the local prestige and the ceremonial details attached to the office of Mayor of the borough.

BURGHAL OFFICES.

6. It is now necessary to leave the municipal circle. Much more, however, could be said about these offices if space would allow, for they include the body of Burgesses, or Governing Council, and the all-important offices of Chamberlain, Marshal, Remembrancer, Sheriff, Steward, and the rest, and in the case of Norwich a "Speaker" of the Common Council. But I would now draw attention to the second group of offices which I have ventured to arrange, as giving us some evidence of the old Saxon Burghal constitution,

Bailiff, but no Serjeant has been appointed in recent times.

¹ See Cowell, Law Dict., sub voce. I may perhaps be excused for quoting the following from the romance of Thomas of Reading, by Thomas Deloney in 1632.

''The City of London being at that time [Henry I] gouerned by Bailiffes, it came to passe, that in a certaine fray two of their Catchpoles were killed, for at that time they had not the name of Sergeants: and you shall vnderstand, that their office was then so much hated and detested of Englishmen, that none of them would take it vpon him: so that the Bailiffes were glad to get any man whatsoever, and to give him certain wages to performe that office." See The Pleasant Historie of Thomas of Reading, page 63, "How the Bailiffes could get no man to bee a Catchpole, and how certain Flemings tooke that office vpon them," etc., chap. 9. Early Prose Romances edited by William J. Thoms, vol. i.

' I append here in a note a list of the boroughs where the Serjeants-at-Mace act also as Mace-bearers: Abingdon, Beaumaris, Bishop's Castle, Chester, Chichester, Chipping Norton, Clun, Congleton, Dinas Myddy, Doncaster, Flint, Gloncester, High Wycombe, Lichfield, Lymington, Malnesbury, Marlborough, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Newcoport (I. of W.), Oswestry, Oxford, Ruyton, Seaford, Wallingford, Walsall, Weymouth. At Newborough there is an ancient Silver Mace in the custody of the Bailiff, but no Serjeant has been appointed in recent times.

which was not so much Roman as the later municipal constitution, because it had not left very far behind the features of the original township.

It is not a little strange that we should find a Recorder in no less than 179 boroughs. I claim this title to be The Recorder. considered as a relic of the old Burghal constitution upon the authority of Sir Francis Palgrave in reference to the Recorder of London. As so many towns obtained their charters upon the model of those previously granted to other towns, no doubt the name of the office was borrowed from London; but the need for the official himself must have been real. The passage in Palgrave is not long, and says all that could be said upon the subject, and I therefore transcribe it from his pages. When any of the peculiar customs of the City of London are to be noticed by the superior tribunals, they are not ascertained by reference to the rolls of the Court of Husting: no book or writing is consulted; but they are certified by the mouth of the officer, who hence is called the Recorder. This is important evidence of the once prevalent oral testimony, as opposed to the written; and evidence, therefore, of the old Burghal life, before Roman influence had initiated, and Norman influence had organized, that process of written records which is so distinctly characteristic of municipal custom.

We have now to turn our attention to the Portreeve (Portgerefa). There can be no doubt that this was the title The Portreeveof the head-man of the chief commercial boroughs of Anglo-Saxon times. Connected with it, according to the circumstances of the case, was the Burgh-gerefa and the Wicgerefa; but we meet with early examples of these comparatively only in few instances.2 The Portreeve, on the other hand, was formerly the head-man of London, Bath, Bodmin, Canterbury,3 and Maidstone, and no doubt is equivalent to the provost whom we meet so frequently in other towns.4

His olden duties have been summarized from various sources

Eng. Com. vol. i. p. 148. See also Toulmin Smith's The Parish, p. 327, note.
 Kemble, Saxons in England, vol. ii. p. 171.

³ Stubbs, vol. i. p. 93. 4 See Hist. MSS. Com. vol. i. p. 99, for Bridgwater as an example of this. Of the provost I shall have to speak later on.

by Mr. Kemble, Mr. Coote, and Professor Stubbs. He was unquestionably the chief magistrate of the borough. He was always a single official. The finance of the borough was committed to him. He collected the tolls; and a portion of his subsistence at least was derived from deductions from the proceeds of the tolls and fines levied within his district. In the small towns especially it must have been a principal part of his duty to witness all transactions by bargain and sale. So far the authorities seem to agree pretty closely, and perhaps there is no real difference on the question of his being the appointee of the king; 4 but Mr. Coote adds that he is permanent.

Now, comparing this list of the duties of the Portreeve with the duties appertaining to that office in 1835 in the remaining fifteen or sixteen instances where it still exists under the same

name, we certainly meet with some peculiar parallels.

He is the chief officer of the borough, except in the cases of Arundel, Bradninch, and Chichester, each of which is governed by a Mayor; there are two instances only where there is more than one Portreeve, namely, Arundel with two and St. Clears with three; it is definitely stated that he managed the Corporation funds at Beccles, Chard, and Yeovil, and there is nothing to show that he does not perform the same duties in the other cases; he collected, and was paid out of, the tolls at Aberavon, Chichester, Kilgerran, Laugharne, Llantrissent, Loughor, Neath, Swansea, Usk, and Yeovil; 5 and though we cannot trace any further parallels to the duties performed by this officer in the most important boroughs of Anglo-Saxon times, there is, at all events, sufficient to establish the near identity of the modern with the ancient office. Again, it should be borne in mind that these few towns which supply us with this important evidence have nearly all developed without the interference of the central authority: that is, most of them are boroughs by prescription, possessing no charter or document of any kind to show that they

² Romans of Britain, p. 369.

¹ Saxons in England, vol. ii. p. 173.

³ Const. Hist. vol. i. pp. 93, 404, 415, note 1.

4 Mr. Kemble only says, "As a general rule I imagine the portreeve to have been an elective officer" (vol. ii. p. 174).

5 At Beccles the Portreeve received one guinea for a pair of boots; at Kenfig he

had a salary of three guineas; and at the other towns he has no emoluments.

are boroughs, and in fact resting their claim to that title upon local tradition. We, therefore, view them, decayed, perhaps, from their original importance, but treasuring the remnants of their past more faithfully than their more brilliant rivals.

The Borough-holders of Gateshead, who are qualified by tenure of burgage tenements-particular kinds of Other Burghal freehold situate in the town-to audit the accounts of offices. the borough, the office of Blower of the Burghmote Horn.1 and the Reeve of the Borough of Bradninch,2 includes all that need be grouped under this section.

TOWNSHIP OFFICES.

7. We now come to what I have termed the township division of our subject. And we at once see before us a group of names belonging to Anglo-Saxon polity as distinct from all others.

The Borsholders, Headboroughs (Head-borrows), and Tithingmen, belong to that system of mutual pledging known Borsholders. as frith-borh, or frank-pledge.3 By an article in the etc. laws of Edward the Confessor, founded upon a previous enactment of Canute, all men are bound to combine themselves in associations of ten. Each association has a head-man, 'a capital pledge,' bors-ealdor, to manage the business of the ten; 4 and a previous statute of Edgar applies the general law to every man both within Burgh and without.

Now of this institution in its fullest growth there is no definite trace before the Norman Conquest.⁵ The laws of

4 Leges Ed. Conf. sect. xx. See Stubbs, Select Charters, p. 74; also Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 87.

¹ The office of Horn Blower at Ripon may perhaps be mentioned here. It is The omice of from blower at kipon may perhaps be mentioned here. It is stated that he winds a horn every morning at nine o'clock before the Mayor's door and at the town cross. This custom originates from the time when the chief officer of Ripon was called the vigilarius or wakeman, whose duty it was to have the horn blown every night at nine of the clock. See Notes and Queries, 5th ser. vol. x. p. 254.

For the importance of the title of Reeve still existing see Toulmin Smith's The Parish, p. 506, and a paper in the Journ. Brit. Arch. Asso. vol. xxviii. p. 35, on the "Antiquities of Portland."

³ Cowell (tit. Headborow) says, "A head-borough, the chief of the frankpledge, was also called borsholder, third-borrow, tithingman, pledge, according to the diversity of speech in several parts." See also Coke upon Litt., 109a, and Toulmin Smith's The Parish, p. 230, quoting from Lambard's Constable. The Dozeners belong to this class, being a corrupted form of Deciner (Decennarius), which we meet with at Burton-upon-Trent.

⁵ Stubbs, Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 87.

Athelstane, of Edgar and of Canute only lead up to the result which we see in full practice under the Normans, and this fact lends a very material argument to the contention of Mr. Coote that this system was founded upon that of the milites stationarii of the Romans. The Roman institutions that were intermixed with the Anglo-Saxon received their full complement under the Normans, and where there was room for them to develop, the existing machinery soon applied itself to the movement. The Act of 5 & 6 Vict. cap. 109, abolished the popular election of these old local officers, and it is not a little curious that we find so few remnants of the old system among our municipal boroughs. They seem to have passed away with the necessity of the case, except in many of the boroughs of Kent. With reference to this county, Sir Francis Palgrave points out that, acting upon the general law of Athelstane, the local witenagemot enacted a bye-law which is very similar to the later Frankpledge. This was done as an expedient to diminish the responsibility of the superior lord, who, under Athelstane's law, was to be the pledge that none of his men would commit theft. If the lord's ceorls were so numerous that he could not reasonably undertake the charge, then he was to appoint a Reeve in each township who would be answerable to him; but if the praepositus found any ceorl whom he could not trust, then the suspected party was to find twelve of his kinsmen who would be pledges of his good abearing.2 Now 'borsholders' are only found in the Kentish boroughs named in the Index, while the headborough is found in Northamptonshire and Surrey, and the tithingmen in Worcestershire, Somersetshire, Surrey, Berks, Bucks, and Hants.

Before, however, leaving this group of old township offices, let The Provest. me for a moment advert to the title of Provest. It was said above that the Mayor succeeded to this office in. most of our old municipal boroughs; and yet we meet with it as one of the most important of the old township offices. The Provost, says Mr. Toulmin Smith, is merely one inclusive name for what occurs under the various denominations of tythingman, headborough, bors-holder, chief-pledge, constable, boro-reeve, etc.3 He

See a paper in Archæologia, vol. xliv.
 Eng. Com. vol. ii. p. exxii.
 The Parish, page 230.

was the head man of the town, before churchwardens assumed that position as representatives of the ecclesiastical influences. We meet with him when the provost and four men represented the old township in the Hundred and Scirmoot; we meet with him later on when Parliament declared that in every parish the four men and the provost should be answerable for one man-at-arms; and finally as the Provost in Eure he had to be present at the periodical local criminal courts. Thus, I think, we have an important link in the development of municipal boroughs from the old township.

I shall not pause at the Ale-conners, Ale-founders, Ale-tasters, Beadle, 2 Bellman, Bread-weighers, Constables, Crier, Other Townand the like, because they are so well known as offices ship Offices. belonging to the township and their duties are almost defined by their titles. But upon the subject of Minstrels and Minstrels Waits there is something more to be said. The only and Waits. boroughs which possessed either of these offices in 1835 were Bristol, Chester, Leeds, Lincoln, Nottingham, and York.³ Mr. Wheatley, in his Introduction to Bishop Percy's Reliques, 4 says "that waits were formerly attached to most corporate towns, and were, in fact, the corporation minstrels. They were a livery and a badge and were formed into a sort of gild. No one, even were he an inhabitant of the town, was suffered to play in public who was not free of the gild. Besides singing out the hours of the night, and warning the town against dangers, they accompanied themselves with the harp, the pipe, the hautboy, and other instruments. They played in the town for the gratification of the inhabitants, and attended the Mayor on all state occasions.5 At the Mayor's feast they occupied the 'minstrels' gallery."", But it must not be supposed from this that

¹ I rely upon Toulmin Smith for my authorities here; he quotes Rolls of Parliament, 4 Ed. III.

ment, 4 Eq. 111.

2 Toulmin Smith, The Parish, page 192, specially draws attention to this office as belonging to corporations as well as to parishes.

3 Among the parish payments of Kingston, 23 Henry VII., is one "To the menstorell upon May-day" (Smith's The Parish, p. 516). And Mr. Wheatley gives extracts showing that Chichester had 'a harper,' and Leicester a 'trumpeter,' and later on a 'harper.' See Introduction to Percy's Reliques, pp. xv, xvi.

⁵ The wait players of Bristol are stated in the Reports now being used to precede the judges and the recorder.

the Minstrel belongs to the municipality only. In truth he appears here only as an historical survival, or, may be, revival. Mr. Wheatley, quoting from Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, carries the question of their origin a step further back into the past history of local institutions. "It is certain," writes Sir Walter Scott, "that till a very late period the pipers, of whom there was one attached to each border town of note, and whose office was often hereditary, were the great depositaries of oral, and particularly of poetical tradition. These town pipers, an institution of great antiquity upon the borders, were certainly the last remains of the minstrel race. The town pipers received a livery and salary from the community to which they belonged; and in some burghs they had a small allotment of land, called the 'Piper's Croft.'"1 The mention of this last custom of allotting land for payment carries us, in point of fact, to Arvan history for traces of their origin. As we shall see later on, each officer of the old village-community was paid by an allotment to his family of a piece of cultivated land: 2 and instances are not wanting that early Teutonic society also possessed this custom. When, therefore, we know that the Hindoo village possessed its hereditary poet or minstrel; that the Celts both of Ireland³ and Scotland⁴ are known to have had the same institution amongst them; that the Icelanders almost down to modern times possessed a village story-teller; may we not conclude that in the minstrels and waits belonging to the municipalities and larger towns of historical times we see a not unimportant relic of that far-off period when all history was oral-said or sung-when the village poet preserved traditions which we gladly collect and enshrine in our literary archives as Folk-lore?

AGRICULTURAL OFFICES.

8. We have now arrived at the final historical stage to which a consideration of the offices belonging to English mu-

¹ See Introduction to Percy's Reliques, p. XX.

² Sir H. Maine's Vill. Com., p. 126.

³ See O'Curry's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, Introduction, pp.

⁴ See Scott's Waverley, cap. xx. A Highland Feast. Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands, vol. i. p. 90.

nicipal towns directs us. I mean the agricultural stage. The possession of landed property by municipal corporations seems in the present day to rest simply upon the authority of an Act of Parliament or of a charter granted by the King. Thus, we know very well that the Irish estates of the City of London were thus obtained. But in reality the possession of lands and of certain proprietary rights over lands surrounding the boundaries of the borough lead us into quite another phase of history. Sir Henry Maine has touched the keynote of this history by his allusion to the proprietary rights of the Scottish Borough of Lauder in his examination of the Village-community in the East and West; and without entering into the wider question which this opens up with reference to the English Boroughs, and upon which I have already ventured to refer to my paper read at the Society of Antiquaries, the comparatively long list of boroughs having offices relating to agricultural services supplies us with some very valuable material upon the subject. I cannot say, of course, that these agricultural offices give us evidence of the primitive village-community; but I can say that they direct attention to a set of institutions which do not belong to municipal life, because municipal life is commercial, not agricultural; political, not communal; national, not tribal; and which do not belong to township life, because the township again is the political development of the village- or mark-community. Directing us, then, to an epoch of history further back than the municipality, further back than the township, we may conclude that they give us the initial chapter to some important historical evidence relating to the origin of local institutions in England; we may conclude that, though they do not give us a complete chain of historical evidence, they supply a few missing links which, when burnished up to their proper standard, will be welcome to the historical inquirer. The list of these offices is as follows: Bailiff of the Commons, Brook Warden, Driver of Commons, Drivers of Cattle, Fen Reeve. Field Drivers, Field Grieve, Foreman of the Commons, Gamekeeper, Grassmen, Haymakers, Hayward, Hedge Lookers, Herd. Hog Driver, Inspectors of Pinders, Keeper of the Green Yard.

¹ Vill. Com. p. 95.

Keeper of Pinfold, Land Agent, Land Bailiff, Land Steward, Land Treasurer, Lookers of Hedges and Ditches, Mole-Catcher, Moor Grieves, Moormen and Mossmen, Moor Wardens, Neatherds, Noltherds, Overseers of Common, Pasture Masters, Pinder, Pound Driver, Pound Keeper, Swine-Catcher, Town Swineherd, Tender of the Town Wood, Tenters of Commons, Warrener, and Woodward. These are distributed among nearly sixty different towns, including such important and ancient names as Alnwick, Arundel, Bedford, Berwick-on-Tweed, Boston, Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Derby, Doncaster, Hull, Huntingdon, Lancaster, Leicester, London, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Norwich, Nottingham, Pontefract, Poole, Portsmouth, Preston, Rochester, Scarborough, Shrewsbury, and York.

In classifying this group of officers, we may at once ex-Unhistorical clude from any historical value the Land Agent of titles. Boston, the Land Steward of Bristol, Hull, Norwich, and Preston, and the Land Treasurer of Sandwich; because they are generally chartered officers in charge of extensive corporation estates, and cannot be shown to be old historical titles, though it is probable they took the place of such. The Bailiff of the Commons of Lancaster probably receives his title from being elected by the Common Councilmen, although he superintends the town marsh, and, therefore, has a place under the present heading. The Land Bailiff of Quinborowe, also, can hardly be considered an ancient title, but his duties are to make arrangements for the depasturing of the town green and the keeping of the sea wall in repair.

Turning now to the remainder of these titles, I think they Arrangement are capable of being arranged into three chief of the remaining titles. groups, namely, offices relating to the inhabited homestead, offices relating to the meadow cultivation, and offices relating to common pasturage of the community. It will be observed that these divisions correspond in some degree to the general system of the village-community, but it is as much for convenience as for an historical parallel that I have so arranged them. But before proceeding to examine these groups, let me draw attention to two records of the titles

¹ There is a parallel instance in the Commons' Beadle of Norwich.

of officers belonging to a cultivating community, the value of which as evidence of early history cannot be disputed, and which will illustrate the importance of this section of the Index, by the number of parallel names which occur. In the Rectitudines Singularum Personarum we find the following persons employed on the lord's estate: the Theyne, the Geneat (ceorl, villanus), the Cotsetla, the Gebuhr, the Beekeeper, the Gafolswein, the Swineherd, the Esne (servus), the Handmaid, the Ploughman, the Sower, the Ox-herd, the Cowherd, the Sheep-herd, the Goat-herd, the Cheese-maker, the Harvest-man, the Bydel, the Woodward, and the Hedgeward. The other authority is a most valuable paper in Archaeologia,1 by Mr. B. G. Williams, entitled An Account of the Officers in a Manor in Oxfordshire. We here find certain allotments in the manor, called 'hams,' made to the following officers: the Havward, the Worden (Woodward), the Wonter (Mole-catcher), the Grass Steward, the Water Hayward, the Water Steward, the Smith, the Herd, the Brander, and the Constable.² Thus by the illustrative three groups of agricultural offices, and by the parallels to older records, we have evidence of the antiquity of those offices with which we are now dealing.

