

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

Finance and the unreformed borough;
a critical appraisal of corporate
finance 1660 to 1835, with special
reference to the boroughs of
Nottingham, York and Boston.

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P R E F A C E

Although it is now receiving rather more attention than in the past, borough history, and more particularly borough finance, remains a little investigated subject, and Maitland's observation, made in 1898, is still not inappropriate, that "Dark as the history of our villages may be, the history of our boroughs is darker yet".(1)

The time span selected for this study is probably self explanatory. For the Municipal Borough it was a period of consolidation when, after the disruption of the civil war and the protectorate, English life, comparatively speaking, regained stability. In 1660 local government had yet to face the upheavals caused by the Stuart policy of withdrawing Charters and nominating personnel, followed by the restoration of the pre - 1660 Charters on the accession of William III, but despite the changes in conciliar membership, these years did not automatically constitute a major breach in continuity in the municipality. Dissension amongst old and new councillors was evident, so too was the rise of vying factions within local government, but the financial policies of local government continued little changed into the eighteenth century. 1835 presents a natural closing date, representing as it does, the last years of the unreformed corporation's existence, pursuant to the Royal Commission "to enquire concerning Municipal Corporations" in 1833, and the subsequent Act of 1835.

It was a period however which witnessed great changes in

(1) F.W.Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond (1960) 213

the economic, social and political life of the English town. From a country involved in 1660 almost solely in trade and agriculture, with their attendant processes, England was, by 1835, the first industrial Nation. Agriculture was still the largest single employer, and the balance had not yet been tipped from predominantly rural to urban life, but the changes attendant upon the "Industrial Revolution" had already begun to make themselves felt. By 1835 it was well evident that a new era had begun from which there could be no turning back. Population grew rapidly, and urban centres absorbed much of the increase. There was a fast growing awareness amongst the middle and lower classes of their social and political disadvantages, and the cry of "no taxation without representation" was applicable to local government and central government alike.

Such changes in the economic, social and political climate presented a challenge to all in authority, and exerted mounting pressure upon the Municipal Corporation, as the period 1660 to 1835 progressed. Ultimately public and government opinion swung the balance against the old borough system. Democrats and reformers criticised the mode of self perpetuating election and 'single party' politics; the nouveaux riches, the manufacturers, resented their exclusion from the system; even The Times was swayed by the inexorable tide of opinion, and declared in 1833, "The most active spring of election bribery and villainy everywhere is known

to be the corporate system. The members are, for the most part, self elected and wholly irresponsible but to themselves alone They have usurped and confiscated to their own benefit the funds of which they were lawfully but trustees...."(2)

The General Report issued by the Municipal Corporation Commissioners in 1835 upheld these general beliefs, and despite the Webbs' indication that "the Commissioners were possessed by an abstract belief in the inherent rightfulness of popularly elected bodies and by an overpowering desire to get these established", (3) these opinions remained influential. The work of the Webbs themselves supported many of the Commissioners' conclusions, albeit their work was, of necessity, based on sweeping generalisations.

The intention behind this research project was not to disprove such generalisations and long-held opinions, but rather to complement them by providing a detailed analysis based on the particular, rather than the general. Accordingly three boroughs were selected as the basis of the study. The choice was not unlimited. For accessibility to documents it was best that the three boroughs be not too far spaced since their records are generally still held within the municipalities in their record offices or their own borough offices. It was considered unwise to select boroughs long notorious for their corruption or philanthropy since this would tend to an unbalanced approach. Thus, three seemingly ordinary municipalities were required, but to highlight any contrasts it seemed wise to select towns of varied economic tradition and function.

(2) The Times, 25.6.1833

(3) S & B Webb, The Manor and the Borough (1963) 718

The research was centred upon civic finance. Financial dealings appeared to be the hub of business. Facilities and services provided by local government ultimately depended upon the availability of money. To ascertain the amount of money going into the civic funds, whence it came, where it was spent, and how it was managed, is therefore a pre-requisite to any deliberations upon civic provisions for the community. Most of the work of the borough corporation is of necessity reflected in its financial dealings, and from them we obtain the best indication of the values, ideals and involvements of the borough government. An analysis of civic finance presented itself therefore as the primary step in understanding the unreformed borough.

Such was the brief of this research. In carrying it out it became clear that to examine the experiences of three boroughs, over one hundred and seventy-five years, was a much larger task than was envisaged, and was somewhat unmanageable. To have restricted the period researched would, in retrospect, have been fairly acceptable. From 1660 to 1700 the nature of civic income and expenditure did not undergo drastic change. New items of expenditure arose as a result of the political experiences of this unsettled period, but general policies and trends exhibit few marked changes until the mid eighteenth century. This could only be ascertained, however, once the research was complete. To have restricted the number of boroughs examined would have made the research too particularised. Even with the evidence from three boroughs it is dangerous to draw

generalized conclusions or to identify trends, but tentative suggestions can be made. Had the scope been narrower there would have been too great a danger of peculiarities being taken as the norm.

The nature of the records presented many problems. In the first place the financial records of the three boroughs are not, in all cases, extant for the entire period from 1660 to 1835. Where they do remain intact they sometimes lack detail altogether, as at Nottingham, and frequently contain insufficient data to ascertain with total accuracy the individual items of income or expenditure. Thus in a work which by its subject matter could fairly be expected to contain statistical analyses and tabular information, this has not always been possible, for the records cannot always be made to answer these needs. At the same time if any analysis is to be made of the nature and extent of civic income and expenditure, especially in comparative form, from one borough to another, some manipulation of the accounts must be made. Inevitably this introduces subjectivity in categorization; it also highlights the insufficiency of data which a myriad vouchers cannot always remedy. Even the minute books at times lack detail on the most obvious or even the most important aspects of policy, often because they were second nature to those recording the civic business. Thus committee decisions are not always recorded, mysterious appearances in the financial records may receive no

explanation and the intentions behind many actions or the outcome of them can only be surmised. In the construction of tables therefore the lowest figures obtainable have always been used in order to present a minimum in preference to overestimates. The incompleteness of the records cannot be remedied, but despite this, as with all figures, "handled carefully they afford suggestive insights if none of the precision that modern statisticians demand". (4)

The aim within this work has been to present a reasonably comprehensive view of civic finance in these three boroughs whilst examining in detail those items of income and expenditure which appear to be of particular significance within civic finance and civic policy. Recognising the utility and necessity of fully detailed accounts, appendices have been produced of civic income and expenditure for each borough at suitable intervals.(5) The chapters themselves centre on those matters which appear from the records to be of special significance or complexity rather than solely on the items of largest monetary amount. Frequently these two coincide but not always, and thus for example civic salaries, whilst in total comprising one of the largest items of expense, have not been given individual treatment within a special chapter. Their existence and their increasing size can be easily tabulated, and require little further consideration as a block item, but only within the orbit of total civic expenditure and civic values.

(4) J.D.Marshall, The Old Poor Laws 1795-1834:
Studies in Economic History (1968) 32

(5) Appendices I and XI give more detailed consideration of this matter.

This dissertation has taken a long time to reach fruition. The cause has been largely the size of the undertaking, and the fact that with little already written from which precedent can be taken, the narrative aspect of the work has, of necessity, proved lengthy. Perhaps it only indicates that despite the passage of some two hundred and fifty years, Madox's statement is still applicable: "Whoso desireth to discourse in a proper manner concerning Corporated Towns and Communities must take in a great variety of matter and should be allowed a great deal of time and preparation"! (6)

I would like to place on record my appreciation of the help and encouragement given to me by many people; first and foremost by the late Ken MacMahon, who was the source of my initial interest and inspiration and my supervisor in the first three years of research. I acknowledge with gratitude the valuable advice and sustained encouragement given to me by Professor Kenyon when he took over the role of supervisor on Mr. MacMahon's death. My thanks also go to my parents for their help, especially to my mother for her painstaking deciphering and typing of the MSS, and to my husband for the sacrifices he has made on behalf of this work, and his encouragement and support over many years.

(6) T. Madox, Firma Burgi (1726) Preface

ABBREVIATIONS

- BAB Boston Assembly Book.
- BCAB Boston Chamberlain's Account Book.
- BMB K.A. MacMahon Ed., "Beverley Corporation Minute Books 1707-1835", Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series CXXII.
- CCR Reports of the Commissioners appointed in pursuance of various acts of Parliament to enquire concerning charities in England and Wales.
- LBR G. Chinnery Ed., Leicester Borough Records V, VI, (1967).
- MCR First Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Municipal Corporations of England and Wales (1835)
- NBR Nottingham Corporation pub., Records of the Borough of Nottingham, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX.
- NCAB Nottingham Chamberlain's Account Book.
- NCABE Nottingham Chamberlain's Account Book of Expenditure.
- NHB Nottingham Hall Book.
- NJ Nottingham Journal.
- NR Nottingham Review.
- VCH P.M. Tillot, The Victoria History of the County of York, the City of York (1961).
- YCAB York Chamberlain's Account Book.
- YHB York House Book.
- YRR York Receiver's Rolls.

CHAPTER I

THE THREE TOWNS

Situated on rivers navigable from early times it was natural that Boston, Nottingham and York should owe their principal development to commerce. All were important market towns from early times, and Boston in particular was renowned in medieval days for its great annual mart. It was to Saint Botolph's Fair that the monks of Bridlington regularly travelled between 1290 and 1325 to purchase their annual supplies. (1) Though it is not clear when the mart was first held, it was established well before the middle of the thirteenth century, for in 1235 the King directed Bacon to give safe conduct to all merchants going to or returning from the fair of Saint Botolph. (2) Providing the lowest bridging point on the river Witham, and in fact the only one between Lincoln and the Wash, Boston was the point of confluence of traffic between North East Lincolnshire and the South and West. The Witham was moreover fully navigable to Lincoln and connected there with the Fossdyke navigation joining the Witham to the Trent at Torksey Lock. Boston therefore had easy access to Nottingham, Gainsborough, and the Humber and provided a natural service centre for marketing both the cattle and other produce of the fens, and supplies from further afield.

Nottingham and York too were always important trading centres. Nottingham was situated at the head of a navigable stretch

(1) T Allen, A History of the County of Lincolnshire (1830) 221

(2) P. Thompson, The History and Antiquities of Boston (1836) 325

of the Trent to the Humber and became therefore an important depot for agricultural produce and manufactures from the surrounding area to be shipped to Hull and overseas, as also an entrepot for goods from abroad and coastwise traffic from Hull. Moreover, besides acting as the market town and a consumer centre for the local agricultural produce, Nottingham always supported a variety of crafts ranging from malting, tanning, brickmaking and alabaster carving, to glassmaking and bellfounding. York too had peculiar advantages in its geographical position. It was the converging point for routes from North to South, for it was the lowest bridging point across the Ouse until Selby Bridge was built in the nineteenth century. It conducted moreover a thriving commerce along the river. As Nottingham and Boston therefore its situation promoted its development as the principal market town for the surrounding agricultural area.

Boston and York were also ports of fluctuating significance. Situated so far inland, York inevitably began to decline in importance in this respect as ships increased in size. Although therefore William of Malmesbury (1095 to 1150) wrote of ships entering York from Germany and Ireland (3), it was Hull which ultimately benefited most from foreign trade. Boston however enjoyed, over two of the other three ports of the Wash, those benefits which Hull enjoyed over York. Situated some six miles from the Wash, access to Boston was always difficult, but it nevertheless lay nearer the sea than Spalding or Wisbech. It consequently became during the middle ages, not only one of the chief ports of the

(3) T. Widdington, analecta Eboracensia (1897) 10

Wash, but one of the most thriving ports in England. Of the whole customs duty paid to the Crown from 1280 to 1289 amounting to £88,241. 2s.7³/₄d, Boston paid £31,988.10s.11¹/₂d, or nearly 36% (4), and London was contributing less than half the amount which Boston paid.(5)

The three towns of Boston, Nottingham and York were all therefore thriving commercial centres from early in their histories. But their particular development during the period 1660 to 1835 was profoundly influenced by the changing circumstances of their hinterlands and the development of improved communications. Although however, Nottingham experienced extreme change in its economic character as a result of the developments associated with the "Industrial Revolution" and the concomitant changes of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, York and Boston experienced a furtherance of existing functions and trends.

* * * * *

Boston

One of the most striking developments in Boston and Nottingham was the rapid extension of their functions as trading centres. In Boston this was chiefly achieved by the draining and enclosing of the fenlands surrounding the town, as a result of which,

(4)P.Thompson, op.cit., 328

(5)T.Allen, op.cit., 216

the predominantly pastoral farming for meat and wool was converted to cereal farming, and Lincolnshire became one of the richest agricultural areas of England. "If Norfolk has long held the first rank among the English Counties for agricultural development, Lincolnshire, which a century ago was more waste and sterile, now disputes the palm".(6)

Throughout the fenland farming was dominated, until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by the problem of surface draining, a problem created both by the lack of gradient in the fenland areas themselves, and by the floodwaters which came down from the Wolds. Several large-scale attempts to drain the area had been made in the early seventeenth century. Between 1635 and 1638 the Earl of Lindsey, with Sir William Killigrew and other participants, contracted with the Lincolnshire Commissioners of the sewers, to carry out a main drainage scheme for the reclamation of 36,000 acres of land in Holland fen and Kesteven in return for large parcels of the reclaimed land. It was under this scheme that the Skirbeck Sluice (the original Black Sluice) was erected just below Boston, as an outfall for the new Holland fen drain.(7) In much the same way, the East, West and Wildmore fens underwent early drainage. (8) The area to be drained was estimated to be some 45,000 acres, and on July 16th 1635 the Commissioners of Sewers declared the area to be "so drained as that they were fit for arable,

(6) D. Grigg, The Agricultural Revolution in South Lincolnshire (1968) 137

(7) The Drainage of the Black Sluice Area 1638 to 1969 n.d., 8;
P. Thompson, op. cit., 632, 633, 634

(8) W. H. Wheeler, A History of the Fens of South Lincolnshire (1868) 74;
P. Thompson, op. cit., 627, 629

meadow or pasture". Having expended over £30,000 they left only 1,673 acres under water.(9)

By 1696 however, Christopher Merret, the Surveyor in the port of Boston, observed that the Lincolnshire Fenlands now supported "a great number of fat oxen and sheep, which are weekly sent to London in droves", but otherwise its chief produce was "great plenty and variety of fowl and fish which are usually taken in decoys and sent to London".(10) The primary cause of this severe decline in the efficiency of the drainage was opposition from the local inhabitants who were pulling Skirbeck Sluice apart.(11) In the East and West fens the work had, in any case, apparently been less satisfactory than the Commissioners of Sewers had believed, the Commoners of the fen, in 1642, declaring that despite the work and expenditure, the whole level was in danger of drowning.(12)

It was not therefore until the Parliamentary drainage and enclosure Acts of the eighteenth century that real progress was made. In 1765 an Act was secured for draining and improving the marsh and fen lying between Boston haven and Bourne.(13) The 'Black Sluice Commissioners' were established and taxes were levied over 65,000 acres for the improvement and extension of the existing drains, and the construction of a new sluice, The Black Sluice, on the site of Skirbeck Sluice below Boston. This attempt to drain the fen was

(9) Thompson, op.cit., 629

(10) C.Merret, 'An Account of several observables in Lincs'
Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London 19 (1696)

(11) R.Thompson, op.cit., 633

(12) Ibid., 627 - 632

(13) 5 Geo.III c.86 amended 10 Geo III c.41

at first thoroughly successful, but subsidence soon made further work necessary. Upon consulting the London engineer, Sir John Rennie, the Commissioners were advised of the absolute necessity of securing an improvement in the Witham outfall below the Black Sluice. An attempt was consequently made to secure the co-operation of the Witham Commissioners and Boston Corporation in such a scheme, but these trusts refused to help, and Rennie was directed to confine his attention solely to the internal drainage of the Black Sluice level.(14) It was not, in fact, until 1846 that an Act for the improvement of the entire level was secured, and meanwhile the drainage became so bad that the annual loss throughout the level by floods was estimated at £20,000.(15) Nevertheless the land had been reclaimed and cultivated and continued improvements of Boston haven considerably improved the Black Sluice outfall by lowering the level of the low tide.(16)

In the upper Witham area drainage attempts were similarly only partially effective, but they achieved noticeable results. The first of many Parliamentary Acts affecting the Witham drainage and navigation was secured in 1762 and the drainage improvements were begun in that year, the scheme including the cutting of a new channel for the Witham from Chapel Hill to Boston, and the deepening and embanking of the Witham from Chapel Hill to Lincoln.(17) A grand sluice to be erected above Boston was intended to prevent the tidal waters from flowing upstream.

(14) W.H. Wheeler, op. cit., 103; BAB 18.3.1816

(15) W.H. Wheeler, op. cit., 104

(16) Local Acts of Parliament:- 52 Geo. III; 7 & 8 Geo IV; 4 & 5 William IV

(17) 2 Geo III c32

By 1766 the sluice was completed and at first the drainage of the Witham fens seemed much improved. Insufficient money had however been raised (18) and although Holland fen was successfully drained, the scouring above Chapel Hill had not been done. In consequence the villages between there and Lincoln remained, in 1776, "almost washed level".(19) In addition the construction of the Grand Sluice had contributed even more to the destruction of the river channel below Boston, by reducing the flow of the river to the sea and, therefore, effectively lowering the gradient higher upstream.(20) In 1807 a visiting engineer wrote; "every year many thousand acres lie in a drowned state until it is too late to sow them with corn to advantage... those lands therefore can scarcely be called more than half-yearly lands".(21) Finally in 1812, after a survey by John Rennie, a further Act was secured (22) transferring the powers of the Navigation Commissioners to a company of proprietors who undertook to scour the Witham from Lincoln to the Grand Sluice and make further improvements near Lincoln. The area benefited from these works and from the improvements in the haven but in 1830 Rennie admitted in two reports that the state of drainage in parts was very imperfect and the Grand Sluice and the condition of the outfall remained general impediments.(23)

Despite the inadequacies of these drainage schemes however, by the close of the eighteenth century a significant extension had been made to the area of land under cultivation. The advances had not been

(18) W.H.Wheeler, op. cit., 50

(19) J.Smith, Report and Opinion on the drainage of the Witham (1776) quoted in W.H.Wheeler, op. cit., 183

(20) L.V.Harcourt, Treatise on rivers and canals(1882) II. The Sluice acting as a barrier, momentarily stopped the incoming tidal flow, causing it, during that hesitation, to deposit the load of silt on the seaward side of the sluice. The water then flowed over the barrier relatively silt free, in addition, the ebb tide could no longer act as an efficient scour.

(21) Report to the General Commissioners for drainage and navigation of the Witham (1807)

(22) 52 Geo. III c 105

(23) W.H.Wheeler, op. cit., 57, 58

made without opposition. The Witham Act of 1762 was petitioned against not only by the Holland fen owners, but by Lincoln, Gainsborough, Rotherham and Rochdale, who feared the scheme would be injurious to the Fossdyke Navigation. But in 1800 there remained one vast tract of land urgently in need of attention. The East, West and Wildmore fens lying to the West of Boston, were so poorly drained that, in 1799, Arthur Young rowed over them.(24)

When co-operation amongst the numerous commoners from Skirbeck hundred and Lindsey had finally been secured, several drainage schemes were put forward. It was however, one of John Rennie's two schemes which was finally adopted. In 1801 an Act of Parliament was secured (25), and by 1807 the work was completed.(26) By these means the drainage of the area was, for some time, completely effective. In 1814, Mr. Bower reported to the Bedford Level Corporation that "every wished for object in the drainage of the whole of the fens and of the lowlands adjoining, is effectually obtained, and the lowest land brought into a state of cultivation".(27) Ultimately however, as in the other fens, subsidence, occasioned by the very effectiveness of the drainage, coupled with the silting, left the area again liable to flooding. It was not until there was a fully co-ordinated improvement of the Witham outfall in 1846, and steam (followed by diesel and electricity) provided pumping power that the fens were finally secured.

(24) A. Young, A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln (1799) 232

(25) 41 Geo III c. 35; amended 42 Geo III c.108; 43 Geo.III c.118

(26) W.H. Wheeler, op. cit., 77

(27) A. Bower, Statement as to the drainage and levels of the fens north of Boston (1814) quoted in W.H. Wheeler, op. cit., 85, 86

Nevertheless, although the systems adopted between 1750 and 1815 were not entirely efficient, there had been a great improvement in fen drainage. The immediate consequence was an extension of the farmed and arable area followed by a rise in output. In 1799 drainage of the 22,000 acres of Holland fen had occasioned an improvement in value from £3,600 per annum to £25,300 per annum.(28) Where summer grazing of cattle and sheep had hitherto been the only use for the land, cereals were now grown for the increasing demands of the market.

To the improved output the success of the enclosure movement greatly contributed. Enclosure of the Lincolnshire fens followed, in most cases, fairly rapidly after the Parliamentary drainage acts, reflecting the co-operation which had ultimately been achieved among the proprietors of each fen. The riots which followed the Holland fen enclosure adequately expressed however the difficulties inherent in securing the agreement of the countless commoners on each fen. Several petitions were forwarded to the House of Commons against the Holland fen enclosure act (29) and after the award in 1769 there was severe rioting and firing of the holdings. So serious was the position that Boston was protected by four troops of the Scots Greys (30), and the Corporation there made two donations towards the prosecution of rioters and "persons who have destroyed the fences in Holland Fen".(31) Open opposition continued until 1773, but there can be no doubt of the general

(28) Table quoted by A.Young, A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln (1799) p245

(29) C.Brears, Lincolnshire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (1940) p135

(30) *ibid.*

(31) SAB 1769, f.66b; 1770 f.77b

benefits of the enclosure. Altogether 22,000 acres of land were shared among the proprietors of the eleven parishes having right of Common.(32)

The Holland fen enclosure was the first of many enclosure Acts for the area around Boston. Before 1762 only a dozen Acts had been passed affecting Lincolnshire, but in the following two decades, fortyfive Acts enclosing over 100,000 acres were implemented, and by 1820 the enclosure of South Lincolnshire was virtually complete. In seventy years over 250,000 acres had been enclosed.(33) In the Boston area, the Holland fen enclosure was followed, in 1771, by the enclosure of Boston West,(34) and by the close of the century, Acts had been secured for the enclosure of Kirton (1772), Wyberton (1789), and Gosberton (1799).(35) At the beginning of the new century, the East West and Wildmore fens were divided and the Boston East Enclosure Act was secured.(36) The benefit of such enclosures to landlord and farmer is amply illustrated throughout Arthur Young's report of his tour of Lincolnshire. Rents rose everywhere as productivity increased, and grazing land was converted to arable. Seventeen acres in Wyberton, enclosed under the Holland fen Act, which had previously never been ploughed or pared, sold for 1200 guineas at the close of the eighteenth century,(37) and by the Long Sutton enclosure in 1788, nearly 4,000 acres of common rose in value from £100 per annum to between 30/0d and 50/0d per acre, or about £800, in 1799.(38)

(32) P. Thompson, op.cit., 637

(33) D. Grigg, The Agricultural Revolution in South Lincolnshire (1966) 33 and 34.

(34) BAB 19.2. 1771, f.94

(35) C. Brears, op.cit., 135; BAB May 1799

(36) 41 Geo III c.141, 142; 42 Geo III c.189; 50 Geo III c.129

(37) A. Young, op.cit., 41

(38) Ibid., 77

By enclosure and drainage therefore, large tracts of fen were brought into arable cultivation, which had hitherto served, at best, as summer grazing lands. Until 1815 increased agricultural productivity was, in Lincolnshire, a result almost solely of the extended area under cultivation. Although the new techniques were known and used, it was not until after 1815, when little new land was becoming available, that they were widely adopted.(39) The result however for Boston was much the same. Together the drainage and enclosure of the fen hinterland of Boston produced a hugely enhanced agricultural yield, most of which found its way to the Boston market. Thomas Allen could have spoken for most of the South Lincolnshire fenlands when, in 1734, he said of the Holland fen enclosure "The bringing this immense tract of land into a state of profitable cultivation tended very materially to the advantage of the town and port of Boston".(40) Already the main market town for much of the fenland, Boston experienced a greatly enhanced trade in agricultural produce, and the Boston Gazette recorded that for the week ending September 21st 1829, £13,471 worth of grain was sold in Boston market.)41) But more importantly, perhaps, most of the grain taken to Boston was intended for export, chiefly by the coastal trade to London. In 1811 Boston exported 360,699 quarters of oats to London, and in the last

(39) D.Grigg, op.cit., 47; 117; 152; et passim.

(40) T.Allen, A History of the County of Lincolnshire (1830) 229

(41) H.Porter, Boston 1800 to 1835 (1941) I,6

week of September 1829, out of the 13,865 quarters of Oats imported by London, 9,863 came from Boston.(42) By 1836 Boston ranked as the third port in England for grain shipment.(43) The sheep and cattle markets also flourished. The sheep fairs held on the 4th May were amongst the most important in the country (44), and the numbers penned continued to rise during the early nineteenth century. At the one fair in 1815, 25,000 were penned; in the following year, the number rose to 30,000, and by 1820 to 50,000.(45) As roads and canals improved communications, Boston's market radius was extended, while the smaller markets declined. Water transport provided the link between the villages on the southern margins of the Wolds, and Boston by the way of the drains. Packet boats also sailed through Holland fen to Sleaford. Others navigated the Wash from Spalding, Wisbech and King's Lynn. In addition the market was served by numerous carriers, so that together sailing packets and carriers served between forty and fifty settlements within a distance of sixteen miles from Boston. Beyond this radius some connections were made with market towns up to thirty miles away.

The improvement of communications, particularly by water transport, was one of the primary stimuli to the development of both Boston and Nottingham at this time. The fundamental importance of waterways was well recognised by a seventeenth century Nottinghamshire coal merchant who declared "the conveniencys for carriadg by water

(42) Ibid.

(43) J.Saunders, Lincolnshire in 1836 51
P.Thompson, *op.cit.*, 350

(44) Petition to Boston Corporation from the graziers 2/B/2

(45) H.Porter, *op.cit.*, I, 46

is much to further the sale at an easier rate to market towns".(46) Whereas, however, for Nottingham it was the canal links with the North, West, South and East, which were the basis of the town's trading prosperity, at Boston it was on the development of local navigations within Lincolnshire that the town really depended. The essential reason lay in the nature of the Port's trade, For, although through access to the Trent, Boston was by the close of the eighteenth century, in contact with all parts of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Southern England,(47) the port trade rested chiefly on the export of the local agricultural produce to London. After the prosperity of the thirteenth and fourteenth century,(48) the nature of the port's trade was changing. From being a foreign based trade, it was turning chiefly into a coasting trade. Boston became in fact, the supply centre for South Lincolnshire and the outlet for much of its produce.

It was therefore upon local communications that Boston chiefly depended, and as the numerous rivers and drains of Lincolnshire conveyed agricultural produce to the port, there was little need for canals, though an Act secured in 1792 for a canal from Tattershall to Horncastle, and a further Act for a canal from Sleaford to the Witham at Chapel Hill in 1794 provided access to two market towns sixteen miles distant from Boston.

(46) R.L.Smith, 'Glassmaking at Wollaton', Transactions of the Thoroton Society, 66 (1962) 28

(47) See pp-28,29, for details of the Trent navigation and connecting canals.

(48) In 1205 Boston's commerce ranked second to that of London: G.Fuller, op.cit., 3.

The river Witham was however the main artery of Boston's trade. Above Boston the Witham was the means of communication with the Lincolnshire farmers, with Lincoln, and the River Trent, and hence with the growing industrial centres of the West Riding to whom Boston sent wool and meat. Below Boston the river between the bridge and the Black Sluice acted as the haven, and gave access to the Wash about six miles below the town. Although the two had been navigable for centuries, there is no doubt that the improvement of the river under the Witham drainage and navigation Acts was beneficial to Boston's trade. The erection of the Grand Sluice under the 1762 Act however, contributed greatly to the already declining state of the haven below Boston. Under Elizabeth the state of the haven and outfall was so bad that a Charter of Admiralty was granted to the Borough to enable them to repair and maintain sea marks, to facilitate the navigation of the deeps, for not only did the estuary continually silt up, but the sand-banks constantly moved. To this silting, the construction of the Grand Sluice in 1766 contributed.(49) In 1800 the Corporation finally asked John Rennie to "report on the best mode of improving the haven"(50) but his estimate proved to be way beyond the Corporation's means, and the ensuing years were wasted in unsuccessful attempts to achieve co-operation amongst the proprietors of each drainage area, and repeated discussions and surveys.(51) Finally in 1812 the first Boston Harbour Act was

(49) vide fn 20

(50) BAB 11th Oct.1800

(51) cf. BAB 26th April 1800, Corporation approached proprietors of enclosure and drainage of East, West and Wildmore Fens to co-operate over outfall. 1802 Rennie made further report: 7/6/3/4. BAB 21st Feb.1809 Committee set up to consider the state of the port.

secured, and under the authority of this and subsequent amending Acts, new channels were cut for the river beyond the Grand Sluice and Hobhole.(52) These works undoubtedly improved the navigation of the haven area, but the entrance to the Wash remained a major problem, Nevertheless it would be true to say that Boston continued to develop as a port, in spite of these difficulties. This was primarily because the coasting trade was conducted in vessels of small burthen, ranging from 20 to 85 tons.(53) A small amount of foreign trade was conducted, but the difficulties in reaching the haven probably explain its failure to expand. In 1790 Philip Luckombe wrote that vessels of more than 100 tons could not get further than the scalp (a channel in the deeps, three miles below Boston) and consequently the large ships used in the foreign trade, some of which were of 250 tons, transferred their cargoes to lighters to get into port.(54) Between 1700 and 1720 the maximum number of incoming foreign vessels in any one year was only twenty-seven, and this pattern did not change throughout the century.(55) Those which did come, usually brought naval stores, or iron from Norway and Sweden, and timber from the Baltic. Exports abroad moreover remained even smaller, but the cargoes varied from agricultural products; wheat, barley, oats, rye, malt and rape seed, to kersies, broadcloth and coal.

Throughout the period 1660 to 1825 therefore, by far Boston's most important trade was the coastal trade. The majority of

(52) 52 Geo III c.105; amended 1827, 7 & 8 Geo IV c.79; 1834, 4 & 5 Wm IV c.87

(53) G.J.Fuller, 'Geographical Aspects of the Development of Boston 1700 to 1900', East Midland's Geographer I No.2 (Dec.1954) 8

(54) P.Luckombe, England Gazeteer quoted in G.J.Fuller, op.cit., 8

(55) G.J.Fuller, op.cit., 6,7

incoming vessels in the coastal trade brought coal from Northumberland and Durham, and the size of this trade continued to increase throughout the century as domestic and industrial consumption increased. In addition, large quantities came from the Yorkshire coal fields to Boston via the Witham until 1820 when the duty was removed from coal carried coastwise, and the quantity of coal brought down the Witham declined steadily.(56)

The number of incoming vessels from other British ports remained relatively small against the coal imports, though there was a fairly heavy trade from London. This was the largest incoming coastal trade after the coal, for it supplied the multifarious consumer needs which the Lincolnshire area could not provide for itself. So large was the trade between London and Boston that, in 1809, the Boston firm of Gee and Clarke advertised a regular service from London every seven days, and in 1817 there were twenty-five vessels sailing regularly from Chamberlain's Wharf, Botolph Wharf and Gunshot Wharf to Boston.(57) In addition however, Boston received groceries and provisions from Wisbech, agricultural produce from Spalding, and foreign goods from King's Lynn, and for the week ending March 17th 1819, the Boston shipping news listed amongst the incoming cargoes, timber and deals from Longsound.(58)

Coastwise shipments from Boston consisted principally of agricultural produce, primarily wheat and oats, sent to London. By

(56) P. Thompson, op.cit., 349

(57) J. Porter, op.cit., I, 17, 18

(58) Ibid., I, 14

(59) P. Thompson, op.cit., 351

1820 however, the grain shipments were beginning to decline.(59)
This was the beginning of a trend which continued through most of the nineteenth century, until, by the completion of a new dock in 1884 and a new channel to the Wash in 1887, Boston was able to meet the growing competition from King's Lynn and Long Sutton.(60)

Although therefore Boston had ceased, by 1660 to be a port of national significance, during the period to 1835 the town experienced increasing prosperity. As a result of the development of the agricultural hinterland, and the improvements in the river Witham and other local navigations, Boston experienced a rapid rise from the state of mercantile depression of the sixteenth century. The small, but significant, coastal trade which the port enjoyed during the early seventeenth century rose to thriving proportions as the period progressed. Boston never again enjoyed the national prosperity of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and remained, in comparison with Hull, Liverpool and Bristol, only a small port. But it conducted a flourishing trade which in the early nineteenth century placed it as the third port for grain shipment in England.(61)
In 1810 the annual tonnage of goods in vessels frequenting the port rose as high as 86,256.(62) This was not enough to rank it of national significance, but sufficient to make Boston more than a fenland market town.

(59) P.Thompson, op.cit., 351

(60) G.J.Fuller, op.cit., 10

(61) P.Thompson, op.cit., 350

(62) W.H.Wheeler, op.cit., 156

Nottingham.

Nottingham benefited even more than Boston from the improved communications of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and in particular, it was from the long distance contacts established with the industrial North, with the ports of Liverpool and Manchester, and with the South and Midlands that the trade of Nottingham received the greatest stimulus.

From the earliest times the Trent had been navigable from Nottingham, North to the Humber, and by the twelfth century the town was an important market centre for an area stretching from Belvoir to Derby. Even before canals increased the area of contact, Nottingham was in 1739 supplied "at moderate freight" with bar iron, blocktin, wines, oils, groceries, salt, pitch, tar, hops, hemp, flax, dye, drugs, deal, Norwegian oaks and foreign timbers, and all variety of goods which passed through the port of Kingston-upon-Hull. In return, Nottingham supplied coal, timber, corn, wood, pottery, alabaster, lead, and Cheshire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire cheeses. (63)

Upstream from Nottingham the Trent was in fact just navigable to Burton-on-Trent, but its course was difficult and its trade relatively unimportant. Nottingham therefore, as the effective head of the navigable section to the Humber, jealously guarded its advantageous position, and to suggestions from 1675 onwards, for the

(63) C. Deering, Nottinghamia Vetus et Nova (1751) 91

improvements of the river above the town, the Corporation made strong resistance.(64) The town could however, only postpone the inevitable, and it was in fact the opening up of waterways beyond Nottingham which invigorated the rapid growth of the town from the end of the eighteenth century. By 1815, Nottingham was at the hub of a waterway system which "opened up the centre of England".(65)

The first improvements occurred in the Trent. In 1699 an Act was secured for making the river navigable from Shardlow to Burton, and just over seventy years later an Act provided for the "better regulating of navigation" from Wilder Ferry to Gainsborough. This was followed in 1783 by the appointment of Commissioners to make this section navigable. But it was the numerous canals with which Nottingham and the Trent connected which made the town so important a commercial centre. By the construction of the Erewash, Cromford and Nottingham canals, the wealth of the Erewash valley coalfield, and the iron and other mineral deposits in Derbyshire, were brought within easy access of the Trent, Nottingham and the Lincolnshire and Humber ports. In 1777 the group of Derbyshire coal owners and Loughborough business men who had financed the Soar navigation from the Trent to Loughborough, secured an Act to construct the Erewash Canal from the Erewash valley collieries to the Trent at its junction with the Soar.(67) Twelve years later, the first Act for the construction

(64) NHB 3465 f 30. Vide Supra. Chapter 13

(65) J.H. Clapham, The Economic History of Modern Britain (1939) 1, 78

(66) J. Priestley, Historical Account of the Navigable Canals, Rivers and Railways of Great Britain (1831) 578

(67) Acts:- 1766 6 Geo III; 1776 10 Geo. III

of the Cromford canal was obtained to run from Cromford to the Erewash canal near its junction with the Nottingham canal, and by 1805 the Nottingham canal (from the Cromford canal to the Trent at Trent Bridge) was completed.(69) The Act authorizing the Nottingham canal expressly mentioned the shipment of coal from the Duke of Newcastle's collieries at Brinsley, and the significance of these waterway connections soon become evident. In 1816 nearly one and a half million tons of coal were carried from the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire coalfields via the Trent navigation to Gainsborough and Hull.(70)

Meanwhile, the Grand Trunk Canal, completed about 1785, had linked Nottingham with Liverpool. By 1791 the extension of the Coventry canal linked the Trent, Mersey and Thames, but the construction of the Grand Junction canal provided a much shortened and improved connection. Linking the North, Midlands and London it was, indeed, a "stupendous and most useful line of navigation". "The advantages which the metropolis and indeed all places along its main line and branches, derive from this grand undertaking, are incalculable. The staple goods of Manchester, Stourbridge, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, cheese, salt, lime, stone, timber, corn, paper, bricks are conveyed by it to London, whilst in return groceries, tallow, cotton, tin, manure, and raw materials for the manufacturing districts are constantly passing upon it.(71) For Nottingham access to the Thames

(69) Ibid., 172, 251, 482. 32, Geo III

(70) R.A.Church, Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town: Victorian Nottingham 1815 to 1900 (1966) 5

(71) J.Priestley, op. cit., 312

was further improved by the completion of the Soar navigation from Loughborough to Leicester and its extension, as the Grand Union Canal, to the Grand Junction Canal in Northamptonshire.(72)

By 1815, as Blackner stated, canals gave "a facility to the commerce of this town which places it almost without a rival in the inland counties".(73) By the vast network of canals the town was connected with Liverpool, South Yorkshire, the West Riding, Lancashire and Cheshire, with the potteries and Birmingham and with London and Bristol. Via the Trent there was ready access to Hull with its numerous imports from the Baltic, Holland, the Hanseatic Towns, the Netherlands and France. In addition there was ready contact with Boston along the Fosdyke and the Witham, and both ports were important for the export of the multifarious goods travelling along the Trent. Through Hull, Nottingham's hosiery and lace products were shipped abroad. The Trent "connecting the port of Hull with a wide extent of agricultural, mining and manufacturing country, by means of the various rivers and canals which communicate with it, affords an easy means of export for the manufacturers of a large district in Lancashire, the salt from Cheshire, the produce of the potteries in Staffordshire, the coal from Derbyshire and the agricultural products of Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire. It also opens a communication with the sea by way of Lincoln and Boston through which channels, as well as the Humber, the articles above are conveyed, and

(72) Ibid., 578. 31 Geo III, 1791 and 1797; 37 Geo III, extended Loughborough to Leicester, and 1814 Grand Union opened.

(73) J.Blackner, The History of Nottingham (1815) 14

in return the interior of the country is supplied.... with such commodities as are required by an immense population".(74)

Nottingham by 1815 conducted a commerce of immensely greater proportions than three quarters of a century before. Five large wharves advertised regular transport services, and on the banks of the Nottingham canal "coals, timber, corn, ironstone, stone, plaster, and tile wharves abounded with their contiguous warehouses".(75)

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Nottingham became the commercial centre for the mainly extractive industries of the immediate West, and the predominantly agricultural areas to the South and East. Supplying a wide area with goods of all kinds, it was, in addition, a huge consumer centre itself. Upon its geographical position, and the developing canal system, a great deal of Nottingham's prosperity rested.

* * * * *

York.

From the increased commercial wealth and opportunities offered by the development of waterway communications in the late eighteenth century, York however, derived little benefit. In contrast with Nottingham and Boston, the growing mileage of canals served only to illustrate more clearly that York was removed from the commercial

(74) J.Priestley, op.cit., 642

(75) J.Blackner, op.cit., 23

centres of industrialising Britain. A map of canals and rivers in 1831 shows quite clearly York's isolation from the new centres of prosperity.

Situated on the Ouse, York had at one time conducted a port trade of some significance, but as the size of ships increased it became necessary to find havens nearer the sea, and by the end of the thirteenth century, York was increasingly dependent on the port facilities of Hull. As Leland succinctly expressed it, "the town of Kingston (upon Hull) was in the Tyme of Edward the 3 but a meane Fischar towne....." but "In Richard 2 dayes (it) waxid very rich".(76) And it waxed primarily as a result of the port trade which it took from York. The through trade of the town moreover was not aided as was Nottingham's by the building of canals. York was not well situated geographically to benefit from the carrying trade along the new canals.

But as a market town York continued to be vital to the surrounding area, and in this respect the maintenance of the Ouse navigation, and the building of the Leeds-Liverpool and Aire-Calder canals, was of primary importance as supply lines to the town, and outlets for agricultural produce. The petition from the Mayor and Aldermen of the City against Lord Fairfax's bill for the improvement of the Aire in 1698 could not have been more mistakenly made. The Corporation were fearful that "if the bill should pass the River

(76) J.Leland, Itinerary (1770) I, 50-52

Ouze will be so drained by such navigation that no boat or vessels will be able to pass thereon, whereby the trade of the city will be quite carried into other remote parts....."(77). It is indeed true that as a result of canal developments York was to become of less importance as a trade thoroughfare, but by the links established with Leeds and Liverpool was supplied with large quantities of coal and manufactured goods from the West Riding and Lancashire.

As a market town, York was both a service and consumer centre. It was to the York markets and fairs that the population of a very extensive area of Yorkshire travelled for their supplies. Along the Humber and Ouse were sent the products of Hull's coastal and foreign trades with London, the Netherlands and Low Countries. And to the York market was sent the agricultural produce of the surrounding farms. As a trading centre, York had certainly experienced decline since the middle ages and Tudor period. For much of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the entire administrative machinery of the realm had been transferred there while the first three Edwards dealt with the problem of the Scottish Wars. Under the Tudors, the Council of the North had been centred on York for a century, from 1540 to 1641. Devoid of these artificial stimulants, York's prosperity dwindled during the next two centuries, and contemporaries were quick to point to signs of decay.

About 1660 the Corporation complained to Sir Thomas Widdington

(77) J. Priestley, op. cit., 10

that "The shoes of our predecessors are too big for our feet and the ornaments which they had will not serve now to cover our nakedness, nor will their wealth feed us, who are not able to tell you what we are, unless it be this, that we are poor and miserable whilst some cities are become so big with buildings and numerous with inhabitants..... York is left alone, situate in a country plentiful with provisions, and stores if the people had money to buy them. Trade is decayed..... Leeds is nearer the manufacturers, and Hull more commodious for the vending of them; so York is, in each respect, furthest from the profit".(78) Still, in 1833, at the Municipal Corporation's Enquiry, a speaker complained that "everything is going away from us, and nothing is coming the great advantages and benefits which York possessed have rapidly flown away from her recently, notwithstanding the increase of the population. I don't know that trade has increased at all".(79)

But the apparent decay was less severe than contemporaries believed. As a market town, York flourished throughout the period 1660 to 1835. Despite depressions, trade on the whole remained vigorous, and to this the state of the markets testifies. In 1825 the Corporation was told of a "great increase in the business of our markets and fairs", (80) and later in the year, 1500 people signed a petition representing to the Corporation "the very great augmentation which of late years has taken

(78) Corporation's rebuff to Sir Thomas Widdrington when he offered to dedicate his book to them. T. Widdrington, Analecta Eboracensia (1897) x

(79) Y.H. 30th December 1833

(80) Y.H. 5th Feb. 1825

place in the business of our fairs and markets".(81) Yet, in other respects, York was in a state of decay. As the restoration corporation recognized, it was the nature of York's economy which was to blame. For although a large and important market town, York supported, over the period 1660 to 1835, no manufacturers of significance. Although like Boston, self sufficient in handicrafts and the necessities of life, the city supported no major trades. Drake considered that this was largely a result of the civic restrictions on trading by non-freemen, but though this policy cannot have helped, it was certainly not the only contributing factor. The Corporation did in fact, allow non-freemen to trade if they practised a craft not otherwise represented.

The basis of York's economy was however somewhat widened by its importance as a Northern centre. From the time when the Royal Courts and the Council of the North were in York, the city had been a resort of the gentry and nobility. Defoe wrote of York at the beginning of the eighteenth century :- "The present support of the city is chiefly owing to the gentry, who make it their winter residence, as there is great plenty of provisions of all kinds to furnish an elegant table at a moderate expense. And as the inhabitants abound with the conveniences of life they likewise partake of its diversions there being plays, assemblies, music meetings, or some entertainments almost every night in the week".(81a) By the nineteenth century some decline in York's social status had indeed occurred. The demands of the gentry in and around York still helped to determine the nature of the town's economy in the

(81) Y.H. 19th and 26th Nov.1825

(81a) D.Defoe, A Tour through the Island of Great Britain (1769) III 187

first few decades of the nineteenth century - the races and assizes still attracted them - but compared with the eighteenth century, a substantial decline had taken place. During the 1830's the races were gradually eclipsed, and in 1828 it was noted that the programme "did not present so inviting an appearance as in former years".(82) Nevertheless, York continued as a visitors' town, and at the same time, another aspect of the town's life was developing. York was becoming a cultural centre. In 1823 there were proposals for holding a musical festival, and between then and 1835, four were held; in the early 1820's the subscription library was built on corporation land, and the philosophical society held its annual meeting there.

York therefore experienced limited economic advantages from the changes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nottingham and Boston were enabled to utilise to the full the changing circumstances of their hinterlands, and the greater facilities for communication with them. But York experienced only an extension of its market services to the town's consumers, and those of the surrounding areas. This in itself however, was of fundamental importance to the City, for by the very size of its commerce, York was able to support a population more than twice the size of Boston's in 1831. Although based on a narrow economy therefore, York continued to be a town of importance.

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(82) Victoria County History of York, 267

The Beginning of Industry

At Nottingham however, there occurred a fundamental change in the nature of the town's economy, which neither York nor Boston experienced. From being "one of the most pleasant and beautiful towns in England"(83), Nottingham had become, by the early nineteenth century, an important and expanding Industrial centre where pleasant had long since given way to the needs of an overpopulated manufacturing town. The basis of the town's expansion lay in the hosiery trade. In 1589 William Lee of Calverton, invented the stocking frame, and by the close of the seventeenth century, framework knitting was well established in Nottingham as the town's chief industry. Opposition to this usurpation of London's monopoly was initially strong. In 1693 the London company petitioned Parliament for help against provincial opposition to its regulations: but little resulted, and the industry outside the metropolis continued to grow.(84) In 1641 there were two master framework knitters on the Nottingham burgess roll, and by 1697 the industry was well established.(85) During the early eighteenth century the demand for plain, and therefore cheaper, worsted and cotton stockings began to increase, and upon Deering's authority there were, by 1739, 1,200 frames at work in the town.(86) Between 1732 and 1750, 800 frames were transported from London to Nottingham.(87) Moreover in 1753 the Nottingham trade petitioned Parliament against the restrictions imposed by the London company, and the House of Commons at last gave the provincial framework knitters freedom of action.(88)

(83) D. Defoe, A Tour through Great Britain (1769) III 57
(84) D. Gray, Nottingham Settlement to City (1953) 41
(85) Ibid., 38, 39
(86) C. Deering, Nottinghamia Vetus et Nova (1751) 99
(87) D. Gray, Nottingham Settlement to City (1953) 40, 41
(88) Ibid., 41

thereafter the trade flourished, and although silk and woollen goods continued to be produced, Nottingham soon became recognised as the centre of the cotton hosiery trade. Between 1727 and 1782 the number of frames in the industry rose from 8,000 to 20,000, 17,350 of these being situated in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire.(89)

This expansion in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was largely a result of the increasing versatility of the stocking frames. A wide range of fancy hosiery and simple net lace was produced at prices which put them within reach of popular demand. Spider net was worn "by women whose reputé was little better than its own; they used it for no other purpose than that of giving a bewitching appearance to the bosom, while they falsely assumed its concealment"(90) In 1808 Heathcoat's bobbin net machine laid the basis of the machine - made lace industry in the town.(91) The superior bobbin net lace soon became the staple of the lace trade, and the number of machines at work rapidly increased. Already before the end of the eighteenth century, Nottingham was virtually committed to hosiery and lace production. In 1815, Blackner wrote "so much is this town dependent on the stocking frame and its appendant machines that if it stood still, all other business must stand still also".(92) With well over half the working population working frames to produce hosiery or lace net,

(89) J.Blackner, op.cit., 243

(90) Ibid., 234

(91) F.A.Wells, The British Hosiery Trade (1935) 93-4

(92) J.Blackner, op.cit., 215

Blackner's claim is hardly an exaggeration. In that year there were, according to Blackner and Felkin, 2,600 stocking frames, 400 warp frames and over 1,500 point net frames, and accounting for the allied trades, Felkin estimated that each point net frame employed altogether at least ten men, women and children.(93)

Before the nineteenth century, the framework knitting industry grew steadily, but the industry then began to experience difficulties.(94) It was a seasonal trade and heavily dependent upon foreign demand. Altogether up to 50% of Nottingham's hosiery and lace output was shipped to overseas markets.(95) The gradual closing of the continental markets during the French Wars was already being felt by the 1790's, when, according to Eden, only about one third of the Nottingham framework knitters could support themselves with ease.(96) After 1815 the French and German markets continued to be protected by heavy import duties, and while exports stagnated, the home market was also declining.

While both continental and home markets were depressed however, the number and size of the frames in the town was increasing. So too was the number of framework knitters, for in the largest branch of the trade it was unskilled or semi-skilled work. The result of such a situation was heavy over-production. Felkin maintained that demand was not stagnant, the output of cotton hosiery between 1812 and 1833 increasing by 50%,

(93) (i) Ibid.

(ii) W. Felkin, British Manufacturing Industries, ed. G. P. Bevan (1875) 49-50

(94) R. A. Church, Economic & Social Change in a Midland Town; Victorian Nottingham 1815 to 1900 (1966) 13

(95) First Report of the select committee appointed to take into consideration the several petitions which have been presented by persons employed in the Framework Knitting Trade (1812) (247) II, 203, p48

(96) F. H. M. The State of the Poor II (1797) 574

but the increased size of the frames created a supply which outstripped demand. Between 1812 and 1844, between one quarter and one third of all frames lay idle.(97)

The Framework knitters were therefore severely depressed for most of the early nineteenth century. From 1794 to 1803 the lowest paid framework knitters, the plain cotton worker, averaged about 10s.6d per week (98), and until 1810 the average wage approached 14s . or 15s ; sufficient to bring the better paid knitters a moderately comfortable existence in comparison with other workers.(99) Between 1809 and 1812 however, wages fell by about one third, and further declines in 1815 and 1817 brought the wages of the cotton worker down to only 4sh to 7sh per week.(100) By 1820 they were having difficulty averaging 5sh.per week (101) and by October 1825, even the best hands, according to the Nottingham Journal, could earn no more than 9sh to 10sh. per week.(102) In 1827 the men claimed that an eighty hour week gave them only six to seven shillings a week,(103) above which their wages did not rise for over twenty years.(104) Not surprisingly, the framework knitter became notorious for his outstanding appearance: "Ill fed, ill lodged, ill clothed, with careworn and anxious countenances they are a class by themselves...."(105)

By contrast, the skilled framework knitters who made silk gloves and hose, and the lace makers, experienced different circumstances.

(97) W.Felkin, A History of the Machine Wrought Hosiery and Lace Trades (1867)

435,437,463,510

(98) N.R. 12th June 1829

(99) Report from the Select Committee (Framework knitters petitions)(1819)

(193) V 401

(100) N.R. 20th August, 1819. W.Felkin, op.cit., 441

(101) N.R. 2nd March, 1820

(102) N.R. 7th Jan,1826

(103) N.R. Feb, 16th 1827

(104) W.Felkin, op.cit., 239

(105) W.Felkin, Some particulars of the Past and Present State and Extent of the Hosiery Trade, Appendix III to First Report of the Select Committee on the Exportation of Machinery (1841) (201) VII 4 p244

Although subject to more violent fluctuations in demand, the intelligence required to work the machines together with the inelastic supply of skilled labour helped push up wages, and the financial returns of the lace and skilled knitting trades were good. In 1824 however, Heathcote's patent for the bobbin net machine expired. There followed a surge of investment in the Nottingham lace trade; speculators flocked to the town in thousands and the number of bobbin net machines rose from 1,000 to 2,500 between the years 1820 and 1826,(106) "Through the years 1823 to 1825, a time of unparalleled prosperity, capital flowed into the business abundantly...That which was already at work could be sold for three times its cost.... the wonderful wages offered speedily attracted smiths and mechanics from far off towns... tens of thousands of pounds were drawn from speculators for machines....The inflation of the public mind was universal....."(107) Inevitably, the result of this "twist net fever", as it came to be known, was a slump which began in 1826 and continued with only slight pauses in the 1830's and 1840's. Wages which had, in 1824, reached astronomical heights, dropped to an average of 29sh. per week in 1829, and only 18sh, in 1833. Lace machines which had sold for £500 to £700 between 1823 and 1825 were in 1826 worth only £80 and £120.(108)

The lace trade too, therefore, was suffering decline

(106) R.A.Church, Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town: Victorian Nottingham 1815 - 1900 (1966) 91

(107) W.Felkin, A History of the Machine Wrought Hosiery and Lace Trades (1867) 332

(108) R.A.Church, op.cit., 69

during the 1820's and 1830's. Although still better paid than the framework knitters, there was serious unemployment among the thousands of speculators, and wages were poor in comparison with the earlier part of the century. But both the framework knitting and lace trades remained the principal source of employment in the town, and stimulated by the growth of the two industries, the town's population expanded to over 50,000 by 1831. Within the course of the eighteenth century therefore, Nottingham had changed from a country market and trading town, into an important and expanding industrial centre heavily dependent upon hosiery production.

* * * * *

Demographic Change.

The most significant accompaniment of the economic growth of Boston, Nottingham and York over the period 1660 to 1835, was the increase of their populations. Estimates of their sizes before the 1801 census are necessarily only approximations, but it nevertheless appears quite certain that for almost a century after 1660, little growth occurred in the population of either Boston or York. At Boston a local census placed the population in 1709 at 3,008 and from this figure it had risen only to 3,470 as late as 1767.(109) There was a large differential in size therefore between Boston and Nottingham or York, for Boston's population in the early nineteenth century had reached only

(109) C.M.Law, 'Some notes on the Urban population of England and Wales in the eighteenth century,' The Local Historian 10, No.1 (1972) 13 - 26

their medieval levels.(110) The growth pattern was however similar to that of York. At York the population probably rose from 12,000 in 1620 to only 12,400 in 1700 (111), at which figure it remained until mid-century. At Nottingham there was rather more growth in the early eighteenth century than there was at York but, as probably in all Urban centres, this was certainly dependent upon immigration.(112) Until 1740 there was a steady excess of deaths over births, but immigration to the town was especially encouraged by the expanding framework industry. That this resulted in some increase in the size of the town's population is suggested by the marked upward trend in rents on the Corporation Estates, as too by the gradual expansion of the 'built-up' road area. In 1730 the waste ground between Derby Road and Wollaton Street was developed by the Corporation, and by 1739 it contained eighteen houses and sixty-nine inhabitants "of the lowest order of people".(113) From an estimated 5,200 in 1650 the population of Nottingham had indeed risen to about 10,000 in 1739.(114)

By 1750 therefore, the population of the three towns probably stood as follows:(115)

Boston	3,300
Nottingham	12,050
York	11,400 to 12,400

After the middle of the eighteenth century however, the population in all three towns took an upward turn. In Nottingham, as

(110) Nottingham's population in 1377 has been estimated as 3,000 from the poll tax. A. Rogers, Themes from Nottingham's history (Nottingham 1968) 4

(111) V.C.H., 162

(112) J.D. Chambers, 'Population Change in a provincial town: Nottingham 1700 to 1800,' in L.S. Pressroll ed. Studies in the Industrial Revolution (1960) 97 111

(113) H. Field, The Nottingham Date Book (1884) 93.

(114) A. Rogers, Themes from Nottingham's history (1968) 4

(115) C.M. Law, op. cit., 13 - 26 Law's York estimate of 11,400 differs considerably from that quoted by Tillott in V.C.H. 162 and the Nottingham figure is high when compared with C. Deering's above.

probably in the other two boroughs, this was a result not solely of immigration, but also of an excess of births over deaths. From 1740 to 1780 about 40% of the town's population growth was by natural increase, and after 1780 slightly more than 40%. (116) This, combined with immigration, resulted in a growth rate of about 60% between 1740 and 1779. In the latter year, by questioning every household, Lowe computed the population of the town to be 17,711. By 1793, Sutton estimated it to have risen to 25,000, and by the time of the first census it stood at 28,861, representing a further 60% growth since 1779. (117) This rapid rate of growth at Nottingham between 1750 and 1800 was not however reflected in Boston and York. Both these towns experienced a much increased rate of population growth in this period, but it was after the turn of the century that they experienced growth comparable with Nottingham's. By 1767 Boston's population had reached only 3,470 and by 1778 some 5,476, while York's inhabitants in 1781 probably numbered about 12,800. (118) But after the turn of the century population growth in both towns speeded up. Although only 11,000 in 1831, Boston's population had virtually doubled since the turn of the century, and York's had risen by more than 60% to 25,000. The following tables give a clear indication of the nature of the population growth in all three towns.

(116) J.D.Chambers, 'Population Change in a Provincial Town, Nottingham 1700 to 1800,' op.cit., 97 - 111

(117) J.Blackner, op.cit., 13, 26, 75

(118) C.M.law, op.cit. From local census and estimates.

	<u>BOSTON</u>	<u>NOTTINGHAM</u>	<u>YORK</u>
c 1700	3,008 (1709)	6,375 (1690)	12,000
c 1750	3,300	12,000	11,400 - 12,400
c 1775	5,476 (1778)	17,711 (1779)	12,800 (1781) (119)
	<i>%growth</i>	<i>%growth</i>	<i>%growth</i>
1801	<u>5,926</u> 37.7%	<u>28,861</u> 18.7%	<u>16,145</u> 12.8%
1811	<u>8,180</u> 26.8%	<u>34,363</u> 18.0%	<u>18,217</u> 14.1%
1821	<u>10,373</u> 8.35%	<u>40,415</u> 25.2%	<u>20,787</u> 21.5%
1831	<u>11,240</u>	<u>50,610</u>	<u>25,359</u> (120)

Despite this growth the three towns had changed little by 1800. A seventeenth century inhabitant would still have been able to find his way, for although streets had been widened, new ones constructed, and other improvements made, the basic morphology of the towns had not been altered. Boston indeed changed remarkably little between Hall's Map of 1741 and Schmölinger's of 1840, though the suburbs beyond must have swelled considerably. Despite the population expansion, York, and even Nottingham, remained, until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, liberally dotted with extensive gardens and open spaces. But the population pressure soon made itself visible, and at York, although many garden areas remained within the town as late as Bellerby's map of 1847, many more had been partially, or wholly built upon. The fields to the East of Fossgate, and those to the North

(119) Table compiled from contemporary calculations and from C.M.Law's estimate.

(120) Table compiled from the census returns for the three boroughs.

of Tanner Row were built upon, Micklegate, Walmgate, Monkgate and Bootham were extensively developed beyond the walls. But it was at Nottingham that the effects of the enlarged populace were most clearly seen. During the seventeenth century it was a town almost unrivalled for its splendour. From John Leland's visit in the mid 1500's to Daniel Defoe's at the turn of the next century, it was constantly praised by travellers and diarists. Ceilia Fiennes found at Nottingham "the neatest town I have seen, built of stone and delicate large and long streets much like London and the houses lofty and well built, the Market Place is very broad - out of which runs two very large streetes much like Holborn but the buildings finer and there is a Pyaza all along one side of one of the streetes, with stone Pillars for walking that runs the length of the streets, which is a mile long; all the streetes are of a good size all about the town and well pitch'd", (121). It was a town well populated with gentry. In 1650 Francis Pierrepont, son of the Earl of Kingston had built a house on the South side of Stoney Street. After the Restoration, Lord Mansfield built a house in Wheeler Gate; the Sherwins in Pilcher Gate. In 1674 the Duke of Newcastle built his palladian mansion on the site of the old castle. And when Defoe visited the races he spoke of "Eleven or twelve noblemen an infinite throng of gentlemen from all the counties around, nay even from Scotland itself.(122)

(121) The Journeys of Ceilia Fiennes, ed. Morris (1947) 72

(122) D. Defoe, A Tour through England and Wales (1769) 57

During the eighteenth century, wealthy business men and merchants built large Georgian town houses, and in 1739 Deering could still write, "on this side, the Town in the middle adorned with many stately new buildings, the Castle on the left and Sneinton and Colwick hills on the right, present the travellers coming from the South with a surprisingly grand and magnificent prospect".(123) But even as he was writing, the metamorphosis was taking place. As the population grew the open spaces gradually disappeared. There were still gardens to be found in the town as late as 1784, but concentrations of slum property had begun to accumulate on Backside and in the "Rookeries" North of the Market Place. The gardens to the West of Stoney Street, along Broad Lane, Mansfield Road and in Narrow Marsh had, before 1820, been entirely built over. Everywhere houses were springing up, "a resurrection of buildings generally without order, seated like clusters of mushrooms in a field cast up by chance".(124)

It was not however merely a problem of intensified population growth which faced Nottingham, for the town was in a position peculiar to itself and Norwich. Entirely surrounded by common land the population of 50,000 was, in 1831, contained within the same area as the medieval population had been. The postponement of enclosure of these lands until 1845 resulted in an intensification of all the evils of urban life. The Commissioners enquiring into the state of towns in 1844 reported that "The continuance of restrictive feudal tenure of the circumajacent

(123) C.Deering, op.cit., 2

(124) F.C.Laird, Topographical Description of Nottinghamshire (1810) 102

commonable lands results in extraordinary compression of the town, 'till, by incessant interbuilding the space within this boundary has been forced to receive at least three times the amount of population which could have been prudently or healthfully absorbed.... I believe that nowhere else shall we find so large a mass of inhabitants crowded into courts alleys and lanes as in Nottingham...."(125) In one area of the town, each person had only 10½ yards of land, which was more than double the proportion of the densest ward in Leeds, while other areas afforded only 8½ yards per person. In 1831 in an area of nine acres, there were 883 houses with 4,283 inhabitants. (126)

Although however the urban development of Nottingham was more intense than York's or Boston's, all three towns experienced demographic changes of unique proportions for the individual boroughs themselves. The population expansion brought with it problems equally new, but the differing magnitude of the evils occasioned by such a concentration of people is to be clearly seen in the housing returns made by the municipal commissioners.

	BOSTON	%	NOTTINGHAM	%	YORK	
Houses assessed at over £10 and under £20 rent per annum.	310	56.4%	6913	63.6%	6782	48.6%
at £20 and under £40 per annum	161	29.3%	372	25.9%	567	35.7%
£40 and over	79	14.3%	151	10.5%	240	15.7%
						(127)

(125) 2nd Report of the Commissioners for enquiring into the state of large towns and populous districts (1845) 250

(126) S.D.Chapman, 'Working Class housing in Nottingham during the Industrial Revolution', Trans.Thoroton Society 67. (1963)

(127) MCR 21/4, 1985, 1757

These figures reveal at Nottingham a heavy but expected predominance of housing in the rental bracket of £10 to £20 per annum. Only 36.4% of the housing rented at £10 and over fell into the category of £20 upwards. The Boston figures show a similarity to Nottingham although over 14% of the assessed properties fell into the £40 and upwards category, and 29.3% into the £20 to £40 rental bracket. At York there was again a marked predominance of housing in the first two assessment groups, but less than 50% fell into the £10 to £20 per annum group, and almost 16.0% in the £40 upwards. In a town noted for its cultural life, where mercantile activities and tourism were the bases of its economic life, such returns are to be expected. Although therefore there is a vital, and probably the largest, housing group missing from these lists, those falling below £10 rent per annum, the figures clearly reflect the differing nature of the three boroughs. The quantity of housing below the assessment level would serve to illustrate only more forcibly, that while experiencing similar trends, the economic and demographic development was different by degree in Boston, Nottingham and York. The problems facing the three borough councils however were much the same in all three towns. If their difficulties differed in intensity, the three town councils were each faced with changing circumstances and changing requirements. The success with which they dealt with them must not be isolated from such developments.

THE THREE BOROUGHS

CHAPTER 2

CONCILIAR STRUCTURE

The origin and constitution of the Municipal Borough as found in existence between 1660 and 1835 affords of no straight - forward definition. When in 1833, the Whig Government appointed the Royal Commission to enquire into the Municipal Corporations of England and Wales, it was found impossible even to frame an exact list of those which were in existence, still less to give any precise definition of what constituted a Municipal Borough, or Municipal Corporation. (1) Comyn's Digest could give no better definition than that "Borough imports an ancient town of principal note, and which enjoys particular privileges". (2) What is clear is that most Corporations evolved as associations of producers, joining together for the communal good of the various craftsmen of the town, rather than for the benefit of the consumer, that is, the townspeople at large. (3) The first legal act of incorporation however, is not easy to determine. Many boroughs, like Nottingham and York, claimed to be boroughs by prescription, others based their status upon Charters of dubious legality. (4) Even when as in the case of Boston, incorporation came relatively late (1546), the repeated grant of privileges from the Crown often left inconsistency and confusion. But by 1660 most Municipal Corporations had several fairly well-defined Charters and letters patent

(1) MCR 5, 16

(2) Comyn's Digest 1st Ed. (1762) I 613

(3) S & B Webb, The Development of English Local Government, 1689 to 1835
(1963) 23 - 29

(4) S & B Webb, The Manor and the Borough (1963) I 263

from the Crown which enumerated their rights and privileges as Municipal Corporations with greater or lesser clarity. Moreover, after the interference by Charles II and James II with Municipal Charters, most Boroughs returned, under William and Mary, to one particular 'governing' Charter under which they chiefly operated until 1835.