By offices relating to the inhabited homestead, I mean those which attach themselves to duties appertaining to the village, town, or borough, as distinct from the lating to the cultivated lands around them. The Brook Warden of Arundel is unfortunately only incidentally mentioned by the Commissioners as a once important officer of the Corporation, and his duties, no doubt, were to attend to the allotment of the Burgesses' Brooks—parcels of land held by the Burgesses according to a peculiar and evidently archaic custom. We have the same title of 'Brooks' in many of the parishes on the South Downs of Sussex, and the officer who attended to the allotments in these cases was called the

¹ Vol xxxiii.

² Evan Dhu describes to Edward Waverley the usual followers of his chief: "There is," he says, "his hanchman, or right-hand man; then his bàrd, or poet; then his bladier, or orator, to make harangues to the great folks whom he visits; then his gilly-more, or armour bearer, to carry his sword and target, and his gun; then his gilly-casfluich, who carries him on his back through the sikes and brooks; then his gilly-comstrian, to lead his horse by the bridle in steep and difficult paths; then his gilly-trushharnish, to carry his knapsack; and the piper and the piper's man."—See cap. xvi.

Crier; and the Field-grieve performs similar duties at Berwickon-Tweed.

But, passing these somewhat uncertain titles, we come next to the Pound-keeper, or Pound-driver, as he is called at Pevensey and Winchelsea. Those who have read Sir Henry Maine's Early History of Institutions will remember his able treatment of the lecture on the primitive forms of legal remedies, and the place he assigns the village pound in these early chapters of primitive legal history. It is too long to allow of more than reference here; but he observes in passing, "that there is no more ancient institution in the country than the Village Pound: it is far older than the King's Bench, and probably older than the Kingdom."2 Alongside the Pound-keeper may be placed the Keeper of the Pinfold at Alnwick, the Drivers of Cattle at Kidwelly, and the Pinder. This last office we find in nine boroughs. Mr. Wheatley, in his Introduction to Bishop Percy's Reliques, draws attention to the importance of this officer as the hero of a popular legend at Wakefield-

> "In Wakefield there lives a jolly Pinder; In Wakefield all on a green."3

But we see among the Corporation offices many instances of the amalgamation of duties under one officer, and thus we gradually lose sight of those whose past power and significance have given way to the progress of events. This is noticeable particularly with those offices now being treated of, and it explains how, as we approach the more archaic groups into which I have divided the subject, we meet with fewer instances of the general existence of an ancient office. The Pinder of Cambridge, in addition to his usual duties, regulates the commons; the Pinder of Doncaster attends the Corporate officers to church on Sundays, and the Pinder of Scarborough acts as verger of the church and attends processions. Again, we meet with the amalgamation of Beadle and Pound-keeper at Rochester; and, finally, the title, as well as the duties, of Pound-keeper have merged into that of Bailiffs at Kidwelly.

¹ See Tenantry Customs of Sussex. Sussex Archaeological Collections, vol. iv. p. 308.

Early History of Institutions, p. 263.
 Page xliii. There is a privately printed octavo, called The Pindar of Wakefield's Legend, which however I have not been able to examine. Halliwell's Yorkshire Authology contains a poem (p. 139) on this subject.

The remaining titles which belong to this group are the Grassmen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who impound cattle, but originally, I cannot but think, performed the same kind of duties as the Grass Stewards of the Oxford manor mentioned by Mr. Williams; the Gamekeeper of Doncaster and Hythe, and the Warrener and Gamekeeper of Scarborough; the Keeper of the Green Yard of London,2 the Hedge Lookers of Lancaster, and the Lookers of Hedges and Ditches at Clitheroe, and the Mole-Catcher of Arundel, Leicester, and Richmond, called the Wonter in the Oxford manor mentioned above.

We now come to our second group, or, as I have termed it, offices relating to meadow cultivation. After the Offices rearable allotments, this formed the next important out- lating to lying portion of the cultivating community of early Meadow Cultivation. times. The Haymakers of Rochester should certainly belong here, but unfortunately we are not told their functions. An officer always distinctly connected with this agricultural stage is the Hayward. Bishop Kennett describes this office, as a herdward, hayward, or keeper of the herd of cattle in a common field (pratum) or meadow land.3 · We have fifteen instances of this office. In the instance of Aberavon the duties are very clearly defined. There are four havwards belonging to the corporation, and the duties of two of them are to distrain all cattle trespassing on the common lands of the borough, and of the other two to turn the cattle of certain burgesses into the after grass of the inclosed lands on the 17th September, and to turn them out into the uninclosed land on the 25th March,

1 Perhaps it would be well to state the duties in full of this officer. They are to take charge of the plantation gates and fences of the Corporation, and prevent all trespasses thereon; to report the state of the roads; to keep a field-book, and report from time to time the fulfilment or otherwise of agreements between the tenants and

² I must here be permitted to draw attention to the importance of this office being still extant in London. The Green Yard is situate in Whitecross Street, and the duty of the Keeper is to receive all fines, dues, and costs incidental to the straying of animals in the City. We have evidence here that the municipal history of London is not to be sought exclusively from Roman history, or from a developed political system. The Green Yard carries us farther back than either of these, and associates a portion at all events of the early history of London with the early history of other municipal boroughs. It should be mentioned that I am indebted to Mr. W. Marchant for the information as to the duties of the Keeper of the Green Yard. See also Halliwell's Nature' Classery, sub your **Alliwell's Nares' Glossary, sub voce.

3 See Glossary to Kennett's Parochial Antiquities, sub voce "Agillarius"; also Cowell's Law Dict., ibid; and Nares' Glossary, sub voce "Hayward."

and to keep the hay land and the marsh free from trespass. Those of the other towns are nearly similar according to the extent of the town lands. As a synonymous title to Hayward, Bishop Kennett mentions the Fields-man, and it is curious to note that the Feld Driver of Bedford is stated to perform the duties of Hayward. The Herd of Alnwick, the Nolt-herds of Newcastle-on-Tyne, the Town Swineherd of Shrewsbury, and the Neatherds of Doncaster, fall under the same classification.

We now come to the third and last group of the agricultural offices, namely, that relating to common pasturage. Offices re-In the old cultivating community this extended for lating to common a limited period over the arable lands and meadow pasturage. ground and throughout the year over the pasture lands, marshes, and woods. The Overseers of the Common at Llantrissent and the Foreman of the Commons at Huntingdon almost seem to be modern substitutes for more ancient titles. The Pasture-Masters of Beverley and York regulate the pastures over which the burgesses have a right of common. We get beyond the limited pastures when we come to the Fens and Moors. The Moor-Grieves of Alnwick, the Moormen and Mossmen of Lancaster, and the Moorwardens of Axbridge, in the one class; and the Fen Reeves of Aldeburgh, Dunwich, and Southwold, in the other, explain themselves as offices appertaining to the outlying pastures of the community. And finally at the extremity of the territory belonging to the community is the wood pasture. The Tender of the Town-Wood at Congleton, the Woodwards of Havering and Nottingham, represent this feature of the subject, and though Havering had no duties for its Woodward to perform, the Woodward of Nottingham had to look after the woods and coppices of this grand old town, which down even to modern days has the most distinctive evidence of archaic institutions of any of our municipal boroughs.

Some Curious Offices.

9. I will now notice very briefly a few of the more curious titles which could not well be placed in the foregoing sections, but which, nevertheless, have a history attached to them. The Affeerors of Arundel and Clitheroe represent the old

manorial officer, appointed to "affirm" upon their oath what penalty they think in conscience ought to be inflicted upon any defaulters cognizable at the Court Baron, and no doubt the "twelve Affeering-men" of Berwick-on-Tweed may be traced to the same origin.1 The Beaconer at King's Lynn and the Tenant of the Beacons at Sandwich have to provide buoys and floating beacons required for the navigation of the Channel.² The Blue-caps or Javelin men of Clitheroe are twelve in number and assist in keeping the peace armed with halberds; they are entitled to this office by the tenure of certain houses, not burgage houses. The Bucket-keepers of Bedford were formerly to see that every freeman was provided with a bucket; and a similar office appears to have once existed at Ipswich, for it is stated that formerly every freeman was provided with a water-bucket which was hung up in the town-hall.3 The Burleigh-men 4 of Beaumaris impound all waifs and strays, abate encroachments, inquire into all differences respecting the wastes, and generally act as the agents of the corporation in their character as lords of the manor. The Cofferers keep the borough chest. The Town Corporal and Le Yeoman assist the Serjeants-at-Mace. The Customer was once a very general officer appointed to collect the customs. The Egg Collector collects the eggs which are the Mayor's perquisites at Newcastle-on-Tyne. The Elisors are two inhabitants of Preston who select twenty-four burgesses from whom the mayor is selected. The King's Hackneyman has now no function. The Town's Husband of Hull keeps the accounts of the Corporation. The Keeper of the Keys at Southampton refers to the gates once existing in the town. The Leave-Looker seems to have once been an office of importance. It is now found in four towns situate in adjacent counties on the

² This is a very old custom; another office of "Hoblers" was attached to the service of the beacons. See Toulmin Smith's *The Parish*, p. 519.

³ Among the payments of the City of London is an item for "painting five

¹ See Cowell, Law Dict. sub voce; and Journ. Brit. Arch. Asso. vol. xxxiii. p. 35, "On the Antiquities of Portland."

Among the payments of the City of London's an item for a painting live buckets for the Sheriffs."

4 We meet with Birliemen in Scotland. These are representatives of very primitive institutions: they presided over the Birlie-knowe, or Justice Court, which met in the open air for the adjustment of village grievances. See New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. ii., sub voce parishes of Whitsome and Hilton.

western coast, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Denbigh. The duties attached to the office at present are very unimportant, but from a passage quoted in Hemingway's History of Chester (i. 244) it appears that the two Leave-Lookers of that city were the chiefs of the citizens before a mayor was ordained, and still are reputed the chiefs of the forty or the Common-Council of the city. They were accustomed to go round the city in order to preserve its privileges, and used to take small sums for leave for non-freemen to sell wares by retail. The Sampleman of Hull receives samples of coals for the Mayor; and the Sandwalkers of Southampton formerly had to watch for waifs and wrecks. I think this disposes of any titles that may be worth specially alluding to.

10. Before I can be said to have finished the historical outline afforded us by an archæological classification of the Some inoffices belonging to the Municipal Corporations of stances of peculiar England, I must, as mentioned above, draw attention modes of payment. to some instances of peculiar modes of payment to certain officers. Again, in this division of our subject, I feel that much more is to be said than can be done within any reasonable limits on the present occasion. The origin of such peculiar payments, as a guinea and a half, at Ipswich, to the Bailiffs, under the name of "the Bailiff's lantern," which is supposed to be expended in lighting their wives home at night; the fee of 7s. 6d. to the wife of the Town Clerk of Faversham, which seems to have existed from ancient times as a commutation for a bottle of sack which used to be presented to her; the "land-mail rent" allowed by the Bishop of Durham to the wife of the Mayor of Durham; the "couple of fowls" received by the Mayor of Haverfordwest from each of the Corporation tenants "from ancient times;" the "sugar rents" of the Mayor of Boston; the "one egg out of every basket brought to market," received by the Mayor of Newcastle; the "capon money" received by the Mayor of Stratford-upon-Avon; and many others, all require some investigation. But besides these we have a class of payments which can at once be seen to belong to an archaic group of customs. I mean the allotment of certain parcels of land which are known by the name of the officer to whom they belong. I have already pointed out the peculiar instance

explained by Mr. B. Williams in Archaelogia, and indeed other instances are forthcoming from most of the agricultural districts of the country. Sir Henry Maine, in his Village Communities in the East and West, has fully traced out the primitiveness of this custom and the analogy which exists between the Hindoo and the Teutonic village-community in this respect. instances should be found to exist in our municipal boroughs is surely a significant fact treading closely along the lines that have been followed throughout these pages. We meet with money payments "in lieu of land," where the older custom is clearly just being abrogated, as with the Field-grieve at Berwick and the Hayward at Godmanchester: but there is no mistaking such allotments as the Alderman's Kitchen of Malmesbury, the Bailiff's Hook at Northampton, the Bailiff's Wall at Axbridge, the Bellman's Acre at Newport, the Custumar's Meadow at Hereford, and the Pindar's Balk at Doncaster: here. if anywhere, is evidence that survivals from the most primitive times exist among our municipal archives awaiting the investigation of the historian and the careful industry of the antiquary.1

11. We have now passed in review the historical aspect presented by a classification of the municipal offices belonging to England and Wales. There are other methods of treatment, and there is much further information to be elucidated; but perhaps the present outline will not be the least acceptable as an introduction to the subject. How much social history may be gathered from these old archives can be ascertained by a glance, for instance, at the Stratford-on-Avon Records published by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps. That our forefathers took an interest in local matters which the present generation seems incapable of is, of course, the one important fact which makes the English system of local self-government more pure, more historically developed, more politically useful, than any of the continental systems. It is interesting to know that the father of our great poet and dramatist, John Shakespeare,

¹ It should be noted that the mayor, though an officer belonging to mediæval times, is allotted parcels of land in two instances; namely, the Mayor's Plot at Newport (Monmouth), and the Mayor's Garden at Stratford-on-Avon. This, however, is no doubt an imitation of the older system. The Chamberlains of Seaford have the rent of the Hangman's Acre, and the Constables of Laugharne that of four acres of land called Curran's Mead.

successively filled the posts of Ale-taster, Affeeror, Burgess, Constable, Chamberlain, Alderman, and High-Bailiff at Stratford-on-Avon.¹ But it is far more interesting to know that he was thus fulfilling his mission as an Englishman of the sixteenth century, who has helped to make the Englishman of the nine-teenth century. Some of the offices that he filled are now, alas! obsolete, and it cannot be denied that they are obsolete as much because they have grown out of fashion as because they were no longer needed, and because men prefer being railway and bank directors to parochial officers. The increased vigour in legislation on local institutions shows the necessity for an occasional glance back to their early history, and it is hoped that the present may be a useful instalment in that direction.

Note.—It is to be observed that many ordinary offices, like Constables, Constables of the Castle, Prothonotary, Justices, &c., are only included in the Index when they are specially mentioned as Corporation offices under a distinct title. It is sometimes stated that the duties appertaining to such offices as these are performed by officers not specially appointed for, and not assuming the title belonging to, such duties; but unless some mention is made in the Reports that the officers properly appertaining to these duties are obsolete or not appointed, they are not included in the Index under a separate title. Obsolete offices, and those stated to have no functions to perform, are distinguished by the Town names to which they belong being printed in a different type (small capitals). The references between square brackets allude to the page of the Introduction where the office is mentioned.

^{&#}x27; See Dyce's Memoir of Shakespeare, Aldine Edit. of Poems, p. iii, note; S. Neil's Shakespeare: a Critical Biography; and Halliwell-Phillipps' Stratford in the Times of the Shakespeares, passim.

INDEX.

Accountant, Beccles iv. 2133; Ipswich iv. 2295; Ludlow iv. 2787.

Admiral, Carmarthen i. 204; Haverfordwest i. 234; Ipswich iv. 2296; Maldon iv. 2434; Newport (I. W.) ii. 778; Poole ii. 1321; Rochester ii. 852; Southampton ii. 878; Southwold iv. 2516.

of the Humber, Hull iii. 1548.

Affeerers [Affeerors], Arundel ii. 668; Clitheroe iii. 1484. [p. 32.] Affeering-men (the Twelve), Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1439. [p. 33.]

Alderman, Axbridge ii. 1094; Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2172; Grantham iv. 2241; Malmesbury i. 77; Wokingham iv. 2938. [pp. 13–16.]

——— (Deputy), Grantham iv. 2241; Malmesbury i. 77.

Alderman of Portswood, Southampton ii. 873.

Aldermen, Aberavon i. 165; Altringham iv. 2574; Appleby iii. 1426; Banbury i. 9; Barnstaple i. 429; Basingstoke ii. 1101; Bath ii. 1112; Bedford iv. 2105; Berkeley i. 19; Beverley iii. 1455; Bideford i. 437; Boston iv. 2151; Brackley i. 23; Brecon i. 177; Bridgnorth iii. 1780; Bridgwater i. 463; Bristol ii. 1164; Cambridge iv. 2185; Canterbury ii. 688; Cardiff i. 187; Carlisle iii. 1469; Castle Rising iv. 2211; Chester iv. 2619; Chesterfield iii. 1789: Chichester ii. 716; Congleton iv. 2649; Coventry iii. 1797; Cowbridge i. 221; Denbigh iv. 2662; Derby iii. 1849; Doncaster iii. 1495; Dorchester ii. 1274; Dunwich iv. 2220; Durham iii. 1512; Dursley i. 49; Evesham i. 53; Exeter i. 487; Falmouth i. 501; Fower i. 505; Gloucester i. 59; Great Grimsby iv. 2249; Harwich iv. 2261; Hedon iii. 1537; Helston i. 511; Henley i. 71; Hereford i. 254; Hertford iv. 2885; Higham Ferrers iv. 2282; High Wycombe i. 41; Huntingdon iv. 2287; Hull iii. 1548; Kenfig i. 269; Kidderminster iii. 1877; Kidwelly i. 273; King's Lynn iv. 2393; Kirkby-in-Kendal iii. 1590; Lancaster iii. 1600; Launceston i. 517; Leeds iii. 1619; Leicester iii. 1895; Lincoln iv. 2345; Liverpool iv. 2697; Llandovery i. 302; Llantrissent i. 313; London; Loughor i. 317; Ludlow iv. 2787; Maldon iv. 2434; Neath i. 333; Newark iii. 1936; Newbury i. 89; Newcastle-on-Tyne iii.

Aldermen (continued)—

1638; Newport (I. W.) ii. 775; Newport (Monmouth) i. 341; Newport (Pembrokeshire) i. 353; Northampton iii. 1966; Norwich iv. 2459; Nottingham iii. 1991; Oswestry iv. 2825; Oxford i. 98; Penzance i. 571; Plymouth i. 579; Pontefract iii. 1675; Poole ii. 1321; Portsmouth ii. 803; Preston iii. 1686; Radnor (New) i. 357; Reading i. 111; Retford (East) iii. 1861; Richmond (Yorks) iii. 1699; Ripon iii. 1708; Rochester ii. 845; Romsey ii. 1331: Ruthin iv. 2848: St. Albans iv. 2919: Salisbury ii. 1340; Saltash i. 605; Shrewsbury iii. 2013; Southampton ii. 873; Stafford iii. 2026; Stamford iv. 2527; Stockton iii. 1729; Stratford-on-Avon i. 119; Sutton Coldfield iii. 2033; Swansea i. 385; Tenby i. 403; Thornbury i. 130; Torrington i. 633; Truro i. 655; Wallingford i. 133; Warwick iii. 2059; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis ii. 1385; WICKWAR i. 138; Wilton i. 1400; Winchester ii. 896; Woodstock (New) i. 141; Wootton Bassett i. 147; WOOTTON-UNDER-EDGE i. 150; Worcester i. 153; York iii. 1739. — (Deputy), London.

Aldermen of the Wards, Salisbury ii. 1342; Southampton ii. 873.

Ale Conner, Ipswich iv. 2295; Quinborowe ii. 824; Rochester ii. 845.

Ale Conners, Arundel ii. 668; Faversham ii. 962; Havering iv. 2879; Kingston iv. 2897; London. [p. 25.]

Ale Founders, Aldeburgh iv. 2085; Dunwich iv. 2220; Eye iv. 2229.

Ale Taster, Bossiney i. 453; Cardiff i. 187; Congleton iv. 2652; Dartmouth i. 477; Folkestone ii. 982; Godmanchester iv. 2235;

Loughor i. 317. [p. 25.]

Ale Tasters, Aberavon i. 165; Axbridge ii. 1094; Barnstaple i. 430; Bath ii. 1113; Bedford iv. 2105; Berkeley i. 19; Camelford i. 471; Christchurch Twyneham ii. 1255; Clitheroe iii. 1484; Guildford iv. 2874; Hedon iii. 1537; Kenfig i. 269; Lancaster iii. 1600; Neath i. 333; Scarborough iii. 1714; Stamford iv. 2527; Stockton iii. 1729; Wallingford i. 133; Westbury ii. 1378; Wilton ii. 1400; Wokingham iv. 2938.

——— and Bread Weighers, Morpeth iii. 1627.

Appraiser of Distresses, Clitheroe iii. 1484.

Approved Men, Andover ii. 1081; Guildford iv. 2871.

Assessor of the Court of Requests, Bristol ii. 1164.

Assessors (Ballast), see "Ballast."

Assistants, Banbury i. 9; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2172; Godalming ii. 735; Godmanchester iv. 2235; Hertford iv. 2885; Hull (Trinity House) iii. 1581; Kidderminster iii. 1877; Leeds iii. 1619; Louth

Assistants (continued)—

iv. 2374; Oxford i. 98; Penzance i. 571; Reading i. 111; Ripon iii. 1708; Rochester ii. 845; St. Albans iv. 2919; Salisbury ii. 1340; Shrewsbury iii. 2013; Tewkesbury i. 125; Tiverton i. 625; Wallingford i. 133; Wareham ii. 1360.

(Elder), Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1606.

_____ (Younger), Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1666.

Attorney (Common), Aberavon i. 165.

Attornies (Common), Cardiff i. 187; Laugharne i. 287; Neath i. 333; St. Clears i. 377; Swansea i. 385.

Auctioneer, Beccles iv. 2133.

Auditors, Beaumaris iv. 2584; Great Grimsby iv. 2249; Hastings ii. 998; Hedon iii. 1537; Hull iii. 1548; King's Lynn iv. 2393; Lancaster iii. 1600; Ludlow iv. 2787; Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639; Newcastle-on-Tyne (Fraternity of Hostmen) iii. 1661; Plymouth i. 579; Portsmouth ii. 803; Radnor (New) i. 357; Retford (East) iii. 1862; Rochester ii. 845; Sandwich ii. 1043; Scarborough iii. 1714; Shrewsbury iii. 2014; Southampton ii. 873; Stockton iii. 1729; Wilton ii. 1400; Winchester ii. 896; Worcester i. 153.

- of Town Dues, Liverpool iv. 2698.

Aulneger [Alnager], Southampton ii. 873. [p. 8n.]

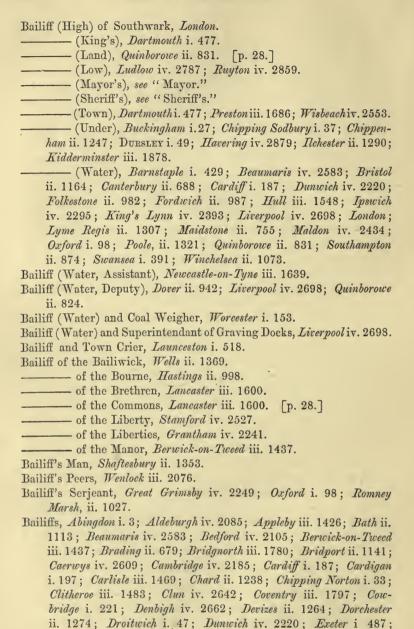
Bailiff, Altringham iv. 2574; Andover ii. 1083; Axbridge ii. 1094; Bewdley iii. 1772; Bishop's Castle iv. 2596; Blandford Forum ii. 1134; Brecon i. 177; Buckingham i. 27; Burton-upon-Trent iii. 1785; Cefn Llys i. 373; Chichester ii. 716; Chippenham ii. 1247; Chipping Sodbury i. 37; Christchurch Twyneham ii. 1255; Crickhovell i. 226; Daventry iii. 1843; Dinas Myddy iv. 2673; Dunmow (Great) iv. 2215; Dursley i. 49; Garstang iii. 1520; Godalming ii. 736; Guildford iv. 2871; Hay i. 250; Higham Ferrers iv. 2282; Ilchester ii. 1289; Knighton i. 373; Knuckless i. 373; Laugharne i. 287; Leominster i. 293; Llandovery i. 302; London; Louth iv. 2374; Lydd ii. 1013; Newport (Pembrokeshire) i. 353; Pevensey ii. 1017; Plympton Earle i. 599; Poole ii. 1321; Presteign i. 373; Radnor (New) i. 357; Rhayader i. 373; Romney Marsh ii. 1025; Sandwich ii. 1043; Seaford ii. 1059; South Moulton i. 614; Wenlock iii. 2075; Wiston i. 423. [p. 12.]

Bailiff Burgesses, see "Burgesses."

Bailiff (Deputy), Wenlock iii. 2076.

———— (Erection), Boston iv. 2151.

(High), Bridgnorth iii. 1781; Havering iv. 2879; Kidderminster iii. 1877; Leicester iii. 1895; Ludlow iv. 2787; Ruyton iv. 2859.



Bailiffs (continued)—

Eye, iv. 2229; Farnham, ii. 732; Flint iv. 2680; Gateshead iii. 1526; Godmanchester iv. 2235; Great Grimsby iv. 2249; Haverfordwest, i. 234; Hedon iii. 1537; High Wycombe, i. 41; Ipswich iv. 2295; Kidwelly i. 273; Kilgerran i. 279; Kingston, iv. 2895; Langport Eastover, ii. 1295; Lichfield iii. 1926; Liverpool iv. 2697; London; Marlborough i. 83; Monmouth i. 322; Morpeth iii. 1627; Newcastle-under-Lyme iii. 1952; Newport (Monmouth) i. 341; Newport (Shropshire) iii. 1962; Northampton iii. 1966; Oxford i. 98; Pembroke i. 365; Retford (East) iii. 1861; Rhuddlan iv. 2839; Scarborough iii. 1714; Southampton ii. 873; Southwold iv. 2516; Stamford iv. 2527; Tanworth iii. 2039; Tenby i. 403; Tewkesbury i. 125; Usk i. 415; Wallingford i. 133; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis ii. 1385; Wilton ii. 1400; Winchester ii. 896; Windsor iv. 2933; Wokingham iv. 2938. [p. 13.] See "Serjeants of the Key."

——— (Deputy), *Ludlow* iv. 2788.

_____ (Lordship), Ruthin iv. 2851.

——— (Sub-), Coventry iii. 1799; Devizes ii. 1264; Godmanchester iv. 2235; Liverpool iv. 2697.

— (Water) Harwich iv. 2261; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Newport (Monmouth) i. 341; Norwich iv. 2459; Orford iv. 2510; Portsmouth ii. 803; Rochester ii. 845.

Ballast Assessors, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639.

Beaconer, King's Lynn iv. 2393. [p. 33.]

Beadle, Andover ii. 1083; Basingstoke ii. 1102; Bedford iv. 2105; Bideford i. 437; Boston iv. 2151; Bridgnorth iii. 1780; Bristol ii. 1164; Calne ii. 1233; Chester iv. 2625; Denbigh iv. 2662; Devizes ii. 1264; Dorchester ii. 1275; Faversham ii. 962; Gloucester i. 60; Grantham iv. 2241; Guildford iv. 2871; Hereford i. 254; High Wycombe i. 41; Huntingdon iv. 2287; Lampeter i. 283; Lancaster iii. 1600; Leeds iii. 1619; Leicester iii. 1895; Liverpool iv. 2698; Marlborough i. 83; Newark iii. 1937; Newcastle-on-Tyne (Fraternity of Hostmen) iii. 1661; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Preston iii. 1686; Sandwich ii. 1043; Stratford-on-Avon i. 120; Tenterden ii. 1063; Tiverton i. 625; Torrington i. 634; Warwick iii. 2059; Wells ii. 1369; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis ii. 1386; Wilton ii. 1400; Wisbeach iv. 2553; York (Merchant Adventurers of) iii. 1761. [p. 25.] See "Bellman and Beadle," "Charcoal Man and Beadle," "Mayor's Beadle."

——— (Assistant), Leeds iii. 1619; Wisbeach iv. 2553. Beadle (Commons'), Norwich iv. 2460. [p. 28n.]



Beadle of the Court of Conscience, Norwich iv. 2460.

Beadle and Pound-keeper, Rochester ii. 845. [p. 30.]

Beadle and Wardman, Stamford iv. 2527.

Beadle of the Wards, Southampton ii. 873.

Beadles, Barnstaple i. 430; Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437; Congleton iv. 2653; Hull iii. 1548; Ipswich iv. 2295; Lincoln iv. 2345; London; Ludlow iv. 2787; Monmouth i. 322; St. Albans iv. 2919; Salisbury ii. 1342; Southampton ii. 873.

Bearward, Congleton iv. 2652.

Bellman, Aberystwith i. 171; Basingstoke ii. 1104; Beverley iii. 1455; Bewdley iii. 1772; Bristol ii. 1164; Cambridge iv. 2185; Carmarthen i. 207; Congleton iv. 2652; Godalming ii. 737; Godmanchester iv. 2235; Haverfordwest i. 236; Hedon iii. 1537; Hereford i. 257; Hull iii. 1548; Lancaster iii. 1600; Laugharne i. 288; Liverpool iv. 2698; Newport (Monmouth) i. 343; Pontefract iii. 1675; Preston iii. 1686; Reading i. 111; Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699; Ripon iii. 1708; Shrewsbury iii. 2015; Stockton iii. 1729; York iii. 1739. [p. 25.]

——— (Day), Wells ii. 1369. ——— (Night), Wells ii. 1369.

Bellman and Beadle, Abingdon i. 3; Newbury i. 92; Norwich iv. 2460; Wallingford i. 133; Winchester ii. 896.

Bellmen, Gloucester i. 60; Leicester iii. 1895; Monmouth i. 324.

Bellringers, Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437; Scarborough iii. 1714.

Benchers (Chief), Windsor iv. 2932.

——— (Three), Windsor iv. 2932.

Billet Master, Beverley iii. 1458; Canterbury ii. 688; Carlisle iii. 1470; Garstang iii. 1521; Hull iii. 1553; Hythe ii. 1007; Ipswich iv. 2316; Liverpool iv. 2698; Stamford iv. 2529; Thetford iv. 2544.

Blower of the Burghmote Horn, Canterbury ii. 688. [p. 23.] See "Horn Blower."

Blue-caps [or Javelin-men], Clitheroe iii. 1487. [p. 33.]

Boatmen, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639.

Borough-Holders, Gateshead iii. 1526. [p. 23.]

Borsholder, Faversham ii. 971. [p. 23.]

Borsholders, Canterbury ii. 688; Fordwich ii. 987; Maidstone ii. 755; Quinborowe ii. 824; Rochester ii. 845; Tenterden ii. 1063.

(Deputy), Tenterden ii. 1063.

Bread Weighers, Axbridge ii. 1094; Dunmow (Great) iv. 2215; Godmanchester iv. 2235; Scarborough iii. 1714; Stockton iii. 1729. See "Ale Tasters and Bread Weighers."

Brethren, Derby iii. 1849; Lancaster iii. 1601; Lichfield iii. 1926; Newcastle-on-Tyne (Fraternity of Hostmen) iii. 1661.

——— (Elder), Hull (Trinity House) iii. 1581; Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1666.

——— (Younger), Hull (Trinity House) iii. 1581; Windsor iv. 2932. Bridge Keeper, Bristol ii. 1164.

Bridge Masters, Bridgnorth iii. 1780; London; Maidenhead iv. 2909.

Bridge Men, Henley i. 71; Wallingford i. 133.

Bridge Sweeper, Sandwich ii. 1043.

Bridge Wardens, Kingston iv. 2987.

Brookwarden, Arundel ii. 673. [pp. 6n, 29.]

Brothers; Chesterfield iii. 1789.

Bucket Keepers, See "Keeper of Buckets and Pipes," "Keepers."

Burgesses, Aberavon i. 165; Aberystwith i. 171; Aldeburgh iv. 2085; Alnwick iii. 1414; Arundel ii. 670; Basingstoke ii. 1101; Bedford iv. 2105; Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437; Brecon i. 177; Bridgnorth iii. 1780; Bristol ii. 1163; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2172; Calne ii. 1232; Cardiff i. 187; Cardigan i. 197; Carmarthen i. 204; Cefn Llys i. 373; Chard ii. 1238; Chippenham ii. 1245; Chipping Norton i. 33; Clitheroe iii. 1485; Clun iv. 2642; Cowbridge i. 221; Dartmouth i. 477; Daventry iii. 1843; Droitwich i. 47; Dunmow (Great) iv. 2215; Dunwich iv. 2220; Falmouth i. 501; Fowey i. 505; Garstang iii. 1520; Gateshead iii. 1526; Glastonbury ii. 1283; Grantham iv. 2241; Hartlepool iii. 1531; Haverfordwest i. 234; Hedon iii. 1537; Henley i. 71; High Wycombe i. 41; Hull iii. 1548; Kenfig i. 269; Kidwelly i. 273; Kilgerran i. 279; Knighton i. 373; Knuckless i. 373; Lampeter i. 283; Laugharne i. 287; Leicester iii. 1895; Llandovery i. 302; Llanelly i. 307; Llantrissent i. 313; Lostwithiel i. 545; Loughor i. 317; Lymington ii. 743; Maidenhead iv. 2909; Marazion i. 551; Marlborough i. 84; Monmouth i. 322; Morpeth iii. 1627; Neath i. 333; Newcastle-under-Lyme iii. 1952; Newport (Monmouth) i. 341; Newport (Pembrokeshire) i. 353; Newport (Shropshire) iii. 1962; Northampton iii. 1967; Nottingham iii. 1991; Pembroke i. 365; Penryn i. 563; Pontefract iii. 1675; Poole ii. 1320; Portsmouth ii. 803; Quinborowe ii. 824; Reading i. 111; Retford (East) iii. 1861; RHAYADER i. 373; Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1700; Ripon iii. 1708; St. Clears i. 377; St. Ives i. 619; Shrewsbury iii. 2013; Southampton ii. 873; South Molton i. 613; Stockton iii. 1729; Swansea i. 385; Tenby i. 403; Totnes i. 641; Tregony i. 649; Usk i. 415; Wells ii. 1367: Wenlock iii, 2076; Wilton ii. 1400; Wiston i. 423; Yeovil ii. 1406.

Burgesses (Assistant), Evesham i. 53; Malmesbury i. 77; Okehampton i. 557; Wareham ii. 1360; Warwick iii. 2059.

---- (Bailiff-), Chipping Sodbury i. 37.