The conciliar structure of the Boroughs of Boston, Nottingham and York, was therefore, well defined for the period from 1660 to their reform. The most striking feature in the constitution of all three was the absence of any effective popular control within the town councils. In most boroughs, any participation by the burgesses at large in the actual administration of business had been dispensed with early in the town's history. The Corporation of Romney Marsh was following age-old precedent when in 1604 they resolved that twenty-four of the freeholders or burgesses, should henceforth "be instead of the whole commonalty, and no other of the commonalty to intermeddle under pain of five pounds".(5) J.R.Green speaks of "an oligarchical system of administration" as being "in its full strength in the English boroughs as early as 1300", (6) and during the next two centuries, selective common councils were substituted voluntarily or by Royal Charter for the ancient communal assemblies in many boroughs. Such a development was inevitable, for, as the size of the borough grew, administration by the burgesses at large became thoroughly impracticable. As Thomas Babyngton, Nottingham's recorder wrote in 1512 ".... if ye shall suffer the commons to rule and follow their appetite

(5) S & B Webb, The Manor and the Borough (1963) I 361

(6) J.Tait, The Medieval English Borough (1936) 303

and desires, farewell all good order ! "(7)

The removal of the entire commonalty from the borough administration and the substitution of a select governing body did not however, of itself, render the Corporation undemocratic. The essence of democracy lies in the representative system, and although "the early municipal councils were elected by the communities of their towns, and were therefore supposed to represent them" (8) by 1835 elections had, in numerous boroughs, assumed a totally different form. By the method of selection, and the limitations imposed upon the "popular" representative, the three Corporations of Boston, Nottingham and York became closed bodies par excellence.

At Boston there was no pretence of allowing the burgesses at large to participate in council elections. The governing body consisted of one chamber composed of the Mayor, twelve Aldermen (including the Mayor) and eighteen common councillors. The common councillors were chosen for life by ballot of the Mayor and Aldermen who thus completely controlled entry into the council, for by practice, the office of common councillor was the initial step into the ruling body. Admission to the Aldermanic ranks was similarly controlled, the Mayor and Aldermen making the initial choice of six common councillors, from whom the entire governing body selected the one member.(9)

At Nottingham, under the terms of the governing charter, elections to the ruling body were established upon popular principles,

(7) D.Gray, Nottingham through 500 years (1949) 26
(8) J.Tait, The Medieval English Borough (1936) 281
(9) MCR Boston 2151

but by 1835 the election procedure which had been adopted was hardly more representative than at Boston. "By means of byelaws, or gradual encroachments, the election of corporate officers and other functions of the corporation have become vested in a select body, in the appointment of a very small portion of which, except in name, the Burgesses at large have any share".(10) The governing Charter of Henry VI vested civic authority in the Mayor and burgesses, together with two Sheriffs and six Aldermen to be elected by the burgesses at large from amongst themselves.(11) The place of the burgesses within this ruling body was soon diminished. As early as 1446 Geoffrey Knyveton Mayor, ordered "That xii and the Maior (be) chosen to order and dispose of as they thincke meete of all things belonginge to the commonaltie of the towne without interrupcion or contradiccion of any person within the towne".(12) The burgesses continued however to maintain their place, for in 1463 ordinances were made by the Mayor, recorder and one hundred and thirty burgesses,(13) but, by 1557, the governing body, as regarded the appointment of officers, comprised the mayor, recorder, aldermen and six common councillors. In 1577 six more councillors were added, but these twelve men were all members of the livery and did not, therefore, represent the burgesses at large.(14) It would appear that, by this time, the burgesses at large had been successfully excluded from participation in

(10) MCR Nottingham 1987

(11) MCR Nottingham 1986,1987.

(12) D.Gray, Nottingham through 500 years (1949) 24

(13) Ibid., 25

(14) MCR Nottingham 1987. The Livery consisted of those men who had served in the Office of Chamberlain or Sheriff. These officers were elected by the select governing body - ie. by the Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors. The Councillors were selected by the burgesses at large, but they could only be chosen from the ranks of the liverymen,

in the actual administration of the borough. However this situation was further modified by the freemen themselves when, in 1606, they obtained a privy council order establishing a governing body which consisted only of the Mayor and twentyfour councillors who were to be elected by the Mayor and burgesses at large.(15) Nevertheless, disagreements between Aldermen and burgesses respecting their power within the borough council, and their rights of election to it continued through most of the eighteenth century (16) and for most of the period from 1660 to 1835 the governing body at Nottingham sat as a single chamber comprising the Mayor, six other Aldermen, and twentyfour common councillors. The mode of election however, ensured that the influence of the burgesses at large was minimal, and that the governing body remained, in all significant aspects, self elected. Six of the Councilmen (junior council) were chosen by free ballot of the entire burgess body, but entry to the inner sanctum of the corporation did not lie here. It lay rather in the office of Chamberlain, for it was from the ranks of the Liverymen (all past Chamberlains and Sheriffs) that all other members of the governing body were elected. The eighteen senior councillors were elected by the burgesses at large, but their choice was limited to the ranks of the Liverymen; the Aldermen were chosen from the ranks of the senior council by the governing body alone. Election to the office of Chamberlain and Sheriff lay firmly entrenched in the hands of the governing body. To all intents and purposes therefore the governing body was self-perpetuating. The only exception lay

(15) MCR Nottingham 1988

(16) MCR Nottingham 1988 . 1991

in the election of the six junior councilmen, who, by their small number, held little effective power in the council. The position itself was nothing more than a blind alley for it was in no way a passport to further office, and indeed, became an almost certain way of evading election into the senior council and Aldermanic ranks.

In York the Mayor was already, by the end of the fourteenth century, surrounded by concentric circles of counsel, and this remained the pattern for the period from 1660 to 1835. The innermost ring consisted of twelve Aldermen who, together with a council of twentyfour, formed the upper house in a bicameral governing body. The outer circle consisted of seventy two burgesses, and formed therefore the representative element proper.(17) This lower chamber was, however, called only for specific, and usually political, purposes, while the former remained the Executive.

Although the burgesses at large held no part in the conciliar elections, the existence of this large lower chamber facilitated a less closed system than existed at both Boston and Nottingham. The selection of nominees or lites by the seventy-two for vacancies in their own ranks and those of the Aldermen and Sheriffs ensured that, although the upper house made the final selection, a large number of burgesses retained some considerable influence.

(17) VCH 78; MCR York 1738

Appointed within a bicameral framework however, the common councillors were in danger of losing all but a minimal degree of influence, yet the period 1660 to 1835 on the contrary, saw a widening of the lower chamber's powers. By the seventeenth century, although it was summoned infrequently and was an affirmative rather than a consultative body, it was nevertheless involved in some important financial work. The commons were represented among the auditors and on the leasing committee, and were summoned when, for example, a rate was to be assessed, or extra expenditure was occasioned.(18) The eighteenth century saw a continued, but slight increase, in the influence of the common council, until by the end of the century, they were called in to consider every act of importance. Their accretion of power however did not pass undisputed. The crisis occurred in 1746 when the Town Clerk searched the records and discovered that the consent of the Commons was not necessary for payments up to £10, or larger payments in an emergency. A committee was subsequently appointed to investigate the rights of the lower house and all orders extending the commons' privileges were rescinded, but in practice, despite further controversies, the disputed privileges were retained.(19) The influence of the lower house should not however be exaggerated. It remained, until 1835, essentially a consultative body for the administrative Upper house of the Lord Mayor, the twelve Aldermen, two Sheriffs and the twentyfour.(20)

(18) eg. YHB 34f 114; 35f 175; 36ff 58, 126, 206, 220; 37f 120; 38f 93

(19) YHB 43ff 211, 212, 221, 225, 239, 249, 258, 262, 281, 295
YHB 45ff 7, 26, 80

(20) The twentyfour was, in spite of its name, a body of fluctuating size comprising all past sheriffs.

Throughout the period 1660 to 1835 therefore, the Corporations of Nottingham, Boston and York remained closed bodies, and it was this aspect of the three Corporations which was most bitterly complained of by the public at the municipal enquiries in 1833. No single evil in these Corporations was more loudly criticised than their exclusiveness, for not only the Commissioners were "possessed by an abstract belief in the inherent rightfulness of popularly elected bodies"(21). To the staunch Tories in Nottingham, to the Whigs in Boston, and to every excluded merchant, shopkeeper, framework knitter and other person who felt himself unfairly unrepresented, the exclusiveness of his local Corporation was the root of every evil.

The opportunities for abuse were certainly great. At Boston the Corporation became almost exclusively Tory in sympathy, at Nottingham only Whigs and dissenters were represented in the Council. Exclusiveness operated too in the co-opting of family and friends, and in the distribution of corporate and charitable funds. But evidence from all three Boroughs indicates also that, although self-elected, these bodies contained men of respectability and good standing who, as individuals, were revered by those who censured them for being members of the Corporation.(22) The evidence from Leeds clearly indicates that whatever practices may have been uncovered to support the case for reform, it was the system which was essentially under

(21) S & B Webb, The Manor and the Borough (1963) II 719
(22) Conclusion 778

criticism. "The great respectability of the present members of the Corporation and their impartial conduct as justices, were universally acknowledged; but the restricted system and want of a more popular method of election were loudly complained of".(23)

At York too, even though the burgesses at large enjoyed no place in conciliar elections, "persons of various political opinions are frequently elected, and it appears that differences of religious sentiment does not afford any ground for exclusion, However, the mode of electing the common council makes that body unpopular and renders it the object of suspicion and distrust".(24)

Yet, even where co-option as such was not practised, conciliar elections could be manipulated to meet the demands of the governing body. In Doncaster, in order to limit the freemen's choice, the common council chose as lites for Office one person whom they wished to be elected, and one person who was known to be unpopular with the electors. "One gentleman who had staunchly declared his determination not to give money to anyone voting for him was put out as lite ten or twelve times, despite his being at variance with the members of the common council".(25)

Boston, Nottingham and York were not alone in being unrepresentative town councils, and it should be remembered that the small percentage of men who combined the necessary wealth with sufficient education to serve as councillors, were, in any case,

(23) MCR Leeds 1620
(24) MCR York 1743
(25) MCR Doncaster 1497

unrepresentative. But this element in their constitutions could put them out of touch with the needs of their townsmen, and it was this element which rendered them so vulnerable to the demand for reform, as the notion of fair representation gained increasing credit in early nineteenth century England.

FINANCIAL ORGANISATION

From the date of its first Charter, a Borough Corporation acquired immunities and franchises, rights, privileges and properties which provided the municipality with a monetary income. Successive royal grants, gifts and donations from individuals and investment by the corporations themselves, soon provided a steadily increasing fiscal return until by 1660 most boroughs possessed appreciable wealth, and some, like Doncaster, owned land and privileges of immense value.

For the majority of corporations, it was the rental income from their properties which provided the single most important form of revenue (26) and this was certainly the case for the boroughs of Boston, Nottingham and York. In the form of lands and tenements, houses, pastures, mills, ferries, docks, quays, stallage and tolls the three corporations possessed very different, but equally valuable, holdings. The rents received from lands and buildings accounted for the major proportion of their annual rental incomes and in this respect the three boroughs were equally well endowed. At Nottingham however the corporation probably owned a higher percentage of tenements and shops within the town than either Boston or York. The borough possessed very large areas of fields, meadows and gardens, many of which were some of the corporation's most valuable properties (27), but the public houses, tenements and shops

(26) A notable exception to this is Leeds, where the corporation possessed no property at all: MCR 1623

(27) Nottingham rental, 1772-3 e.g. Near Coppice £40 pa; Eastern part of Near Coppice £47 pa

together accounted for a larger part of the annual rental income. Indeed this was the more so as the town's population grew in size, and buildings and land reached a premium.

At York grants, bequests and purchases had left the borough in 1660 with a fairly balanced proportion of houses and farming land, but unlike Nottingham, the corporation had at its disposal several very large and valuable farms. Probably the most remunerative of these was the Tang Hall Estate which in 1830 was leased in severalty for a total of £530 p.a.(28) This farm was, it is true, not held in fee simple; the corporation leased it from the prebend of Fridaythorpe on renewable leases for three lives. For the renewals the corporation paid heavily. Between 1693 & 1716 three renewals totalled £590 which with the legal charges and annual rent brought the cost of the estate to the corporation, to some £1173 (29) over twenty-three years. The corporation in turn however leased the farm for at least £121 p.a. (30), and this even during this period of unusually frequent lease renewal, the corporation still made a profit of over £1500. In addition to Tanghall the council purchased a valuable farm at Laxton which with two farms at Fawdington and Carlton Miniot produced an annual revenue of some £690 p.a. in 1831.(31) These individual properties were therefore of considerable significance within the annual rental, but the extensive possessions of the corporation in the town - the public houses, shops and other buildings, - should not be overlooked.

(28) York E 78a

(29) YCAB passim

(30) This was its rental in 1690

(31) York E78a

At Boston however, the corporate properties, by distinct contrast with Nottingham, consisted primarily of arable and pasture lands around the town. The corporation did own a number of shops and tenements within Boston, but owing to the small size and nature of the town, it is not surprising that most of its property consisted of land rather than buildings. From a "true and perfect survey of all the lands tenements and hereditaments belonging to the Mayor and Burgesses" (32) the overwhelming predominance of tracts of land is quite apparent. Like York the corporation owned a number of very large and valuable farm holdings, many of which in 1819 rented for £100 and upwards, and one of which, in the West fen was leased for £450 p.a.(33) Moreover, like Nottingham, Boston benefited from the particular development of the area during the later eighteenth century. By enclosure and drainage, the value of the corporate holdings was much enhanced.

Although lands and tenements constituted the largest portion of the rental income, all three boroughs owned in addition rights and privileges of variable pecuniary value which were included within the orbit of the rental roll. Essentially these consisted of tolls granted by royal charter or act of parliament leviable not only in the markets, but as "through tolls" and river dues.

At Boston, by grant of Henry VIII in his charter of incorporation, the borough owned the right forever to charge and receive "a reasonable toll for goods there bought or sold, and pckage,

(32) Survey 1677to1681/2 Boston 4/B/4/4

(33) Boston rental book 1819

stallage, pontage, lastage, wharfage, and passage, as the Mayor and Aldermen of King's Lynn have".(34) The last conditional clause respecting the rights of the borough of King's Lynn caused much debate and confusions over the legal rights of the Boston council in the early nineteenth century,(35) but the corporation never-the-less claimed, by virtue of this charter, extensive and valuable dues. Most of these tolls were, at Boston, rented as one lease for the majority of the period 1660-1835 and the lessee received in addition to the tolls, a messuage near the bridge, the crane on Parker's Quay (Packhouse Quay) and "all the staythes quays, wharfs and landing places belonging to the Mayor and Burgesses". By virtue of the charter of incorporation they claimed, as a through toll, duties on all horses, cattle, carts, waggons, sheep and wool passing over or through the town bridge(36) and market tolls and stallage on all sales and purchases. The only exception to this was the stallage paid at the annual mart, which was included in the rents, and the "corn tolls and the tolls on rush ropes, apple carts and all other wares exposed for sale in the market place without stalls" which were a perquisite of office for the Common cryer.(37) Although the leases refer to the "pig market tolls" and the letting of the sheep pens with their tolls, it seems quite clear that the payme ts involved were pennage charges, the rate in both cases being one penny per animal per day.(38)

Although these market and passage tolls alone were

(34) Boston 6/3 legal documents concering tollcause

(35) See later 393

(36) Duties over the Bridge were discontinued in 1830 after disputes
H. Porter, op. cit. I 6.

(37) Lease 1718 Boston 4/B/3/6

(38) Leases passim; BAB 14th Mar. 1719; BAB 13th June 1809

a valuable source of income to the council, it was the river and harbour dues which were most important to Boston. Under the authority of Henry VIII's Charter of incorporation, the lessee of the tolls claimed wharfage, and keyage on all goods loaded or unloaded within the jurisdiction of the port and borough. After the first harbour Act of 1812, however, these tolls were vested under the authority of the corporation as Harbour trustees. Wharfage was still to be paid for "all goods wares and commodities whatsoever landed out of or put on board any ship or vessel or on or from any of the wharfs or quays within the port and harbour from the Grand Sluice to Maudfooster's Gowt"(39) at detailed rates specified within the schedule to the act. But from July 1812 they were removed from the general lease of the tolls and collected by officers appointed by the Hall.(40)

In addition to these tolls, the Charter of Admiralty received by the borough in 1572/3 (15 Elizabeth) granted to the corporation admiralty jurisdiction over an area extending beyond the port and borough to the Norman Deeps,(41) and the right to collect tonnage on all incoming and outgoing vessels, for the upkeep of the buoys, beacons and seamarks. Frequently referred to in the early accounts as "beaconage" these tolls were in 1734 joined with the previously separate lease of ballastage, lastage and anchorage (granted by Henry VIII) and rented to Alderman Richard Bell.(42) Thereafter however they were put in the hands of

(39) Harbour Act 52 Geo III c 105, 1812

(40) BAB 6th July 1812

(41) and "all manner of places and "light money" received from ships

(42) 4/B/4/6

a collector who passed his receipts to the Chamberlain. The Chamberlain in turn accounted for this income and the expense of maintaining the buoys and beacons in his annual chamber account, and these tolls thus ceased to be entered within the category of rental income. The corporation was entitled to levy tonnage rates not only at Boston, but at Spalding and Wainfleet too, though the receipts from the two smaller ports were considerably less. In 1762/3 for example, the tonnage rates levied at Spalding realized only five guineas in comparison with £79.0.1½d at Boston.(43) The dues at Wainfleet and Spalding nevertheless continued to be collected, together with lastage on all grain shipped to and from the ports.

By the terms of the admiralty charter, the toll was to be levied at specified rate for each variety of ship or cargo, ranging from 4/- for every ship belonging to a Scotsman, or 5/- for foreign ships to 20d for English ships and 8d for coasting vessels. But by the mid eighteenth century, if not before, the rate of the toll appears from the accounts to have been 1½d per ton for non-townsmen and 1d per ton for townsmen (44), and by the 1775 Pilot Act they were regularized at 1d per ton or per chaldron on all British ships inwards or outwards.(45) In 1808 however the Buoys and Beacons Committee reported to the Hall that they were insolvent, for although "iron and every other article and expence in keeping the buoys and beacons has increased to a very large amount", the tonnage had remained virtually the same since the granting of the charter in 1572 .(46)

(43)BCAB 1762/3

(44) 7/B/1/3

(45) Pilot Act 1774/5 15-16 Geo III.

(46) BAB 8th Sept.1808

In April of the following year therefore the tonnage rate was advanced from 1d to 1½d per ton, (47) but it was under the terms of the 1812 Harbour Act that an appreciable increase in the Tonnage dues was made. To provide for the extensive and costly harbour improvements, it was directed that the Corporation, as the Harbour Trustees, should receive a maximum of 6d per ton from British ships, and 9d per ton from foreign ships for tonnage, and 1d on wheat and ½d on grain for lastage.(48) Inevitably the maximum rates were imposed, and although the Corporation in 1816 made reply to a shipowner's petition by reducing the rates for ships registered at Boston,(49) in 1828 the maximum rates were again imposed. Public notice was given that "from and after the 5th day of July next ensuing, the Tonnage rates and duties now charged and payable upon all ships and vessels registered as belonging to the Port of Boston on entering inwards or clearing outwards at the Custom House...shall be increased to the sum of 6d per ton".(50) These rates however, together with wharfage, were, after 1812 received not into the corporate account proper, but into the Harbour Fund.(51)

The Corporation at Nottingham were entitled to extensive, but not particularly valuable, river tolls. The earliest charter surviving for the town granted power to levy toll for the passage and crossing of the Trent between Thrumpton and Newark on the South side of the river and between the "brook beyond Rempstone", and the water of Retford on the North side, the central eleven yards being free to all navigators.(52)

(47) BAB 4th April 1809

(48) Harbour Act 1812 52 Geo III c.105 and Accounts 7/B/1/4/1, 7/B/1/4/2-90

(49) 7/F/3/27th Nov.1816

(50) 7/F/3/27th May 1828

(51) There remain also some accounts for "light money" received from ships going into or departing from Boston, for the number of lights which they passed

(52) Charter Henry II c.1155

Accordingly toll was received at Newark, Mattersey and Everton, Gunthorpe and Fiskerton, and also at Trent Bridge where a through toll was received both for goods passing under the bridge and those passing over the bridge. Regarding the under bridge tolls, the burgess ledger refers to duties payable "for every tun of goods wares or merchandize sailing or passing under the Trent Bridge".(53) and in 1752 the Sheriffs were directed to "take the usual Toll of Persons who carry Goods for Hire for going and coming over the Trent bridges not being Burgesses of this corporation".(54)

The Trent Bridge and Newark tolls were indeed perquisites of office for the two Sheriffs, who leased them out to individual speculators. Since few of the Sheriff's accounts now remain, it is difficult to trace the leasing of these two tolls, but it is evident that their value was slowly declining during the nineteenth century probably through a decrease in the traffic on the river and through opposition to the levy. From a rent of £100 per annum in 1819 (55), the tolls were in 1833, let out for only £63 per annum, the tenant having refused to pay the £84 per annum which the Corporation had requested.(56)

Unlike the Bridge and Newark tolls however, the dues received at Fiskerton, Everton and Mattersey, and Gunthorpe, were appropriated directly to the use of the corporation. Since these too were put on lease, they were accounted within the annual rental income, but they were never of great value. In 1733/4 they were leased for only £10 altogether, and it is not therefore surprising that during the course of the next forty years they disappeared from the rental accounts.

(53) 1567
(54) NHB 3511f34
(55) NHB 3578f70,71
(56) NHB 3593f116

No doubt they had been abandoned by the Corporation as opposition to their imposition increased.(57)

Of more importance to the Nottingham Council therefore were the market stallage and tolls, but these again were, until 1826, chiefly payable to the Sheriffs. In addition to levies on specific items brought into the town for sale on, for example, cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, oatmeal, corn and fruit, (mostly received by the Sheriff or their Officers), there were two general market tolls known as the passage, or great toll, and the stallage, or small toll. The former was a double toll levied at Goose Fair of 2d on all goods exposed for sale, and the latter was not in fact a stallage, but a 1d toll payable every Saturday except Goose Fair, on all goods for sale except butter, fruit and nuts. The fact that it was referred to as a stallage,(58) caused no small amount of confusion, especially for the Town Clerk when providing evidence in the suits concerning the Corporate right to toll and stallage in 1833. These two tolls were in turn rented at a nominal fee by the two Sheriffs to their two bailiffs, who, in addition to the great and small tolls, received in the market place, collected similar tolls on the butchers' stalls in the Shambles.(59) For these latter tolls they rendered accounts. Amongst the tolls on specific items was the corn toll, or scavengers fee, as it was usually known, presumably because it had once formed the emolument of the town scavenger. By 1660 however he received an annual wage, and the "fee" was put on lease until the abolition of the corn tolls in 1800. (60) The scavengers fee is described in

(57) Opposition to toll rights grew steadily during the eighteenth century. See Chapter 6 p380 . Fiskerton disappears from the rent toll in 1735, Everton in 1755 and Gunthorpe in 1769.

(58) eg;1822,NHB 3581/94 "A lease for one year of the toll called the Stallage or small toll".

(59) Chamber accounts, Ledger A, the Chamberlains' made payment to the two bailiffs,Wm. Wright and Thomas Hutton, on behalf of the Sheriffs, for collecting the tolls on the country stalls at Goose Fair and on the Butchers' stalls throughout the year. These entries appear c1809 and are still made for 1822/3 when Hutton and Wright are known to have held the small and passage tolls in lease. NHB 3581f94

(60) NHB 3559f47,54

lease agreements as "the tolls of all corn grain and malt brought to the market on Saturdays, weekdays or any other day", (61) but theoretically the Scavenger's fee represented only a portion of the corn tolls. The Nottingham Journal of October 4th 1794 printed the following notice from the Town Clerk:-

"....by virtue of divers Royal Charters, and otherwise the corporation of Nottingham are intituled to, and have immemorially received, amongst other things, a toll on corn, bought, sold, or delivered within the said town being in the proportion of one strike in every twelve Quarter of such corn; and by virtue of such charters and of a decree in his Majesty's court of exchequer founded thereon, they are further intituled to, and have immemorially received a Toll in the nature of a Scavenger's fee, from the inhabitants of divers villages in the said county (who have claimed an exemption from such first mentioned toll on account of their being Tenants of the Duchy of Lancaster) which Toll amounts to the proportion of Half-a - Strike for every twelve quarters of corn....."(62)

The corn toll was therefore the only market levy from which the chamber estate proper benefited, until in 1827 the corporation abolished the passage and small tolls. In lieu thereof they collected an increased stallage rate which was put into the newly created market place account. There had previously been a regular levy of stallage in the market place but it had been only in the nominal sum of 1/- p.a. which was collected and

(61) Lease 5022

(62) N.J.4-10-1794

taken by the Mayor's sergeant at Goose Fair.

At York the corporation was entitled to similar dues to Nottingham for the carriage of woolpacks, coal and lime over Ousebridge, but it was again the tolls in the markets and fairs which were most valuable to the corporation. Unlike Nottingham, they did not at York form the emolument of any officers, but constituted, as leases, a direct part of the corporate rental income.

York was entitled to collect tolls in all the markets and fairs. But these rights were surrendered once a year at Lammas, when the Archbishop received toll at the gates of the city on all cattle going to the fortnight fair and returning after sale, on all small wares in the Thursday Pavement Markets, and any other article over the value of 2d brought in for sale through the gates and taken out after purchase. The principal of the corporate tolls were those on corn and malt collected in pavement market. By a bye law of 1581,"all strangers and others such as have been freemen and do not keep scot nor lot within this city, nor do pay to the poor of this city, shall pay Toll for all such corne as they shall bring to this city".(63) There were in addition, tolls and dues levied in Thursday market, and although this was held primarily for butcher's meat, the 1762 lease of the toll directed the lessee to claim "...all that their ancient and due Toll and Custom for

(63) F. Drake, Eboracum (1785) II 98

Hemp and Hempseed, oatmeal, apples, peas, nuts, cherries, and other fruit salt and other things and commoditys to be sold in the said Market...."(64). By the Charter of 1590 (32 Elizabeth) the corporation was entitled also to levy dues upon all the cattle and other beasts bought and sold at the fortnight fair, and in addition fish tolls were collected from the market on Fossbridge, Although these latter were remitted in 1724 in an attempt to encourage the trade of the market, the effect was negligible and they were reimposed in 1727. But like the toll on potatoes, which was abandoned,(66) and the Toll on oysters, which cost as much to collect as it produced,(67) the fish tolls were of little financial importance.

The lands, tenements and toll rights owned by the three corporations were therefore extensive, and surprisingly there was little difference in their overall value in the three different boroughs. From a comparison of the rental income of the three councils in the year 1700, it is evident that their properties were of much the same value; but by 1830 the greatly increased value of the harbour tolls at Boston had left the borough with the largest basic income of all three.

Comparative rental and toll income; (to nearest £1)

	Boston	Nottingham	York
1700	£368	£442	£386
1830	£3166	£4003	£3950
Tolls 1830 not included in the rents.	£2281	£1037	£0000
	} £5447	} £5040	} £3950

(64) E101/192

(65) F. Drake, op. cit., II 83

(66) YHB 50/112

(67) York MCR 1752

The £2000 received for the tolls at Boston was however applied solely to the harbour maintenance, and thus, like the £1000 of stallage receipts at Nottingham, (which were applied to the Market place improvement) this revenue was not entered into the general corporate funds.

The rental income from their properties provided the corporations of Boston, Nottingham and York, with a regular annual revenue which formed the basis of their financial organization. Not only was it the largest annual income, and the only revenue upon which the corporation could safely rely, but it was also predetermined in amount. Yet these advantages carried with them disadvantages, too. For if it was an income which the corporation could calculate in advance, it was also one which could not be hastily augmented. When contingencies arose therefore, the corporation had to resort to expedients.

This fundamental source of income was however in most boroughs supplemented by a miscellany of further revenues, which usually had their own place on the account roll. Some of these provided a regular, if small, supply of money. At Boston the corporation held rights to tythe as rectors of Boston Church, and at Nottingham the corporation received payments for the agistment of the East Croft. And in all three boroughs there was from time to time, an income from money which the councils had invested. In the earlier part of the period this consisted usually of the interest which the corporation received on the money

which it occasionally lent out. But from the middle of the eighteenth century all three corporations took out shares in the increasingly popular canal and road building schemes and received from them an annual dividend.

The remaining sources of income available to the three councils were, however, though often productive of an annual supply, essentially unpredictable. If the council was lucky it might receive donations or bequests towards its work; it might alternatively succeed in levying subscriptions from the public towards the cost of improvement schemes. More frequently there were small receipts from the payment of debts and arrears, from fines received in the law courts or from tenants for the renewal of their leases, and there was always the possibility of a credit balance being left by the previous Chamberlain. But most notably there were the fines received from non-freemen for the redemption of their burgesship. Legally a corporation could not sell a part of its franchise, but it could admit members on the payment of a fee or subscription. For those people therefore who did not qualify for their freedom through birth right or the completion of an apprenticeship, it was possible to gain the burgessship on payment of a sum of money. In Richmond the corporation did not grant freedoms in this way,(68) but in most boroughs it became more than a convenient mode of enfranchisement: by the enforcement of stringent regulations against non-freemen trading, the

(68) MCR Richmond 1701

corporation discovered an important method of raising money for the civic coffers. By these means an income from freedom monies at York figured in the accounts virtually every year and in much the same spirit the corporate authorities of most boroughs imposed fines upon freemen who refused to undertake the obligatory civic offices. For although such fines were introduced to ensure the service of those duly elected to office, it became almost customary at York to elect for office a candidate known to be unable or unwilling to serve. These two forms of income therefore, although prone by nature to violent fluctuation, were open to careful manipulation by a council in need of money.

When these forms of income were insufficient, the three councils were obliged to resort to expedients. Most frequently these took the form of property sales, loans and annuities or ~~taxes~~ tontines. But many boroughs held in addition to the corporate funds, supplementary accounts which could provide ready source of money when occasion arose. Apart from the county rate, which by Act of Parliament in 1794, most boroughs were entitled to raise, (and which amongst others removed the burden of maintaining the gaol and its prisoners from the corporate finances) many borough councils had been made trustees for charitable funds. In many cases the money received in this behalf was accounted for only within the corporate funds. Thus at Boston and York the income from

numerous charity bequests was jumbled together with the corporate receipts, and at Nottingham the funds of Bilbie's hospital, of the Lambley Charity, Robinson's and Thomas White's charity were, until late in the nineteenth century accounted only within the Chamber Estate funds.(69) In years when these charities showed a profit, their surplus holdings were automatically absorbed by the corporate accounts, until the balance was again made good.

At Boston and Nottingham however, the corporations held in addition to those Charities entered in the corporate accounts, trust estates of much larger dimensions which were administered in their own right. At Nottingham, the Corporation managed two such Estates, known as the Bridge and School Estates. Established for purposes self evident, the Bridge Estate originated in a bequest of John and Alice Le Paumer in 1313 for the maintenance of the "Hethebethebrigg" (Trent Bridge), but the School Estate was not created until two centuries later, when Agnes Mellors in 1513 made an endowment for the maintenance of a free grammar school. The Corporation annually elected two Bridgemasters and two School Wardens to administer the funds and direct business as ordered by the Common Hall. Despite the separate administration of these Estates however, the corporate use of their revenues was blatant. For many years any profits accruing at the financial year end, were transferred directly and openly to the Chamber Fund; but once this misdemeanour was corrected the Chamber Estate borrowed only on payment of interest. At Boston the Corporation

(69) Vide infra Chapters 5,12

was granted, by Charter of Philip and Mary, (1555), all the lands and properties previously belonging to the gilds of Saint Mary, Saint Peter and Saint Paul and the Holy Trinity which had been dissolved under Edward VI. The application of these erection lands was to be to the establishment and maintenance of a free grammar school with a master, the support of two chaplains, four poor bedesmen at the church, and the maintenance of the bridge and port. This last application was challenged by the charity commissioners, who maintained that the grants were made in consideration of the high costs of repairing the bridge, and not to that purpose.(70) But from the wording of the Charter: "that the Mayor and Burgesses may be the better enabled to support the charges and expences of the repairs and maintenance of the said bridge and port", it would certainly appear to be a question for legal interpretation. It is worthy of note however that the Municipal Commissioners found the application of the Erection funds to the support of the bridge, to be quite in order.