- (Capital), Aldeburgh iv. 2085; Andover ii. 1081; Appleby iii, 1425; Axbridge ii, 1093; Banbury i. 9; Barnstaple i. 429; Beverley iii. 1455; Bewdley iii. 1772; Bideford i. 437; Bishop's Castle iv. 2596; Blandford Forum ii. 1133; Bodmin i. 443; Brackley i. 23; Brecon, i. 177; Bridgewater i. 463; Bridport ii. 1141; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2172; Camelford i. 471; Chesterfield iii. 1789; Congleton iv. 2649; Cowbridge i. 221; Denbigh iv. 2662; Derby iii. 1849; Devizes ii. 1262; Doncaster iii. 1495; Dorchester ii. 1274; Evesham i. 53; Glastonbury ii. 1283: Grampound i. 507: Harwich iv. 2261: Haverfordwest i. 234; Higham Ferrers iv. 2282; Ilchester ii. 1289; Kirkbyin-Kendal iii. 1590; Lancaster iii. 1600; Langport Eastover ii. 1295; Leominster i. 293; Liskeard i. 525; Looe (East) i. 533; Looe (West) i. 539; Lostwithiel i. 545; Lyme Regis ii. 1305; Maldon iv. 2434; Malmesbury i. 77; Monmouth i. 322; Neath i. 333; Newberry i. 89; Newcastle-under-Lyme iii. 1952; Orford iv. 2509; Plympton Earle i. 599; Preston iii. 1686; Radnor (New) i. 357; Romsey ii. 1331; St. Ives i. 619; Scarborough iii. 1714: Shaftesbury ii. 1353; Stafford iii. 2026; Stamford iv. 2527; Stratford-on-Avon i. 119; Sutton Coldfield iii. 2033; Tamworth iii. 2039; Tiverton i. 625; Torrington i. 633; Tregony i. 649; Truro i, 655; Walsall iii, 2046; Wareham ii, 1359; Wells ii. 1367; Westbury ii. 1377; Wisbeach iv. 2553; Wokingham iv. 2938; Woodstock (New) i. 142; Wootton Bassett i. 147.
- ——— (Chief), Cardiff i. 187; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Newtown (Isle of Wight) ii. 793; Yarmouth (Isle of Wight) ii. 915.
- (Chief) and Counsellors, Beaumaris iv. 2583.
- (Com-), Grantham iv. 2241; Pontefract iii. 1673.
- _____ (Common), Bewdley iii. 1772; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii.
 - (Free), Axbridge ii. 1093; Bodmin i. 443; Bossiney i. 453; Bradninch i. 457; Bridgwater i. 463; Camelford i. 471; Christ-church Twyneham ii. 1254; Derby iii. 1849; Devizes ii. 1262; Grampound i. 507; Looe (East) i. 533; Looe (West) i. 539; Plympton Earle i. 599; Radnor (New) i. 357; Saltash i. 605.
- (Principal), Abingdon i. 3; Buckingham i. 27; Eye iv. 2229; Kidwelly i. 273; Okehampton i. 557; Tewkesbury i. 125; Thetford iv. 2541; Weymouth ii. 1385.

Burgesses (Secondary), Abingdon i. 3; Wokingham iv. 2938. Burleigh-men, Beaumaris iv. 2583. [p. 33.] Butchery Keeper, see "Keeper." Butter Searchers, see "Searchers."

Capital, see "Burgesses," "Citizens," "Inhabitants," "Masters," "Steward."

Cashier, Grantham iv. 2241.

Catchpole, Congleton iv. 2649. [p. 20.]

Chamberlain, Aberystwith i. 171; Abingdon i. 3; Axbridge ii. 1094; Banbury i. 9; Bath ii. 1113; Bishop's Castle iv. 2596; Blandford Forum ii. 1134: Boston iv. 2151; Bristol ii. 1164; Canterbury ii. 688; Carlisle iii. 1470; Carmarthen i. 204; Daventry iii. 1843; Dover ii. 942; Evesham i. 53; Exeter i. 487; Faversham ii. 962; Folkestone ii. 982; Gloucester i. 59; Grantham iv. 2241; Gravesend iv. 2865; Great Grimsby iv. 2249; Harwich iv. 2261; Hertford iv. 2886; Huntingdon iv. 2287; Kidwelly i. 273; Leicester iii. 1895; Leominster i. 293; London; Lydd ii. 1013; Lyme Regis ii. 1307; Maidstone ii. 755; Maldon iv. 2434; Marlborough i. 83; Monmouth i. 322; Newbury i. 89; Northampton iii, 1968; Norwich iv. 2459; Orford iv. 2509; Pevensey ii. 1017; Portsmouth ii. 803; Quinborowe ii. 824; Romney Marsh ii. 1027; Rye ii. 1031; St. Albans iv. 2919; Southwold iv. 2516; Stafford iii. 2026; Tenby i. 403; Tenterden ii. 1063; Tewkesbury i. 125; Wallingford i. 133; Wells ii. 1369; Winchelsea ii. 1073; Winchester ii. 896; Windsor iv. 2933.

(Assistant-), Bath ii. 1113; Carlisle iii. 1470.

(Charity-), Andover ii. 1085.

——— (Deputy), *Bristol* ii. 1164.

——— (Hospital), High Wycombe i. 41.

Town), Andover ii. 1085; High Wycombe i. 41; King's Lynn iv. 2393.

——— (Under), Norwich iv. 2459.

---- (Vice), Worcester i. 154.

Chamberlain and Chief Constable, Ludlow iv. 2787.

Chamberlain's Clerk, Alnwick iii. 1414.

Chamberlains, Aldeburgh iv. 2085; Alnwick iii. 1414 [pp. 9, 16]; Appleby iii. 1426; Bedford iv. 2105; Brecon i. 177; Bridgnorth iii. 1780; Chesterfield iii. 1790; Chipping Norton i. 33; Coventry iii. 1799; Derby iii. 1850; Devizes ii. 1264; Dunwich iv. 2220; Eye iv. 2229; Hastings ii. 998; Hereford i. 254; Higham Ferrars iv. 2282; Hull iii. 1548; Hythe ii. 1007; Ipswich iv. 2295;

46 Chamberlains (continued)— Kingston iv. 2897; Kirkby-in-Kendal iii. 1590; Lancaster iii. 1600; Lincoln iv. 2345; Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639; Nottingham iii. 1991; Oxford i. 98; Radnor (New) i. 357; Reading i. 111; Retford (East) iii. 1862; Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699; Rochester ii. 845; Salisbury ii. 1342; Scarborough iii. 1714; Seaford ii. 1059; Shrewsbury iii. 2014; Stamford iv. 2527; Stratfordon-Avon i. 119; Tamworth iii. 2040; Woodstock (New) i. 141; Worcester i. 153; York iii. 1739. Chamber-reeve, Haverfordwest, i. 234. Chaplain, Cambridge iv. 2185; Doncaster iii. 1495; Faversham ii. 962; Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1667. of the Gaol, Boston, iv. 2151; Hereford i. 257; Ipswich iv. 2295: Lincoln iv. 2345; Norwich iv. 2460. to the Lord Mayor, London. [p. 20.] Charcoal man and Beadle, Norwich iv. 2460. Churchwardens, Chard ii. 1238; Scarborough iii. 1714; Wells ii. 1369. Citizens. Chichester ii. 716; Hereford i. 2541. (Capital), Carlisle iii. 1469; Worcester i. 153. (Capital) and Counsellors of the City, Worcester i. 153. ____ (Chief-), Hereford i. 254. City Marshal, see "Marshal." City Solicitor, see "Solicitor." City Steward, see "Steward." Clavers, Norwich iv. 2463. Claviger, Orford iv. 2510. Clavigers, Ipswich iv. 2295. Cleaner of Castle Walks, Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699. _____ of Chandelier in Town Hall, Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699. of Flags, Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699. of Water Gates, Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699. Clerk, Ashton-under-Lyne iii. 1431; Newcastle-on-Tyne (Fraternity of Hostmen) iii. 1661; Romney Marsh ii. 1027; York (Merchant Tailors of) iii. 1765. See "Chamberlain's," "Coroner's," "Corporation," "Mayor's."

(Assistant), Norwich iv. 2459.

Clerk (Water Bailiff's), Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639.

Clerk to the Cattle Market Committee, Norwich iv. 2459.

of the Chamber, Canterbury ii. 688; London; Newcastleon-Tyne iii. 1639.

Clerk of the Committee, Liverpool iv. 2698.

Clerk (Common), Grantham iv. 2441; Liverpool iv. 2697; Portsmouth ii. 803; St. Albans iv. 2919; Tenterden ii. 1063.

(Common), and Prothonotary, Beccles iv. 2133.

——— (Common), and Steward, Newtown (I. of W.) ii. 793; Yarmouth (I. of W.) ii. 915.

Clerk of the Exchange Market, Bristol ii. 1164.

------ of the Haymarket, Bristol ii. 1164.

Clerk to the Magistrates, Liverpool iv. 2698.

Clerk of the Market, Abingdon i. 3; Andover ii. 1083; Axbridge ii. 1094; Banbury i. 9; Barnstaple i. 429; Basingstoke ii. 1104; Beaumaris iv. 2583; Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1440; Beverley iii. 1458; Bideford i. 437; Bishop's Castle iv. 2596; Blandford Forum ii. 1134: Bodmin i. 443: Boston iv. 2153; Brecon i. 177; Bridgnorth iii. 1782; Buckingham i. 27; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2174; Cambridge iv. 2185; Carmarthen i. 204; Carlisle iii. 1472; Chester iv. 2620; Chipping Norton i. 33; CHICHESTER ii. 720; Coventry iii. 1804; Crickhowell i. 226; Deal ii. 933; Devizes ii. 1264; Doncaster iii. 1498; Durham iii. 1514; Evesham i. 53; Falmouth i. 501; Gloucester i. 59; Grantham iv. 2241; Gravesend iv. 2865; Guildford iv. 2872; Hartlepool iii. 1533; Harwich iv. 2261; Haverfordwest i. 234; Havering iv. 2879; Helston i. 511; Henley i. 72; Hertford iv. 2886; Higham Ferrers iv. 2283; High Wycombe i. 42; Hull iii. 1551; Huntingdon iv. 2287; Ipswich iv. 2294; Kidwelly i. 273; King's Lynn iv. 2394; Kirkby-in-Kendal iii. 1590; Lancaster iii. 1603; Launceston i. 517; Leeds iii. 1619; Leominster i. 294; Looe (East) i. 533; Looe (West) i. 539; Lyme Regis ii. 1307; Maidenhead iv. 2910; Maidstone ii. 761; Maldon iv. 2434; Malmesbury i. 77; Marlborough i. 83; Newark iii. 1941; Newcastle-under-Lyme iii. 1952; Newport (I. of W.) ii. 778; Newport (Monmouthshire) i. 341; Norwich iv. 2459; Orford iv. 2510; Pembroke i. 366; Penzance i. 571; Plymouth i. 580; Plympton Earle i. 599; Pontefract iii. 1676; Poole ii. 1321; Portsmouth ii. 807; Preston iii. 1689; Quinborowe ii. 831; Reading i. 112; Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1701; Rochester ii. 852; Romsey ii. 1331; St. Albans iv. 2920; St. Ives i. 619; Saltash i. 605; Shaftesbury ii. 1353; Shrewsbury iii. 2013; Southampton ii. 878; South Molton i. 613; Southwold iv. 2516; Stamford iv. 2528; Swansea i. 386; Tamworth iii. 2040; Tenby i. 403; Tenterden ii. 1064; Thetford iv. 2542; Torrington i. 633; Totnes i. 641; Tregony i. 649; Truro i. 655; Wallingford i. 133; Wells ii. 1369; Weymouth and Melcombe

Clerk of the Market (continued)—

Regis ii. 1387; Winchester ii. 900; Windsor iv. 2933; Wokingham iv. 2938; Wootton Bassett i. 147; York iii. 1739.

——— (Deputy), Boston iv. 2151; Ipswich iv. 2295; King's Lynn iv. 2394; Poole ii. 1321; Stamford iv. 2530.

Clerk of Recognizances, Winehester ii. 896.

- to the Revenue-Committee, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639.
- of St. James' Market, Bristol ii. 1164.
- of the Shambles Market, Cardiff i. 187.

Clerk (Town), Aberystwith i. 171; Abingdon i. 3; Aldeburgh iv. 2085; Appleby iii. 1426; Axbridge ii. 1094; Banbury i. 9; Barnstaple i. 430; Basingstoke ii. 1101; Bath ii. 1113; Beaumaris iv. 2583; Bedford iv. 2105; Beverley iii. 1455; Bideford i. 437; Bishop's Castle iv. 2596; Blandford Forum ii. 1134; Bodmin i. 443; Bossiney i. 453; Boston iv. 2151; Brackley i. 23; Bradnineh i. 457: Brecon i. 177: Bridgnorth iii. 1780: Bridgwater i. 463: Bridport ii. 1141; Bristol ii. 1164; Buckingham i. 27; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2172; Cambridge iv. 2185; Camelford i. 471; Canterbury ii. 688; Cardiff i. 187; Cardigan i. 197; Carlisle iii. 1469; Carmarthen i. 204; Chard ii. 1238; Chester iv. 2619; Chesterfield iii. 1790; Chichester ii. 716; Chippenham ii. 1247; Chipping Norton i. 33; Christchurch Twyneham ii. 1255; Clitheroe iii. 1383; Congleton iv. 2649; Coventry iii. 1799; Cowbridge i. 221; Dartmouth i. 477; Daventry iii. 1843; Deal ii. 931; Denbigh iv. 2662: Derby iii. 1850: Doncaster iii. 1495: Dorchester ii. 1275: Dover ii. 942; Droitwich i. 47; Dunwich iv. 2220; Durham iii. 1512; Exeter i. 487; Eye iv. 2229; Falmouth i. 501; Faversham ii. 962; Folkestone ii. 982; Fordwich ii. 987; Glastonbury ii. 1284; Gloucester i. 59; Godmanchester iv. 2235; Gravesend iv. 2865; Great Grimsby iv. 2249; Guildford iv. 2871; Hartlepool iii. 1531; Harwich iv. 2261; Hastings ii. 998; Haverfordwest i. 234; Hedon iii. 1537; Helston i. 511; Henley i. 72; Hereford i. 254; Hertford iv. 2886; High Wycombe i. 41; Hull iii. 1548; Hunt. ingdon iv. 2287; Hythe ii. 1007; Ilchester ii. 1290; Ipswich iv. 2295; Kidderminster iii. 1878; Kidwelly i. 273; Kilgerran i. 279; King's Lynn iv. 2393; Kingston iv. 2897; Kirkby-in-Kendal iii. 1590; Lampeter i. 283; Lancaster iii. 1600; Langport Eastover ii. 1296; Launceston i. 518; Leeds iii. 1619; Leicester iii. 1895 : Leominster i. 293 ; Lichfield iii. 1927 ; Lincoln iv. 2345 ; Liskeard i. 525; Llandovery i. 302; Llantrissent i. 313; London; Love (East) i. 533; Love (West) i. 539; Lostwithiel i. 545; Louth iv. 2374; Ludlow iv. 2787; Lydd ii. 1013; Lyme Regis ii. 1307; Clerk (Town) (continued)—

Lymington ii. 743; Maidenhead iv. 2910; Maidstone ii. 755; Maldon iv. 2434: Marazion i. 551: Marlborough i. 83: Monmouth i. 322; Newark iii, 1936; Newbury i, 89; Newcastle-under-Lyme iii, 1953; Newcastle-on-Type iii. 1639; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Newport (Monmouth) i. 341; Northampton iii. 1968; Norwich iv. 2459; Nottingham iii. 1991; Okehampton i. 557; Orford iv. 2509; Oswestry iv. 2825; Oxford i. 98; Pembroke i. 365; Penryn i. 563; Penzance i. 571; Pevensey ii. 1017; Plymouth i. 579; Plympton Earle i. 599: Pontefract iii. 1675: Poole ii. 1321: Portsmouth ii. 805; Preston iii. 1686; Quinborowe ii. 824; Radnor (New) i. 357; Reading i. 111; Retford (East) iii. 1862; Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699; Ripon iii. 1708; Rochester ii. 845; Romsey ii. 1332; Rye ii. 1031; St. Clears i. 377; St. Ives i. 619; Salisbury ii. 1342: Saltash i. 605: Sandwich ii. 1043: Scarborough iii. 1714; Seaford ii. 1059; Shaftesbury ii. 1353; Shrewsbury iii. 2014; Southampton ii. 873; South Molton i. 614; Southwold iv. 2516; Stafford iii. 2026; Stamford iv. 2527; Stockton iii. 1729; Stratford-on-Avon i. 119; Tamworth iii. 2039; Tenby i. 403; Tewkesbury i. 125; Thetford iv. 2541; Tiverton i. 625; Torrington i. 633; Totnes i. 641; Tregony i. 649; Truro i. 655; Wallingford i. 133; Walsall iii. 2046; Wareham ii. 1360; Warwick iii. 2059; Wells ii. 1369; Wenlock iii. 2077; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis ii, 1386; Wilton ii, 1400; Winchelsea ii, 1073; Winchester ii. 896; Windsor iv. 2933; Wisbeach iv. 2553; Wiston i. 423; Wokingham iv. 2938; Woodstock (New) i. 141; Wootton Bassett i. 147: Worcester i. 153: York iii. 1739.

(Deputy), Axbridge ii. 1095; Basingstoke ii. 1101; Bath ii. 1115; Bishop's Castle iv. 2597; Bodmin i. 443; Cambridge iv. 2185; Cardiff i. 187; Leeds iii. 1619; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Radnor (New) i. 357; Stafford ii. 2026; Tewkesbury i. 125; Wootton Bassett i. 147.

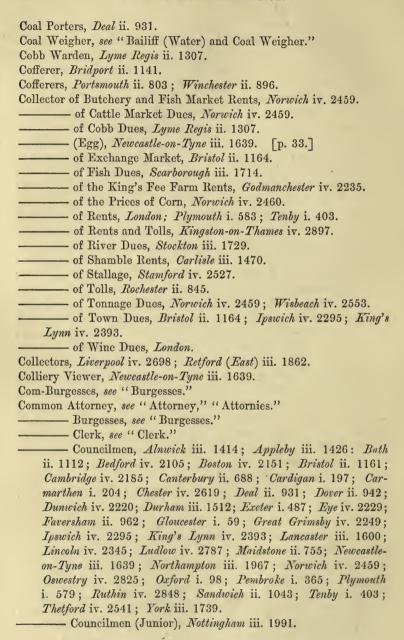
Clerks of the Market, Brackley i. 23; Cardiff i. 187; Clitheroe iii. 1485; Eye iv. 2229; Liskeard i. 525; Kingston iv. 2896; Ludlow iv. 2792; Rye ii. 1031.

and Shambles, Cowbridge i. 221.

Coal Measurers, Southampton ii. 873.

Coal Meter, Canterbury ii. 697; Folkestone ii. 982; Guildford iv. 2873; Sandwich ii. 1043.