The income and expenditure involved in the Erection Estate were maintained independently of the civic accounts, by the Erection Bailiff. But as at Nottingham, this charity estate proved to be a ready buffer in times of financial need. Although the funds were carefully and correctly applied, the Hall did not hesitate to call upon the Erection Bailiff to take a share in any expenses which could be considered as partially his responsibility. In both Boston

(70) Charity Commissioners' Report 11

and Nottingham, the Trust Estates could prove a present help in times of need.

The obligations incumbent upon the municipal body with regard to the expenditure of their revenues, were by no means clear. The typical Municipal Corporation during this period had no conception of itself as a local government authority in the modern sense. Believed of the medieval burdens of defending the town and maintaining its walls against attack, most town councils between 1660&1835 found themselves left with few ancient obligations other than that of paying the annual fee farm and administering justice. Yet they remained incapable of recognising to the full their new responsibilities in town life. At the same time parliament further diminished the corporate sphere of action by establishing under local acts of parliament commissioners outside the corporation, with responsibilities ranging from the upkeep of roads, rivers and canals, to urban lighting, paving and sanitation. For, "to the Hanoverian Monarchs, as to Sir Robert Walpole and his successors, it never occurred to connect the existence of a Municipal Corporation with any responsibility for meeting even the long standing requirements of the borough, still less the new and changing needs of the inhabitants".(72)

(72) S & B. Webb, The Manor and the Borough (1963) I 288

Even so, the assertion of the Municipal Commissioners in their report of 1834 that "few corporations admit any positive obligations to expend the surplus of their income for objects of public advantage", was too sweeping and too exaggerated to be accurate. At the Nottingham enquiry, Enfield, Town Clerk, readily testified that the civic responsibility lay in expending the money "in upholding the property, and the surplus, if any, for the benefit of the burgesses . The Corporation would not consider themselves entitled to expend the corporation funds for any purpose which would be foreign to the town".(73) It is moreover evident from the accounts themselves, that the Corporations of Boston, Nottingham and York, slowly recognised a growing responsibility for the provision of amenities and improved conditions in their towns.

As with their incomes, there were in all three Corporations, items of expenditure which were of a recurrent and generally determinable nature. Primary amongst these were the annual salaries payable to the numerous officials, and the cost of the annual feasts and entertainments within the civic year; but in addition, there was the annual fee farm rent, and at York the rent for the prebendary properties. There were too the land tax payments, and the church and poor rates, and at Boston there were drainage and river bank assessments. All Corporations with quarter sessions had in addition to make annual donations to the King's Bench and Marshalsee prisons, for under the Elizabethan Act for the relief of the poor (43, Eliz.I, 1601) the Justices of every county in Quarter Sessions were required to raise quarterly donations amounting to at least 20/0 for each prison.(74)

(73) T.Cockayne, Report of the Evidence given before the Commissioners appointed to enquire into Municipal Corporations (1833) 41,42

(74) K.T.Meaby, Notts, County Records of the eighteenth century
(Nottingham 1947) 79

In addition to these, all three corporations paid out several gratuities to retired officers or their widows; there were charity trust payments to be made; payments at Boston to the lighting and paving commissioners established by Act of 1792; (32 Geo.III c.80, amended 46 Geo.III c 40,1806) and interest payments in all three boroughs on the loans and annuities which they had raised.

Thereafter however, there was an amorphous mass of payments associated with the upkeep of the town. Within the orbit of annual or ordinary expenses there fell the cost of repairing and maintaining the corporate properties, and the maintenance of the fundamental amenities, such as lighting, street cleansing and repair, fire-fighting equipment and the policing or watching of the town. But beyond these there were irregular charges involved in town,river or port improvements; in the promotion of schemes for the economic betterment of the town; charitable donations, legal charges and the Town Clerk's bills; the celebration of national events; the occasional visits of royalty and nobility to the town; and the repayments of previous corporate debts and account deficits. For the period 1660 to 1835 therefore, although none of the three corporations had accepted sufficient responsibilities to be classed as a local authority in the modern sense, all had undertaken civic responsibilities of an extensive, if inconsistent, nature.

In the administration of the financial business of the borough, it was in all three corporations the Chamberlain who was the principal official. The number of Chamberlains and the mode of their

election differed from borough to borough. At Boston only one was elected, but at Nottingham there were two, and at York the number fluctuated, usually within the region of six or eight. At their first mention in 1290 there had, at York, been only four Chamberlains serving, but during the financial crisis of the fifteenth century their number was increased to six, and Drake wrote that it had previously been customary to elect as many as twelve.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Of this large number however, only one, the Lord Mayor's Chamberlain served as a Chamberlain proper, receiving the revenues from the Steward, making payments on the authority of an order signed by the Lord Mayor or his Deputy, and casting up the accounts at the year end.

Since the office gave them access not only to the corporate funds, but to knowledge of all the financial dealings of the Corporation, the Chamberlains were selected with care. In all three boroughs they were elected essentially by the ruling body, and at Boston the initial selection of two candidates was reserved to the Mayor himself who chose from the ranks of the common councilmen. Having served in office, the Boston Chamberlain continued as a councillor until his seniority recommended him for an Aldermanic vacancy, and the Chamberlainship offered therefore no stepping stones to civic promotion. At York too, the Chamberlainship gave admission only to the 24 whose councillor role was limited to participation in elections. But by contrast with Boston, the Chamberlains were selected from outside the corporate ranks, being chosen from amongst the burgesses at large.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ F. Drake, Eboracum (1785) II 30

At Nottingham however, election by the governing body into the Chamberlainship was the only method of entry into the Senior Council and Aldermanic ranks.

Once elected, the Chamberlains in all three boroughs served only for a year. In 1660 Boston council finally realised the importance of establishing continuity, and resolved that in future, two Chamberlains should be elected, one of whom should serve for two successive years, but within a matter of months the resolution was displaced by the decision to once again elect only one Chamberlain for the ensuing year.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The continuation of this practice inevitably hindered the development of continuity and progress both in the financial management of the borough and in the maintenance of the accounts.

The borough's financial year invariably ran concurrently with the Mayoral year, which most commonly proceeded, as at Nottingham, from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. At Boston however, the Mayoral and the financial year ran from May 1st, while at York they began, after about 1730, on Lord Mayor's (Election) day, being February 3rd. Prior to the mid eighteenth century, York's financial year began on January 15th having been altered from Michaelmas in 1376.

The responsibilities of the Chamberlain comprised basically collecting and receiving the borough rents and dues, inspecting and maintaining the borough properties, and paying all

(76) BAB 1660 ff 443,460. At Northampton, two were elected to serve for two years, one retiring each year:

J.C.Cox, Records of Borough of Northampton (1898) II 56

the bills authorized by the corporation. As his oath at Nottingham recited, he was appointed to employ "well and truly" his "cuning and power" in the service of the borough. "You shallthe Comon woods, meadows, rents, farms or void grounds letten or to be let wais(t)e & Estrayes duely and diligently oversee, And them and every of them yule improve and set to farm by the advice oversight and assent of the Mayor and Comon Councill for and to the most profit weel and behoofe of the said Mayor and Comons....and digently gather and Levy.....rents and other casualties and duties....and due and requisite reparacons on all manner of tenements or other things belonging to the.....town..... cause to be made and the Mayors comandment...for the weal worship and profit of this....town....cause to be done without delay....."(77)

His responsibility therefore extended to every facet of financial business, as ordered by the Common Hall and this was his position at Boston too.

At York however, the Chamberlain s were assisted by a further official known as the General Receiver or City Steward, who was responsible for the actual gathering of the corporate revenues. The general reseivership was first instituted in 1627 for prior to that date the borough rents had been collected by the Bridgemaster. After the abolition of the offices of Bridge and Mure Masters, who had maintained separate accounts for the maintainance of Ouse bridge and the City walls, the Receiver was appointed for the sole purpose

(77) Nottingham Chamberlain's Oath, quoted at the begining of most of the eighteenth century account books.

of collecting all the rents, tolls and dues. From these receipts he paid the assessments laid upon the borough, and occasional additional bills, and having subtracted his own salary, passed the balance to the Lord Mayor's Chamberlain. Thereafter however, the Chamberlains' responsibilities remained, as at Nottingham, the debts duties, arrearages, murages, profits and revenues due to the City "truly to keep and dispend for the avail and profits of the city and to truly charge and discharge themselves, and true accounts make when required"(78)

But the primary *raison d'etre* of the Chamberlain was more fundamental than his oath would indicate. His powers were, after all, somewhat illusory. In all three boroughs his effective spending power was limited to a maximum above which he could act only upon orders of Hall. At Leicester the Chamberlain was indeed allowed to expend up to £30 without previous authorization (79), but at Nottingham the Chamberlains were, in 1796, limited to £5.(80) and at Boston from a maximum of £1 ordered in 1677, it was ruled, in 1747 that the Chamberlains and Election Bailiffs should, in future, have "express orders" from the Hall before laying out any sum whatsoever.(81)

His primary purpose was indeed to act as the corporate banker. In this capacity not only did he safeguard the corporate money and pay the bills, but it was from his private resources that relief was expected when the Corporation experienced a deficit. Indeed to

(78) E 34f65 Further consideration of the Receiver's role appears in Appendix II.

(79) LBR V 1382

(80) NHB. 3555f31-2

(81) BAB 1677f53 Aug.21st 1747

this responsibility is attributable the large number of Chamberlains appointed at York, for only one of them was active in normal times; when financial difficulties threatened, all were equally responsible for giving aid. During the financial crisis which York faced in the fifteenth century, the Chamberlains, between April and December 1449 paid £75 in nine installments into the common funds to meet essential charges.(82)

At the beginning of the financial year before the rents had been received, it was from the Chamberlain's private income that the bills were paid, for unlike the corporation at Leicester, no provision was made at either Boston, Nottingham or York for a floating balance.(83) In all three corporations a cash box was maintained which could be called upon from time to time, but this ~~was~~ "treasury", was of little importance except at Boston where the Chamberlain's and Election Bailiff's profits were at the year end always directed to be paid into it and then withdrawn again for the succeeding officer. Other money also went into the treasury, sometimes from the corporate funds by order of Hall during the year, sometimes from, for example, the receipts for lease renewals; and in return the Chamberlain's account was sometimes boosted from the treasury, or extraordinary expenses were covered by it.(84) In addition to supplementing the account at the beginning of the year, the Chamberlain could face a long wait for reimbursement, with little or no consideration in the form of interest if he ended the year with a deficit. On the other hand, the

(82) YCAB 1449 f 12d

(83) In 1782 Leicester council ordered that £100 be used as a floating balance to be paid to each Chamberlain as soon as he took office. And in 1804 this was further increased to £200. LBR V 1069,1295,1304

(84) see over

(84) "The Treasury" was a cash box, as maintained at both Nottingham and York, but at Boston it appears to have contained large sums of money, the balance from the corporate accounts always being paid into it, and then transferred to the succeeding officer. Order of hall were often made for cash to be paid into it, for example, a lease fine, and from these savings the Chamberlains' accounts were often augmented, or purchases made. e.g. BAB 1766/21, £147.5.1¹/₂d was taken out of the Treasury to pay for lands purchased. BAB 19th Dec.1718f329b:£350 taken out of the treasury and paid to the late Chamberlain, Mr.Brackenbury, to help balance his accounts.

corporation too could suffer when the Chamberlain was unable to supply his profit balance at the year end. For like the crown collectors, all but the most scrupulous of Chamberlains used the corporate revenues in their private accounts. To this situation the corporation at Leicester even gave acknowledgment, when in 1791 their auditors recommended that the late Chamberlains be allowed £20 "as a compensation for the inconveniences they have sustained by advancing a great deal of money in payment of Tradesmens Bills etc before their receipts commenced and for having received only half a years rents which deprived them of the advantages which former Chamberlains have been used to derive from the keeping of there Rents some time in hand".(85)

To guard against the dangers inherent in entrusting the corporate funds to an officer, the accounts were annually audited. Bonds of security were required from the York Receiver and the Chamberlains at Boston, and none of the councils hesitated to sue negligent or fraudulent officials. But despite these precautions the system still depended heavily upon the integrity and ability of the man selected to serve.

Upon this officer the administration of the corporate finances principally rested, but during the course of the eighteenth century he came to be assisted, and in some cases, almost replaced by an official who, in sharp contrast to the Chamberlain, was appointed as a part time but salaried functionary who was chosen for his professional abilities.

(85) LBR V 1125

In some Boroughs this office became so comprehensive that it led to the abolition or supercession of the Chamberlainship. In Doncaster, a Steward was appointed in 1719 whose task it was to collect the rents, supervise and pay the corporation's workmen, and make contracts to the maximum value of twenty shillings. For this he received a salary of £15 p.a., and in 1721 the office of Chamberlain was abolished: "Mr. Robert Martin having been formerly chosen Chamberlain, it is ordered that he shall continue in Office until Lady Day 1723, but there shall not be any Chamberlain chosen for this year to come nor after unless the corporation shall think it proper to chuse one or more as hath been formerly".(85a) From then until 1835 the Steward, as a salaried officer, acted as both Borough Treasurer and Borough Surveyor, his salary in 1833 amounting to £150 p.a., with a house worth £35 p.a.(85b) In Hull too, the Town Husband, a long standing officer responsible for the collection of the rents, was in 1766 appointed to transact the whole business of accounting, although the Chamberlains continued to be elected.(85c)

In Boston, Nottingham and York the Chamberlains were assisted from an early date by an officer usually known as the Town Husband. His job was to supervise the town estate, and help with rent collection, and as the period 1660-1835 progressed, his work became steadily extended to the general supervision of all corporate repairs and improvements, conducting of surveys and the provision of plans. At Boston in 1819 Jephtha Pacey was appointed "to make all

(85a) J. Tomlinson, Doncaster from the Roman occupation to the present times (1887) 54

(85b) MCR 1499

(85c) MCR 1553

such plans and estimates as may be required by the Corporation and to superintend all such Buildings as may be carried on by them and generally to attend to the repairs of all Buildings belonging to the corporation when necessary".(86) At York he was in addition given complete authority in the matter of road maintenance and repair, and he became in all three boroughs chief advisor and clerk of works to the corporation in all matters concerning their estate, building and the provision of labour and materials. By the close of the eighteenth century all three boroughs had appointed a professional and well salaried Town Husband, or Surveyor, as he became known.

At Nottingham however the office of Town Husband was developed still further when in 1796 Edward Stavely from Melton Mowbray was appointed as the Town Surveyor. This most capable man became not merely surveyor and clerk of works to the corporation but their accountant too. Authorizing repairs and improvements, paying and supervising all workmen, maintaining ledger accounts with all persons doing business with the Corporation, including the corporate officials, writing out the ledger accounts for audit and reorganizing the entire system of corporate accounting. From this time therefore, the Chamberlains were not only organized by Stavely, but in many ways superceded by him. Stavely controlled the cash payments to the workmen, received the rents, controlled at least some of the payments into the corporation's bank account (87), and issued

(86) BAB 1 Jan.1819

(87) Finance Committee Report 3987/126

cheques in his own name.(88) The extent of his authority is clearly indicated by the report of 1826 in which the Finance Committee expressed "regret that money has also been repeatedly paid without signed orders, and on some occasions contrary to the wishes and without the knowledge of Mr.Staveley".(89) The Chamberlains were not however entirely superseded by Staveley; it was still via them that most financial transactions were conducted, and they continued to authorize payments and work contracts as they always had done, under the authority of orders of the Common Hall. The Nottingham surveyor did therefore wield more extensive authority than his compatriot in either Boston or York. At York, although the Town Husband combined his office after 1734, with that of City Receiver (90), the two posts were not intended to overlap. The City Receiver was still accountable to the Chamberlain for the rents he had received, and the Husband, although he made payments for workmen and for materials, was reimbursed for these expenses by the Chamberlain and not from his receipts as City Steward. Although he appears to have had freedom in matters of paving and street repair, having for example, all roads and pavements put under his management in 1816, on condition that he use "all possible economy"(91), he was apparently under the same obligation as all other officers and workmen, to have most other

(88) Vouchers Nottingham 1824, A34 i-II and A48

(89) 3987f126

(90) YHB 42f177

(91) E 77/ 23.2.1816

work previously estimated and authorized by Hall. In 1825 he was ordered to repair a stone buttress near the Theatre, "not expending more thereon than his estimate of ffour pounds".(92) The Husband therefore retained his own account, for the due settlement of which - as any other corporate workman - he was dependent upon the Chamberlain.

By virtue of his authority in building and repairs the surveyor did, at both Boston and York, to some extent diminish the authority of the Chamberlains. Although the appointment of the Town Husband did not, in any of the three boroughs, lead to the abolition of the Chamberlainship, such as occurred at Doncaster in 1723,(93) nevertheless, he became in Boston, Nottingham and York a valuable assistant, whose authority modified to a significant degree the financial omnipotence of the annually elected official.

(92) E77/11.2.1825

(93) Chapter 2, 78

THE RECORDS

The Chamberlain's accounts remained the chief financial records in all three boroughs, and it is in these that the basic information regarding income and expenditure is to be found. The nature and extent of the Chamberlains' records inevitably varies from borough to borough, but in all three, the same basic procedure was adhered to. To check his income the Chamberlain maintained an annual rental book in which all the corporate properties, with their tenants, were listed and their payments or arrears noted. In addition, he retained copies of all the leases which were transacted. To check his expenditure he took, and retained until the audit, vouchers or bills of receipt for every payment he made during his year of office. These payments and revenues he coincidentally entered into an account book, which, in some cases, was used as the official account for audit. Alternatively however, this was used for the Chamberlains' working purposes only as a cash book, or draft account, and the whole was re-written and sometimes summarized for the use of the Auditors.

In the rental books and leases can be found an invaluable source of information. Where leases remain they provide details not only of the changing tenure of the property, but of its rental value, its nature, and positioning. At both Boston and Nottingham sufficient leases have survived to cover fairly satisfactorily the period 1660 to 1835. They are not a complete collection in either

borough, but it is possible from them to trace a handful of properties through much of the period. There are however comparatively few left at York, but in addition to the leases, there remain two most informative books covering the period from 1704 to 1813. These record the proceedings of the Committees of leases, and include not only the property transactions and changes of tenure, but the orders of Hall and recommendations of the Lease Committees respecting lease procedure, covenants and estate administration. Although these records continue only to 1813, the work of the Lease Committee was then taken over by the Finance Committee, in whose reports the information is continued to 1835. There remain, unfortunately, no comparable documents at either Boston or Nottingham, although at Boston there are two collections of order of Hall appertaining to leases, which cover the period 1786 to 1835, and also reports of the Committee for letting lands for the period 1811 to 1835, and a collection of miscellaneous documents concerning leases. These records however bear no comparison with York's for completeness.

The existence of rental books for most of the period from 1660 to 1835 does however alleviate the position at Nottingham. Rental books were kept in all three Boroughs almost, undoubtedly, for every year. In these were listed not merely all the corporate lands, tenements, burgess and aldermen's parts, (95) and their lessees' rents, but also a current list of regular annual payments in the form of

(95) These were parcels of land granted to the burgesses by seniority and to all Aldermen when in office, at a nominal yearly rent.

fees, salaries, gratuities and interest payments. At Nottingham these records remain for the period 1660-1835 almost entirely. The dating of them for the early 1800's has unfortunately become somewhat confused. The original dating, which it would seem was probably correct, has at some time been altered, and in consequence some years appear to be missing, whilst others are duplicated. This does not however alter their value. They provide an accurate account of the movement of every piece of corporate property not only as regards its rent, but in many years the nature of its letting, whether by lease or from year to year; the frequency of its change of tenure; the incidence of sub-letting, and the changes in the corporate estate by sales, purchases and property erection. Although therefore there are few rental books until 1723, they are thereafter a regular and valuable source of information. For the earlier period a terrier of corporation lands of 1604 provides a useful if rather antedated comparison.

There remain unfortunately no comparable series of rental books at either Boston or York. This is to be regretted, for a complete series not only provides information on the individual leases, but renders also valuable data on the corporate estate income as an entirety. There are at York rather more consecutive rental accounts in existence than at Boston, and although these are rather scanty, they do fortunately cover the first and last few years of the period, running from 1660-1694 and from 1790-1831. They form part of

the Receiver's accounts, which are in themselves an important source of information, for it is only from his accounts that the total rental income can be determined. Since he handed to the Chamberlain only the sum he had remaining from the rents, after allowing for arrears, sundry payments and assessments and his own salary; and in the later period paid only a portion of the sum he had remaining, maintaining a balance in his own hands; we therefore have no accurate indication of the state of the rental income or of arrears, for the greater part of the eighteenth century. Moreover, even where the Receiver's accounts remain, they do not cover the entire period within the limits above quoted. Those remaining from 1660 to 1694 (Receiver's Rolls), are reasonably complete, but several of them are illegible, and those remaining for the later period are particularly sparse, covering only the years 1790 to 1798 (Rental Books) in detail, and quoting the total rental income for the years 1812, 1818, and 1828 to 1831. Those which do remain give important evidence however of the nature of the City Receiver's business and his method of accounting. They also contain detailed rental lists for the year concerned.

At Boston however there are very few rental books remaining, and those which have survived represent only the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. (1785-6; 1788-9; 1789-90; 1791-2; 1819-20; 1820-24; 1826-35) (96). Some of them are nevertheless fully detailed, as at Nottingham, with accounts of recurring expenditure

(96) There are a few odd rentals for the earlier period, including one part eaten by rodents for 1714-15 (4/C/1/20) and one for 1776-77 (4/B/4/8). Also one for 1790 (4/B/4/9;) and one for 1803 (4/B/4/10)

in addition to the rental list, although in some years the rental list was listed by name of the tenant and not by the property. Moreover there are at Boston and York, as at Nottingham, documents which usefully supplement the information in the rental accounts, in the nature of surveys, accounts of arrears and other miscellaneous records.

Taken together therefore the leases and rental books provide sufficient information for a comprehensive assessment of the composition of the corporate estate, the nature and terms of the leases held upon it, and the rental income which the corporation annually received. There are however drawbacks in these documents which their extent possibly veils. The impossibility of ascertaining the exact rental receipts at York has already been alluded to, but in addition, the tracing of individual properties is rendered particularly difficult by the lack of distinguishing characters from tenement to tenement or between one parcel of land and another. It has therefore been usually necessary to select an outstanding property; a public house or a large farm, but the regular change of name of the former renders even this choice difficult. On the other hand the rental books at Nottingham rarely changed format once a lay-out had been established.

The Chamberlain's annual accounts were similarly standardized, for with the annual transference of the office, usually to a young and inexperienced recruit, each Chamberlain invariably

followed the procedure and format of his predecessor.

At Boston there remains only one series of Chamberlain's accounts which are supplemented by vouchers left for most of the period from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately the accounts do not begin (for the period under consideration) until 1695, but thereafter they continue, with only spasmodic gaps, to 1835, excepting for a complete lack of accounts for the decade after 1720. Until 1747 the accounts were poorly maintained. On the income side the Chamberlain usually detailed his particular receipts, although in some years a summary only was made. But on the expenditure side, the books resemble nothing better than cash books. Entries were made as and when the Chamberlain made his payments, and no categorization was attempted. That these indeed were intended only as rough accounts is suggested by the additional survival of occasional summarized account books, as for example in 1706.(97) The accounts at this date vary considerably in detail and layout, according to the diligence of the Officer appointed, and by the early 1740's the expenditure was entered, generally, only under the name of the payee, and rarely with an explanation of the nature of the payment, as had formerly been customary. This procedure was quite in order, for the voucher number was quoted in the account for ready reference at the audit.

In 1746 however the Hall resolved that "all Election Bailiffs and Chamberlains hereafter to be chosen shall at the audit day distinguish in their accounts the charge of every particular

(97) 4/B/1/13

work done by them and that a copy of this order be wrote at the bottom of their respective rentals and another copy delivered in at the audit day...."(98). Thereafter the accounts were duly maintained in an ordered fashion, the expenditure being categorized and specified. The accounts can still not however be used as they stand, for each Chamberlain created new categories as he chose and the contents of others were augmented and diminished at will. Their headings were not moreover, particularly accurate descriptions of the contents; the heading of entertainments often including payments ranging from salaries and gratuities to annual charitable trust payments.

At Nottingham the Chamberlains maintained three records of their transactions each year; a summary account presented for audit; a running draft account book, and the numerous vouchers. Unfortunately from 1660 until 1795 there are chiefly only summaries of accounts still remaining. From 1660 until 1669 these are particularly brief, although they do list the basic forms of income and expenditure:- rents, burgess nobles, the East Croft Agistment, arrears, debts, the balance of the last account, and accidental receipts on the income side; fees and wages, necessary expenses, and occasionally repairs, rent unpaid and presents and rewards on the expenditure side. After 1699 however there are no account: surviving owing to a fire in the Town Clerk's office in 1724, but after that year they continue complete until 1835. They remain however as

(98)BCAB passim.

summaries until 1795, receipts and payments being loosely classified, although extraordinary occurrences are usually listed individually. The accounts to this date are therefore reasonably informative on general lines, but do not allow a careful breakdown of the material. The Chamberlains' categorization must be taken as it stands, and as the accounts at both Boston and York show, this could be faulty. For the period from 1687 however there remain detailed Chamberlains' account books of expenditure for occasional years. These are not audited and do not always tally with the official account, but they provide details of virtually every payment made during the year. Although there was, as at Boston, a tendency to enter payments solely in the name of the payee, these accounts can, in conjunction with the vouchers, provide valuable evidence of particular corporate expenses. With these, as with the Boston accounts, for which the vouchers are needed to amplify the nature of the payments, it is however difficult to construct generalized statistics, for where the vouchers do not remain, and where the account cannot be made to tally with the audited summary, the evidence lends itself rather to particularized examples of expenditure than to tabular demonstration. After 1795 however detailed accounts remain up to 1835. At the same time with the appointment of Staveland, the method of accounting underwent a marked change. Entries became more explicit and were usually dated, receipts and payments were

itemised and entered under general categories.

This method of accounting continued until 1835, and in addition to these very well kept accounts, there are ledger accounts remaining which recorded individual accounts between the Corporation and particular tradesmen, workmen or trust funds. From 1795 therefore the Nottingham Chamberlains' accounts are a more valuable and detailed source of information.

At York, as at Nottingham, the Chamberlain kept three records of accounts each year: a summary account; a rough account book, and the numerous vouchers. The account books or rolls remain in existence for most of the period. By their very nature, the summary accounts, presented in roll form, do not give full details of the year's business. They contain however more information than many of the Nottingham summaries, and provide a valuable working basis, since reasonably accurate categorization occurs from 1660. They contain nevertheless those amorphous groups which occur at Nottingham, namely "casual receipts" and "necessary expenditure".

For an indication of the nature of these other individual transactions it is, therefore, necessary to turn from these audited rolls to the account books. These were sometimes audited, and it is fortunate that where many rolls are missing for the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, the account books are indeed audited.

These books of account are comparable with the account books of expenditure at Nottingham, although they are not only more

abundant, but more painstakingly and more completely kept. The headings which appear in the summary roll, are entered on successive pages and the account book and details of each particular receipt or disbursement entered on the appropriate page. In most years these are fully and carefully entered, each category was totalled and the whole gives an impression of accuracy and care. At Nottingham on the other hand, the account books of expenditure are often haphazard and careless. Like the early Boston accounts, payments were merely listed as they were made, and there was often no attempt to categorize or strike any sort of balanced account. On the other hand the basic information in the York accounts is no greater than in either the Nottingham or Boston accounts and in contrast with the latter two boroughs, there are at York few vouchers remaining, particularly for the earlier period. The accuracy and detail of the account books however rarely renders these necessary. In some years they have in fact been pasted into the relevant books of account.

The Chamberlain's accounts, and rentals form the basic documents necessary to this study, but in addition to these there are countless other records, many of which are of vital importance to a full understanding of the financial business of the three boroughs. Principal amongst these are the corporation minute books, variously called the Assembly Books (Boston) House Books (York) or Hall Books (Nottingham). In these were entered the proceedings of each meeting of the Common Hall which were held sometimes once

a fortnight and rarely less frequently than once a month, except when the new year began and there was little to discuss. ⁽⁹⁹⁾ Yet even with these comprehensive documents it is surprising how little information is at times available. The more obvious and regular aspects of corporate life were often not noted, they remain silent on the outcome of the most interesting situations and reports of committees are sometimes nowhere to be found. This is perhaps explained by their being submitted on separate sheets of paper and never having been copied into the minute book. The hall books are in all three boroughs complete for almost the whole of the period 1660-1835. At York they are in a good state of preservation. At Nottingham however, the collection is very incomplete for the early eighteenth century, owing to the fire in the Town Clerk's office in 1724. Between 1710 and 1723 only five books remain (they used one each year) supplemented by a few charred leaves separately bound. At Boston however the minutes covering the last years of the period are missing. When the documents were sent for rebinding it was noted in the last remaining volume "the absence of minutes 1817-35 was discovered when the books were rebound....since there are many unused pages in volume eight it was thought that the probable explanation is, not that a volume is missing, but that from 1817-35 no minutes were kept". This contention however is most certainly wrong. Firstly perhaps, it is worth considering whether, if no minutes were kept, the corporation would have troubled themselves to produce yearly accounts. The accounts

(99) At Boston there was no meeting of the Hall between June 18th 1819 and November 16th 1819; and in the following year between October 12th 1820 and December 12th 1820. This infrequency of meetings was not, however, common.

after all run up to 1835. Secondly it is apparent that minutes of some sort were taken because there are countless memoranda amongst the documents, noting the instructions of the Hall to certain officials. These appear to have been copied out by the Town Clerk for the purpose of reminding these officials of the Hall's decisions. Thirdly and perhaps most conclusively, there were indeed minutes kept until at least 1824, for these still remain in draft form. The bound volumes of minutes 3 to 8, are the neat copies of the Hall proceedings. These would have been copied out by the Town Clerk more or less at his leisure from the draft minutes (reference 2/A/1-27). The draft minutes continue to April 19th 1824, but at that point the end of the book was reached. It seems likely therefore that a further volume was then begun, and has since been lost. It would have covered after all the period which the municipal commissioners most carefully perused: 1824-35, and may easily have been lost then. More likely it remained in the hands of the Town Clerk and never returned to the Guildhall. What is certain is that the municipal commissioners made no comment upon the absence of minute books, which they without doubt would have criticised had there indeed been none kept.

In addition to the general Hall minutes, there remain in all three boroughs a variety of committee minutes from which detailed information concerning particular problems or policies can be gleaned. At Boston there remain early nineteenth century minutes

of an Improvement Committee, the Committee for letting lands, a Paving Committee and Financial Committee. There are too, minutes of the proceedings of the Bridge Committee (1799 to 1819) minutes kept by the Buoys and Beacons Committee, and the Gaol Committee (1814 to 1819). At York there are, amongst others, minutes left by the Lease and Finance Committees which render invaluable details, but at Nottingham there are only a few supplementary minutes left by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Shambles and Annual Committees.

In addition to these, there were often supplementary accounts kept, sometimes by the Committees which were appointed, and sometimes by the Chamberlains or other Officials, such as the Town Clerk. These can reveal the most minute details regarding transactions which were only summarized in the general accounts. At Boston there remains an account for the building of Coopers Row in 1770/1,(100) and at Nottingham there is an account for the sale of Mansell Park.(101) But besides these extensions of the Chamberlains' accounts, there were others which were not connected with the general funds. At Nottingham the Corporation, after 1826, maintained an independent market place account, for which unfortunately, only vouchers now remain; and from the late eighteenth century they maintained also individual charity estate accounts.(eg. Sir Thomas White's fund accounts). In addition to these there were too the accounts of the Bridge and School Estates which by contrast had, theoretically, no

(100) 4/B/1/63

(101) 7438

connection whatever with the Chamber accounts. In practice however, they were for some time inter-connected. Comparing with these were the accounts kept by the Corporation at Boston as trustees of the Harbour improvement, and of the Charity Estate. These latter accounts, maintained by the erection bailiff were however applicable to civic purposes as well as charity, and are therefore essential for a complete indication of the corporate work.

The above mentioned records represent only the major classes of documents which have an intrinsic bearing on the position of corporate finance before 1835. Beyond these there are multitudes of papers which illuminate or exemplify the corporate business. Of a vastly varied nature, they range from letters to legal documents, surveys and inventories, and their very variety is the key to their importance. Remaining more through luck than good judgement they elucidate at the most unexpected junctures.

Taken as a whole, there remains in the three boroughs, an extensive range of documents; but they can be used only as they arise. Information gleaned from one borough may be entirely lacking for the other two. As a comparative study therefore, this work is inevitably limited by the information available. On the other hand, the varying range of documents provides evidence in one which adequately illuminates the happenings in the other two.