Coal Meters, Deal ii. 931; Dover ii. 942; Fordwich ii. 987; Hythe ii. 1008; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Rochester ii. 845; Scarborough iii. 1714; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis ii. 1387.



| Common Councilmen (Senior), Nottingham iii. 1991. |
|---|
| Crier, see "Crier." |
| Serjeant, see "Serjeant." |
| Wardman, see "Wardman." |
| Company of Porters, see "Porters." |
| Comptroller, Flint iv. 2681; London. |
| |
| Conductors of Fire Engines, Norwich iv. 2460. |
| Conduit Wardens, Wells ii. 1369. |
| Conservators of the Delf, Sandwich ii. 1043. |
| Constable, Bossiney i. 453; Cefn Llys i. 373; Chard ii. 1238; Clitheroe |
| iii. 1487; Faversham ii. 971; Fordwich ii. 987; Garstang iii. |
| 1521; Godalming ii. 735; Ilchester ii. 1290; Knighton i. 373; |
| Knuckless i. 373; Maidstone ii. 755; Newtown (I. of W.) ii. 793; |
| Presteign i. 373; Quinborowe ii. 824; Rhayader i. 373; Ruyton |
| iv. 2859; Sutton Coldfield iii. 2034; Westbury ii. 1378; Wootton |
| |
| Bassett i. 147. See "Mayor's." |
| (Assistant), Clitheroe iii. 1487. |
| ——— (Borough), Calne ii. 1232. |
| (Chief), Bideford i. 437; Bridgnorth iii. 1781; Boston iv. |
| 2157; Carmarthen i. 213; Coventry iii. 1799; Great Grimsby |
| iv. 2253; Leeds iii. 1619; Leicester iii. 1895; Ludlow iv. 2793; |
| Maldon iv. 2441; Monmouth i. 325; Newark iii. 1937; Norwich |
| iv. 2460; Stamford iv. 2527; Thetford iv. 2544; Torrington i. |
| 634. See "Chamberlain and Chief Constable." |
| ——— (Deputy), <i>Leeds</i> iii. 1619. |
| ——— (Head), Bradninch i. 457. |
| ———(High), Coventry iii. 1799; Derby iii. 1851; Harwich iv. 2261; |
| Hull iii. 1564; Newcastle-under-Lyme iii. 1954; Northampton iii. |
| |
| 1971; Poole ii. 1321; Portsmouth ii. 806; St. Albans iv. 2927; |
| Tenterden ii. 1063; Tiverton i. 625; Wenlock iii. 2078. |
| (Town), Calne ii. 1232. |
| Constable and Headborough, Seaford ii. 1059. |
| Constable of the Castle, Aberavon i. 165; Cardiff i. 187; Cowbridge |
| i. 221; Flint iv. 2680; Kenfig i. 269; Llantrissent i. 313; Neath |
| i. 333. [pp. 9, 16.] |
| ——— (Deputy-), Cardiff i. 187. |
| Constable of the Market, Chester iv. 2625; Plymouth i. 583. |
| Constables, Aberystwith i. 172; Abingdon i. 5; Aldeburgh iv. 2085; |
| Alnwick, iii. 1419; Altringham iv. 2574; Andover ii. 1083; |
| Appleby iii. 1428; Arundel ii. 668; Axbridge ii. 1094; Barn- |
| |
| staple i. 430; Basingstoke ii. 1101; Beaumaris iv. 2583; Beceles |
| iv. 2138; Bedford iv. 2116; Berkeley i. 19; Berwick-on-Tweed |

Constables (continued)—

iii. 1446; Beverley iii. 1455; Bewdley iii. 1773; Bideford i. 437; Bishop's Castle iv. 2596; Blandford Forum ii. 1134; Bodmin i. 443; Boston iv. 2116; Brackley i. 23; Brading ii. 679; Bradninch i. 457; Brecon i. 181; Bridgnorth iii. 1781; Bridgwater i. 463; Bridport ii. 1143; Bristol ii. 1181; Buckingham i. 29; Burton-on-Trent iii. 1785; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2177; Caerwys iv. 2609; Cambridge iv. 2190; Camelford i. 471; Canterbury ii. 688; Cardiffi. 191; Cardigan i. 199; Carlisle iii. 1474; Carmarthen i. 213; Castle Rising iv. 2211; Chester iv. 2625; Chesterfield iii. 1790; Christchurch Twyneham ii, 1255; Clun iv, 2643; Congleton iv. 2653; Coventry iii. 1799; Cowbridge i. 221; Crickhowell i. 226; Dartmouth i. 477; Daventry iii. 1844; Deal ii. 931; Denbigh iv. 2662; Derby iii. 1851; Devizes ii. 1264; Dinas Myddy iv. 2673; Doncaster iii. 1502; Dorchester ii. 1277; Dover ii. 942; Droitwich i. 48; Dunmow (Great) iv. 2215; Dunwich iv. 2223; Durham iii. 1512; Evesham i. 55; Exeter i. 487; Eye iv. 2229; Fulmouth i. 501: Flint iv. 2680: Folkestone ii. 982: Gloucester i. 63; Godalming ii. 736; Godmanchester iv. 2235; Grantham iv. 2241; Great Grimsby iv. 2253; Guildford iv. 2874; Hartlepool iii. 1531; Hastings ii. 1000; Hedon iii. 1537; Helston i. 511; Henley i. 73; Hereford i. 261; Hertford iv. 2888; Higham Ferrers iv. 2282; High Wycombe i. 43; Huntingdon iv. 2287; Hull iii. 1557; Hythe ii. 1008; Ipswich iv. 2318; Kidderminster iii. 1878; Kidwelly i. 275; King's Lynn iv. 2405; Kingston iv. 2901; Langport Eastover ii. 1297; Laugharne i. 287; Launceston i. 518; Leicester iii. 1897; Leominster i. 296; Lincoln iv. 2345; Liskeard i. 525; Llandovery i. 302; Llantrissent i. 313; Looe, East and West i. 533, 539; Lostwithicl i. 545; Loughor i. 318; Louth iv. 2376; Ludlow iv. 2793; Lydd ii. 1014; Lyme Regis ii. 1307; Lymington ii. 746; Maidenhead iv. 2910; Maldon iv. 2441; Malmesbury i. 79; Marazion i. 551; Marlborough i. 83; Morpeth iii. 1627; Neath i. 336; Newborough iv. 2810; Newbury i. 91; Newcastleunder-Lyme iii. 1954; Newport (Monmouthshire) i. 345; Newport (Pembrokeshire) i. 354; Northampton iii. 1971; Norwich iv. 2460; Nottingham iii. 1995; Okehampton i. 557; Orford iv. 2510; Oswestry iv. 2829; Oxford i. 103; Pembroke i. 369; Penryn i. 563; Penzance i. 571; Pevensey ii. 1017; Plymouth i. 585; Plymyton Earle i. 600; Pontefract iii. 1675; Poole ii. 1321; Portsmouth ii. 803; Preston iii. 1692; Radnor (New) i. 360; Reading i. 115; Retford, (East) iii. 1862; Rhuddlan iv. 2840; Richmond (Yorks) iii. 1699; Ripon iii. 1710; Rochester ii. 845; Romney Marsh ii. 1027; Romsey

Constables (continued)—

ii. 1332; Ruthin iv. 2848; Rye ii. 1035; St. Albans iv. 2927; St. Clears i. 378; St. Ives i. 619; Saltash i. 605; Sandwich ii. 1051; Searborough iii. 1714; Shaftesbury ii. 1354; Shrewsbury iii. 2017; Southampton ii. 873; South Molton i. 614; Southwold iv. 2519; Stafford iii. 2027; Stockton iii. 1730; Stratford-on-Avon i. 120; Tamworth iii. 2040; Tenby i. 409; Tewkesbury i. 126; Thetford iv. 2544; Thornbury i. 130; Tiverton i. 625; Torrington i. 633; Totnes i. 641; Tregony i. 649; Truro i. 655; Usk i. 415; Wallingford i. 133; Walsall iii. 2047; Wareham ii. 1361; Warwick iii. 2061; Wenlock iii. 2078; Weobley i. 419; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis ii. 1386; Winchelsea ii. 1073; Winchester ii. 896; Wiston i. 423; Woodstock (New) i. 143; Wokingham iv. 2938; Worcester i. 156; Yarmouth (I. of W.) ii. 917; Yeovil ii. 1407; York iii. 1748. [p. 25.]

- (Assistant), Ashton-under-Lyne iii. 1431; Usk i. 415.
- ——— (Chief), Bath ii. 1113; Cardiff i. 191; Grantham iv. 2241; Hereford i. 260; Wells ii. 1369.
- ----- (Deputy), Brecon i. 181; Cardigan i. 199; St. Albans iv. 2927; Sandwich ii. 1051; Walsall iii. 2047.
- ——— (Head), Ashton-under-Lyne iii. 1431; Wilton ii. 1401.
- (High), Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1446; Chichester ii. 717; Haverfordwest i. 239; Havering iv. 2879; Kingston iv. 2901; Lichfield iii. 1928; Marlborough i. 83; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Salisbury ii. 1342.
- ——— (River), Norwich iv. 2460.

Constables of the Staple, Poole ii. 1321; Southampton ii. 873.

Cook, Cambridge iv. 2185; Chester iv. 2628.

Corn Measurer, Bristol ii. 1164.

——— (Deputy), *Bristol* ii. 1164.

Corn Measurers, Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Rochester ii. 845; Southampton ii. 873.

Corn Meters, Poole ii. 1321; Stockton iii. 1729.

Corn Prizer, Grantham iv. 2241.

Coroner, Aberystwith i. 171; Abingdon i. 3; Andover ii. 1083; Banbury i. 9; Bath ii. 1114; Beaumaris iv. 2583; Bedford

Coroner (continued)

iv. 2106; Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437; Beverley iii. 1458; Bideford i. 437; Bishop's Castle iv. 2596; Blandford ii. 1134; Bodmin i. 443; Boston iv. 2151; Bridgnorth iii. 1781; Bridgwater i. 463; Buckingham i. 27; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2172; Canterbury ii. 688: Cardigan i. 197: Carmarthen i. 204: Chichester ii. 716: Clitheroe iii. 1485; Coventry iii. 1799; Dartmouth i. 477; Daventry iii. 1843; Deal ii. 933; Derby iii. 1850; Doncaster iii. 1498; Dover ii. 945; Droitwich i. 47; Dunwich iv. 2220; Exeter i. 487; Evesham i. 53; Falmouth i. 501; Faversham ii. 965; Fordwich ii. 990; Gloucester i. 59; Grantham iv. 2241; Gravesend iv. 2865; Harwich iv. 2261; Haverfordwest i. 234; Havering iv. 2878; Hedon iii. 1537; Henley i. 72; Hereford i. 254; High Wycombe i. 42; Huntingdon iv. 2287; Hythe ii. 1007; Kidwelly i. 273; Lancaster iii. 1603; Leeds iii. 1619; Leominster i. 294; Lichfield iii. 1927; Llandovery i. 302; London; Looe (East) i. 533; Lostwithiel i. 545; Ludlow iv. 2787; Lydd ii. 1013; Lyme Regis ii. 1307; Maidenhead iv. 2910; Maidstone ii. 761; Maldon iv. 2434; Malmesbury i. 77; Marlborough i. 83; Monmouth i. 322; Newark iii. 1936; Orford iv. 2509; Oswestry iv. 2825; Oxford i. 98; Pembroke i. 366; Penryn i. 563; Penzance i. 571; Pevensey ii. 1017; Plymouth i. 579; Plympton Earle i. 600; Pontefract iii. 1676; Portsmouth ii. 803; Radnor (New) i. 358; Reading i. 112; Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1701; Rochester ii. 845; Rye ii. 1033; St. Albans iv. 2019; St. Ives i. 619; Saltash i. 605; Sandwich ii. 1047; Seaford ii. 1059; Shaftesbury ii. 1353; South Molton i. 613; Southwold iv. 2516; Stamford iv. 2527; Tenby i. 403; Tenterden ii. 1065; Tewkesbury i. 125; Thetford iv. 2541; Torrington i. 633; Truro i. 655; Usk, i. 415; Wallingford i. 133; Wareham ii. 1360; Wenlock iii. 2077; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis ii. 1387; Winchelsea ii. 1074; Windsor iv. 2933.

Coroners, Aldeburgh iv. 2085; Appleby iii. 1426; Bristol ii. 1164; Cambridge iv. 2185; Cardiff i. 188; Carlisle iii. 1469; Chester iv. 2619; Denbigh iv. 2663; Eye iv. 2229; Godmanchester iv. 2235; Great Grimsby iv. 2249; Guildford iv. 2871; Hull iii. 1548; Ipswich iv. 2295; King's Lynn iv. 2393; Kingston iv. 2897; Kirkby-in-Kendal iii. 1589; Lincoln iv. 2345; Newcastleon-Tyne iii. 1639; Northampton iii. 1968; Norwich iv. 2459; Nottingham iii. 1991; Poole ii. 1321; Preston iii. 1689; Romney Marsh ii. 1027; Scarborough iii. 1714; Shrewsbury iii. 2014; Southampton ii. 873; Wilton ii. 1400; Winchester ii. 896;

Worcester i. 153; York iii. 1739.

Coroner's Clerk, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639; Norwich iv. 2459.

Corporal (Town), Plymouth i. 582.

Corporation Clerk, Beverley iii. 1455.

Counsellors, Bodmin i. 443; Cambridge iv. 2185. See "Burgesses and Counsellors," "Citizens and Counsellors," "Masters and Counsellors."

Crane Porters, see "Porters."

Crier, Ashton-under-Lyne iii. 1431; Banbury i. 9; Basingstoke ii. 1101; Bath ii. 1113; Bedford iv. 2105; Bodmin, i. 447; Brecon i. 177; Bristol ii. 1164; Caerwys iv. 2609; Canterbury ii. 688; Chard ii. 1238; Chester iv. 2619; Chichester ii. 717; Coventry ii. 1799; Deal ii. 931; Dover ii. 942; Evesham i. 55; Faversham ii. 962; Gravesend iv. 2866; Guildford iv. 2873; Harwich iv. 2261; Hastings ii. 998; Haverfordwest i. 234; Hereford i. 254; Huntingdon iv. 2288; Hythe ii. 1007; Langport Eastover ii. 1297; Leominster i. 293; Lincoln iv. 2345; Ludlow iv. 2787; Maidstone ii. 755; Marlborough i. 86; Neath i. 333; Newport (Monmouth) i. 341; Poole ii. 1321; Reading i. 113; Rochester ii. 845; Rye ii. 1031; St. Clears i. 377; Sandwich ii. 1043; Scarborough iii. 1714; Southampton ii. 874; Southwold iv. 2516; Stamford iv. 2527; Winchelsea ii. 1075; Wootton Bassett i. 147. See "Marshal and Crier," "Street Keeper and 「p. 25.] Crier."

——— (Common), Leicester iii. 1895; London; Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639.

Town), Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437; Bideford i. 437; Boston iv. 2151; Bridgnorth iii. 1780; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2172; Cambridge iv. 2185; Camelford i. 471; Cardiff i. 187; Dartmouth i. 477; Denbigh iv. 2662; Derby iii. 1850; Exeter i. 487; Folkestone ii. 962; Grantham iv. 2241; Helston i. 511; High Wycombe i. 42; Ipswich iv. 2295; King's Lynn iv. 2393; Maldon iv. 2434; Newark iii. 1937; Newcastle-under-Lyme iii. 1954; Newport (Shropshire) iii. 1962; Northampton iii. 1968; Nottingham iii. 1991; Penryn i. 563; Plymouth i. 582; Portsmouth ii. 803; Retford (East) iii. 1862; Ruthin iv. 2848; Stafford iii. 2026; Tamworth iii. 2040; Tiverton i. 626; Totnes i. 641; Tregony i. 649; Wareham ii. 1361; Winchester ii. 899; Wisbeach iv. 2553. See "Bailiff and Town Crier."

Crier of the Court, Louth iv. 2374; Norwich iv. 2460.

Customer, Chichester ii. 716.

Custos Rotulorum, *Hertford* iv. 2886; Newark iii. 1936. Custumar, Hereford i. 254. Deacon of the Shambles, Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437.

Deciners, Burton-on-Trent iii. 1785. [p. 23n.]

Deputy, see "Alderman," "Aldermen," "Bailiff," "Bailiffs," "Bailiff (Water)," "Borsholders," "Chamberlain," "Clerk of the Market," "Clerk (Town)," "Constable," "Constable of the Castle," "Constables," "Corn Measurer," "Governor," "Master," "Mayor," "Recorder," "Steward."

Discreets of Markets, Southampton ii. 873.

Dog-Whipper, Congleton iv. 2652.

Doorkeeper of the Mayor's Chamber, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639.
[p. 20.]

Dozeners, Lichfield iii. 1928. [p. 23n.] See "Inspectors of Pinders." Draftsmen, Liverpool iv. 2698.

Dragon-Bearer, Norwich iv. 2460. [p. 16.]

——— (Assistant), Norwich iv. 2460.

Driver of Commons, Rye ii. 1031. [p. 27.] See "Pound Driver," "Street Driver."

Drivers of Cattle, Kidwelly i. 274. [p. 30.] See "Hog Driver,"

Egg Collector, see "Collector."

Electors, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639.

— (Elder), Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1666. — (Younger), Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1666.

Elisors, Preston iii, 1686. [p. 23.]

Engine Keeper, see "Keeper."

Erection Bailiff, see "Bailiff."

Escheator, Andover ii. 1083; Banbury i. 9; Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1440; Beverley iii. 1458; Boston iv. 2153; Bristol ii. 1164; Buckingham i. 27; Canterbury ii. 695; Carmarthen i. 204; Chester iv. 2620; Chichester ii. 720; Grantham iv. 2241; Haverfordwest i. 234; Hereford i. 254; High Wycombe i. 42; Hull iii. 1548; Ipswich iv. 2296; Kidwelly i. 273; Llandovery i. 301; Maidenhead iv. 2910; Marlborough i. 83; Pembroke i. 366; Tenby i. 403; York iii. 1743.

Exchange Keeper, see "Keeper."

Fen Reeve [gerefa], Aldeburgh iv. 2085; Dunwich iv. 2220. [p. 32.] Fen Reeves, Beccles iv. 2129; Southwold iv. 2516.

Feyrers, Canterbury ii. 688.

Field Drivers, Bedford iv. 2105. [p. 32.]

Field Grieve [gerefa], Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437. [p. 30.]

Fifteens (The), Kingston iv. 2895.