Perhaps the biggest drawback however, is the inadaptability

of the accounts to the demands of modern scholarship. By their varied nature, they do not readily submit to the statistical examination which is demanded by economists, accountants or historians today. In addition, all the accounts, however carefully cast up, needed to be categorized before they could be tabulated. The inadequacy of the Chamberlains' own categorization has already been considered, and there were always classifications of an essentially amorphous nature - "necessary expenditure" and "casual receipts." But in addition comparative tabulation could be achieved only by reconstructing the accounts on a common foundation. To a greater or lesser degree, all the accounts therefore have had to be recategorized. In some cases they bear little or no relation to the inaccurately constructed account of the Chamberlain himself, and inevitably the entire reconstruction is heavily subjective. Nevertheless they are, in the tabular form in which I have presented them, both more accurate and informative than very many of the accounts in their original form.

Beyond these primary difficulties there are others. The limitations of the documents are many. The silences, the lack of evidence is frequent. The accounts and minutes were maintained after all, merely as reminders to the men of the time, and not as a chronicle for the future. But once accepting that they will not yield exactly what we demand, they become a rich mine of varied information, each reflecting, in however small and incomplete a way, upon corporate finance before 1835.

SECTION II - INCOME

CHAPTER 3

In Pursuit of Efficiency : Administration of Property

In 1833 the commissioners appointed "to inquire as to the existing state of the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales", began, with the "utmost despatch" to conduct investigations into the nature and extent and management of some two hundred and eighty five, supposed, Municipal Boroughs. Within the short space of some twenty months, they had by March 1835 presented to the Ministry a copious general report summarizing their opinions and conclusions, and supplemented by four volumes of appendices relating the evidence collected within the individual boroughs.

It was within this general report that the commissioners made the disturbing announcement that "the evils which have resulted from mismanagement of the corporate property are manifold and of the most glaring kind".(1) The report was however notoriously over-generalized. As the Webbs pointed out, it consisted of a "tirade of mingled denunciations and insinuations directed against the whole body of municipal corporations, superficially fortified by a citation of bad instances, but unaccompanied by any statistical survey as to the prevalence or distribution of the evils complained of".(2) Yet, after lengthy and detailed observation, the Webbs too came to agree that "whilst one or two close bodies remained superior alike in initiative and honourable conduct to any of their contemporaries, the vast majority fell even below the mediocre standard of administrative

(1) MCR 45 para 103

(2) S & B Webb, English Local Government, The Manor and the Borough (1908)

efficiency and pecuniary honesty that prevailed in the open vestries and democratically controlled municipalities of the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries".(3)

Managerial efficiency in the administration of the corporate estates was however of rudimentary importance to the financial well being of a borough in which, like Boston, Nottingham and York, the rental produce was the principal source of annual revenue. It is true that in the individual reports on the three boroughs, none was accused of serious inefficiency in the administration of their estates, yet neither were they especially praised for their managerial capabilities. And yet upon close examination of the proceedings of the three corporations it becomes increasingly apparent that not only was management of the corporate estate from as early as 1660, both sagacious and discriminating, but, as the period progressed, it became even more well advised. Despite the sweeping denunciations both by the municipal commissioners and by the Webbs, management of the corporate lands and revenues became of mounting concern to the three councils, until by the time of their dissolution all were administering their property with skill and efficiency.

This marked growth of efficiency in the management of the corporate properties was in all three boroughs closely connected with the growing professionalism, and an increasing sense of responsibility within the corporations. As the eighteenth century progressed, ad hoc and standing committees became a regular feature of corporate administration.

(3) Ibid., 46

The greatest significance of the order, in 1711, that "all the messuages lands and Tenements with appurtces belonging to the City of York be viewed once in every yeare, ye want of views appearing to the committee to be of ill consequence", (4) lies in the existence of a committee to make such a resolution. Moreover by the 1790's all three boroughs had appointed salaried officials experienced in surveying, planning and estate management, whose advice brought to corporate business a professionalism hitherto seen only in the office of the Town Clerk. The increasingly astute management of the corporate properties on lease and the mounting returns from the rental income are inseparable from the development of such bodies.

The appointment of committees for the management of specific aspects of corporate business was in many boroughs practised from an early date. At Norwich an elaborate system of committees was established after 1689, and in Bristol too they formed a distinctive feature of conciliar administration by the close of the seventeenth century. (5) But as in Nottingham, Boston and York, these were primarily "ad hoc" assemblies, created to deal with particular problems, and dissolved once their immediate work had been completed. Their purpose was to simplify administration and save the Common Hall both time and difficulties by vesting authority in the hands of a few.

(4) E101f48 (1711)

(5) S & B Webb, op.cit., 543,453.

In the nature of the committees appointed at Nottingham to "view the Ground on Beastmarket Hill which Mr, Lemuel Lowe, . . . desires to build upon and to set out how much of the street he shall build upon", (6) and to "set out a proper piece of waste ground for to erect a New Machin for the weighing of coal for the Benefit of the Lamps", (7) they were purely temporary, and in no way intended as an approach to the development of experience and continuity. Such ad hoc committees, appointed to deal with a multitude of difficulties were common in Boston as in Nottingham and York, from at least the mid seventeenth century. In 1660 a committee was appointed at Boston to "enquire what yearly profits may be made off the admiralty jurisdiction", (8) and in 1706 a further group was formed to discover what was due to and from the corporation and for dealing with other specific problems. (9) But it was those appointed to enquire into the administration of the corporate estate which are of most significance in this context. Created whenever the common Hall felt a need for more detailed information, such committees were appointed irregularly but not infrequently. In the 1660's Boston created a committee to examine the rentals, (10) and in 1704 a council was formed to examine the condition of the corporate estates. At Nottingham too, temporary committees were often appointed to enquire into the value of expiring leases and to bargain for their renewal.

(6) NHB 3521/18 (1762)

(7) NHB 3522/11 (1762)

(8) BAB . 3. f 448

(9) BAB . 4 ff 234, 243

(10) BAB . 3 f 495

In February 1669/1700, several persons were directed to meet in the hall "in order to see what leases are expired or near expiring", they being later required to "meet at some other convenient tyme or tymes to make a fuller inspection abt. the same....."(11)

Countless ad hoc committees of this nature were appointed in all three boroughs and although they were transitory they represented a significant advance upon the medium of the Common Hall. So much smaller in size than the unwieldy Common Council, the committee undertook enquiries and investigations of much greater depth than could have been conducted by the Common Hall. A handful of members were in effect acting as advisors to the legislative body, who invariably accepted the committee recommendations without question.

At York however, although temporary committees were still appointed to view leaseholds and conduct enquiries, a far greater advance had been made by the creation of a standing committee for the administration of the corporate property on lease. Endowed with legislative powers in all matters appertaining to leases this permanent committee was established in 1631, thus antedating Norwich's standing committees by some fifty years.(12) "That the same (the leases) may be more carefully performed it is further ordered that every three years there shall be some indifferent persons appointed by this court to inspect all the lands and leases belonging to this corporation".(13)

Accordingly in 1634, there were appointed ".....to view

(11) NHB 3467/6th February 1699/1700

(12) S & B Webb, op. cit., 543

(13) YHB 35/146^b (14th Dec.1631)

all the city's lands and tenements, within the city and suburbs
three of, (sic) and to see which of them be out of lease or within
3 y. of expiration of.....to take new leases... who will give
most for the same....", four Aldermen, five of the twenty-four,
and eight of the commons.(14) There was no ruling against re-
election, and it became the policy for replacements to be made
individually rather than 'en-block', several members remaining
on the committee for many years at a time.(15) In 1664, a
committee was appointed "the same persons which were for the last
years" with Alderman Lamplugh and Alderman Scott.(16) There was
thus strong continuity which continued until in 1816 the lease
committee was superseded by the general finance committee. Contrary
to expectation however, supervision was tightened yet more.
Concerned with expenditure as well as income, the finance committee
brought to bear a far wider knowledge than the lease committee had
ever been able to exercise. Aware of the overall economic position
of the corporation it was able to correlate income with expenditure,
rents with repair costs, in a wider conception of the corporate
estates than the lease committee could ever have attained under its
existing constitution. The recommendation in 1816 was that the lease
committee be merely suspended for three years, although the numerous
other committees then in existence, amongst them the Mansion House,

(14) YHB 35f239; E34f749-50.

(15) E 34 passim. Also an order of 1679 which gave confirmation of
past practice; "And now are ordered a new committee
for leases", to be chosen every third year, and
three of the old Aldermen and two of the 24 to "go-off",
and new ones be elected", "and so for the commons": YHB38/196

(16) YHB 38f31

York Tavern, Mint Yard, finance, general purposes and consolidated committees, were all to cede to the new Authority. But the lease committee was in fact never resurrected, for its work was far better performed by this body with comprehensive control over all aspects of finance.

The development of standing committees for any aspect of corporate business was however, at Boston and Nottingham, long delayed. At Norwich there were four standing committees by the close of the seventeenth century (17) and the City of London had, by the first half of the eighteenth century, three permanent committees all of which were concerned "only with the perpetual lettings and re-lettings" of the corporate property.(18) At Leicester too, the Charter of James I established a bicameral committee to "let and set" the town lands.(19) At Nottingham however a standing committee did not come into existence until 1771, and then it was appointed for general purposes, while at Boston it was not until the nineteenth century that permanent committees held a significant position in corporate business.

In 1771 the corporation at Nottingham finally created a standing committee to deal with such business as the Common Hall might refer to them. It stood however only for the duration of each mayoralty and it was composed of the entire hall. It was therefore almost a regression from the system of ad hoc committees appointed for

(17) S & B. Webb, *op. cit.*, 543

(18) *ibid.*, 639

(19) R.W. Greaves, The Corporation of Leicester 1689-1836 (1939) 7 (1609)

special purposes, except in so far as it was quorate when any four members of the hall and the Mayor were present. (20) Operating alongside many temporary committees, it remained only an advisory and not a legislative body, but in 1792 its authority was somewhat extended by the abolition of all other 'ad hoc' committees except that for the school. This annual committee, as it was henceforth known, was appointed from year to year "to report to the Hall their opinion and to transact the business entrusted to former committees, to act according to the instructions and powers given to and vested in the prospective committee, and that all other business usually transacted by committee be during this Mayoralty entrusted to them under the Direction of the Hall". (21) It was still however composed of the entire hall, and although only five members were required for the meetings to be quorate, a large majority of the hall regularly attended. So large were its meetings in fact, that smaller 'ad hoc' committees to enquire into particular problems, to inspect individual properties, and to make valuations were still appointed from within the annual committee. Its recommendations still moreover required ratification from the Common Hall proper, and it would thus seem that little advance had been made upon the system of temporary committees for special purposes.

(20) NHB 3531/11

(21) NHB 3552/9-10. Other committees were in fact appointed. A Shambles committee (originally appointed in 1807) which in 1816 was ordered to cede to the annual committee once the new exchange and shambles were complete, was in fact later allowed to continue in its own right, "with full power and authorityto manage superintend and let the whole of the shambles estate in such manner and form and upon such conditions and rents as they may judge most advantageous for this corporation, and to doo all such thingsas if the same were under the immediate management superintendance and control of the Common Hall". (5th Nov. 1818 and 4th Nov. 1819, ref. ~~108~~ 1508)

However the frequency of its meetings, the ease with which it was quorate, and the keeping of the separate minutes, seems to have ensured a continuity of business which allowed little to escape its attention. Meetings were called whenever business required it, and the Town Clerk was well convinced that the scheme had "turned out to the advantage of the corporation in conducting the business".(22)

At Boston too, the corporation was late in devolving upon permanent committees those powers and responsibilities which it readily but temporarily entrusted to ad hoc groups. In contrast with Nottingham however, the corporation at Boston did appoint several permanent committees, each concerned with a particular aspect of corporate business. During the early nineteenth century the bridge committee, and an improvement committee, advised upon most schemes concerning repairs on the betterment of the town.(23) From 1818-24 a finance committee reported annually on the state of the corporate funds,,its income and expenditure.(24) But in 1811 the council had appointed a lease committee. These had long operated on an ad hoc basis, one being requested in 1785 to examine the extract of the leases and consider upon which day the corporate properties should be let.(25) But after 1811 this permanent committee advised the Hall on the term, nature and rent of all leases, and the management of the corporate estate.(26)

(22) T.Cockayne, A Report of the Evidence Given before the commissioners appointed to enquire into Municipal Corporations (1833)

47,48

(23) The Bridge Committee; though appointed for the rebuilding of the town bridge, dealt with numerous other schemes.(c1802 onwards)
BAB passim. Improvement Committee 1818-23; 2/D/1

(24) 2/D/5

(25) 4/B/4/14 9th February 1786 (Report)

(26) 2/D/13

The development of committees for the administration of the corporate property, both in temporary and standing form, had marked repercussions on the administration of future leases. Ad hoc committees appointed to investigate the nature and value of a particular leasehold reached conclusions just as valid as those of the permanent committees. In May 1700 a committee at Nottingham inspected Mr. Wyre's house and unequivocally stated that it was worth a £10 entry fine and 10s. p. annum rent.(27) Although standing committees gained the immeasurable advantages of experience and continuity, the appointment of even a temporary committee was an acknowledgment by the corporation of the care needed in the administration of this form of revenue. The importance of the lease committee at York in regulating and administering leases is evidenced time and again. When it was first established on a permanent footing in 1631, it directed that "from henceforth...no lease for any lands or Tenements whatsoever belonging to this corporation shall be letten to any person or persons whatsoever until the leases of the same Lands or Tenements be within three years of expiration....". This was presumably an attempt to avoid letting at a price which would prove too low when the lease came to validity, or an attempt to prevent undue preference to a sitting tenant. But if the committee devised principles of conduct it also recognised the need for flexibility. In 1711 they recommended that Elizabeth Abbott's lease of a house "without Bowtham Barr" be allowed to expire before a new lease was granted.(29) Ultimately the lease committee ordered in

(27) NHB 3467 May 1700

(28) YHB 35f146^b N.B. repealed 2nd May 1634 YHB35f240^b

(29) YHB 35f239; E34f749-50

1800 that "in future the City Estates shall be advertized to be let at the usual period of letting not exceeding one year and four months previous to the expiration of the respective lease thereof... ..instead of three years and upwards as heretofore".(30)

The vigilance and concern shown by Boston and Nottingham during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was however hardly less than at York, despite the absence of permanent lease committees. At Boston the council had ordered in 1653 that no lease should be granted until its expiration, or within three years of such, unless the present lease were surrendered.(31) And as early as 1720 a clause was ordered to be inserted in all future leases for voidance of the leasehold should the tenant re-assign it without corporate licence.(32) But the real watershed in lease administration came in all three boroughs during the 1790's. Coinciding with a period of increasing financial hardship, occasioned by the inflationary era of the Napoleonic Wars, and the many and costly improvements schemes which the boroughs conducted in their towns, the three councils found a pressing need for more money. At the same time administration generally had been improving slowly. But from the closing years of the eighteenth century, partially in response to the financial demands, partially a reflection of the increasing sense of responsibility within the councils, rental productivity and estate administration took a most definite advance upon the preceding

(30) YHB 50/336

(31) 2/C/1. September 5th 1653

(32) BAB 5 f337^b (10th May 1720)

years. Nevertheless, it does not constitute a break with the past. Since perhaps the second third of the eighteenth century corporate concern and ability in the matter of property administration was increasingly manifest in all three boroughs. But on its appointment in 1792 the Annual Committee at Nottingham established procedures which should have been operating as regular rulings long before. Indeed at York and Boston they were. The Committee was directed to "examine into the State and condition of all the different estates in the Rentall as well as in the waste lands, and to state to the Hall the most probable advantageous improvements to be made in them, either by fixing the Rents at a proper Rate by disposing of those which are unproductive, or by letting them, or any other part of the same, on building leases", (33) Within two months the committee recommended that re-leasing was in no circumstances to take place until an investigation had established whether the previous tenant had performed the terms of his lease; and in addition all leases were in future to contain a covenant prohibiting reassignment by the tenant without corporate consent. (34) It was in this tenor that the regulations continued, supported as always by the threat of legal action for non-compliance. Meanwhile at York the 1790's marked an abrupt swing from predominantly 21year leases to eleven year leases, which was followed in 1800 by the adoption of yearly letting as the general maxim. But perhaps the most significant development at this time, particularly at

(33) NHB 3552f9-10

(34) NHB 3552f12-14

Boston and Nottingham was the appointment of professional surveyors who overlooked the condition of all the corporate estates, advised on repair and development and suggested improvements in their lease and management.

The surveyors were in all three boroughs, a development of the office of the Town Husband or town Steward. Responsible in this capacity for the repair and maintenance of the corporate buildings, and for overseeing the workmen and the provision of materials, he became towards the close of the eighteenth century the single most important officer in the administration and maintenance of the corporate property.

The office of Town Husband was in all three boroughs of long standing. It is not clear when this appointment was first innovated at Nottingham, but in 1684 George Wallis was requested to take a weekly account of the labourers employed in the re-building of Trent Bridge, and a weekly account of their wages. For this he was paid eight shillings a week.(35) But whether this was only a temporary appointment, or whether he was already serving as the Town Husband and it was an extension of his usual duties, is not clear. However in 1697 upon debating the profitability of the office of own husband it was decided to continue the old officer - George Wallis.(36) Thereafter a Town Husband was more or less regularly appointed throughout the period. In 1741, William Trigge was appointed "for this ensuing year" at a salary of £30 p.a.,(37) but between about 1758 and

(35) NHB 3451/25

(36) NHB 3464/6

(37) NHB 3501/7

1765 the office apparently lapsed until in the latter year, Wm. Smith was appointed at a salary of £20 p.a., "as the Chamberlains Office is now become very burdensome".(38) Two years later Jonathan Blackwell was appointed with a salary of only £12 p.a.,(39) and it would seem therefore that his duties involved little more than helping the Chamberlains with their Rent collection. But in 1787 John Collishaw took the office for £40 p.a. He was to "oversee the corporation Estates....and assist in collecting their Rents", reporting "from time to time the condition the corporation estates are in, and what is necessary to be done for the corporation's benefit." An extra two guineas per annum was allowed him to enable him to appoint "a proper person for the collection of the Stall Rents".(40) Within two years however, the office had again changed hands, James Edenborough being appointed at the reduced salary of £30 "the Collecting the Butchers (rents) to be included in the business".(41)

But in 1796, a change was effected which was to have momentous results on the corporate administration, for it was resolved that James Edenborough was to continue as Town husband, with his present salary, but that "it is highly essential to the interests of the Corporation that they should have a person in a Situation similar to that of Town's Husband who might be competent to surveying and making plans of their different estates, and who would be a Judge of Buildings and everything relating to them and of the prices of every kind of work and materials and....that Mr. Edenborough is not competent to this purpose".(42) On June 10th of that year, Edenborough's

(38) NHB 3524f86

(39) NHB 3526f16

(40) NHB 3547f8

(41) NHB 3548f13

(42) NHB 3558f38-39

responsibilities were reduced to those of collecting the Butcher's Shambles rents, superintending the "Ring Fence" of the field and meadows, assisting the surveyor in the collection of the rents of the three estates, and looking over the corporation buildings when so required. Edward Staveley of Melton Mowbray was appointed corporation Surveyor, his task being to superintend, overlook and manage all the corporate estates and all buildings or other works, to receive the rents and draw all necessary plans and estimates, in return for a salary of £20 p.a.(43) It was perhaps the best investment of £20 the old corporation ever made! Staveley exercised a comprehensive control over the management of the entire corporate estates. He advised not merely upon the undertaking of repairs and improvements, but on the state of the properties, their value, how they should be let, and the covenants necessary for their upkeep. His importance was inestimable, for as Greaves wrote, "the importance of lands in the municipal scheme of the eighteenth century far outweighs their diminished importance in the new corporations of the Benthamite era".(44)

Comparable developments in the omnipotence of the Town Husband or Surveyor, took place at Boston. A surveyor had here been appointed since at least 1776 at an annual salary of twenty, and then thirty pounds per annum. Under James Limbert and then Samuel Reynolds (appointed 1793) the office already involved extensive duties. For like Edward Staveley, they were responsible to the corporation for over-

(43) NHD 3555/44-45

(44) R.W.Greaves, op.cit., 78

seeing all corporate repairs and the condition of the corporate estates, being appointed to act "under the immediate directions of the Erection Bailiff and Chamberlain".(45) The Surveyor however was concerned chiefly with the tenements and buildings in the town, and in 1813, the council resolved, as Nottingham had in 1796, that a "proper" person should be appointed as Surveyor, and an allowance be made to the present serving Officer.(46) As a "proper" surveyor, the council contemplated a person capable of administering and overseeing the farms and lands. Accordingly in January 1814, William Thacker was appointed Surveyor of the corporate farms and lands, "his opinion on the state and management thereof" being required before the two rent and letting days of Michaelmas and Lady Day in each year.(47) The old Officer was not however discontinued. His salary remained at £40 p.a., and a report of August 1818 indicates that he was still active as overseer of the corporate tenements. Having investigated Mr.Cotton's house in Wormgate he found ".... the Tiling very bad, the Laths rotten away, the Roof Also is bad....the front wall is giving way for want of Ties, the Ceiling in the garret is nearly alldown by reason of the wet coming in.....the Privy is also very bad and ought to be repaired....." These terrible conditions however he estimated could be rectified for only £16.11.8d.(48) Meanwhile, Mr. Thacker restricted his advice to the corporation's farms and lands. In the same month of August 1818 he found that "on Gainsley's Farm about seven roods of quick is completely destroy'd by fire, the Land also is injur'd and much burnt through mismanagement."(49)

(45) BCAB 1785

(46) BAB August 1st 1813

(47) BAB January 20th 1814

(48) 2/D/3/27th August 1818

(49) 2/D/3/August 1818

The corporation was therefore by 1814 in receipt of reliable advice upon the state, and mode of letting, of all its corporate properties, both buildings and lands; but five years later, a third Surveyor was appointed. Having served the Corporation many times before as a builder, Jephtha Pacey was well qualified for the appointment which he was given in January 1819 at a salary of £100 p.a. His duties were "to make all such plans and estimates as may be required by the corporation and to superintend all such buildings as may be carried on by them and generally to attend to the repairs of all Buildings belonging to the corporation when necessary".(50) Jephtha Pacey did to a large extent supercede Samuel Reynolds as Surveyor of buildings. When in 1823/4 the corporation received reports on the state of Danby's Farm, it was from Curtois (he replaced Thacker on his resignation in 1821) that the report on the conditions of the land came, and by Pacey that the state of the buildings was assessed.(51) From 1814 therefore until its dissolution in 1835, Boston Corporation had at its right hand professional advice on the state and maintenance of the corporate property. The value of the two Surveyors in overseeing the condition of the corporate estate was immense. But more than this, they were, like Edward Staveley of incalculable importance in enabling the corporations to reap the fullest value from their possessions. Their regular reports upon the state of the properties helped not only in the framing of protective covenants but in as essing whether such clauses had been upheld by the tenants. The Surveyors also decided whether it was upon the

(50) BAB January 1st 1819

(51) 5/A/3/23 2nd Dec.1823 and 26th Jan.1824

corporations or the tenant that the responsibility for repairs fell. Moreover it was upon the Surveyor's valuation of the different leaseholds, that the rents were finally fixed. They made regular assessments of the changing value of the corporate properties and recommendations upon the mode of letting. It was at "Mr. Thacker's valuation" that the close of pasture ground in Skirbeck was let to Mr. Broughton in 1818, and the lands in West Fen were ordered to be re-let "for two years at such rents as shall be fixed by Mr. Thacker"...."(52) Indeed the specialization of the Surveyors at both Boston and Nottingham produced a degree of administrative efficiency not hitherto seen on the corporation estates.(53) They gave expert advice on the condition of properties, and the advisability of repairs and alterations. They produced plans and details of the estates and became the principal advisors to both Common Hall and committees. As professional men called in from outside the confines of the corporation, and at Nottingham even from outside the town, they represented a revolutionary advance in corporate management. They moreover did not hold a monopoly as surveyor or architect in either borough and the dangers of excessive reliance upon one individual were therefore largely removed. In a situation where Committee administration was weak, the abilities of these men brought administration of the corporate estates to the level achieved at York.

At York there was indeed a similar growth in the responsibilities of the Town Husband. The office was probably first

(52) 2/D/3 24th Nov. 1818

(53) A similar officer is to be seen at Leicester. He was appointed in 1796. A. Temple Patterson, Radical Leicester (1947) 92

inaugurated in an order of June 20th 1600 when it was "agreed that there shall be a common husband" who, like the officers at Nottingham and Boston, was to "attend upon and oversee the common works of this City and the repairacons in that behalfe...."(54) In 1709 however the office was discontinued: "with the consent of the comons...for the future there shall not be any Citys Husband nor any salary given upon that Account". Instead the Aldermen in their wards were to "view the works and premises wanting alterations and repairs andapoint such workmen as they think fit".(55) But in 1734 the office was revived, being taken by Mr. Ayscough who was at the time also the City Receiver of Rents.(56) Thereafter the two offices were always combined in the same person and the responsibilities increased steadily. Indicative of his post, the Town Husband was in 1830 in receipt of an annual salary of £100,(57) which by 1833 had been raised to £120.(58) But in contrast with the developments at Boston and Nottingham, the Husband at York did not become of such fundamental importance to the management of the corporate estate. He undertook surveys and advised in the matter of property maintenance and repairs. But his duties were extended essentially in his capacity as surveyor and clerk of works. He supervised and organized the repair of the roads, made reports and suggestions for improvements and repairs, examined and advised upon the condition

(54) E34f642 Roger Jackson was appointed at a salary of £5 p.a.

(55) YHB 41f1^b; 34f67

{56} YHB 42f177; YHB42f77

(57) YCAB 1830/1

(58) MCR 1744

} Independent of his salary as City Receiver

of the corporate property, checked workmen's bills, submitted plans, and acted as Clerk of Works for the corporation. At York he was of less necessity in the administration of the leaseholds, for the control and authority exercised by the standing lease and finance committees amply safeguarded the corporation from bad management. At both Nottingham and Boston however, the Surveyors became controlling and co-ordinating factors of immense importance, whose zest and ability played a large part in raising the administrative ability of the two borough councils. An extract from the Surveyor's report at Boston in 1825 gives ample evidence of his importance in estate management:-

"Since the last report I am glad to inform you there is great improvement in your Estates; the Farms are now well tenanted, and in prospect of future good management; the grass land, particularly the meadow land, has had a much greater proportion of manure than formerly- I beg to recommend at your next audit, that notice should be given to those occupying meadow land, that in future application should be made by them to your surveyor prior to the removal of any hay, in order that he may have an opportunity of agreeing with them for a fair return of manure in lieu, and in failure of such application, that they should be subject to the penalties according to their respective leases..... respecting the land in the occupation of Holdsworth & Co. I consider it advisable to offer it for two years more to the present tenants or any other woad growers....."(59)

(59) 2/D/3 July 25th 1825

From the closing years of the nineteenth century the use of specialized committees, and a professional surveyor had provided the three boroughs of Boston, Nottingham and York, with an administrative organization sufficiently well advanced to put into more effective practice the theories which were evident at least as early as 1660. A recognition of the need for close management of the corporate estates was evinced in all three boroughs as early as 1660. Surveys, committee appointments, lease regulations and covenants all reveal that in Boston and Nottingham, as in York, the councils made at least elementary attempts to reap full benefit from their properties. If the standing lease committee pushed management in York ahead of Nottingham and Boston, these two did not lag far behind. The Common Hall at this time created ad hoc committees with such frequency that few important matters went uninvestigated. Although estate management was at times lax, the three councils were slowly improving their administration. But the real watershed came in the closing quarter of the eighteenth century. Conciliar concern at last began to have effect. Although committees gave opportunity for abuse by the concentration of power in the hands of a few, the opportunity seems rarely to have been taken. At York regulations passed in 1709 made some attempt to prevent the most obvious abuse:- "no person belonging the body of this city who farms citys lands or tenements of the yearly Rent of £5 or upwards shall be chosen or belong to the Committee of Leases".(60)

But the period after 1790 did not constitute a complete

(60) YHB 41/46^b

break with the past. It saw rather a quickening of previous tendencies, an improving administrative ability wrought through mediums which were indeed new or improved:- the standing committee, and the professional and salaried surveyor.

For the last forty or fifty years of their existence these three councils administered their properties in a most efficient and organized manner. Improved policies in the mode of letting; tighter covenants; a decrease in the incidence of arrears, and increasing rental returns all point to a conclusion rather different from that of the municipal commissioners in their general report.

In formulating the conditions of their leases all three corporations from an early date took care to ensure that protective clauses adequately safeguarded the corporate interests. The guarantee entered into at Nottingham by Christopher Sympson in 1613 was even at that date a regular feature of corporate agreements. For in the lease to him of a shop for thirty years, there was a clause for voidance, should he convert it into a house or use it for any other purpose.(61) With similar interests at heart, and perhaps also an eye to their magisterial duties, the corporation at Nottingham in 1719 granted a lease to George Eaton of land on which he had

(61) 4944, 4945, 4946

erected a "large arched cellar and three houses", only on condition that he would not use it as "a public tippling house, or ale house".(62)

The corporation was fully aware of the potential dangers inherent in loosely worded transactions. Not only could the value of a property be materially altered, if the tenant put it to a different use, but the corporation might find themselves liable for duties customarily performed by the lessee. It was for this reason that covenants to "hedge, ditch drayne and fence", (63) or conduct a multitude of other tasks, became almost standard entries in lease agreements. But in addition to covenants dealing with matters peculiar to individual leases, it became common for guarantees to maintain a property in "good repair" to be entered into by all tenants, especially at Boston and York.

At Boston as early as 1665 the Mayor, Election Bailiff and Chamberlain were required to view annually all the houses and other properties belonging to the corporation, reporting to the hall "how the same are repaired, to the end that the psons who have the same in lease may be inforced to repaire the same according to the covenants of their leases".(64) That these requirements were enforced is clearly demonstrated by a demand for two writs to be issued against John Gooderick and Henry Woods, for the non performance of their covenants in 1686.(65) But by the close of the

(62) 5077

(63) eg. 1684/5 lease of land in Goosegate, Nottingham; 5010

(64) 2/C/1 March 30th 1665

(65) BAB 1686 f 127

next century, further insistence was apparently necessary, for in 1775 the Mayor was given authority "from time to time" to view all premises on lease and give notice for the due reparation thereof "agreeable to a Byelaw to be inserted in future in all leases". In addition, a clause was to be included which required the property and all appurtenances to be left in repair according to a schedule.(66)

At York too, clauses settling liability for repairs upon the tenant, were a feature of virtually all leases throughout the period from 1660-1835. Thus in 1712 a lease was noted as containing the "usuall covents. for ye lessee to renaire...."(67) But at Nottingham such requirements were not so regularly made. Here when a property was let only from year to year, the responsibility for repairs was invariably undertaken by the corporation, and even where a property was let on lease for a number of years, liability for repairs does not seem to have been placed upon the lessee as a matter of course, as it was at Boston and York. It did however become increasingly common for leases to contain a covenant for the lessee to maintain the property.

Although all three boroughs therefore entered protective covenants in their lease transactions from an early date, there was, towards the close of the eighteenth century, a marked improvement in the quality of these agreements, which was most evident in the transactions concerning land and farms.

Land leases had invariably always been drawn

(66) BAB 1775 f 208

(67) E101/51

up with care by all three Corporations, for mismanagement by a tenant could lead to severe and long term deterioration in the value of the property. It was therefore, not an unusual requirement from John Sherwin in 1755, when he accepted a twenty-one year lease of the Coppice in Nottingham, that he pay £5 extra for every acre ploughed during the last seven years of the term, without licence from the Corporation.(68) This was a common requirement in all three Boroughs, and was usually accompanied by a clause forbidding a tenant from carting hay, straw, or manure from the farm, or ploughing pasture land and converting it to arable. At York in 1783 a lease at Tanghall required the tenant to undertake to "... use and occupy the same and every part thereof as meadow or pasture only, or pay an additional yearly rent of £5 an acre and so in Proportion of such Part as shall be taken therefrom during the last five years of the said Term and the Manure not so spread and bestowed then in lieu thereof two loads of good rotten Manure for every load of Hay shall be lead to and spread .."(69) In addition he was to keep the closes, premises, ditches, hedges and other appurtenances, particularly Bull Lane, in good and tenantable repair and condition.(70)

(68) 5115

(69) YHB 50, f336.

(70) E101 f49b.