Fish and Flesh Inspectors, see "Inspectors."
Fish and Flesh Searchers, see "Searchers."
Flesh and Fish Lookers, see "Lookers."
Flesh Searcher, see "Searcher."
Flesh Taster, see "Taster."
Flesh Wardens, see "Wardens."
Foreign Receiver, Norwich iv. 2459.
Foreman of the Commons, Huntingdon iv. 2287. [p. 32.]
Free Burgesses, see "Burgesses."
Free Suitors, Godmanchester iv. 2235.
Fruit-Meter, London.

Game Keeper, Doncaster iii. 1495; Hythe ii. 1007. See "Warrener and Game Keeper."

Gaoler, Aldeburgh iv. 2085; Banbury i. 9; Basingstoke ii. 1101; Bath ii. 1115; Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437; Beverley iii. 1455; Bideford i. 437; Boston iv. 2151; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2174; Canterbury ii. 688; Carmarthen i. 214; Chester iv. 2625; Clitheroe iii. 1483; Dartmouth i. 477; Deal ii. 931; Derby iii. 1850; Doncaster iii. 1495; Dover ii. 942; Evesham i. 53; Exeter i. 490; Eye iv. 2229; Faversham ii. 962; Flint iv. 2681; Folkestone ii. 983; Fordwich ii. 987; Grantham iv. 2241; Gravesend iv. 2866; Great Grimsby iv. 2249; Harwich iv. 2261; Hastings ii. 998; Henley i. 72; Hereford i. 254; Hertford iv. 2886; Huntingdon iv. 2287; Hythe ii. 1007; Ipswich iv. 2295; King's Lynn iv. 2393; Lincoln iv. 2345; Maldon iv. 2434; Newark iii. 1937; Newbury i. 92; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Norwich iv. 2460; Okehampton i. 557; Oswestry iv. 2825; Penryn i. 563; Pevensey ii. 1017; Preston iii. 1686; Quinborowe ii. 824; Radnor (New) i. 360; Rochester ii. 845; Romney Marsh ii. 1027; Rye ii, 1031; St. Ives i, 619; Sandwich ii, 1043; Scarborough iii. 1714; Seaford ii. 1059; South Molton i. 613; Southwold iv. 2517; Stamford iv. 2527; Tenterden ii. 1063; Wenlock iii. 2077; Winchelsea ii. 1073; Windsor iv. 2934. See "Governor of the Borough Gaol."

——— (Assistant), Dover ii. 942.
———— (Under), Doneaster iii. 1495.
Gaolers, Pontefract iii. 1675.
Gaol-Surgeon, see "Surgeon."
Gashers of Hides, Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775.
Gateman, Hull iii. 1548. See "Porters at Gate."

Gauger, Rochester ii. 845. See "Measurer and Gauger."

Gauger of Casks, Sandwich ii. 1043.

Governor, Newcastle-on-Tyne (Fraternity of Hostmen) iii. 1661; York (Company of Merchant Adventurers) iii. 1761.

(Deputy), York (Company of Merchant Adventurers) iii. 1761. Governor of the Barbican, Plymouth i. 582.

of the (Borough) Gaol, Liverpool iv. 2698.

Gownsmen, Kingston-on-Thames iv. 2895.

Grand Councilmen, Coventry iii. 1797.

Grassmen, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639. [p. 31.]

Guild Stewards, see "Stewards."

Hackneyman (King's), Rochester ii. 845. [p. 33.]

Hall Keeper, Bedford iv. 2105; Cambridge iv. 2185; Kingston-on-, Thames iv. 2897; Langport Eastover ii. 1297; Liverpool iv. 2698; London; Northampton iii. 1968; Norwich iv. 2459; Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699; Windsor iv. 2934; Wisbeach iv. 2553.

and Butter Weigher, York iii. 1739.

Hall Warden, Guildford iv. 2871.

Harbour Master, Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Orford iv. 2510: Portsmouth ii. 803; Scarborough iii. 1714; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis ii. 1386. See "Quay and Harbour Master."

(Upper), Wisbeach iv. 2553.

Harbour Masters, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639. Haven Master, Bristol ii. 1164; King's Lynn iv. 2393.

Haymakers, Rochester ii. 845. [p. 31.]

Hayward, Basingstoke ii. 1104; Berkeley i. 19; Blandford Forum ii. 1134; Brading ii. 679; Christchurch Twyneham ii. 1255; Dorchester ii. 1277; Godmanchester iv. 2235; High Wycombe i. 41; Kenfig i. 269; Lyme Regis ii. 1307; NEWPORT (MONMOUTH) i. 343: Poole ii. 1321; Portsmouth ii. 803; Reading i. 111. [p. 31.]

Haywards, Aberavon i. 165; Loughor i. 317; Neath i. 333.

Headboroughs [Headborrows], Brackley i. 23; Daventry iii. 1844; IPSWICH iv. 2317; Kingston-on-Thames iv. 2901; Leicester iii. 1897; Northampton iii. 1971; Sutton Coldfield iii. 2034; Tamworth iii. 2040. See "Constable and Headborough." [p. 23.]

Hedge Lookers, see "Lookers."

Herd, Alnwick iii. 1414. [p. 32.]

High Bailiff, see "Bailiff."

High Constable, see "Constable."

High Steward, see "Steward."

Hog Driver, Hythe ii. 1007. [p. 27.]

Horn Blower, Ripon iii. 1708. [p. 23n.] See "Blower."

| Housekeeper at the Grand Stand, Doncaster iii. 1495. |
|--|
| of the Mansion House, Doncaster iii. 1495. |
| House Steward, see "Steward." |
| Huntsman, Congleton iv. 2652. |
| Husband (Town's), <i>Hull</i> iii. 1548. [p. 33.] |
| Inhabitants (Capital), Gravesend iv. 2865; Marazion i. 551. |
| Inspector of (Live) Cattle, London. |
| ——— of Corn Returns, Norwich iv. 2460. |
| ——— of Conduit, Canterbury ii. 688. |
| of Custom House Accounts, Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity |
| House) iii. 1667. |
| of Flesh Market, Scarborough iii. 1714. |
| ——— of Fruit-Metage, London. |
| of the Markets, Wilton ii. 1400; York iii. 1739. |
| of Meat, Dover ii. 942; Hull iii. 1548; Newcastle-on-Tyne |
| iii. 1639. |
| of Nuisances, Bristol ii. 1164. |
| of Sewers, Sandwich ii. 1043. |
| ——— (Town), Wisbeach iv. 2553. |
| of Town Lands, Bodmin i. 447. |
| Inspectors of Fish and Flesh, Bath ii. 1113. |
| of Meat, Chesterfield iii. 1790; Stamford iv. 2527. |
| of Pinders [called Dozeners], Derby iii. 1851. [p. 27.] |
| ——— of Weights and Measures, Blandford Forum ii. 1134; |
| Bridgnorth iii. 1782; HAVERING iv. 2879; London; Pontefract |
| iii. 1675; Stamford iv. 2527. |
| T!' |
| Javelin-men, see "Blue-caps." |
| Judge of the Court of Admiralty, Boston iv. 2151. |
| Jurats, Deal ii. 931; Dover ii. 942; Faversham ii. 962; Fordwich ii. |
| 987; Gravesend iv. 2865; Hastings ii. 998; Hythe ii. 1007; |
| Lydd ii. 1013; Maidstone ii. 755; Pevensey ii. 1017; Quinborowe ii. 824; Ronney Marsh ii. 1025; Rye ii. 1031; Sandwich ii. 1043; |
| Seaford ii. 1059; Tenterden ii. 1063; Winchelsea ii. 1073. |
| Jury (Inquiry), Clitheroe iii. 1485. |
| Justice, Bishop's Castle iv. 2596; Devizes ii. 1264; Glastonbury ii. |
| 1284; Gravesend iv. 2865; Langport Eastover ii. 1296; Newbury |
| i. 89; Shaftesbury ii. 1353; Wareham ii. 1360; Wells ii. 1369; |
| Windsor iv. 2933; Wokingham iv. 2938. |
| Justices, Andover ii. 1083; Banbury i. 9; Bath ii. 1113; Brading ii. |
| 679; Bradninch i. 458; Bridport ii. 1141; Chichester ii. 720; |

| Justices (continued)— |
|--|
| Dorchester · ii. 1275; Droitwich i. 47; Great Grimsby iv. 2249; |
| Guildford iv. 2871; Henley i. 72; Higham Ferrers iv. 2282; |
| Lyme Regis ii. 1307; Marlborough i. 83; Poole ii. 1321; Ports- |
| mouth ii. 804; Romney Marsh ii. 1027; Romsey ii. 1332; Salisbury |
| ii. 1342; Southampton ii. 873; Tenby i. 403; Tewkesbury i. 125. |
| See "Masters (Capital) and Justices." |
| (Assistant), Dunwich iv. 2220. |
| <i>"</i> |
| Keeper of Bridewell, Bristol ii. 1164; Ipswich iv. 2295; Liverpool iv. |
| 2716; Reading i. 111. |
| of Bridge, see "Bridge." |
| of Buckets and Pipes, Berwick-on-Tweed ii. 1437. See |
| "Keepers (Bucket)." |
| of Buoys, Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1667. |
| ——— (Butchery), Lincoln iv. 2345. |
| of (Church and Cross) Clocks, Scarborough iii. 1714. |
| of (Town) Clocks, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639; Richmond |
| (Yorkshire) iii. 1699. See "Manager." |
| of Common Chests, Sandwich ii. 1043. |
| (Engine), Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699. |
| ——— of Engine Pipes, Alnwick iii. 1414. |
| of (Fire) Engines, Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437, see "Manager." |
| of Exchange, Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437; Bristol ii. 1164; |
| Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639. |
| Game), see "Gamekeeper." |
| of Gaol, see "Gaoler." |
| of the Green Yard, London. [p. 31n.] |
| ——— (Hall), see "Hall." |
| of House of Correction, Harwich iv. 2261; Ipswich iv. |
| 2295; King's Lynn iv. 2393; Norwich iv. 2460; Scarborough iii. |
| 1714; Stamford iv. 2527. |
| of Keys of the Booths, Southampton ii. 874. |
| of Keys of the Coffer, Plymouth i. 579. |
| ——— of Keys of the Gate, Southampton ii. 874. [p. 33.] |
| of Keys of the Great-Chest, Southampton ii. 874. |
| (Layer), Loughor i. 317; Neath i. 333; Swansea i. 385. |
| of Lighthouses, Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1667. |
| ——— of the Lock-up House, Hull iii. 1548. |
| (Market-), Beverley iii. 1455; Exeter i. 487; Hull iii. |
| 1548; Preston iii. 1686. |
| of the Panse and Pumps, Alnwick iii. 1414. |

```
Keeper of (Corporation) Pews, Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699.
                                                              See
    "Pew Opener."
of Pinfold, Alnwick iii. 1414. [p. 30.]
--- (Pound), see "Pound."
- of (Town) Prison, East Love i. 533.
of Watt's Charity, Rochester ii. 845.
- of Weigh-House, Alnwick iii. 1414; Newcastle-on-Tyne iii.
    1639.
Keepers (Bucket), Bedford iv. 2105. [p. 33.]
Keepers of the Cross, Cardiff i. 187.
____ (Key), Fordwich ii. 987; Hastings ii. 998; Hythe ii. 1007;
    Poole ii. 1321.
King's Bailiff, see "Bailiff."
King's Hackneyman, see "Hackneyman."
Land Agent, Boston iv. 2151.
Land Bailiff, see "Bailiff."
Land Steward, see "Steward."
Land Treasurer, see "Treasurer."
Laver Keeper, see "Keeper."
Leather Sealers, see "Sealers."
Leather Searchers, see "Searchers."
Leather Sellers, Ipswich iv. 2295.
Leave Lookers, see "Lookers."
Lecturer, Ipswich iv. 2295.
Leet, Norwich iv. 2460.
Letters of Stalls and Fairs, Clitheroe iii. 1484.
Le Yeoman, see "Yeoman."
Librarian, Bristol ii. 1164; London.
Lookers (Flesh and Fish), Lancaster iii. 1600; Morpeth iii. 1627;
     Stockton iii. 1729.
  --- (Hedge), Lancaster iii. 1600. [p. 31.]
Lookers of Hedges and Ditches, Clitheroe iii. 1484. [p. 31.]
(Leave), Chester iv. 2619; Denbigh iv. 2662; Liverpool iv.
     2695; Ruthin iv. 2848. [p. 33.]
 - (Market), Clitheroe iii. 1484; Liverpool iv. 2698; Preston
     iii. 1686.
Lord Mayor, see "Mayor."
Lord High Steward, see "Steward."
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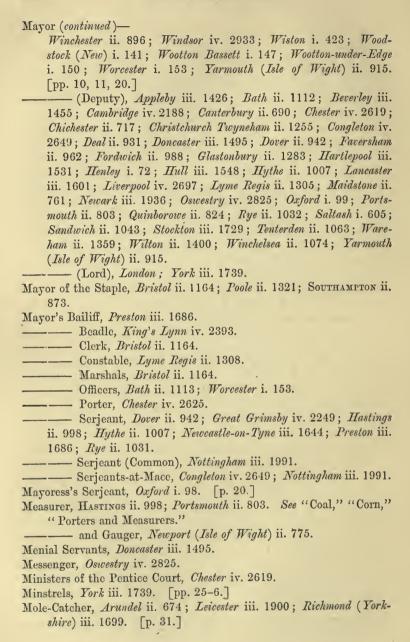
Mace-Bearer, Appleby iii. 1426; Beverley iii. 1455; Buckingham i. 27; Canterbury ii. 688; Carlisle iii. 1470; Chester iv. 2619; Chester-

Mace-Bearer (continued) field iii. 1790; Coventry iii. 1799; Lancaster iii. 1600; Leicester iii. 1895; Lincoln iv. 2345; London; Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639; Northampton iii. 1968; Nottingham iii. 1991; Over iv. 2816; Oxford i. 104; Pontefract iii. 1675; Preston iii. 1686; Scarborough iii. 1714; Wickwar i. 138; Wootton-under-Edge i. 150; Yeovil ii. 1406; York iii. 1739. [pp. 16, 19.] ---- (Great), Hull iii. 1548. (White), Hull, iii. 1550. [p. 16.] Mace-Bearers, Kingston iv. 2897; Norwich iv. 2460; Thetford iv. 1541. [p. 16.] Manager of (Town) Clock, Alnwick iii. 1414. See "Keeper." of (Fire) Engines, Alnwick iii. 1414. See "Keeper." Market, see "Constable," "Inspector," "Keeper," "Lookers," "Overseers," "Sayer," "Searchers," "Serjeant," "Superintendent." Market Policeman, Doncaster iii. 1495. Marshal, Coventry iii. 1804; Leicester iii. 1899; London; Shrewsbury iii. 2015. of Admiralty Court, Boston iv. 2151; Southwold iv. 2516. ----- (City-), Oxford i. 98. (Town), Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639. Marshal and Crier, Oswestry iv. 2825. Marshalmen, Norwich iv. 2460. Marshals (Mayor's), see "Mayor's." Master, Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1666; York (Merchant Taylors of) iii. 1765. (Deputy), Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1666. Master of the Grammar School, Norwich iv. 2460. ——— (sub-) of the Grammar School, Norwich iv. 2460. Masters, Bradninch i. 457; Wells ii. 1366. (Capital) and Justices, Ludlow iv. 2787. Masters and Counsellors, Dartmouth i. 477; Totnes i. 641. Matron, Norwich iv. 2460. Mayor, Aberystwith i. 171; Abingdon i. 3; Altringham iv. 2574;

Mayor, Aberystwith i. 171; Abingdon i. 3; Altringham iv. 2574; Appleby iii. 1426; Arundel ii. 670; Ashton-under-Lyne iii. 1431; Axbridge ii. 1094; Banbury i. 9; Barnstaple i. 429; Basingstoke ii. 1101; Bath ii. 1112; Beaumaris iv. 2583; Bedford iv. 2105; Berkeley i. 19; Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437; Beverley iii. 1455; Bideford i. 437; Bodmin i. 443; Bossiney i. 453; Boston iv. 2151; Brackley i. 23; Bradninch i. 457; Bridgwater i. 463; Bristol ii. 1164; Cambridge iv. 2185; Camelford i. 471; Canterbury ii. 688; Cardigan i. 197; Carlisle iii. 1469; Carmarthen i.

Mayor (continued)—

204; Castle Rising iv. 2211; Chester iv. 2619; Chesterfield iii. 1789; Chichester ii. 716; Christchurch Twyneham ii. 1255; Congleton iv. 2649; Coventry iii. 1797; Dartmouth i. 477; Deal ii. 931; Derby iii. 1849; Devizes ii. 1262; Dinas Myddy iv. 2673; Doncaster iii. 1495; Dorchester ii. 1274; Dover ii. 942; Durham iii. 1512; Evesham i. 53; Exeter i. 487; Falmouth i. 501; Faversham ii. 962; Fishquard i. 229; Flint iv. 2680; Folkestone ii. 982; Fordwich ii. 987; Fowey i. 505; Glastonbury ii. 1283; Gloucester i. 59; Grampound i. 507; Gravesend iv. 2865; Great Grimsby iv. 2249; Guildford iv. 2871; Harwich iv. 2261; Hartlepool iii. 1531; Hastings ii. 998; Haverfordwest i. 234; Hedon iii. 1537: Helston i. 511: Henley i. 71: Hereford i. 254; Hertford iv. 2885; Higham Ferrers iv. 2282; High Wycombe i. 41; Hull iii. 1548; Huntingdon iv. 2287; Hythe ii. 1007; Kidwelly i. 273; King's Lynn iv. 2393; Kirkby-in-Kendal iii. 1590; Lancaster iii. 1600; Launceston i. 517; Leeds iii. 1619; Leicester iii. 1895; Lincoln iv. 2345; Liskeard i. 525; Liverpool iv. 2697; Looe (East) i. 533; Looe (West) i. 539; Lostwithiel i. 545; Lyme Regis ii. 1305; Lymington ii. 743; Maidenhead iv. 2909; Maidstone ii. 755; Maldon iv. 2434; Marazion i. 551; Marlborough i. 83; Monmouth i. 322; Newark iii. 1936; Newbury i. 89; Newcastle-under-Lyme iii. 1952; Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1638; Newport (Monmouth) i. 341; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; NEWPORT (PEMBROKESHIRE) i. 353; Newtown ii. 793; Northampton iii. 1966; Norwich iv. 2459; Nottingham iii. 1991; Okehampton i. 557; Orford iv. 2509; Oswestry iv. 2825; Over iv. 2816; Overton iv. 2819; Oxford i. 98; Pembroke i. 365; Penryn i. 563; Penzance i. 571; Petersfield ii. 798; Plymouth i. 579; Plympton Earle i. 599; Pontefract iii. 1675; Poole ii. 1321; Portsmouth ii. 803; Preston iii. 1686; Quinborowe ii. 824; Reading i. 111; Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699; Ripon iii. 1708; Rochester ii. 845; Romsey ii. 1331; Rye ii. 1031; St. Albans iv. 2919; St. Davids i. 379; St. Ives i. 619; Salisbury ii. 1340; Saltash i. 605; Sandwich ii. 1043; Shaftesbury ii. 1352; Shrewsbury iii. 2013; Southampton ii. 873; South Molton i. 613; Stafford iii. 2026; Stamford iv. 2527; Stockton iii. 1729; Stratford i. 119; Tenby i. 403; Tenterden ii. 1063; Thetford iv. 2541; Thornbury i. 130; Tiverton i. 625; Torrington i. 633: Totnes i. 641; Tregony i. 649; Truro i. 655; Wallingford i. 133; Walsall iii. 2046; Wareham ii. 1359; Warwick iii. 2058; Wells ii. 1366; Westbury ii. 1377; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis ii. 1385; Wickwar i. 138; Wilton ii. 1399; Winchelsea ii. 1073;



Moor Grieves [gerefa], Alnwick iii. 1414. [p. 32.] Moor Wardens, Axbridge ii. 1094. [p. 32.] Moormen and Mossmen, Lancaster iii. 1600. [p. 32.] Muragers, Chester iv. 2619. Murenger, Oswestry iv. 2827.

Neat Herd, Doncaster iii. 1495. [p. 32.] Nolt Herds, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639. [p. 32.] Nurse, Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1666.

Pasture Master, Beverley iii. 1455; York iii. 1739. [p. 32.] Patrole (Morning and Evening), Norwich iv. 2460.

Peck Sealers, see "Sealers."

Peers, Carmarthen i. 204; Kingston-on-Thames iv. 2895. See "Bailiff's Peers."

Pew Opener, *Doncaster* iii. 1495. See "Keeper of (Corporation) Pews." Pier Wardens, *Hastings* ii. 998.

Pilot Master, Bristol ii. 1164; Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1666.

Pindar, Nottingham iii. 1991. [p. 30.]

Pindar Keeper of the Meadows, Nottingham iii. 1993.

Pinder, Doncaster iii. 1495; Hedon iii. 1537; Hull iii. 1554; Orford iv. 2510; Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699; Scarborough iii. 1714. [p. 30.]

Pinders, Cambridge iv. 2185; Pontefract iii. 1675. See "Inspectors of Pinders."

Plate-Butler, London.

Porter, York iii. 1739. See "Mayor's Porter."

Porters, Dover ii. 942; Gloucester i. 60; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis ii. 1387.

| (Company of) Southampton ii. 873. |
|---|
| (Crane), Ipswich iv. 2295. |
| at Gate, Hereford i. 254, see "Gateman. |

and Measurers, Dartmouth i. 477.

Portmen, Ipswich iv. 2295; Orford iv. 2509.

Portreeve [Portgerefa], Aberavon i. 165; Beccles iv. 2133; Chard ii. 1238; Chichester ii. 716; Kenfig i. 269; Kilgerran i. 279; Lampeter i. 283; Langport Eastover ii. 1295; Laugharne i. 287; Llanelly i. 307; Llantrissent i. 313; Loughor i. 317; Neath i. 333; Swansea i. 385; Usk i. 415; Yeovil ii. 1406. [p. 21.]

Portreeves, Arundel ii. 668; St. Clears i. 377. [p. 22.]

Pound Driver, Pevensey ii. 1017; Winchelsea ii. 1073. [p. 30.]

Pound Keeper, Aberavon i. 165; Canterbury ii. 688; Hythe ii. 1007; Llanelly i. 307; Newport (Pembroke) i. 353. [p. 30.] See "Beadle and Pound Keeper."

Pound Keepers, Kidwelly i. 274.

Presenter of Butchers, Faversham ii. 962.

Presenters, Faversham ii. 962.

Promoters, Grantham iv. 2241.

Provider, Rochester ii. 845.

Quay Master, Dartmouth i. 477; Looe (East) i. 533; Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639.

Quay and Harbour Master, Poole ii. 1321.

Quay Master and Treasurer, Poole ii. 1321.

and Warden, Bristol ii. 1164.

Quay Wardens, Tenby i. 403.

Quickener of the City's Tenants, London.

Receiver, Beaumaris iv. 2584; Bridgwater i. 463; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2172; Dartmouth i. 477; Exeter i. 487; Newcastle-under-Lyme iii. 1953; Plymouth i. 579; Radnor (New) i. 357; Saltash i. 606; Torrington i. 633; Warwick iii. 2059. See "Foreign Receiver."

——— of Returns, Bideford i. 437; Deal ii. 931; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Stamford iv. 2527.

——— of Town-Dues, Liverpool iv. 2698; Newcastle-on-Tyne, iii. 1639.

Recorder, Aberavon i. 165; Abingdon i. 3; Aldeburgh iv. 2085; Appleby iii. 1526; Axbridge ii. 1094; Banbury i. 9; Barnstaple i. 430; Basingstoke ii. 1001; Bath ii. 1112; Beaumaris iv. 2583; Bedford iv. 2105; Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437; Beverley iii. 1455; Bewdley iii. 1772; Bideford i. 437; Bishop's Castle iv. 2596;

Recorder (continued)—

Blandford Forum ii. 1134; Bossiney i. 453; Boston iv. 2151; Brackley i. 23; Bradninch i. 457; Brecon i. 177; Bridgnorth iii. 1780; Bridgwater i. 463; Bridport ii. 1141; Bristol ii. 1164; Buckingham i. 27; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2172; Caerwys iv. 2609; Cambridge iv. 2185; Camelford i. 471; Canterbury ii. 688: Carlisle iii. 1469: Carmarthen i. 204: Castle Rising iv. 2211; Chester iv. 2619; Chichester ii. 716; Clitheroe iii. 1483; Clun iv. 2642; Coventry iii. 1799; Dartmouth i. 477; Daventry iii. 1843; Deal ii. 931; Denbigh iv. 2663; Derby iii. 1850; Devizes ii. 1262; Dinas Myddy iv. 2673; Doncaster iii. 1495; Dorchester iii. 1275; Dover ii. 942; Droitwich i. 47; Dunmow (Great) iv. 2215; Dunwich iv. 2220; Durham iii. 1512; Evesham i. 53; Exeter i. 487; Eye iv. 2229; Falmouth i. 501; Faversham ii. 962; Flint iv. 2680; Folkestone ii. 982; Fordwich ii. 987; Fower i. 505; Garstang iii, 1520; Glastonbury ii. 1284; Gloucester i. 59; Godmanchester iv. 2235; Grampound i. 507; Grantham iv. 2241; Gravesend iv. 2865; Great Grimsby iv. 2249; Guildford iv. 2871; Hartlepool iii. 1531; Harwich iv. 2261; Helston i. 511; Henley i. 71; Hertford iv. 2885; Higham Ferrers iv. 2282; High Wycombe i. 41; Hull iii. 1548; Huntingdon iv. 2287; Hythe ii. 1108; Ipswich iv. 2295; Kenfig i. 269; Kidderminster iii. 1878; Kidwelly i. 273; King's Lynn iv. 2393; Kingston iv. 2895; Kirkby-in-Kendal iii, 1590; Lancaster iii, 1600; Langport Eastover ii. 1296; Laugharne i. 287; Launceston i. 518; Leeds iii. 1619; Leicester iii. 1895; Leominster i. 293; Lichfield iii. 1927; Lincoln iv. 2345; Liskeard i. 525; Liverpool iv. 2697; Llandovery i. 302; London; Looe (East) i. 533; Lostwithiel i. 545; Loughor i. 317; Ludlow iv. 2787; Lyme Regis ii. 1307; Lymington ii. 743; Maidenhead iv. 2910; Maidstone ii. 755; Maldon iv. 2434; Monmouth i. 322; Neath i. 333; Newark iii. 1936; Newcastle under-Lyme iii. 1953; Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1638; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Newport (Monmouth) i. 341; Northampton iii. 1968; Norwich iv. 2459; Nottingham iii. 1991; Okehampton i. 557; Orford iv. 2509; Oswestry iv. 2825; Oxford i. 98; Penryn i. 563; Penzance i. 571; Plymouth i. 579; Plympton Earle i. 599; Pontefract iii. 1675; Poole ii. 1321; Portsmouth ii. 803: Preston iii. 1686; Radnor (New) i. 357; Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699; Ripon iii. 1708; Rochester ii. 845; Romsey ii. 1332: Ruthin iv. 2848; St. Albans iv. 2919; St. Clears i. 377; St. Ives i. 619; Salisbury ii. 1340; Saltash i. 605; Sandwich ii. 1043; Scarborough iii. 1714; Seaford ii. 1059; Shaftesbury ii. 1353;

Recorder (continued)—

Shrewsbury iii. 2014; Southampton ii. 873; South Molton i. 614; Stafford iii. 2026; Stamford iv. 2527; Stockton iii. 1729; Stratford-on-Avon i. 119; Swansea i. 385; Tamworth iii. 2039; Tewkesbury i. 125; Thetford iv. 2541; Tiverton i. 625; Torrington i. 633; Totnes i. 641; Tregony i. 649; Truro i. 655; Usk i. 415; Wallingford i. 133; Walsall iii. 2046; Wareham ii. 1360; Warwick iii. 2059; Wells ii. 1369; Wenlock iii. 2077; Westbury ii. 1377; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis ii. 1386; Wilton ii. 1400; Winchester ii. 896; Windsor iv. 2933; Wokingham iv. 2938; Woodstock (New) i. 141; Worcester i. 153; York iii. 1739. [p. 21.]