At Leicester, the Corporation exacted similar agreements from tenants. A lease to John Brewin in 1776, contained very similar covenants. (LBR 1004)

Here too the Corporation entered covenants to repair in many of their Leases and took legal action against any tenants who defaulted. (LBR V 417,612,614)

From the closing years of the eighteenth century however such covenants became increasingly comprehensive. In this development the surveyors and committees played a significant part, for it was as a result of their close examination of all the leaseholds that covenants became both more stringently enforced, and more individually formulated. At Nottingham in 1812 an inspection of the Lambley estate revealed that it had been mismanaged through excessive use of the farm land in producing corn crops. Accordingly all future lessees of the estate were required to give an undertaking as to the rotation of crops: fallow - turnips - barley - clover - wheat,⁽⁷¹⁾ and two general conditions were to be entered into on the lease of all other corporate land. No land was to be broken up without prior permission, in writing, from the common Hall, and when the grass was mown, two tons of "good manure" were to be spread on the land in the same year, for each ton of Hay collected.⁽⁷²⁾

At Boston the formulating of appropriate covenants according to the individual state and requirements of each leasehold; together with vigilant inspection of the farm estates was even more pronounced than at either Nottingham or York. Here the corporation held a heavy predominance of farming land amongst the borough properties, and with the appointment of the Surveyors, and

(71) NHB 3571f37-41

(72) NHB 3571f65

more particularly of William Thacker as surveyor of the farms and lands in 1814, a marked improvement in lease agreements occurred as regular inspection of the Estates was made and lease covenants formulated accordingly.(73)

Thus, when the West Fen Farms were leased in 1820 for ten years, the tenant agreed that, "During the first five years, until the fences get good one fourth part be in fallow every year and sown with cole or turnips to be eaten off by sheep; and during the remainder of the term, not less than one fourth part be in seeds every year, and also one third..... then in tillage be in fallow every year"(74)

Such covenants were moreover, staunchly enforced, particularly during the last half century of the unreformed Corporations' existence, Although David Grigg found in Lincolnshire, that "many landlords failed to draw up such agreements or turned a blind eye to infringements", (75) it is clear that all three boroughs

(73) eg. 2/D/3 August 1818

(74) 2/D/3 10th October 1820

(75) D.Grigg, The Agricultural Revolution in South Lincolnshire (1966) 82

councils attempted to ensure the due performance by the tenant of his liabilities. At Nottingham the Town Clerk was in 1827 ordered to "write to Mr. Joseph James the present holder of the lease, granted in 1764 by this corporation to Joseph James, of premises in Wockley which will expire at Michaelmas next, giving notice to him of the dilapidated condition of the premises and calling his attention to the covenants for repairs contained in the lease, and that the full performance thereof will be required by the corporation".(76) Accordingly the corporation received in the same year a total of £246.10.3 from Joseph and Robert James in payment for the "dilapidations".(77) At York in 1781 the lease committee ordered an enquiry to discover "why Mr. Hutton and Mr. Baylie do sell the Manure and soyle of Decrugate Midding and do not lye it upon their ffarmes at Tang Hall being let ym with that intent".(78) In 1808 the committee for general purposes was ordered by the lease committee to "survey the house in Petergate late occupied by Mr. Donaldson and to examine the state of the Repairs there and report to this committee whether such repairs are completed according to the terms of Mr. Donaldson's lease....."(79) At Boston too, the order to the Town Clerk in 1792 that he call on Mr. Thompson "and acquaint him that unless he does immediately put into repairs the Messuage and fences belonging to the farm in Donnington lately held by him of this corporation, the town clerk is ordered

(76) NHB 3586f74

(77) NCAB 1826/7

(78) E101f42

(79) E101f126²

to bring an action against him", (80) is only one of the numerous examples to be found in all three boroughs, of legal action being brought to enforce tenants to fulfill their covenants. Often however, the risk of losing the leasehold was sufficient to persuade most defaulters to comply with their lease agreements. A renewal of the lease was rarely granted to a tenant unless he had fulfilled his covenants. At York in January 170⁶/7 the lease committee ordered "that a view be made" before a house in Mint Yard be re-leased, and in 1718 Mr. John Lund was curtly informed that he "shall not have a Renewal of the Lease of the house wherein he dwells unless he shall immediately comply with the desire of the committee appointed to inspect the house of Mrs. Williamson". (81)

Yet it is important to realise too that although the surveyors were employed in the corporate interest, they acted nevertheless with professional integrity. In 1824 Jephtha Pacey reported that "although it will be necessary to expend some money in the repairs of the House, (Danby's lease in Boston West) yet it is not in a bad state, and I think the Tenant cannot be called upon to do much to it, except as to repairing the Tiling the broken windows and the Luthern windows.....The house is in a gradual though not in a rapid state of decay and previous to the next tenant entering, ought to be put into a good state, which does not appear to have been the case previous to Danby's taking possession, nor indeed for a number of years". Although the barn

(80) 4/B/4/14

(81) YHB 41/186

and stables were in disrepair, the restoration of the foundations the doors and the pointing "he cannot be required to do".(82)

Concurrently with the improvement of the covenants, all three boroughs made other advances in the administration of their leases which were of greater significance for the overall rental returns. Notable amongst these was the move away from long leases to shorter terms, or yearly letting, and the abolition of entry fines.

At both Nottingham and York long leases held a place of varying importance in lease administration from 1660 to 1835. But although they, in the early years, formed a significant proportion of all the corporate lettings, they never became so common or so lengthy as in other boroughs. At Northampton the custom of letting on long lease at low rent with the exaction of a heavy entry fine, grew in strength from the late seventeenth century until by the mid eighteenth century it was particularly common.(83) This was in sharp contrast to both Nottingham and York where entry fines and long leases slowly declined in occurrence during these years. Neither did they in these two boroughs become as lengthy as at New Windsor, where between 1653 and 1725 the average lease length was forty or forty-one years, some running for fifty or sixty years, until an order of 1704 forbade

(82)5/A/3/23

(83) The Records of the Borough of Northampton
J.Cox, (1898) II 166

leases of more than forty one years, other than for the purpose of securing improvements.(84) At both Nottingham and York the average lease length however, rarely exceeded twenty one years, and although most leases were granted for this term, there was a perpetual growth in lettings from year to year.

Inevitably, the establishing of a lease term which was acceptable to both landlord and tenant was not easy. It was essential that a reasonable degree of security of tenure be offered to the tenant in order to encourage maintenance and improvement of the property in lease. On the other hand, a fixed rent for a number of years could, in times of inflation or price rise, or in times of increased land and housing demand, leave the landlord heavily exploited. The balance between the two interests probably lay therefore at leases of eleven years, or somewhat less, yet at both Nottingham and York twenty-one years was the norm.

In the absence of a lease book at Nottingham which records transactions within any of the three estates, it is not easy to reach conclusive decisions regarding civic leases. Although many lease agreements were recorded in the Hall books, these are often neither complete, nor correct, but from the evidence available, it seems reasonably clear that a twenty-one year lease was the general term granted

(84) S. Bond, The First Hall Book of the Borough of New Windsor (1968) 110 and Appendix I.

But it is noticeable at New Windsor that possibly the majority of these leases were renewed well before their expiration, the old lease being cancelled.(eg.p157.)

throughout the period from 1660-1835.(85) An abstract of Bridge rents for the year 1685, lists some twenty-nine leases of which no less than twenty-four are for terms of twenty-one years, the remainder being for 22,31,35 and 44 years.(86)

The inadvisability of long leases of property in times of 'inflation' or rapid economic change such as that experienced by most of England in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries needs little elaboration. But in the first half of the period, until perhaps as late as 1750, (when the population generally speaking, began to increase) prices and demand were relatively stable in the long term, and long leases were not so inadvisable as they might appear. There are many examples of a twenty-one year lease or longer being renewed at the same rent during this period, and the corporation, as landlord, seems to have been at little risk. But with the vastly changing population density of Nottingham during the second half of the period, it is abundantly evident that the corporation must have made heavy losses on those properties which it continued to lease for long terms. Individual rental movements illustrate the problem admirably. Although in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, twenty-one year leases were frequently released with only small price alterations, or none at all, from the middle of the eighteenth century and earlier, there

(85) The term 'lease' is applied here in its strictest sense, i.e. not letting from year to year, but for several years at a time.

(86) 4692a/2. This list is not however a complete catalogue of all the Bridge Estate properties, but it lists tenants alphabetically from 'a' to 'w'. It may therefore be a list only of properties on lease, as distinct from those let from year to year, for many properties were certainly let on a yearly basis.

were heavy rental increases when such leases were renewed. A tenement in Fishergate leased to John Lupton in 1674 for thirty one years at 51/- per annum was re-leased in 1705 for a further twenty one years still at only 50/- p.a. But by the time this lease expired the rent jumped to £4 in a lease for only eleven years.(87)

Yet the council was not oblivious to the dangers of long leases. Property which was likely to change rapidly in value was, in most cases, let on shorter leases to the advantage of both corporation and tenant. Thus the scavenger's fee (i.e. the corn tolls) and the sheep pens at Nottingham were invariably leased for only seven years, from the beginning of the period.(88) This awareness of the advisability of retaining short leases is evident also in the corporation's dealings with its Narrow Marsh tenements. Although in the eighteenth century most of these were let on twenty-one year leases, by 1809 most of them were let on a yearly basis,(89) for this was one of the most densely populated areas of pre-enclosure Nottingham. In addition the corporation was careful to increase rents in accordance with the length of the lease granted. Thus in 1755 a messuage in the market place was leased to J.Wilson for seven years at £7.10 p.a. When the lease was renewed in 1762 for twenty-five years, the rent was doubled to £15.10.0. Clearly this rise was not the equivalent of price movements or demand, but an increase designed to indemnify the corporation from severe loss

(87) Leases passim.

(88) Leases passim.

(89) Leases passim and 1809 survey by Staveley N H B 3568/59-61

through changing values within the period covered by the lease. But although leases granted by the Corporation invariably spanned twenty-one years, leases themselves were of diminishing importance in the letting of the Corporate properties. The Abstract of Bridge Estate rents for 1685 might indicate that already many properties were held only at will,(91) that is, essentially, from year to year, though in practice a tenant would hold tenure for many years at a time. Entries in the Chamber rental books later in the period, also support the assumption that where a lease occurred, twenty-one years was the usual length, but that many properties were let only for a year at a time. The evidence is not conclusive, but in the rental book of the Chamber Estate for 1794/5 several properties have their leases and expiry dates entered on the facing page. In every instance, this entry coincides with the entry also of a letter 'L' which, for many years, had been entered alone on the inside margin. This may well have been an abbreviation for the term lease or lease book, indicating that all properties without this designation were let only from year to year. The entry on the facing pages and the lease agreements still remaining, support this hypothesis, as does the movement of a property at Trent Bridge. Until 1779 the wharf, grain yard, ground, and other tenements at Trent Bridge were collectively let on successive twenty-one year leases from 1708 until 1758.(92)

(91) See note 86

(92) 5092, 5116, and Rental Books passim. The 1708 lease was in fact for 26 years, but was surrendered after 19

After the expiration of this last lease, the property was divided and let individually, apparently from year to year. The evidence for this is unfortunately only negative, there being no evidence of any leases transacted. However, in the Rental books this property is marked with an 'L' in 1770, but not in 1790; it seems therefore to be a probable, if poorly substantiated hypothesis that all entires marked with an 'L' in the Chamber rental books were on lease, while the remainder were let only from year to year. Working on this assumption, the rental books indicate a steady move towards yearly letting throughout the eighteenth century until the last decade.

An examination of the rental books for the years 1727, 1770, 1790, 1794, 1825/6 reveals the following figures:-

(Burgess parts and encroachments are not included, nor are the Shambles which were generally let from year to year.)

Year	1727	1770	1790	1795	1825
Total Properties	149	182	209	194	220
No. of Leases	55	37	26	40	71

The most noticeable feature in these figures is the steady decline in the number of properties in lease until the last decade of the nineteenth century when there begins a sudden and heavy increase. This was in fact largely the result of the granting

of numerous building leases (93) in areas hitherto undeveloped. Before pressure came to bear on the corporation to grant lengthy building leases, it was clearly becoming the policy to give way to yearly letting. Although therefore the Corporation at Nottingham continued to grant leases of an average length of twenty-one years, the disadvantages of this policy were largely mitigated by the growing preponderance of yearly letting. Indeed leasing for a term of years had apparently never been the predominant mode of letting property. However, it should be noted that out of 35 properties in the School Estate in 1722, 20 were, according to the assumptions made above, on a lease of some sort, and not let from year to year.(94) The School Estate in fact appears, in this respect, to have been markedly less well managed than the Chamber estate. In 1819, Lord Brougham's Commissioners (95) reported that some premises were leased for between forty and ninety-nine years. Out of fifty leases only one had been granted since 1796. This particular lease had been agreed upon in 1818 when a new house was built and the rent raised from £15 to £20. Six of the long leases granted between 1793 and 1796 were however specifically building or improving leases, but two particularly long ones, granted in 1767 for 99 years, and in 1771 for 80 years, contained only covenants to repair. The corporation were perhaps slowly evincing greater forethought in the management of this estate, for in 1795, they had granted a lease for $55\frac{3}{4}$ years at a small

(93) To be considered later

(94) School Warden's Rental 2641

(95) Charity Commissioners' Report op. cit., 470

increase of rent, with a view to its expiration at the same time as the adjoining premises. But the Commissioners rightly stated that at the expiration of the several leases, a considerable improvement in the income of the school was to be expected. Yet even so, not all the properties were leased, and those which were let to yearly tenants were stated by Staveley to be in general of "fair amount".

By 1790 there were very few Chamber estate properties on lease, rather than let from year to year. In the year 1794 alone, however, at least fifteen (96) properties were let on lease, but these were for very much longer periods than twenty-one years, and were, without doubt, building leases. Under the population pressure, the corporation had increased its leased area by resorting to this method of erecting and improving property. The tremendous increase in leases after 1795 therefore, is representative of a very different mode of letting, and it is clear that excluding these, the number of properties on ordinary long leases of between eleven and twenty-one years, was decreasing rapidly. But with the economic and demographic changes experienced throughout England during the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the losses experienced, particularly by Nottingham, on any long leases which it did grant, are lamentable and unnecessary, and it is difficult to accept the contention that although some lands at Nottingham were let on long leases, all the properties were let at full rents.(97)

(96) Chamber Rental passim.

(97) MCR 1997

At York, the 1833 report stated that the letting of the property 'is by general proposal, generally from year to year. Leases however are sometimes granted'.(99) And indeed at York, as elsewhere, it was not unusual to let property on lengthy leases, although the lease of Stamford Bridge lands in 1719 for one thousand years, was somewhat extraordinary.(100) As at Nottingham, twenty-one years was the most common duration for a lease, but as at Nottingham, many of the more valuable properties, or those of fluctuating value, were let on shorter leases. The crane house was, in 1733, leased for only eleven years, at which length of lease it continued until 1783 when it was reduced to seven. The Ouse Fishery was on a three year lease in 1733 and 1766, but by 1774 it had been raised to eleven years as its value steadily decreased. The corn and grain tolls were constantly on a three year lease from the time they were first leased in 1735 until 1769, when they were let instead from year to year. Yet Thursday market remained on a twentyone year lease. However, unlike the position at Nottingham, Corporate properties at York were, in the earlier period, almost invariably leased rather than let from year to year. But from an early date, the Lease Committee had recognised

(99) MCR 1753

(100) YHB 41 f203

the danger of lengthy leases. In 1771 they reported to the Hall "Tis the opinion of this committee That all Messuages, lands and Tenemts with apoutces belonging to ye city of York be viewed once in every yeare, ye want of views and ye length of ye leases appearing to this committee to be of ill consequence".(1)

Yet, leases generally of twentyone years continued to be predominant until around 1790 when there was a most abrupt change to eleven year leases, with several also for one year only, followed in 1800 by a strong move towards letting from year to year. This is quite evident from the transactions recorded by the lease committee, and until 1835, this was continued as the standard method of letting property. A few propetties remained on lease, but these formed a very small minority and were generally only granted for seven years. In the Lease Committee Records for 1808 all the agreements were from year to year, except for two building leases, one for eleven years, and one extended by seventeen years to twentyone. In the 1812 schedule for leases, there are only twelve leases for twentyone years, only one of which was granted after 1795, indicating a clear trend towards shorter terms towards the close of the century. In the same schedule there are thirteen, eleven year leases, and eight, seven year leases, demonstrating a heavy preponderance of short term (of eleven years and less) over long term, where a lease was contracted, and only one property, a piece of land, was on a ninety-nine year lease. But of greatest significance, is the marked preponderance of yearly

(1) E101 F48

of yearly letting over leases. There were no less than seventysix such agreements in the 1812 schedule.(2) The danger of long leases is amplified by the rental of St.Peter's School. In 1820 its long lease of £50 per annum expired, and the property was subsequently re-let for £1200 per annum.(3) Yet the Corporation at York, in the interests of good management, continued to lease some of their properties. In 1824 a fourteen or twentyfour year lease was offered to Kilby for Frog Hall, since his bills of expenditure there amounted to no less than £418.17s.6d (4) and for probably much the same reasons, Frog Hall was, in 1825, let for fourteen or twentyone years at the tenant's wish.(5)

The dangers of a yearly lease lay in the insecurity of tenure, which reduced the incentive of the tenant to maintain the property; but the ruling of 1741 (6) counteracted these fears. In practice, tenants remained in occupation for many years at a time, but the significance of yearly letting for the landlord lay in the power to move the rent at will each year and simply by the presentation of a notice to quit, or pay the increased rent. A notable exception to the general trend at York was the lease of the theatre, which continued with terms of twentyone years.

(2) E78a

(3) C.B.Knight, op.cit., 601

(4) 77, 25.6.1824

(5) K110 8.4.1825

(6) YHR43 f64 "where it shall appear to the Committee of Leases that considerable sums of money over and above what are covenanted for, have been paid out the "Committee shall examine and inquire into the same and report their opinion thereof, before any agreement be made with any other person, for the lease".

Perhaps this was one of York Corporation's contributions to culture. Certainly there were dangers in granting long leases, but by the time of greatest demographic and economic change during this period, York was making a deliberate move to yearly letting, and at Nottingham, where leases had apparently never been the predominant mode of renting out corporate property, there was a strong trend towards more yearly letting.

At Boston however, leasing of property for a term of years remained the principal method of letting the corporate estates throughout the period. But by contrast with Nottingham and York, the lease term was from the beginning of the period, only ten years. Since however the majority of Boston's property was agricultural land, this was probably not too long a period, for managerial improvements on farming land were usually slow to produce results. As early as 1653 a bye-law was passed directing that no lease "for above ten yeares at the most" should be granted "to any pson or psons whatsoever either of the company or otherwise", on penalty of £10.(7) This bye-law was moreover strictly adhered to until the demise of the old corporation. A few properties were however let from year to year. Often this was the result of a property not reaching its reserve price at the auction of the lease; in other cases the surveyor recommended that a property be let for only one year before being again put into lease(8); but some properties were by the early nineteenth century also recommended

(7)2/c/1 5.9.1653

(8) This occurred sometimes in years of poor agricultural prices, or at other times when it was felt that reasonable rents might not be secured. E.G. 4/B/4/15 16th Dec.1834:-
Leases expiring Lady Day next to be re let for one year only and the rest postponed.

to transfer to yearly letting. Thus in 1817 a number of properties were recommended by the lease committee to be put up for one year only (9). But by 1819 only five properties were let yearly on the Chamberlain's Estate, all others being held on lease.(10) Yet here, as in other lease matters, the Administrative diligence of the surveyors and the Corporation at Boston, was evident. Although leases were held for several years, the terms were designed to accommodate the expected improvements in yield. In 1814 a farm in the West Fen was leased to Howard Alderly for only six years, but the terms were minutely detailed. The area was divided into four parts, for which separate rents were payable. These rents moreover, were to increase as the years passed:-

Year	Area 'A'	Areas, B.C.D.
1	£160	£330
2		£510
3		£510 70 acres
4	£360	£570
5		£90
6		} 10 acres only

The reason for these closely controlled rents was the strict covenants by which Alderly was bound regarding the use of the land. Area 'A' was to be used for pasture during years one to three, and thereafter for tillage, but only sowing woad, and not corn or grain. The remaining area was also to be continued as meadow for the first year, but thereafter he could convert up to 50 acres to woad growing for the second and third years, and a further ten acres to the same purpose in the fourth years.(11)

(9) 2/3/3 25th Nov. 1817

(10) Rental 1819

(11) I have amalgamated the rents of areas B.C.D. but these were in fact distinctly listed in the lease transaction, 4/3/3/69

By 1835 therefore, it is evident that in none of the three boroughs under consideration, were long leases the predominant form of tenure on the corporate estates, while at Boston and Nottingham they had not been the principal method of letting throughout the period.

But if these administrative improvements in lease terms were to have maximum effect, it was essential that the councils make a further advance in their procedures. To reap the fullest financial potential from their properties, it was essential that the leaseholds be put up for general competition.

A recognition of the importance of competition for leaseholds was very early made by the council at York, who in 1506 ruled that anyone outbidding a sitting tenant might have the lease,(12) and a firm desire that all properties be "lett to the best possible advantage"(13) continued to pervade their dealings throughout the period from 1660-1835. The repetition ~~in~~ in 1737 of a resolution made many times before showed quite clearly that the lease committee and the common council realized also how best this could be achieved; ..."upon the renewing of all leases after this Mayoralty....publick notice shall be given by printed advertisements of all the Leases to be renewed before the same be renewed, by the space of one month, in the York newspaper...."(14)

(12) York Civic Records ed. A. Raine, iii 18

(13) e.g. Lease of two houses Ouse Bridge 1718 E101f72

(14) E101f144 and YHB 43f64

Thereafter, competition for leaseholds was a feature of almost all lease renewals, and in the words of the advertizement in the York Courant in 1742, all prospective tenants were advised that "the Committee of Leases will sit in the Council Chamber upon Ouze bridge in the said city.....to receive proposals from such persons as propose to lease the same...which proposals are to be sent in writing severally seal'd up, with the number of the lot on the outside....."(15). It was then the responsibility of the lease committee to accept the highest bid received,(16) and that they conducted themselves with integrity is apparent from the revocation of two leases in January 1741, "the same appearing not to have been lett to the best Bidders".(17) As the period progressed however, competition was increased yet further. Leases were still better advertized; in 1816 a notice board was erected advertizing Mint yard house (18), and so prolific was the use of the medium of advertizing that in April 1816, the finance committee, in an act of retrenchment, ruled that no more advertisements should be made without special orders.(19) In addition the leases were often disposed of by public auction. In 1821 the tenements on Foss Bridge were let "by ticket"(20), and a house in Minster yard was in 1826 ordered to be let by ticket at the Guildhall.(21)

At Boston too, the council very early realized the advantages of securing several offers for their leaseholds. In

(15) York Courant No.897, Dec.21st 1742

(16) YHB 43/28. Other examples occur too, for example, YHB 43/16

(17) YHB 43/29.11.1739

(18) E77/23.2.1816

(19) E77/5.4.1816

(20) E77/ 26.10.1821

(21) E77/25.8.1826

1730 it was resolved that "in contracting for the lease or sale of any lands, such person who bids most money and first offers, (shall) be esteemed the best bidder, except his opponent be a tenant to the lands" (22), and the policy of auctioning leases very soon became evident. In this moreover the corporation established precise rulings. The surveyor's valuation of the property was always used as a reserve price and if bidding failed to reach it, the lease was withdrawn and let for a year only. In addition it was resolved in 1820 that from the starting price of the bidding no person should advance less than £5 each bid, and no one should be declared tenant until a certain number of minutes had elapsed.(23)

In both Boston and York therefore, public notification of the available leases, and auctioning of such tenures was before the nineteenth century well established procedure. Advertisements were inserted in all the local newspapers, at Boston being included in the Boston Herald, and the Lincoln and Stamford Mercury, as well as in hand bills.(24) At York the finance committee reports give evidence that ample opportunity was given for open and fair competition.(25) Indeed the Commissioners commented upon this in both boroughs.(26) But at Nottingham the Town Clerk himself admitted that public notice was not generally given when corporate property was to be let.(27) This is a procedural matter of some importance, for inadequate competition for the leases

(22) BAB1730 f 400

(23) 2/D/3/10th Oct.1820

(24) 4/B/4/15 16th Dec.1834; 20th Dec.1831

(25) E77; K110 passim

(26) MCR 2158.

(27) MCR 1997. T.Cockayne, A Report of the Evidence given before the Commissioners (1833) 49

could not only reduce rents below the value of the property, but was conducive to the letting of properties only to those members of the council and their friends who were aware that the tenancies had become vacant. In fact however there is evidence that it had long been customary to advertize at least some of the tenancies in the local newspapers. A voucher of 1763 records a payment of seven shillings to Samuel Cresswell for "inserting two advertisements in the Nottingham Journal relating to the Letting on Lease a piece of waste ground belonging the Corporation".(28) Thirty years later, the annual Committee informed the Hall that they had advertized the letting of Butchers' Close into Wharfs, in the Nottingham Journal.(29) Although therefore public notice of available leaseholds may not have been given at Nottingham with such regularity as at Boston and York, it seems clear that where new or valuable properties were available for lease, advertizements were invariably inserted in the local press, and hand bills distributed.(30) The Shambles leases were apparently always so advertized, for the benefit of the butchers from outside the town, but otherwise, as Enfield stated, "wherever there is a lease of the corporation likely to be at liberty, it is known in that particular part of the town where the property lies.(31) If however the concern for competitive leasing was not so manifest at Nottingham, there were regulations to ensure that a maximum rent

(28) 1809c II 46a

(29) NHB 3552/90

(30) Payments for Advertisements remain amongst the vouchers.
e.g. "Drawing up advertisements for letting the Flaming Sword, 6/8d"
1790-1; No 108
Numerous advertisements are to be found in the Nottm. Journal
e.g. 3.2.1810; 17.3.1810; 5.5.1810; 6.10.1810. (all different
properties)

(31) MCR 1997, T. Cockayne, op. cit., 49

was obtained. Henry Enfield, Town Clerk, testified at the enquiry in 1833 that "Application to become tenants was first of all made to the annual committee, who are guided by the report of the surveyors to the proper rent, which is regulated by the Change of time and the value of the property".(32) Tenders were then made by interested applicants and decided upon by the Annual Committee.(33) Auctioning of leases also occurred from time to time. In 1690 the Scavenger's fee (i.e. the Corn Tolls) was ordered to be "lett by match and pin for seven year", (34) (presumably this would be much the same process as by candle, the Fee falling to the last bidder before the match was burned down to the pin) and in 1711 it was let "by an inch of candle to Gervase Pilkington.(35) Auctioning of leases did in fact become more common at Nottingham as the period drew to a close, and its importance in obtaining a full and competitive rent can be clearly seen in the auctioning of Lambley Farm lease in 1811. Its estimated value in that year was some £201.16.5s.(36) yet since 1809 it had been let for only £150 p.a.(37) It was consequently ordered that the farm be let by Auction to a yearly tenant at a rent not less than £250 p.a., and it was subsequently taken by William Robinson for £321 p.a.(38) This was a notable advance from the days when it was all the corporation could do to even strike an agreement with a prospective tenant over the rent. At Nottingham

(32) T.Cockayne, op. cit., 47

(33) Ibid.; 49

(34) NHB 3457 f58

(35) NHB 3477f 18a

(36) NHB 3571f37-41

(37) Rental 2310a

(38) Rental 2315

in 1699 a Committee was appointed to treat with a tenant about the lease of Mansell Park, one of the Corporation's properties in Derbyshire. In February of that year, the Corporation proposed that "if he will pay a fine of £300 and £60 rent p.a., or £250 and the old rent, he may have a new lease of the sd.Parke, otherwise this corporation will dispose of the same to the best advantage....."(39) In June, after disagreement with the prospective tenants over these terms, the "positive finall resolution of this house" was made "that unlesse they will give £100 fine and ye old rent, this corporacon will dispose of the same to their best advantage", and a lease was finally sealed on July 18th for twenty-one years, on terms appreciably below those which the corporation had originally demanded, (the old rent was £68 p.a.)(40) At York however, the corporation showed a clear intention not to be over-ridden by such bargaining. In 1826 an offer of £60 p.a. rent for a property in Mint Yard was staunchly refused by the corporation. They had resolved to accept no less than £80 p.a., and declared their firm intention of continuing the old tenant at the old rent "by sufferance"(i.e. from year to year) if the prospective occupier refused to meet their price. This he ultimately did.(41)

But although public competition for leaseholds helped the three councils greatly in obtaining the maximum rent from their properties, the corporate enthusiasm for money had to be tempered by other considerations. The policy of leasing only to the highest

(39) NHB 3467 6th Feb.1699/1700

(40) NHB 3467 July 18th 1700

(41) E77 27.10.1826; 2.2.1827

bidder was after all, no incentive to a sitting tenant to improve his property if he feared that he would lose his tenure to a higher bidder. It was this consideration which led York corporation to rule in 1741, that tenants who improved the property which they held on lease, were to have this taken into consideration by the lease committee, before the property was re-leased.(42) It was presumably for the same reason that Boston corporation also decided in 1831, that "in future when lands or tenements are put up by Auction at the expiration of the time allowed for each bidding, the said lands or tenements shall not be put up again for further competition if the tenant in possession is prepared to continue at the rent then bid".(43) In many instances it was more profitable to take a tenant at a slightly lower rental who would improve and maintain his property. It was certainly in the interests of the Corporation to provide every incentive to his tenant to improve the property, even if this entailed a longer lease or preventing full competition. In 1726 the lessee of the Mount in York planted it with trees, and on Blake Street, Sir William Robinson, a past M.P. "built a handsome house, whose portal is adorned with the City's Arms, as holding the ground by lease from the Mayor and Comonalty...."(44) Such improvements were welcomed both as an improvement to the corporate property and to the town, and small monetary contributions or rental allowances and extended leases were frequently given to encourage tenants in such work. In 1824 the corporation at York

(42) YHB 43/64

(43) 2/D/3 20th Dec. 1831

(44) F. Drake, op. cit., II 263, 373

granted a long lease to a tenant in consideration of his expenditure on the premises (45) and in 1822 the crane was let for £18pa with an allowance of the first years' rent to effect repairs.(46) These improving tenants appeared regularly in all three boroughs. Often they specifically requested from the corporation some consideration for their pains. At Boston John Bonner in 1798 stated his willingness to "engage at his own expense to new front" his house and repair it, if the corporation would re-lease it to him for twenty-one years at the old rent.(47) But on many occasions they undertook such improvements entirely at their own cost. At Nottingham a tenant of St.Anns Well house and bowling green had so improved his property that in 1720 the corporation felt themselves morally obliged to execute a lease in trust for his children, "in cons. that R.Jackson spent most of his estate on the house to the impoverishment of his children...."(48) At York, too, a tenant made alterations in the Inner Moat near North Street Postern by dividing it into separate yards and enclosing it with Brick walls, which increased the value of the property from £24 to £75.10.0, when it came up for re-lease. And the corporation had before its release, even withdrawn one of the yards for its own use, as a gravel and stone depot.(49) Clearly it was often to the distinct advantage of the corporation to take tenants who would improve the properties, in preference to those making the highest bid, even though it usually involved accepting a lower rental or granting a longer lease.

(45) K110 25.6.1824

(46) E77 8.3.1822

(47) 2/B/2 16th Nov.1798

(48) 5065

(49) K110 Feb.3rd 1835

On the whole however a policy of encouraging competition for leases and accepting the highest bid, had by the time of the municipal enquiry, become well established in all three boroughs. But on many occasions the corporations did not stand in a landlord's market. The demand for property was, even at Nottingham, often not as high as the supply. At York this may often have been the case. In February 1703 the common hall made an allowance of two years rent to Ambrose Girdler "to put the.....house into a better and more tenantable condicion". The reason for its decay was that it had been "long untenanted" (50). During most of the eighteenth century the corn tolls continually proved difficult to lease. In 1738 the lease committee resolved that the bid by Richard Corney and John Dalton of £200p.a.".... there being no other bidders for them and that not coming to the former rent by £20, this comittee referrs further consideration thereof to the next meeting". (51) On that occasion a bid of £220 by Hotham and Hodgson enabled the matter to be settled satisfactorily, but when the tolls came up for re-lease three years later, Hogdson would offer only £200, and again there was no other bidder.(52) The corporation accepted the offer - they had little choice - but in 1771 "in pursuance of the advertizement for letting the Corn Tolls - No person appearing to take them but Mr.Thomas Speight, whose proposals were not satisfactory to the Committee Ordered that Mr.Wheatley be continued to collect the same for one year...."(53)

(50) YHB 40f147,148

(51) E101f146,147

(52) E101f156

(53) E101f226

The Corporation as lessors continued to experience bad times in York in the nineteenth century. In 1823 the Mint Yard Stables were reduced from £64 to £60 per annum (54) despite their having been recently greatly improved.(55) The recommendation by the Lease Committee in 1729 that a property have a reserved rent of at least £40 per annum, was, obviously, rather optimistic (56). At Boston difficulty in leasing property does not seem to have arisen to the same degree, but the number of abatements made, particularly in farm rents, from the late eighteenth century onwards, indicate that the Corporation was, as at Nottingham and York, having to concede to the financial difficulties of its tenants.(57) Even in Nottingham in the nineteenth century, landlords were experiencing difficulties in leasing their property. This seems extraordinary in view of the population pressure at that time, but in fact, that was the very cause of the trouble. At the Commissioners enquiry in 1833, Mr. Robinson asked "..... are you aware how many hundred houses are now standing for want of occupants?" Mr. Wadsworth replied "a great number; and they are unoccupied because of their inconvenience and closeness".(58) To what extent this situation affected the Corporation cannot be estimated. At York too it was reported that several houses in Mint Yard were in a dilapidated and ruinous condition, one tenant, William Bradley, at £30 per annum had "quitted without notice in consequence of the buildings being positively uninhabitable".(59)

(54) W77 31.1.1823

(55) see YCAB

(56) E101 f119 1729

(57) Chapter 4

(58) T. Cockayne, op.cit., 159. There is no evidence that this applied to civic property.

(59) K110 Feb. 3rd 1832

It is clear that the advancement towards the advertising of available properties and the encouragement of open competition was a direct and effective hindrance to uneconomic letting. But the incidence of sub-letting by corporate tenants is unequivocal evidence that there was room for improvement in the corporation rents. There occurs however, no example so flagrant as at Beverley where, in his Mayoral year, Richard Fox secured a seven year lease of property occupied by Mrs. Hoggard (1708). On her death in January 1806 he renewed his lease for seven years at £15 per annum, and subsequently re-let the property at £38.18s.0d a year.(60) However it is quite clear that the councils were generally aware of such situations. Entries in the rental books at Nottingham, in lease transactions and surveys, where it is recorded whether the rent was paid by the tenant or lessee, or that the occupant was not the owner of the lease, indicate that the council was aware of the existence of sub-letting. Regulations were passed in all three boroughs forbidding the practice. Boston Corporation in 1770 ruled that a clause should be inserted in all leases forbidding tenants to let properties without leave from the Corporation (61), and at York too a covenant was, in 1713, inserted in a lease prohibiting transfer of the premises

(60) RMB 93

(61) BAB 1770 £89^b

without the consent of a committee of leases.(62) At Nottingham it was resolved, in 1792, that "the corporation do grant no new lease to any person whatsoever except they have good reason to apprehend that the Tenant shall occupy the same himself, and every such Lease shall contain a covenant restricting the Tenant from assigning the same without the consent of the corporation".(63) If this was found to occur, steps were hastily taken to remedy the situation. In 1797 a tenant in Nottingham was given notice to quit the stable which he was apparently letting at double the rent which he was paying.(64)

Perhaps the most important result of giving public notification of the available leaseholds, and encouraging fair and open competition in the letting of them, lay however, at least as far as the public was concerned, in the halt which it brought to any exercise of preference in the granting of tenure. Partiality in the corporate dealings, particularly as exercised toward fellow members of the common council, was, in the eyes of the early nineteenth century public, one of the most despicable aspects of the unreformed municipal corporation. At a time when democracy and equality were the utopia for which the enlightened liberals were hoping, favouritism in the administration of the local town council, was yet another example of the corrupt work in which they still lived. Partiality towards friends and fellow councillors was another manifestation of the "closed" privileges which accrued to the politically, religiously and socially exclusive town council.

(62) E101 f57

(63) NHB 3552 ff 12 to 14

(64) NHB 3556 f20

But, at least in the three boroughs with which we are concerned, there seems little evidence of excessive partiality in the distribution of the town estates. The councils appear to have made limited use of their patronage as landlords for political purposes. This is the more surprising in the light of the staunchly upheld political exclusiveness of the two councils at Nottingham and Boston. The former almost exclusively Whig, the latter, strongly Tory, both were notorious for their desire to have Members of Parliament of their own Party. Yet, strong as their political feeling was, and much as it was criticised within the two towns, neither council distributed leaseholds solely by political considerations. It is true that at Nottingham in 1806, the Hall, having resolved that the corporation was "favourable to the claims of Joseph Birch Esquire to represent this town in Parliament" expressed their determination to support his election "by every legal and peaceable means in their power". To this end, every Burgess and Freeholder occupying any lands or possessions belonging to the corporation were to be called upon and informed "that the Body Corporate will be obliged by such Burgess or Freeholder giving their votes and Interest in favour of Mr. Birch". It was moreover decided that any Burgess deprived of his house by another landlord for voting for Birch, would have 'habitations' provided for them as soon as possible out of the lands and Possessions belonging to the corporation".(65) Yet, at the Municipal Enquiry in 1833, it was testified that "The Corporation have tenants holding profitable lands under them whom they have never solicited to vote in any way; and I defy any contradiction".(66)

(65) MIB 3566 f19

(66) T. Cockayne, op. cit., 178

Neither does there appear evidence of undue partiality in the granting of leaseholds to members and friends of the common council. The report of the Commissioners in 1833 that "from this erroneous, but strongly rooted opinion that the property of the Corporations is held in trust for the benefit of the Corporate body only.....the transition is not difficult to the opinion that individual corporators may justifiably deserve a personal benefit from that property"(68), probably contains more of impact than of truth....."This principle has been undisputedly adopted in few corporations compared with the number of those in which it is indirectly acted upon. Some sense of inpropriety indicated by the secrecy with which some transactions are conducted, has accompanied... the alienation in fee of the corporate property to individual corporators".(69) Thus the commissioners continued, and there can be no doubt that such abuses did occur. Indeed, at Cambridge "the practice of turning the corporation property to the profit of individuals was avowed and defended by a member of the council".(70)

(68) MCR 45 para 112

(69) MCR 45 para 113

(70) MCR 45 para 112

The evidence of lease transactions at Boston, Nottingham and York points however to very different conclusions. All three corporations passed bye laws at various dates to restrict undue preference. At York as early as 1709 it was decided that "no person belonging the body of this City who farms city's lands or tenements of the yearly rent of £5 upwards shall be chosen or belong to the committee of Leases".(71) Although therefore councillors were entitled to hold leases of corporate property, they were given no opportunity to interfere on their own behalves. At Nottingham too, it was resolved in 1763 that any member of the Hall applying for a favour of any kind, must withdraw, to facilitate a free discussion and decision.(72) But it was undoubtedly the auctioning of leases which proved the most effective antidote to partiality to councillors. York lease committee recognized this in 1739 when it ordered that "for the advancement of the common Rent and impartial letting of houses lands and tenements belonging to this city" all leases should be advertized, proposals be made to the committee in sealed envelopes and that none of these be opened until the committee met".(73) The adoption of such resolutions was naturally no guarantee of their implementation. At Doncaster a bye law of 1719 establishing that leases must be always let to the highest bidder was tempered, even at this stage, by a clause for "respect being first had to any member of ye corporation".(74) But at Boston the frequency of lease auctions seems undoubtedly to have excluded all opportunity for preference to corporate members. Councillors were certainly well

(71) YHB 41f46b

(72) NEB 3522f18

(74) J. Tomlinson, Doncaster from the Roman Occupation to the present time (1887) 179

represented amongst the corporate tenants, but there is no reason to suppose that they were given any advantage either in securing the lease, or in the terms of the rent. The lease of the tithes to the corporate members between 1776 and 1790 adequately demonstrates the fairness of the rent. In 1776 Thomas Fydell (Councillor) took them on a three year lease at £90 pa. The previous tenant, Shirhill, had in 1773 taken them for three years at £106 p.a., but it seems quite clear that the tythes were in fact declining in value, for when Fydell's lease expired, George Scott (non-corporate member) acquired it for only £84p.a. Indeed the tythes continued to decline in value and Francis Thirkell (T/C in 1783) took them in 1782 for only £75 pa., but upon his re-lease of them in 1786 his rent was increased to £100 pa., at which rate the tythes were subsequently leased to Kyme and Nightingale (non-corporation members) in 1790.(75) If however the rents were fair, it appears that some councillors held an ample number of leaseholds. For although the corporation ruled in 1775 that "No member of the corporation, or any other person whomsoever (may) take any part of the corporate estates but for his own use and occupation", (76) this did not prevent a member from holding more than one leasehold so long as he did not lease or grant it to anyone else. Although however multiple holdings by corporate members were not unusual

(75) 4/B/4/6; 4/B/4/14

(76) BAB 1775 f 209

in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, (in 1734 Alderman Richard Bell held the out Rents of Roose Hall three acres in South End, the Custom house, six acres of the Docks Pasture and the profits of the Ballastage, beaconage and Anchorage)(77) they seem to have declined after this ruling, and it would be fair to say that although not unusual they had never been common. Certainly from the last thirty or more years of the eighteenth century, public competition for leases was too regular at Boston to allow unfair opportunities to corporate members.

Similarly at York, there seems little evidence of any undue advantage being extended to councillors in the matter of leaseholds. The partiality shown to Alderman Thomson in giving him "the preference of the next Renewal of the Lease of a Rampart near Bootham Bar now in lease to Benjamin Lee" was only in the expectation that it would be "an inducement to his rebuilding his house in Btergate, near adjoining to the said Rampart which will be an ornament to the street and credit to the said city".(78) Unlike the position at Nottingham and Boston moreover, there does not appear to ^{have} been any tendency for corporate members to hold several leases, and the corporation was as particular about covenants in leases held by corporate members as in those held by others. In 1716 Alderman Hutton was unequivocally required to "rebuild a barn at Tanghall Manor upon

(77) 3/B/4/6

(78) YHB 43/157 29th January 1744

ye old foundations, of the same dimensions with ye old blown down on or before Mayday last" (79), and on his non compliance the lease committee did not hesitate to order his prosecution.(80) There was no favouritism shown to Alderman Kilby either when, having failed to pay his rent, he was required to quit all the premises of which he was a tenant.(81)

The evidence at Boston and York is however less informative than at Nottingham, where almost a full compliment of rental books greatly supplements the lease transactions. Here the municipal commissioners in 1833 declared that although it was the practice to grant leases to members of the Governing body, these were always at full rent. "No unfairness or partiality appears to have prevailed in the lettings".(82) The Town Clerk further testified that the "tenants are not the friends of the corporation", and with this assertion there was no public disagreement.(83) It appears however that at times the opportunity for abuse may have been taken. Although the Free School Close was in 1822 leased to Alderman Soars at the old rent of £7.4.0p.a., this same Close had, thirteen years previously, been worth no less than £9 p.a. Moreover the adjoining close, which was probably a comparable property, was valued at ten guineas per annum; although it was leased at the

(79) E101/64 August 1st 1716

(80) K100 February 31st 1819; YHB 41

(81) E77/26 3.1819; 30.8.1819; A notable comparison is to be seen at Leicester, where despite the apparant partiality shown to members of the Hall in granting leases, a common Councillor was, in 1722, ordered to be taken to Court for breach of his covenants. LBR v 976

(82) NCR 1997

(83) T.Cockayne, op.cit., 49

excessive rent of £15 to some unsuspecting tenant.(84) Yet the Charity Commissioners gave evidence of only four corporate members holding leases of the free school estate; George Burbage, Alderman Sozrs, Richard Hooton and Nathaniel Barnsdall, and the last two were thought to be paying "fair rents".(85) On the other hand, Cornelius Huthwaite (a common Councillor and one of a family of prominent corporate members ~~for~~ and mayors) in 1776 took a lease for twenty-one years of a burgage divided into two tenements in Narrow Marsh (86). This had previously been leased at only £1.1.60 p.a, so Huthwaite's rent of £3 would appear to be quite just. In 1767 (87) he renewed the lease on identical terms and in 1788 "by his own consent" agreed to pay £8 p.a. Apparently he was a just and reasonable man, but perhaps more shrewd than might appear, for in 1792/3 the two tenements were let by the corporation for £8.10.0 and £5.10.0 respectively. Such examples are not however common, and on the whole the financial terms of leases held by councillors compare favourably with other leases granted. But there does seem to have been a tendency during the early eighteenth century for individual corporate members to hold a ~~large~~ number of leases, which were taken not only for private occupation but also for sub-letting. Alderman John Sherwin at one time held two tenements in Middle

(84) The Reports of the Commissioners appointed in pursuance of various Acts of Parliament to enquire concerning Charities in England and Wales relating to the County of Nottingham

1819-37

(1890) 470

(85) Ibid.

(86) 5104

(87) 5122

Pavement, a corner shop on Long Row, a shop on Middle Row and a shop in the fish shambles, the latter of which was definitely sub-let - Moreover it was often council members who held the most valuable leases. A lease of two Malt Mills, the Butt Dyke, Postern Bridge Close and the Bull piece was from at least 1681 until 1788 held only by council men:- Alderman Christopher Hall, and Alvery Dodsley (Councillor). The near coppice was in 1697 held by John Sherwin and Abraham Metcalfe, both councillors, and continued to be held by a member of the Hall until Thomas Oldknow's lease expired in 1822/3.

(see appendix III) ,

Council members held several of the corporation's public houses too. Leavis Sherwin held the Flaming Sword in Smithy Row from its rebuilding in 1725-7 until 1733 when his lease expired and was taken by Alderman Pennell who sub-let it for much of the period. A similar situation is to be seen at Boston where the Tythes were held by councillors from 1776-1779 and 1782-90; and Alderman Richard Bell held the profits of ballastage from 1727-1741, the sheep pens from 1760 until 1780.(88) It should be remembered however that the town council was, especially in the earlier eighteenth century, composed largely of the successful business men of the town. The thriving merchants and tradesmen were well represented, and it was these men who

(88) 4/B/4/6; 4/B/4/11.

could be expected to lease properties from the corporation not because they were councillors, but because they kept a watchful eye on property transactions. Yet there is no indication in either Nottingham or Boston that these leases were held on favourable terms, or that they were granted without open competition. Indeed it seems that applications must have been fairly dealt with, for the Bull piece at Nottingham was for many years in the hands of Cornelius Launder, one of the more vociferous radical members of the Junior Council who could expect little future within the corporation after his motion championing the rights of the Junior Council against the place of the Aldermen in corporate business. (89)

Caractacus D'Aubigny Shilton however, held different opinions. In 1835 he filed informations in Chancery against the Corporation at Nottingham for allowed mismanagement of the Thomas White and Free School Trusts. In his evidence he asserted that George Burbage (Common Councilman) has been granted a long lease at £44 under Covenant to expend £300 on the property. Not only were these terms favourable, but when on his death, the premises were in a ruinous state, the Mayor and Burgesses, instead of claiming recompense from his executors, bought the lease for £325, demolished the old premises, and rebuilt. They had, from time to time, also let the Charity estates to members of the corporation

(89) This was in 1776 NHB 3535f19.

"at inadequate rents", in particular the "Freeschool Close" to Alderman Soars in 1822 for £7.4s.0d., and other parts to Richard Hooton and Nathaniel Barnsdall, which these men subsequently re-let.(90)

Shilton was a radical, but not of such determination and energy as a contemporary, James Acland, who, prior to leaving Bristol just before the riots in 1831, pursued a tireless campaign against that corporation. He had spoken of Bristol Magistrates in terms of unqualified censure, and moved to Hull to pursue a similar programme against the corporation there.(91)

Shilton certainly did not fall into the same category as Acland, but he appears to have been a trouble maker. In 1835 it was ruled in King's Bench that "Upon reading the affidavit of Caractacus D'Aubigny Shilton, Gentleman It is ordered that the first day of the next term shall be given to the keepers of the Peace and Justices in and for the town and county of the Town of Nottingham to show cause why a writ of Mandamus should not issue direct to them commanding them to permit the said Caractacus D'Aubigny Shilton to inspect and examine , the several bills and accounts, Vouchers and Papers...passed by them ... at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace...and the amounts whereof were then and there by them directed to be paid out of the County Rate..."(92)

(90) NHB 3594 ff 91 to 99

(91) K.A. MacMahon, "James Acland and the Humber Ferry Monopolies,"
Transport History (1969) II

(92) 75652 IVa May 11th 1835

Shilton was an Attorney, but in the brief for the Corporation Council it was stated that "He has all his life busied himself as a righter of wrongs...and tho' not having the very high esteem of anybody is wonderfully well satisfied with himself".(93) The rule was in fact discharged on June 1st, and it seems likely that Shilton's attack was a belated revenge for the disallowance of sums paid to him out of the county rate in 1821. On May 3rd, Quarter Sessions ruled that "the...sum of two hundred and fifty two pounds, ten shillings and eight pence, consisting of various items charges or expenses mentioned and contained in the said Bill of the said...Shilton and the said sum of five pounds four shillings and six pence.. ..stated to have been paid to Samuel Green...have been illegally paid and disbursed and that the same ought not to have been allowed in the said accounts....."(94)

Shilton's evidence of corporate partiality must therefore be treated with caution. Both the suits concerning Sir Thomas White's Charity and the Free school were ultimately allowed to lapse.(95) Proceedings began in January 1836 with an examination of books and papers, but in April 1838, the case was adjourned for the plaintiffs to amend their pleadings. The case was subsequently dropped, control of the Free School having by this time, in any case, been vested in other trustees than the Corporation. By the nineteenth century at least the increased

(93) 7652 IV b

(94) Quarter Sessions Records 1820-21, 361a 118-120

(95) A.W.Thomas, A History of Nottingham High School (1957) 134

organization evident in the business of leasing, most probably ensured, as Enfield claimed, that if leases were given to corporate members, they were let at full value. Indeed this may always have been so. An examination of the Chamber estate rentals indicates that Councillors did not hold an overwhelming number of those properties. Exclusive of Burgess parts, it appears that in 1725/6, eighteen properties were held by members of the council or their widows. Ninety-five properties were held by other persons, and thirteen were held by persons who may or may not have been councillors. (96) In 1735/6 there would appear to have been twelve properties held by corporation members, twenty-four by persons whose identity is uncertain, and ninety-four by other townsmen. There is every reason to suppose that members of the governing body held tenements from the corporation, but there seems little reason to suppose that this was either excessive or favourable. It is not easy to determine the truth, but there was at least no revelation such as that at Beverley where in 1806 the finance committee discovered that, as a result of various forms of mismanagement, the rents produced only £792.10.0pa, although their value was £1283.15.10. Amongst rulings passed to remedy this situation was the resolution that all leases in future be let publicly to prevent undue partiality to corporate members. (97)

(96) Rental Book 1725/6

(97) BMB 4 f 93

On the whole, improved lease terms, and open letting of tenures, seem in all the three corporations to have been an effective hindrance to any form of partiality in the leasing of the corporate estates. That corporate members should hold a lease of the borough property is to be expected. At Liverpool between 5th November 1810 and 6th November 1833, forty-one leases out of two thousand one hundred and sixty-nine granted, were to members of the council, there being in fact, forty-one councillors in all. But undue preference seems to have held little sway in the three Boroughs under consideration. The attitude expressed at Nottingham as early as 1627 seems, without doubt, to have pervaded not only their own dealings, but those at Boston and York too:- "That the coppice be not let to the Mayor, but to consider hereafter what is good for the town".(98)

(98) H.Cropper, The Freemen of Nottingham (1880) 67

CHAPTER 4

EFFICIENCY ACHIEVED?

In spite of the evident improvements in the mode of granting the corporate leases, there nevertheless remained many areas of business in which the corporations could have achieved yet greater efficiency. All three councils failed, for example, to adopt any general policy with regard to raising the rents of their estates. True, from an early date, all had conducted frequent surveys and valuations, both of their entire properties and of individual leaseholds when they expired. Thus as early as 1604 a survey was taken at Nottingham of all the lands and tenements "now out of lease belonging to the Chamber of the town ... to ye end yt the same might be reasonably improved and afterwarde indifferently distributed".(1) At Boston too a "true and perfect survey of all the lands and tenements....and alsoe of all rents" was begun in 1677 and so thoroughly conducted that it was not completed until 1681/2.(2) Surveys of this nature became common in all three boroughs,(3) but inspections of individual properties figure no less frequently amongst the vouchers and orders of hall. A voucher at Nottingham records the payment of £1..6..6d for the measuring of corporate land at Lambley in 1701,(4) and bills, usually for ale or other refreshment, spent for example, "when we

(1) 4635B

(2) 4/B/4/4

(3) e.g. Nottingham 1723 NHB 3483/4
1812, 1813 vouchers: E19, E101
York: 1723 E101/88 YCAB 1771, 1797

Boston - 1718 BAB 5/327 May 16th
1803/4 BCAB
1817. 2/A/27 March 24th
2/D/3 passim.

(4) Vouchers 1701/2 no 6b

went to view some tenements which the lease was expiring", (5) or, as at York, when Alderman Lamplugh and others viewed lands at Stamfordbrigs in 1668/9 (6) bear testimony to the frequency with which such valuations and examinations were undertaken. The inspections were conducted in the belief that, as York's finance committee expressed it in 1830: "its accomplishment would be attended with the most advantageous results" (7), for as they noted when they ordered a viewing of the farms at Carlton Miniot and Fawdington in 1825, it would enable them to consider "what advance of rents might be made" (8). Sometimes notable increases resulted. At Nottingham in 1820 a committee appointed to investigate the lease of the Island, discovered that the entire area was in lease to a Mr. Hooton for only £5 p.a. This had formerly been two burgess parts, and its annual rental had thus already been improved by leasing the area in 1818. But upon investigation the land was ascertained to be of still greater value, and Hooton was given notice to quit. Subsequently 1283yds of the island were leased to William Marshall for £30pa., Hooton retaining a ^{portion} ~~part~~ of the island for £5 pa. In 1825 however, Hooton's lease was cancelled and assigned to a Mr. Taylor for £15 p.a. A big improvement had therefore been made in the produce of this property and by 1831 the two leases produced

(5) Nottingham ~~1627~~ 1726/7 vouchers

(6) YCAB 1688/9

(7) K110/February 3rd 1830

(8) E77/26.20.1825. Note also at Nottingham 13th Sept. 1824 the annual committee reported "That the rentals of the Chamber Bridge and school estates have been inspected with a view to the improvement of the same" 3937/96

£51.4s.0d per annum. In addition moreover, several parts of the Island had been sold, realizing some £2,636.10s.0d in 1824/5 and 1825/6. The value of the area was, however, much enhanced by its position between the Leen and the Nottingham Canal, constructed in 1794. (8a) Reliance upon regular viewing and valuation became especially marked during the last fifty or so years of all three Corporations' existence. The Committee Reports and Chamber account books render numerous examples, (9) and the surveyor's bills increased considerably in amount. (10)

But although such inspections were frequently conducted at Nottingham and York, they were entirely irregular. Under the watchful eye of their surveyors, rents became more closely controlled, but there developed no standard policy with regard to their rate of increase. At least, however, there were no revelations like that at Hull where the finance committee appointed in 1784, discovered that civic lands at Ferriby were let out at the same rent as fifty years previously. (10a) The nearest approach to a regular policy was made at Boston, where, from at least 1795, valuations were made by the surveyor of all expiring leases, and lists compiled of the increasing value and improved rent of the civic estates. (11)

In the pursuit of some ill-advised policies however, the councils were, in many respects, victims of circumstances, and this is to be seen most clearly in the continued use of building leases for the improvement of their estates.

(8a) 3987 f36; rent 1s passim.

(9) e.g. Boston 2/D/3 passim.

Nottingham NHB3561 f2B; vouchers 1812 H17; 3987 Oct. 31. 1821; NHB 3583 f127 Sept. 8th 1825, notice to quit to be given to such tenants as, upon examination of their rentals the Corporation shall think fit.

York 577 30. 12. 1825, notice to quit to be given to all tenants who had a rental reduction in the last 5 years unless "a fair rent can be agreed upon"

(10) VCAB 1815/16; Vottm. Vouchers 1815 DI/80; BCAB 1823/4.

(10a) Hull Bench books 9, 604

(11) 5'A/3/26; 1809 4/B/3/109.

These became particularly prevalent in Nottingham where population pressure caused a large amount of corporate land to be used for new housing, but they were common in most corporations both for the improvement of existing properties and to promote the erection of new buildings. The purpose of a building lease was to remove from the corporation the financial burden of repairing or improving their own property. In return for a lengthy and favourable lease, the tenant covenanted to make improvements of a specified nature or value. In the long term the landlord did not apparently lose too heavily in this bargain - he received after all, a tenanted property where previously he had held only a piece of land, and he, in the meantime, drew a rent which compared not too unfavourably with the value of his unimproved land. But the potential income which the corporation threw away in these agreements was considerable.

Had the corporation provided the new or improved property themselves, their rental gains would have repaid the capital expenditure long before seventy or ninety-nine years - the average length of a building lease. Moreover, the condition of a property erected on such terms could, by the expiration of the lease, leave much to be desired.

Building leases became more common as the eighteenth century drew to a close when most boroughs were finding it increasingly difficult to make ends meet; but they were by no means an innovation of this period. At Nottingham in 1571 Thomas Deane was given a lease of two burgages near the Hencross on Rotten Row for

sixty years under covenant "to build within five years a new house of three bays with three gable ends towards the Street, in place of the two burgages", to be "as good as the house of Robert Quarnaby".(12) (Bellfounder, and several times Mayor). His rent was 15/6d pa, and when the improved tenement was leased to Thomas Widdowson in 1633 it realized a rent of 15/4d with 12/- for the barns, and a consideration of £15.(13) (None had been paid in 1571). By the time the lease was renewed again in 1676, this consideration had trebled, and the rent risen to 27/4d pa.(14) Most commonly, a building lease was used for the repair and improvement of existing property. In York, a lease of the theatre in Blake Street in 1761 contained a covenant upon the tenant to expend £500 in improvements in two years(15), and in 1723, Alderman Baynes had been required to repair the houses in Minster Yard "with all convenient speed" by the expenditure of £100 within a year (16). Indeed, at York, as at Boston, building leases were much more frequently used for this purpose than for complete rebuilding; and it was frequently upon the application of the tenant that the agreement was made. At Boston in 1818 Sheriff Blades petitioned that his tenement was "in a state almost untenable for want of reparations and amendment" and he offered to rebuild the front and conduct other repairs to an estimate of £275 in return for a ten year lease at £30pa instead of his present rent of £42 (17). Leases on these terms were probably beneficial to the corporation on the whole, for they

(12) 4893

(16) E101/87

(13) 4974

(17) 2/B/2 October 1st 1818. In November however the corporation decided to auction it on building lease 2/D/3
24th Nov.1818

(15) E101/191

(14) 5002

rarely ran for excessive numbers of years.

But from the second half of the eighteenth century increasing numbers of building leases were granted for the purpose of securing the erection of new properties in areas hitherto uninhabited. This was particularly so in Nottingham where population pressure was intense. In 1765 Stretton and Foulds (builders) took a lease for 50 years of waste on Backside (now Parliament St.) for 2/- pa., covenanting to build on the premises, erecting side walls of at least one brick length in thickness (18). Such leases became increasingly common, the housing expansion into Mansfield Road, York Street, Tollhouse Hill, Sion Hill (Canning Circus) and Leenside being largely effected by such means (19).

That Nottingham Corporation considered building leases to be an advantageous policy is quite apparent. Upon its appointment in 1793, the Annual Committee was required to ".....
..examine into the state and condition of all the different Estates in the Rentall as well as the waste lands and to state to the Hall the most probable advantageous improvements to be made in them, either by ~~fixing~~^{fixing} the Rents at a proper Rate, by disposing of those which are unproductive, or by letting them...
..on building Leases"(20). In this opinion they were moreover not alone. In 1744 after the demolition of Davy Hall, the Committee at York recommended that Cumberland Row (or New Street as it was often called) should be developed by the granting of building leases, and a lease was subsequently granted to Charles Mitley and William Carr for ninety-nine years at £9 pa. On this area

(18) 5125

(19) e.g. Improvement in Coalput Lane by building lease 1793, for 70 years. NHB 3552/12-14

1793 Road ade from Fishergate into Butcher's Close and the rest of the area let on Building lease "by public Auction to the highest bidder per square yard per annum". NHB 3553/13

1796 Butt Dyke let on building lease NHB 3555/58
(20) NHB 3552/89-10

they built no less than six houses (21). At Boston too, a committee appointed to consider how best the corporate estates in the Market place could be improved concluded that "from the ruinous state thereof, it would be inexpedient to relet the same". Improvement would be "best accomplished by taking the whole of the Buildings down and letting the ground in six lots on building leases for the term of thirty years, allowing to each tenant the sum of one hundred pounds on the completion of the Building according to the plan which shall be adopted by the Corporation"(22).

The regulations governing these building leases did indeed become more exacting, once the surveyors were appointed. At York in 1775, a messuage in Coney Street was to be built with "good white Brick and Stock Brick Arches over the windows from the Foundation; to consist of cellars to the front and ground floor Chambers over the same and attick storey and garretts within the roof...to be kept in good repair and so left at the end of the term"(23), and in 1811 John King was covenanted to lay out £70 "in lasting improvements to the satisfaction of the City Steward"(24).

Certainly the council had more to gain as they made the regulations covering such leases increasingly specific. In 1796 it was ordered at Nottingham that "in all future leases to be granted by this corporation the Lessee shall before the granting of such lease deliver a plan and specification of the Building or

(21) YHB 43f171; E35f806

(22) 2/D/3, 17th April 1819

4/B/3/112 1819 -the 6 lots leased, the tenants agreeing to erect the buildings within 6 months, this corporation agreeing to pay £200 on their satisfactory completion.

(23) E101f234-5

(24) E101f138

Buildings to be erected on the land intended to be Leased to him to the committee of the Corporation....and if such plan and specification shall not agree with the opinion of the committee relating to the scantling of the Timber the Thickness of the walls or any other Particular Specified in such Plan and Specification, in such case the annual Committee for the time being or other standing Committee..... shall have full Power to direct what materials shall be employed in such Erection and shall also be Empowered to inspect the progress thereof...covenants to this effect to be inserted in all Building Leases or Agreement"(25). This was no idle threat, for the following year Samuel Rose was notified that upon an "experienced" survey of the land and building on lease to him it was discovered that they did not satisfy the terms of the lease, and "are in other respects a publick nuisance and that they (the Corporation) are therefore determined to render his lease void...."(26) unless agreement could be reached.

These regulations continued to apply, and in 1829 it was ordered that the ruling of 1796 "be henceforth strictly enforced", with an additional regulation that the outside walls of all property on corporate land, be at least 9" thick, and that no back to back houses be erected - an enlightened viewpoint (27). But with rather different considerations at heart, the annual committee reported in June 1824 that land on Mansfield Road had

(25) NHB 3556f11

(26) NHB 3556f43

(27) NHB 3588f104

been sold "on condition that all Houses to be erected fronting to Mansfield Road shall be three stories high with dressed Brick fronts, sashed with stone sills and stone heads or rubbed and grazed arches and slated roofs with cornice in front, the drippings of the eaves to be taken off by Gutters and that no Yorkshire or common sashes shall be in front next to Mansfield Road aforesaid....."(28) The rear of the house was of minor concern, so long as the frontage befitted the eyes of the traveller! Careful observation was made to ensure that the lessee fulfilled his obligations, and in 1828/9 a deputation was appointed"to watch the progress of rebuilding the premises belonging to the corporation on the West side of Milton Street and to take such steps they shall deem advisable for securing the rebuilding thereof in a sufficient and substantial manner".(29)

Building leases could most certainly be of some value to the Corporation. There was after all a property to be gained at the expiration of the lease; a property moreover, of high standard as a result of the stringency with which the building regulations were enforced. Meanwhile a rent was obtained, and although it was nominal in comparison with the value of the property erected, it was as much as the corporation could have gained prior to the granting of the new lease. But by the expiration of the lengthy building lease, the ground rent would be less than nominal, even though it had been competed for by auction.

(28) NHB 3987f96

(29) NHB 3588f16,17,18

Indeed, the building of the Saint Leonard's place development at York by these means demonstrates clearly the potential income which the Corporation lost by granting building leases. The property in Mint Yard was in 1832 in a serious state of dilapidation and the Finance Committee recommended that the whole area be razed, and the site let in twenty-eight lots on building leases for "superior houses". This was "one of the most respectable, salubrious, convenient and agreeable situations which the city affords" and it was computed that "these lots if let on building leases for a reasonable number of years, would produce a ground rent probably not much less than the present amount". Moreover, "at the expiration of the leases property of a very considerable value indeed would fall into the possession of the Mayor and Commonalty".(30) The proposition certainly sounded agreeable, but the finance committee failed to point out that whereas the rental of the old Mint Yard would have continued to rise, that of the newly leased Saint Leonard's place would remain static for many years. Even more important, while the corporation would continue to reap at least the same benefit that they were already receiving for the old Mint Yard, the new property would be of immensely greater value. If the corporation could have raised the initial capital required to undertake this building project themselves, they would have ultimately reaped tremendous profits. Let on ninety-nine year

(30) K110 Feb. 3rd 1832

leases at £38 per annum ground rent, the buildings on the west side of St. Leonard's Place, by the time of the expiry of the leases in the 1930's, were rented for far less than a nominal price.