———— (Deputy) Banbury i. 9; Barnstaple i. 430; Basingstoke ii. 1401; Bath ii. 1112; Bedford iv. 2105; Bewdley iii. 1772; Bideford i. 438; Boston iv. 2151; Brackley i. 23; Bridgnorth iii. 1780; Bridgnort ii. 1141; Cambridge iv. 2185; Carmarthen i. 205; Chichester ii. 716; Daventry iii. 1843; Deal ii. 932; Devizes ii. 1262; Durham iii. 1512; Godmanchester iv. 2235; Grantham iv. 2241; Great Grimsby iv. 2251; Hartlepool iii. 1531; Higham Ferrers iv. 2282; Kidwelly i. 273; Kirkby-in-Kendal iii. 1591; Leeds iii. 1619; Lincoln iv. 2345; Looe (East) i. 534; Maidstone ii. 755; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Northampton iii. 1968; Nottingham iii. 1991; Oxford i. 98; Plympton Earle i. 600; Salisbury ii. 1340; Saltash i. 606; Scarborough iii. 1714; Shrewsbury iii. 2014; Stamford iv. 2527; Stafford iii. 2026; Thetford iv. 2541; Warwick iii. 2059.

Reeve [gerefa] of the Borough, Bradninch i. 457. [p. 23.] Registrar of the Court of Conscience, Bristol ii. 1164; Norwich iv. 2460.

Remembrancer, London.

Renter (Town) Ludlow iv. 2790.

Renters, Wells ii. 1369.

Sample-Man, Hull iii. 1548. [p. 34.]

Sand Walkers, Southampton ii. 874. [p. 34.]

Sayer (Market), Grantham iv. 2241.

Seavager, Rochester ii. 1845.

Scavenger, Camelford i. 471; Liskeard i. 525; Rye ii. 1031; Shaftes-bury ii. 1353; Southampton ii. 173.

and Cleaner of Wells, Clitheroe iii. 1484.

Scavengers, Aberystwith i. 171; Torrington i. 633.

Schoolwardens, Kingston-on-Thames iv. 2897.

| Sealers (Leather), Axbridge ii. 1094; Godalming ii. 737; Newport |
|---|
| (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Westbury ii. 1378; Wokingham iv. 2938. |
| See "Searcher and Sealer." |
| ———— (Peek), Lancaster iii. 1600. |
| ——— of Weights and Measures, Barnstaple i. 430. |
| Seamen, Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1666. |
| Searcher (Flesh), Folkestone ii. 982. |
| Searcher and Sealer, Lincoln iv. 2345. |
| and Sealer of Leather, Neath i. 333; Scarborough iii. 1714. |
| Searcher for Woollen-Cloth, Kirkby-in-Kendal iii. 1590. |
| Searcher to inspect Wares, York (Merchant Tailors of) iii. 1765. |
| Searchers (Butter), Stockton iii. 1729. |
| of Corn Market, Pontefract iii. 1675. |
| for Fish and Flesh, Bedford iv. 2105; Devizes ii. 1264. |
| of Leather, Devizes ii. 1264; Dunmow (Great) iv. 2216; |
| Grantham iv. 2241; Stockton iii. 1729. |
| of Market, Barnstaple i. 430; Eye iv. 2229; Hedon iii. 1537; |
| Portsmouth ii. 803. |
| for (Unwholesome) Meat, Rochester ii. 845. |
| and Sealers of Leather, Arundel ii. 668; FAVERSHAM ii. 962; |
| HAVERING iv. 2879; ROCHESTER ii. 845; St. ALBANS iv. 2919. |
| of Weights and Measures, Stockton iii. 1729; York (Merchant |
| Adventurers of) iii. 1761. |
| (Wood and Chimney), Bedford iv. 2105. |
| Secretary, Hull (Trinity House) iii. 1581; Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity |
| House) iii. 1666; York (Merchant Adventurers of) iii. 1761. |
| Seizers, Newcastle-on-Tyne (Fraternity of Hostmen) iii. 1661. Seizing Officer of Wrecks, Fines and Forfeitures, Romney Marsh |
| iii. 1027. |
| A |
| Serjeant, Lydd ii. 1013; Morpeth iii. 1627; Over iv. 2816. See "Bailiff's," "Mayor's," "Mayoress's." |
| (Common), Great Grimsby iv. 2249; Hastings ii. 998; |
| London; Rye ii. 1031. See "Mayor's." |
| (Town), Clitheroe iii. 1483; Dover ii. 942; Garstang iii. 1520; |
| Hythe ii. 1007; Newtown (Isle of Wight) ii. 793; Pevensey ii. 1017; |
| Preston iii. 1686; Winchelsea ii. 1073; Yarmouth (Isle of Wight) |
| ii. 916. |
| Serjeant of the Chamber, Canterbury ii. 688. |
| — of the Court, Ashton-under-Lyne iii. 1431. |
| of the Market, Canterbury ii. 697. |
| ef the Water, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639. |
| Serjeant-at-Arms, London. |
| |

Serjeant-at-Brazen-Mace, Sandwich ii. 1043.

Serjeant-at-Mace, Berkeley i. 19; Blandford Forum ii. 1134; Bossiney i. 453; Brackley i. 23; Camelford i. 471; Castle Rising iv. 2211; Chesterfield iii. 1790; Congleton iv. 2649; Deal ii. 931; Dunwich iv. 2220; Flint iv. 2680; Folkestone ii. 982; Fordwich ii. 987; Hartlepool iii. 1531; Hedon iii. 1537; Higham Ferrers iv. 2282; High Wycombe i. 41; Kenfig i. 269; Langport Eastover ii. 1296; Leeds iii. 1619; Liverpool iv. 2698; Llantrissent i. 313; London; Lymington ii. 743; Maidenhead iv. 2910; Ruyton iv. 2858; Seaford ii. 1059; Stockton iii. 1729; Thornbury i. 130; Wareham ii. 1360; Warwick iii. 2059; Wenlock iii. 2077; Winchelsea ii. 1073; Windsor iv. 2933; Woodstock (New) i. 141; Yarmouth (Isle of Wight) ii. 915. [p. 19.] See "Mayor's."

Serjeant-at-Mace on the Waters of the Medway, Rochester ii. 845. Serjeants, Ruthin iv. 2848; Westbury ii. 1378; Wilton ii. 1400.

of the Key [or Bailiffs], Lincoln iv. 2345.

Serjeants-at-Mace, Aberavon i. 165; Aberystwith i. 171; Abingdon i. 3; Aldeburgh iv. 2085; Andover ii. 1083; Appleby iii, 1426; Arundel ii. 670; Axbridge ii. 1095; Banbury i. 9; Barnstaple i. 430; Basingstoke ii. 1101; Bath ii. 1113; Beaumaris iv. 2583; Beccles iv. 2133; Bedford iv. 2105; Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437; Beverley iii. 1455; Bewdley iii. 1772; Bideford i, 437; Bishop's Castle iv. 2596; Bodmin i. 443; Boston iv. 2151; Bradninch i. 457; Brecon i. 177; Bridgnorth iii. 1780; Bridgwater i. 463; Bridport ii. 1141; Bristol ii. 1164; Bury St. Edmunds iv. 2172; Cambridge iv. 2185; Canterbury ii. 688; Cardiff i. 187; Carlisle iii. 1469; Carmarthen i. 204; Chester iv. 2619; Chichester ii. 716; Chipping Norton i. 33; Clun iv. 2642; Cowbridge i. 221; Dartmouth i. 477; Daventry iii. 1843; Denbigh iv. 2662; Derby iii. 1850; Devizes ii. 1264; Doncaster iii. 1495; Dorchester ii. 1275: Droitwich i. 47; Durham iii. 1512: Evesham i. 53; Exeter i. 487; Eye iv. 2229; Falmouth i. 501; Faversham ii. 962; Glastonbury ii. 1284; Gloucester i. 59; Grantham iv. 2241; Gravesend iv. 2866; Guildford iv. 2871; Harwich iv. 2261; Haverfordwest i. 234; Helston i. 511; Henley i. 72; Hereford i. 254; Hertford iv. 2886; Huntingdon iv. 2287; Ipswich iv. 2295; Kidwelly i. 273; King's Lynn iv. 2393; Kingston iv. 2897; Kirkbyin-Kendal iii. 1590; Lancaster iii. 1609; Launceston i. 518; Leicester iii. 1895; Leominster i. 293; Lichfield iii. 1927; Liskeard i. 525; Llandovery i. 301; Looe (East) i. 533; Looe (West) i. 539; Lostwithiel i. 545; Loughor i. 317; Ludlow iv. 2787; Lyme Regis ii. 1307; Maidstone ii. 755; Maldon iv. 2434; Malmesbury i.

Serjeants-at-Mace (continued)—

77; Marazion i. 551; Marlborough i. 83; Monmouth i. 322; Neath i. 333; Newark iii. 1936; Newbury i. 89; Newcastle-under-Lyme iii. 1953: Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639; Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775; Northampton iii. 1968; Norwich iv. 2460; Nottingham iii. 1991; Okehampton i. 557; Orford iv. 2509; Oswestry iv. 2825; Oxford i. 98; Pembroke i. 365; Penryn i. 563; Penzance i. 571; Plymouth i. 582; Plympton Earle i. 599; Pontefract iii. 1675; Poole ii. 1321; Portsmouth ii. 803; Quinborowe ii. 824; Radnor (New) i. 357; Reading i. 111; Retford (East) iii. 1862; Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699; Ripon iii. 1708; Rochester ii. 845; Romsey ii. 1332; St. Albans iv. 2919; St. Ives i. 619; Salisbury ii. 1342; Saltash i. 605; Sandwich ii. 1043; Scarborough iii. 1714; Shaftesbury ii. 1353; Shrewsbury iii. 2014; Southampton ii. 873; South Molton i. 614; Southwold iv. 2516; Stafford iii. 2026; Stamford iv. 2527; Stratford-upon-Avon i. 119; Sutton Coldfield iii. 2033: Swansea i. 385: Tamworth iii. 2039: Tenby i. 403: Tenterden ii. 1063; Tewkesbury i. 125; Thetford iv. 2541; Tiverton i. 625; Torrington i. 633; Totnes i. 641; Tregony i. 649; Truro i. 655; Wallingford i. 133; Walsall iii. 2046; Wells ii. 1369; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis ii. 1386; Winchester ii. 896; Wokingham iv. 2938; Wootton Bassett i. 147; Worcester i. 153.

Serjeant's Yeoman, Shrewsbury iii. 2014. See "Yeoman."

Servant (Town) Alnwick iii. 1414.

Sexton, Doncaster iii. 1495; Hedon iii. 1539; Scarborough iii. 1714. Shamble Wardens, Axbridge ii. 1094; Wells ii. 1369.

Sheriff, Canterbury ii. 688; Eveshan i. 53; Exeter i. 487; Haverfordwest i. 234; Hull iii. 1548; Lichfield iii. 1927; Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1638; Poole ii. 1321; Southampton ii. 873; Worcester i. 153.

——— (Under) Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639; Nottingham iii. 1991; Norwich iv. 2460.

Sheriffs, Bristol ii. 1164; Carmarthen i. 204; Chester iv. 2619; Coventry iii. 1799; Gloucester i. 59; Lincoln iv. 2345; London; Nottingham iii. 1991; Norwich iv. 2459; York iii. 1739.

---- (Under) London.

Sheriff's Bailiff, Canterbury ii. 688.

Sheriffs' Beadles, Bristol ii. 1164.

Sheriff's Officers, Lincoln iv. 2345.

Sheriff's Serjeants-at-Mace, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1644; Nottingham iii. 1991.

Sheriff's Yeomen, Bristol ii. 1164; London.

Sidesmen, Beaumaris iv. 2583.

Six Men, Wenlock iii. 2076.

Solicitor (City) London; Oxford i. 98.

Speaker of the Common Council, Norwich iv. 2459.

Staff-Bearers, Exeter i. 487. [p. 16.]

Stallingers, Sunderland iii. 1734.

Stall-Setter, Doncaster iii. 1495.

Standard-Bearers, Norwich iv. 2460. [p. 16.]

Standing Magistrates, Leominster i. 293.

Steward, Altringham iv. 2574; Andover ii. 1083; Bewdley iii. 1772; Brading ii. 679; Buckingham i. 27; Burton-on-Trent iii. 1785; Cardiff i. 187; Coventry iii. 1799; Devizes ii. 1264; Doncaster iii. 1495; Kidwelly i. 273; Lampeter i. 283; Leicester iii. 1895; Lichfield iii. 1927; Lincoln iv. 2345; Llantrissent i. 313; Looe (West) i. 539; Loughor i. 317; Ludlow iv. 2787; Maidenhead iv. 2910; Norwich iv. 2459; Oswestry iv. 2825; Quinborowe ii. 824; Reading i. 111; Ruthin iv. 2848; Shrewsbury iii. 2014; Swansea i. 385; Truro i. 655; Westbury ii. 1378. See "Clerk (Common) and Steward."

(Deputy), Andover ii. 1082; Beccles iv. 2133; Brading ii. 679; Buckingham i. 28; Clun iv. 2642; Havering iv. 2878; Hereford i. 254; Malmesbury i. 77; Newbury i. 89; Newport (Shropshire) iii. 1962; Ruthin iv. 2848; Stafford iii. 2026; Sutton Coldfield iii. 2033.

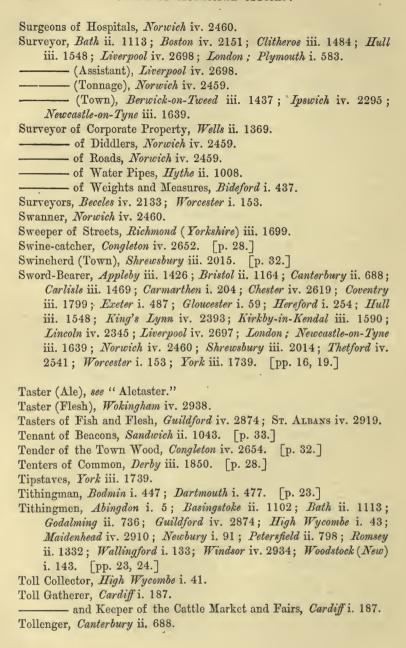
(Capital), South Molton i. 613.

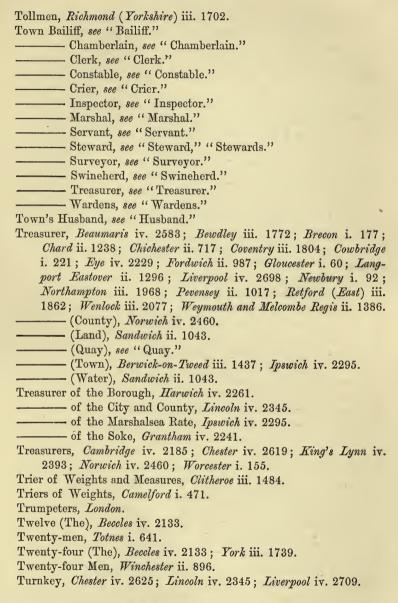
(Chief), Hereford i. 254; Kidwelly i. 273; Leominster i. 293; Ruthin iv. 2848.

——— (City), York iii. 1739.

——— (High), Abingdon i. 3; Andover ii. 1083; Banbury i. 9; Barnstaple i. 430; Basingstoke ii. 1101; Bridport ii. 1141; Bristol ii. 1164; Cambridge iv. 2185; Chichester ii. 716; Congleton iv. 2649; Derby iii. 1850; Dorchester ii. 1275; Godmanchester iv. 2235; Gravesend iv. 2865; Great Grimsby iv. 2249; Guildford iv. 2871; Harwich iv. 2261; Havering iv. 2878; Henley i. 72; Hertford iv. 2885; Hull iii. 1548; Huntingdon iv. 2287; Ipswich iv. 2295; Kidderminster iii. 1878; Kingston iv. 2895; Louth iv. 2374; Maidenhead iv. 2910; Malmesbury i. 77; Newbury i. 89; Newport (Shropshire) iii. 1962; Oxford i. 98; Reading i. 111; Retford (East) iii. 1862; St. Albans iv. 2919; Salisbury ii. 1342; Southwold iv. 2516; Stafford iii. 2026; Stratford-upon-Avon i. 119; Sutton Coldfield iii. 2033; Tamworth iii. 2039; Tewkesbury i. 125; Wallingford i. 133; Wilton ii. 1400; Winchester ii. 986;

| Steward (High) (continued)— |
|---|
| Windsor iv. 2933; Wokingham iv. 2938; Woodstock (New) i. |
| 141. |
| ——— (High) of Southwark, London. |
| - (Lord High), Gloucester i. 59; King's Lynn iv. 2393; Rom- |
| sey ii. 1332. |
| ———— (House), <i>Hull</i> iii. 1548. |
| (Land), Bristol ii. 1164; Hull iii. 1554; Newcastle-on-Tyne |
| iii. 1639; Norwich iv. 2460; Preston iii. 1686. |
| (Town), Dorchester ii. 1275; Northampton iii. 1968. |
| ——— (Vice), Lincoln iv. 2345. |
| Steward of the Court, Kingston iv. 2897; Leicester iii. 1895; Retford |
| (East) iii. 1862. |
| of the Court of Record, Stratford-upon-Avon i. 119. |
| of the Fairs, Wilton ii. 1400. |
| of the Leet, Bath ii. 1115; Bedford iv. 2105; Rochester |
| ii. 853. |
| of the Lord of the Borough, Newport (Monmouth) i. 341. |
| - of the Manor, Berwick-on-Tweed iii. 1437; London. |
| ——— of the Tolsey Court, Bristol ii. 1164. |
| Stewards, Gateshead iii. 1526 [p. 9.]; Newcastle-on-Tyne (Fraternity |
| of Hostmen) iii. 1661. |
| ——— (Guild), Calne ii. 1232. [pp. 9, 16.] |
| (Town), Beaumaris iv. 2583. |
| Storekeeper, Norwich iv. 2460. |
| Street Driver, Hastings ii. 998. |
| Street Keeper and Crier, Doncaster iii. 1495. |
| Street Wardens, Axbridge ii. 1094; Wells ii. 1369. |
| Summoner, Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1666. |
| Superintendent of the Ferry Dock, Hull iii. 1554. |
| of Leat, Plymouth i. 583. |
| ——— of the Market, Bideford i. 438. |
| of the Market and Cleaning the Street, Carlisle iii. 1470. |
| of the Night-Watch, Wisbeach iv. 2553. |
| of Police, Denbigh iv. 2662; Liverpool iv. 2698. |
| Supervisors, Lancaster iii. 1600. |
| of the Bounds, Bath ii. 1113. |
| ——— of Estates, Ludlow iv. 2787. |
| of Fire, Blandford Forum ii. 1134; Westbury ii. 1378. |
| of Lands, Southampton ii. 874. |
| Surgeon of Gaol, Ipswich iv. 2295; Plymouth i. 582. |
| of Gaol and House of Correction, Norwich iv. 2460. |
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Usher of the Court of Aldermen, London.

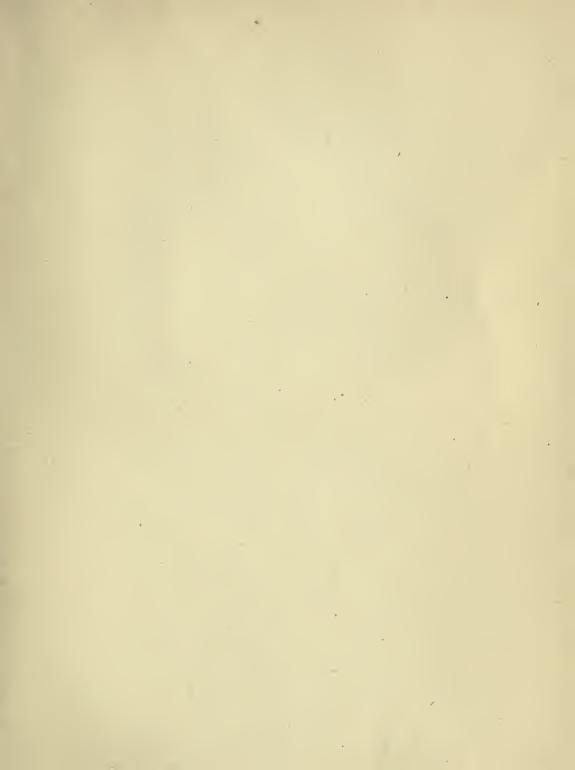
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Viewers of Streets and Highways, St. Albans iv. 2919.
of the Market at the Cross, St. Albans iv. 2919.
Wait Players, Bristol ii. 1164. [pp. 25, 26.]
Waits, Leeds iii. 1619; Lincoln iv. 2345; Nottingham iii. 1998. [pp.
    25, 26.7
Warden, Godalming ii. 736; Louth iv. 2374; Northampton iii. 1968;
    Sutton Coldfield iii. 2033. [pp. 9, 16.]
---- (Brook-), see "Brook-warden."
---- (Hall), see "Hall."
---- (Quay), see "Quay Master and Warden."
Warden's Clerk, Hull (Trinity House) iii. 1581.
Wardens, Coventry iii. 1799; Hull (Trinity House) iii. 1581; York
    (Merchant Adventurers) iii. 1761; York (Merchant Tailors) iii.
    1765. See "Bridge," "Conduit," "Moor," "Pier," "Quay,"
    "School," "Shamble," "Street."
(Elder), Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1666.
——— (Flesh), Ipswich iv. 2295.
- (Head), Daventry iii. 1843.
- (Under), Daventry iii. 1843.
(Younger), Newcastle-on-Tyne (Trinity House) iii. 1666.
(Town), Newport (Isle of Wight) ii. 775.
Wardens of the Almshouses, Devizes ii. 1264.
of the Fish Market, Sandwich ii. 1043.
of the Flesh Market, Sandwich ii. 1043.
of Orphans, Sandwich ii. 1043.
of Sendy's Gift, Southampton ii. 874.
Warder of the Castle, Newcastle-on-Tyne iii. 1639.
Wardman (Common), Sandwich ii. 1043. See "Beadle and Wardman."
Wardrobe-keeper, London.
Wards, see "Beadle of the."
Warrener and Game Keeper, Scarborough iii. 1714. [p. 31n.]
Watchmen, Liverpool iv. 2709; Plymouth i. 583.
Watchmen (Night), Wisbeach iv. 2553.
Water Bailiff, see "Bailiff."
Water Bailiff's Second Young Man, London.
Water Treasurer, see "Treasurer."
Watermen, Plymouth i. 583.
Weeder of Footpaths, Richmond (Yorkshire) iii. 1699.
Weigher of Hay, Norwich iv. 2459.
of Wool, Southampton ii. 873.
Wharfinger, Exeter i. 487; Portsmouth ii. 803.
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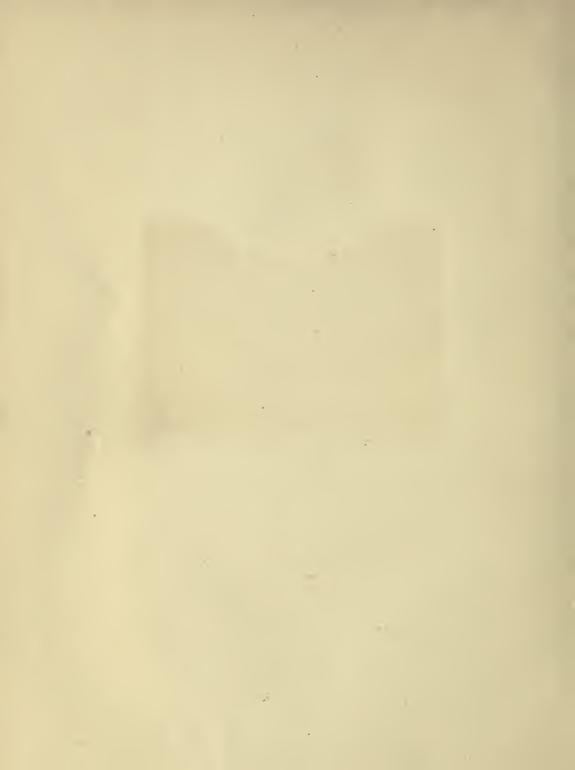
Whifflers, Norwich iv. 2460. [p. 19.]
White-Mace-Bearer, see "Mace-Bearer."
Wood and Chimney Searchers, see "Searchers."
Woodward, Havering iv. 2879; Nottingham iii. 1991. [p. 32.]

Yeoman (Le), Penzance i. 571. Yeoman of the Pentice Court, Chester iv. 2619. Yeoman (Serjeant-), Warwick iii. 2059. See "Serjeant's." Yeomen (Sheriff's), see "Sheriff's." Young-men of the Lord Mayor's Household, London. [p. 20.]

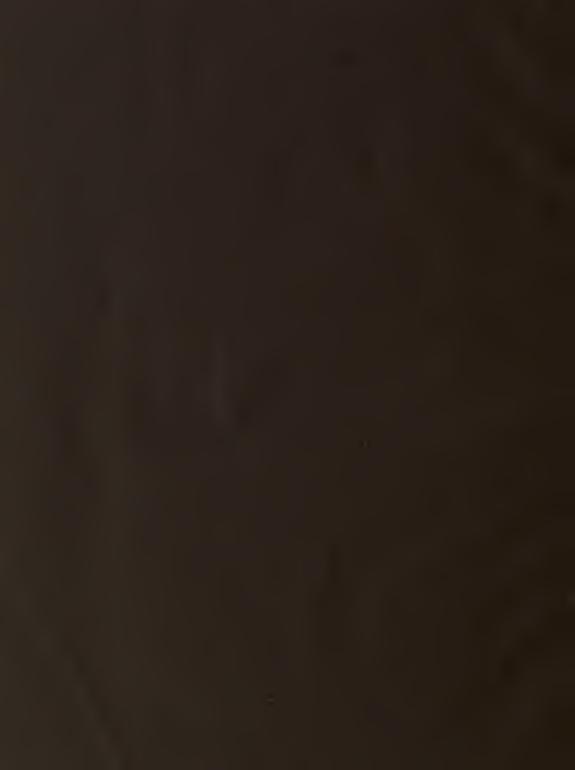












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