The erection of York Library further illustrates the point. Only nine plots were ultimately put out for lease on the West side, of St. Leonard's Place, for when the public gave little support to the project, Elslèy, the Recorder, felt it was his duty to promote the plans. In February 1834 he offered to take the corner lot on the West side of the street on condition the side be used for only nine lots, and all the succeeding lessees use his design.(31) The Finance Committee then recommended that the other corner lot on Museum Street be leased to the library, "...the General Committee ..should be authorized to treat on liberal terms for it is obviously very desirable not only to forward a measure calculated to promote the advantage and convenience of the public, but also to give every encouragement to the erection of a Building intended for a public Institution as the commencement of the projected New Street....."(32) The Corporation borrowed £3,000 in order to erect this house, and the Library was to pay an agreed rent of £100 per annum, not using however, the ground floor or the basement. On the assumption that this was not a competitive rent, since the library was a benevolent institution towards which the corporation acknowledged their responsibilities, and accounting for

(31) K110 Feb.3rd 1835

(32) K110 February 3rd 1834

the fact that the library did not occupy the entire building it would not be unreasonable to place the competitive rental value at about £200 - in fact, this is probably a very low estimate. However on this basis, the income over ninety-nine years, assuming that the rent rose by only £100 after fifty years, would have been as follows:-

50 years @ £200 =	£10,000
49 " @ £300 =	<u>£14,700</u>
	£ 24,700

The house cost almost £3,350 to build, and assuming a loan of this at 5% for ten years, the total profit would have still been over £20,000. This is hypothetical, but gives some indication of the loss involved, when it is considered that at a ground rent of £38pa., the corporation would have gained, after ninety-nine years, £342 clear profit and the value of one house.

However these figures also demonstrate the impossibility of the corporation financing the ^{entire} project themselves. The library ultimately cost £3,344..7..6d to build.(34) To have erected the nine houses would thus have cost a total of £30,099..7..6d. The returns would have been high, but the corporation had not even £3,000 available without resorting to a loan. Such a figure it was quite impossible for the corporation to provide and their only resort must therefore be to building leases. In one respect the use of building leases represented a significant advance in corporate awareness, for it was a scheme which promised ultimate improvement of the corporate estate without taking the corporation any further into debt. No loans need be contracted, no spiralling interest

(34) YCAB 1835; K110 1834/5

would have to be paid. In many ways this was a great achievement. Moreover the building regulations imposed, ensured that many properties would be a valuable inheritance even after seventy or ninety-nine years. Saint Leonard's Place still stands today as testimony to the ultimate advantage to be reaped.

Yet in the short term, the building lease exacerbated the very situation which had created a need for it. The corporations were clearly the victims of their own misfortune. Unable to weather the initial capital expenditure, the corporation could not benefit from the potential value of their estates. It was an eternal spiral - without the capital to improve their estates, the annual returns could be but little augmented; while the returns remained low, the capital available for improvement could never increase.

Certainly the use of building leases was not inevitably disadvantageous. At Leicester the development of the Horsefair area by these means was productive of undeniable gains to the corporation. But the corporation had evolved a system rather more viable than those in Boston, Nottingham and York. Not only were the lessees to pay annual ground rents, but the ninety-nine years leases were subject to renewal every fourteen years. By these terms the corporation calculated that at a ground rent of 6/- per square yard, property producing only £94 p.a., would be raised to a value of £330, and every fourteen years there would arise a further 500 guineas for lease renewals.(35) One can therefore perhaps forgive the Committee's egotistical enthusing that ".....

(35) LBR v 1141

.. "from the Result of their Mature deliberations and repeated Meetings....(they) cannot forbear to observe... That the great scheme in contemplation seems more pregnant with material advantages to the corporation and to the Town than any which has ever been submitted to the consideration of a common Hall and they close their Report by congratulating the Body Corporate on the opportunity of promoting so laudable, so important a project".(36)

Perhaps the most regrettable feature of such leases was the benefit which individuals reaped at the expense of the corporation. For want of capital, it was the professional builders like Stretton & Foulis, and private speculators, who reaped the rewards of the population pressure in early nineteenth century Nottingham. When the property belonging to Bilbies Hospital was let on a building lease in 1794 for 70 years, at a yearly rental of £16, the lessee had covenanted to spend £400.(37) This he clearly did, and more, but in 1828, Stavely reported to the Charity Commissioners that he valued it then at £78 p.a.(38)

It was probably the length of the building leases which was their greatest drawback. In 1820, land on Derby Road in Nottingham was leased at a mere £2 p.a. for 70 years with a covenant to build four houses.(39) A lease such as that granted in 1823 for only twenty years at £10 p.a., with the lessee covenanting to expend between £200 - £250, was probably a far better investment. (40)

(36) LBR v 1146

(37) NHB 3552 f26

(39) NHB 3987/28

(38) CCR 498

(40) NHB 3987/86 to Jos. Dalby house & land in St. John's Street

The persistence of the three Councils in farming their toll rights was perhaps like the building lease, also a response to circumstance, rather than simply ill-judged policy. The tolls and levies to which most of the unreformed boroughs were entitled were, in many corporations, of great value amongst the few sources of income. At the time of the Municipal Enquiry, the returns from market stallage in Nottingham realised £1,037.10s.0d per annum, (41) and in other boroughs there were additional tolls levied for port or river dues which were of comparable value. At Hull the net water Bailiff's dues in 1832, amounted to £2,366.16s.9d, while the market tolls, stallage and bridge dues, produced a further £331.11s.5d. (42) even in a comparatively small borough like Scarborough (population in 1832, 8,760) the water tolls and harbour dues realized £123, and duties collected at Newcastle and Sunderland from ships travelling to Scarborough, produced a further £543. (43) At Boston moreover, a year's returns from the tonnage and lastage rates produced, in 1832, £3,400 for the use of the Harbour Trustees in maintaining the river and haven. (44) Such dues formed therefore, a valuable source of revenue.

Tolls Levied in 1832. (45)

	<u>Market tolls</u>	<u>Harbour & River</u>		<u>Civic Receipt</u>
		<u>Tonnage</u>	<u>Wharfage</u>	
Boston	c £410 p.a.	£3,400 (Harbour Trustees)	£525	£410
Nottingham	c £1,037 p.a.	£63		£1,100
York	£480	-		£480

(41) MCR 1996. At York however they realised only £480 in 1832 Y352 E6 and MCR 1751

(42) MCR 1566
 (43) MCR 1722, 1723
 (44) MCR 2160
 (45) Appendix V

In farming them the three councils did not stand alone. The Market tolls were still farmed at Scarborough in 1836,(46) and at New Windsor the grain and corn tolls and the bridge tolls were on forty-one year leases until at least 1725.(47) Indeed, it was common practice in boroughs at this time, and even the central government approved of such methods. Most Acts of Parliament in which toll rights were granted contained provision for them to be farmed. Thus the act secured for the repair of Nottingham Flood Road in 1796 provided for the farming of the tolls,(48) and Turnpike levies were invariably administered in this manner.(49) By persisting in farming rather than collecting these revenues, the three councils passed into private hands profits which would have usefully augmented the Chamber funds. Yet the opposition encountered in collecting these dues,(50) and the fluctuating value of an income which was dependent upon the state of local trade, created undeniable advantages in farming rather than collecting. The administrative effort required by the corporation was minimized, and the annual income was predeterminate. The lessee's profit was moreover directly commensurate with the diligence he showed in collecting the toll, and he became therefore a staunch upholder of

(46) MCR 1722

(47) S.Bond, op.cit., passim. & appendix 1

(48) Nottinghamshire Acts of Parliament II

(49) E.G. Advertisements in Nottm Journal for farming Turnpike tolls:-
 Nov. 23rd 1793 Bottesford toll bars;
 Nov. 30th 1793 Kirklington & Hockerton; 25th Jan. 1794, Bottesford;
 22nd Feb. 1794 Radford Toll bar

(50) see page 380

of the corporate rights, such as would never be seen with the salaried collector. The lessee of the Lime Tolls at York was a most exceptional case in his neglect to collect the dues,".. pretending that one Wyrd refused to pay the same..."(51) The Councils did however recognize the necessity of incentives for their collectors, and thus when Wyld was appointed at Nottingham to collect the overdue Mickleton fines he was offered 20% of what he collected,(52) and at Boston the collector of the buoys and beacons money was always paid according to his receipts receiving 2/6d in the pound from 1748 until 1812 when his remuneration was increased to 6/- in the pound.(53)

Although administratively easier, the farming of the tolls was however undoubtedly financially disadvantageous, in spite of the fact that all three boroughs generally leased their tolls only for short terms.(54) This was the more so when, as at York, the corporation benevolently re-imbursed the lessees if they chanced to make poor profits. In 1749 they reduced the rent of the Fortnight Fair tolls, and returned £6 to the tenant in 1754 because his profit was seriously reduced by the distemper.(55)

(51) E101/141. 1735

(52) 3987/69,71

(53) 4/B/4/14

(54) See Appendix V

Boston Tythes, let only on 3 yr. leases from 1661-1799 when they were collected, no bidders coming forward. The Wharfage, stallage & passage and market tolls were only on 7 yr. lease terms until in 1795 they were transferred to yearly letting.

At Nottm. the corn tolls were from 1670 only on 7 yr leases, until in 1735 it was felt to be of little disadvantage to increase the term by 4 yrs.

At York the Thursday market tolls were on 21 yr. leases until 1765, but they were of little value until this time when they were transferred to yearly letting. The importance of such a move is clearly evidenced by the steady rise in their rental value after 1818. In addition, York's most valuable tolls - in Pavement Market, were only let for 3 yrs at a time from their lease in 1735.

(55) YHB 43/319,435; YCAB 1753/4

At York however, the declining state of the town's trade, and the increasing opposition to the tolls, in particular those on corn, made the offer of some security almost a pre-requisite to securing a lessee. Thus, in 1757, the lease committee recommended that "in case the (corn) tolles Shall not answer the rent Mr Smith shall not be the loser".(56) At times in fact, the tolls at York were collected not because the council considered it administratively better, but because declining profits discouraged lessees from bidding for the tenure. In 1718 the butter weigher was offered the choice of leasing the office at £30 per annum or receiving a salary of £20 per annum.(57) He chose, significantly, the latter, for at that time the butter market was suffering a marked decline. The market had originated in a civic order of 1606 that all butter should be sold in St. Martin's Churchyard, Micklegate, and since York had the only butter standard for a large area around, all butter had to be taken to the market to be weighed and stamped for export.(58) However, evasion had made it necessary to apply for an Act of Parliament which was secured in 1722. "For as much as butter is one of the chief commodities of the product of the county of York ... and whereas the bringing of butter to the said market where the same was searched and weighed, hath been found to be the most effectual means of preventing the fals weighing and packing of Butter... but of late years... the better to conceal the false

(56) E101 f185

(57) YHB 41 f189; E101 f70

(58) YCH 487

weighing and packing of their butter (merchants) have neglected to bring the same to the said market", therefore all Butter to be transported from the Ouse to the Wharfe must in future be weighed and searched at York at $\frac{1}{2}$ d per firkin.(59)

There followed a marked revival in the business of the butter weigher, and the office was again rented at a price which rose steadily from £40 p.a.(60) to £60 in 1731.(61) However by 1787 the weigher's rent was reduced from £80 to £70 because of decreasing profits, and by 1794 the weigher again preferred to be a salaried officer. The net profits for the year had been only £63.10..2d of which £40 was allowed as his salary.(63) Paradoxically therefore, collection of the tolls and dues in these circumstances represented not managerial advance by the corporation, but a declining profit which caused the lessee to prefer the stability of a salaried office as collector. Indeed, it was for much the same reasons that in 1771 the corn tolls were collected and not leased. In March of that year, "In pursuance of the advertizement for letting the corn tolls", "No person appearing to take them but Mr.Thomas Speight whose proposals were not satisfactory to the committee, ordered that Mr.Wheatley be continued to collect the same..."(64) Over the three years for which he accounted for the tolls, the total profit was only £223.18.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d,(65) and yet the toll had in 1769 been leased for £130 p.a. The corporate profit had

(59) F.Drake, *op.cit.*, II 240

(60) YCAB 1725/6

(61) YHB 42f159

(62) YHB 45f258,268

(63) YHB 46f68

(64) E101f226 He had previously leased them.

(65) E107

thus considerably declined whilst the tolls had been collected.

The cause lay indubitably in the increasing evasion which by December 1783 had occasioned a committee to be appointed to consider the state of the corn tolls.(66) By 1784 collection was said to have ceased,(67) although they were not officially suspended until 1791.(68) Although in fact the corporation at York had early recognized that collecting might be preferable to farming, when in 1449, during the financial crisis which the town faced, the common crane was withdrawn from lease and a collector appointed,(69) nevertheless all the tolls remained on lease (when possible), throughout the period 1660-1835.

At Boston however the corporation apparently discovered that collection did, in normal circumstances, render greater profits than farming. In 1779 the tythes were ordered to be collected for one year by the surveyor only because the lessee had refused to pay the former rent of £100 p.a., and no other bid had been made. The surveyor was directed to maintain an account of "every particular" to enable the corporation to ascertain the "real annual value of the tithes". As a consequence the tythes continued to be collected and in the five years after 1799 produced an average annual profit of almost £125.(70) It

(66) YHB 45/145; K100 Dec.3rd 1783

(67) W.White, Directory of the West Riding, York and Hull
1838 11 554

(68) K100 Dec.21st 1791; YHB 45

(69) VCH 73

(70) BCAB

was not a large profit over the rental income, but the corporation apparently considered it worthwhile. At Nottingham too, the value of collecting rather than farming was clearly evidenced when in 1806 the annual committee recommended the School Wardens to take the tithe of hay into their own hands and appoint a collector.(71) The right to take a tithe of hay in the fields and meadows had been bequeathed to the school estate by Alderman J.Heskey (72) and for most of the time it was put out on lease (73), being let at £35 p.a. before 1806. In consequence of the annual committee's recommendation however, a collector was appointed at a salary of £15 p.a.(74), and between 1807 and 1813/14, the collection totalled £663.15..4d or nearly £95 p.a. (75); more than twice the previous profits.

It was however where the more valuable tolls were concerned that the question of farming or collecting was most significant. With the less valuable levies, the difficulties of obtaining trustworthy collectors, and of auditing their accounts was probably more troublesome than the profit warranted. But where the tolls reached the value of Boston and Nottingham's in 1832, collecting was probably desirable. At Boston the Corporation collected their bouys and beacons money from as early as 1746. This was a fairly significant source of revenue which in 1747 produced almost £57,

(71) C.C.Report 471

(72) A 1515

(73) e.g.NHB 3464f14; 3494f17; 3503f23

(74) A515; 2740

(75) It is not practicable to use the income of one year only, since the receipts are complicated by entries for arrears etc;. However, in 1814/15 the tithe realized £150, and by 1823 rarely dropped below £165 Ledger A 1515;
C.C. Report 471

rising to £165 by 1802 and realizing almost £528 in 1810. When the tonnage rates were improved by the 1812 Harbour Act they continued to be collected, as too were the Harfage dues. But after ascertaining the value of the stallage, passage and market tolls, by collecting them for two years, the corporation decided to put these back on lease.(76)

At Nottingham, marked gains resulted from the appointment of market toll collectors, and a complete re-organisation of the administration of the market place tolls, between 1826 and 1827. The most serious impediment to improved exploitation of the toll income at Nottingham had been the policy adopted of granting the toll revenues to the Sheriffs as perquisites of Office. In return for these profits, the Sheriffs paid the fee farm rent, the chief rent, and the undersheriff's toll, and any deficit was made up by the Chamberlains.(77) The Sheriffs themselves farmed the two principal market tolls, the great and small tolls, to the two bailiffs at nominal rent, as payment for their office, and the remaining tolls they leased in the usual manner. As a result, the Sheriffs, in 1796, received £15 from the senior bailiff for the small toll, £30 from the junior bailiff for the great toll, £2.16s.0d from Mr. Machin for the toll on meal, and £80 for the Newark and Trent Bridge tolls, together with £15.8s.8d for tolls surrendered to the Corporation.(78)

By 1822 the junior

(76) 6/7

(77) e.g. NCABE 1724 and 5: pd. Sam Harris, Sheriffe his bill £4. Ledger A: "payts on acct of sheriffs" 1796 to 1835, to balance their Accounts.
also NHB 3526 f21; 3563 f68; 3454 f21

(78) Chamber Rental containing Sheriff's Account 1797 to 1797

bailiffs paid only £25 p.a.(79) but subsequent movement of these rents cannot be traced. However, the Commissioners probably over-estimated them when they stated that they realized about £100p.a.(80) before 1826. A similar system of using tolls as perquisites of Office had been practised at York too, where, since 1564 the Mayor had leased the corn tolls at a nominal rent.(81) In consequence the Mayor in 1677 paid only £6.13..4d(82) for tolls which, by the frequency of the market and the intrinsic nature of the commodity, must have been most valuable. In 1735 however "in view of the trouble which the Lord Mayor has in collecting the corn tolls" (83) these were put out for open competition, and in February 1735 were let for three years to Richard Cornry and William Dalton for £226 p.a.! (84)

Between 1825-1827 however, the Corporation at Nottingham undertook a large scale improvement of the market place expending nearly £2,000 (85), and it was subsequently decided that the corporation should take the tolls and rights into its own hands, paying compensation to the sheriffs. In February 1828, Samuel Kilbourne and Thomas Wylde were appointed as salaried officers to collect all the market dues and act as regulators.(86) The following year, the bailiff appeared before the Hall to crave an extra allowance, "the receipt of the market toll which he rented of this corporation, having, by the late regulations regarding the Market Place, been separated from his office of bailiff to which the same

(79) MHB 3581f94

(80) MCR 1797

(81) YHB 23f131 to 134

(82) C77.4; C79-1

(83) E101f139-140

(84) YHB 42f202b. The ~~Mayor~~ ^{Mayor} subsequently received an annual salary of £350. E101f139-40 and YHB 42f202

(85) Enfield Brief 4049 I 14 ff40-94

(86) MHB 3587f55

had been hitherto attached and was considered as forming part of his compensation for discharging the duties of his office".(87) The junior bailiff made similar representations. Until this time, he had been in receipt of the passage toll and pen monies for sheep and pigs, "amounting, as represented to the Senior Bailiff....to an average of fifty pounds a year", and upon deliberation, the annual committee were required to investigate the nature and extent of the services which the bailiffs performed exclusive of those for which they already received a salary.(88) In consequence the two bailiffs were granted in April of 1829, a yearly salary of £15 p.a., each, £7 less than Hutton had requested.(89)

However, in addition to the tolls, it had been customary for small payments for stallage to be annually made by stall holders, usually at Goose Fair, to the Mayor's sergeant. The charge had generally been 1/-p.a., but the payments had never been enforced by legal action. In consequence, Enfield (Town Clerk) stated in a brief against Bingham for stallage, many people in the market probably considered the payment to be a perquisite of the officer for keeping the stallholder's places, rather than as legal dues to the corporation as Lords of the Manor, for the right to erect a stall on corporate land.(90) With the reorganisation of the market place in 1827, regular rates of stallage were established at a higher charge than previously, but the old 1d toll on goods (the small toll payable every Saturday except Goose Fair) was abolished.(91) All fees and perquisites hitherto received by Samuel

(87) NHB 3588/36-37
(88) NHB 3588/37
(89) NHB 3588/64-67
(90) 4049 I 14 ff 40-94
(91) Ibid.

Kilbourn as Common Sergeant for standings in the market place were henceforth to cease, and he was appointed as a regulator of the market at an annual salary of £40; Thomas Wylde assisting and collecting the dues for £50 p.a.(92)

Thus, whereas prior to 1827 the total income from the tolls and stallage of the market had been absorbed by corporate officers, in 1831/2 the Chamber received from the new stallage £1,037.10.0(93) Out of this sum, £86 was paid to the sheriffs (94) in compensation for the rent from the bailiffs for the small and great tolls. £30 was paid to the bailiffs in remuneration for their duties, this having been previously provided by the nominal lease of the above two tolls, and £90 was paid to Wylde and Kilbourn for regulating and collecting. The total profit to the corporation thus stood at approximately £830 p.a, whereas previously no profit whatsoever had been taken by the Chamber Account. This was to no small extent the result of the more regular and heavy imposition placed on stallholders, but the entire reorganization with the subsequent collection of revenue, was an immense managerial improvement. Even under the old system, the Junior bailiff had claimed a profit of £50 p.a.,(95) and there can be no doubt that the implementation of collecting alone was of some considerable importance. By 1830, Nottingham corporation had at last begun an efficient exploitation of their valuable grants.

92) NHB 3587f55

(93) MCR 1996

(94) MCR 1999, 1997

(95) NHB 3588f36-37

An advance of a similar kind was made at York, but here the corporation failed to take the advantages of using salaried officers.

In 1826, the Fortnight Fair - held for the sale of live cattle - was removed outside the walls between Fishergate Postern and Walmgate Bar, where the corporation had purchased a large area of ground for this specific purpose.(96) Although the tolls and stallage were collected for the first year, this was only for the purpose of establishing the new regulations, and the following year in 1825 the Cattle Market Committee recommended that the Fair and New City Arms Inn be let.(97) The Inn was subsequently let for £80 p.a.,(98) and the market was leased in 1828 for £310.p.a., but by 1832 the highest bid was only £300.(99) This however was an advance on the revenues of the old fair, for although there is no evidence of its rental value immediately prior to its improvement, it cannot have risen much in value since the 21 year lease of the tolls granted in 1784 for only £7 p.a.(100) This increased income however was the product of both toll and stallage levies - the latter of which would have been considerably increased not only by virtue of the improved facilities provided at the new market, but also through the increased number of pens erected. It would perhaps seem regrettable that, having thus immensley improved the facilities and thus the income of the cattle market, the corporation

(96) Licence in Mortmain YC/CH A56a

(97) Y 352/E6 13th Nov.1828

(98) Dec.4th 1828,£90 but July allowed £10 off because the rent was"so high as to entitle him to that reduction" Y352/E6

(99) Y 352/E6

(100) E101

did not further improve by collecting its dues rather than leasing them. The prevalence of farming in so many of the unreformed boroughs, despite its administrative ease, is to be regretted. The evidence from Nottingham of the potential value of such privileges when re-developed and better administered, is abundant proof of the revenue otherwise lost.

These administrative failings were however of much less consequence to the rental productivity of the corporate estates than was the constant and pressing problem presented by tenants who defaulted in the payment of their rents. This was a source of difficulty to the three corporations from an early date, York corporation in 1653 having to request that "the former committee appointed for arreares of the Cittyes Rents doe meete and pfecte the busines".(1) The following year this same committee was ordered to "put in suite such as is able to pay".(2) The early years of the period indeed are not lacking in attempts to enforce the full payment of rents owing to the corporation. At York in 1660 the Hall "ordered that my Lord Mayor, Aldr. Leonard Thompson, Aldr. Bryan Dawson, and Aldr. Hewett doe consider of the arreares of the citty rents and take such course for getting in the same as they think fitt, and alsoe to get in the £12.10.0 in question betweene John Williamson and Edward Preston".(3)

(1) YHB 37f54 February 3rd 1653

(2) YHB 37f69 February 3rd 1654

(3) YHB 37f140 20th June 1660

But in 1695 a more far reaching resolution embodied the principle of action which the unreformed council followed until 1835.

"Whereas it has been very prejudicial to this City to suffer the Tennants to run into arreares for Rent and Allsoe because an audit is now to be made which cannot conveniently bee done many Rents being not received. It is therefore ordered that Alexander Harrison the present Receiver for this City doe forthwith demand all the Rents that are yett standing out and upon non-payment after such demand he is hereby ordered to distraine for Rent and where noe distresse is to be had to send such psons a sumons the next cort day to appeare at yo Sheriffs Cort upon ouzebridge and the City's Clarke is hereby ordered to procute (prosecute) the said suites agst all such psons and for the future it is ordered that if any persons shall not or doe not pay in their respective halfe yeares Rent within Two Months after the Rent becomes due to the Receiv^r of the City....That then such Receiv^r shall send them....a sumons to appeare the week after the Expyracon of the said Two months at the Exchequer Cort on ouzebridge and there pay in their respective Rents....(or be proceeded against as abve) and this be done without favour or affecon to any pson whatsoever as the Receiv^r shall answer to us".(4) All future Receivers were entrusted with the same powers of distraint and legal action.(5) Yet in spite of this, further promulgations continued

(4) YHB 39f187 18th Jan.1694/5

(5) e.g. Thab Wilton, "as bailiff of this corporation, make distresses for rent when necessary, without any further direction" YHB 43f193 27th January 1746
and Smith, YHB 43f320-1 1st November 1749

to be necessary. Constant threats, and legal action against tenants still failed to secure full payment from many. In 1711 the Lease Committee reported that "it is ye opinion of this Committee yt the City Receiver should be directed to make his Report to every house, of all such persons as do or shall refuse to pay any such customary antient Rents or other Rents in arreare".(6) By 1742, the position still demanded diligent attention; in that year the Hall ordered "that ~~s~~actions shall be brought in the name of the Mayor and Commonalty of this City against such of the Tenants of the said corporation as are in arrear of rent...and do or shall refuse to pay such arreares and the growing rents as they become due". Samuel Ward was ordered to commence and prosecute such actions as became necessary, and the order was to be published "so that the Tenants may have notice thereof".(7) The effect on the corporation's tenants appeared to be slight. In 1749 David Smith, the City Receiver complained that Divers of the Tenants of this corporation are in arreare of rent and upon frivolous pretences refuse to pay their rents...it has been found very prejudicial to this corporation to suffer their Tenants to run in arrear of rent.."(8) And at the audit of Alexander Harrison's accounts as Receiver in 1723, it was revealed that in 1721/22 the year's arrears amounted to £327.12.2 those for the following year totalling no less than £422.8.9. (9)

(6) E101f48

(7)YHB 43f252 14th September 1742

(8)YHB 43f320 -321 November 1st 1749

(9)YHB. 42f37b

At Nottingham and Boston the Corporations were experiencing the same difficulties. At Nottingham in 1700 it was declared that "whereas severall Tennants of the Towns land are very backward in the paying of their respective Rents, by reason whereof the same are oftentimes lost and thereby this corporation is very much endangered for prventing whereof for the future itt is ordered by this house that in case the respective tennts either of the Chamberland, Bridgeland or School land do not from time to time pay their particular rents and at such time as ye same severally ought to be paid or wth in fourteen dayes ... the severall officers are here (by) ordered to distrain enter or take the best advantage they can for the (payment?) of the sd respective rents".(10) By 1730 it had clearly been resolved that a larger margin of time for payment might render better results, and as at York, the Chamberlains were given summary powers of action. The rental book records that, at a meeting at the Guildhall on October 16th 1730, it was "ordered that such corporacion tenants as shall not pay their rent within three months (11) after the same shall become due shall be either distrained or sued by this corporacion and the Chamberlains may do the same without further order".(12) Although corporate

(10) NMB 3467 June 1700

(11) This is very liberal - at Leicester only 2 months was allowed, an order of 1772 establishing that in future rents due Lady Day 25th March be paid before last Wednesday in May and those due Michaelmass before last Wednesday in October LBR 981

(12) Rental Book 1729/30 2229

orders on the procedure to be adopted for the recovery of arrears were becoming increasingly specific, the problem continued to persist, and in 1790, resort was had to the methods of the modern age; newspaper publicity. An order that the Chamberlains, Bridge Wardens, and School Wardens "do not in future defer the Receiving of Rents of this corporation for so long a time as has lately been the case, but that they take effectual methods for the early collecting them", was directed "for the purpose of apprizing the tenants under this corporation of the determination of this Hall to gain a more regular and early payment of their Rents", to be inserted in the Nottingham Journal.(13)

Due notice for the payment of their rent had always been given to the corporate tenants. A printed bill was in use at Nottingham as early as 1721/2 apprizing the tenant of the date for payment and the amount of his rent. But in order to regularize the situation, two general rent days were appointed in 1796, "for the receipt of all their Rents due at Michaelmas and Lady Day", the first Monday in January being set for the receipt of the Michaelmas rents and the first Monday in July for the receipt of Lady Day rents, "the payment of the Rents on those days (to) be advertized and strictly and literally enforced".(15) Notices were thenceforth regularly inserted in the newspapers giving indication of the general rent days.(16)

(13) NHB 3550/8 21st December 1790

(14) Vouchers 1801B 96

(15) NHB 3555/58 September 16th 1796. A similar order was passed at Leicester in 1700, by which the Chamberlains were to be given yearly two letters of Attorney "for their better and more speedy collections of the Townes Revenues", requiring the tenants to bring their rents two days after Michaelmas and Lady Day LBR V 98

(16) e.g.. "the Chamberlains, Bridge Masters and School Wardens will attend at the Police Office on Monday the Fourth Day of November next at Ten o'clock in Forenoon to receive all Rents due at Michaelmas last. The tenants are required to bring with them their last Receipts and to take notice that if

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(16 contd)

any of them make default in paying their Rents at the time
and place above appointed, compulsory steps will be taken
against them without further notice...." N.J. Nov. 1st 1833;

Also N.J. 25. 5.1805; 26.11.1803; 3. 6. 1809; 27.10.1810 etc;

collections of the Towns Revenues", regarding the tenants to
bring their rents two days after Michaelmas and Lady Day; 1798.

(16) e.g. "the Chamberlains, Bridge Wardens and School Wardens will attend
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required to bring with them their last Receipts and to take notice that if

York at about the same time resolved upon a similar order,(17) and at Boston in 1773 the Council ordered that "Whereas the Election Bailiff and the Chamberlain complain that the Tenants to the Corporation are several of them very backward in the Payment of their Rents, and create a great deal of Trouble in collecting the same, it is resolved that there be two general Days appointed for the receipt of all the rents due to the Corporation, one on the Thursday in the week following Old Michaelmas Day ... for the Receipt of all Rents due the Lady Day preceeding, and one on the Thursday in the week followingOld Lady Day ... for Rents due the Michaelmas preceeding". The Election bailiff and Chamberlain were moreover to show no partiality towards defaulters, but were on pain of forfeiting their salaries "to give orders to the Town Clerk to distrain forthwith upon all Tenants who shall fail making their respective Payments on the said Days, without any Respect of persons whether belonging to the Hall or not".(18) Members of the hall in fact showed no greater responsibility than the other corporate tenants in paying their rents on time, Aldorman Bell in 1722/3 owing the sum of £25.(19) The tenants were therefore, made well aware of their responsibilities, yet arrears remained a

(17) 10th Oct. 1799 YHB 46/307. The first Monday in May was established for the receipt of Lady Day rents, and the first Monday in November for Michaelmas rents, between 10.00a.m. and 3.00p.m. Failure to pay would bring distraint without further notice.

(18) Rental Book 1785 4/B/178

(19) BCAB 1722/3. This order was modified however by an order of Hall 11th April 1805 when the rent days were established as the Thursday before Whitsuntide for Lady Day rents, the Thursday after December 11th for Michaelmas rents. As a result of there previously having been paid 6 months later than when they were due, the Corporation in 1805/6 received 1½ years rent.

serious problem. With a situation such as arose at York in the mid eighteenth century however, it is hardly surprising that tenants were remiss in their payments. In December 1746 Henry Driffield was appointed Receiver in the place of Mr. Wilton,(20) but in April 1747 he was discharged.(21) This order was confirmed in June,(22) but in December he was still regarded as the City Steward, and Jacques Priestly, who was still collecting rents, although "Henry Driffield alone is appointed", was ordered not to receive any further rents.(23) Nevertheless, Priestly, with Driffield, continued to collect rents until December 1747.(24) By the early months of 1748 however, Driffield was superseded by William Oastler,(25) but in December of that year Driffield was still collecting rents and was apparently still regarded as city steward, an order being passed that he must render his accounts and then be discharged.(26) This extreme confusion was only resolved when David Smith was appointed and remained sole receiver for the corporation in February 1749.(27)

When the regulations and threats proved inadequate deterrents, the corporations did proceed with legal action. To sue the tenant or distrain his goods invariably lost more in legal action than the amount of the rental owing, and became a small but unwarranted drain on the finances. In 1684 a cause of ejection cost York corporation £5 exclusive of warrants and other miscellaneous

(20) YHB 43f224 22.12.1746.

(21) YHB 43f239 29. 4.1747.

(22) YHB 43f249

(23) YHB43f258

(24) YCAB passim.

(25) YHB 43f281 27. 5. 1748.

(26) YHB 43f295

(27) YHB 43f307 27. 1.1748/9.

expenses, and in 1692 James Walker charged them £1.12.8d for "defending the cause att suit about an ejeccone".(28) Not

surprisingly therefore the council often resorted to other inducements than legal action. In 1739 York offered their Bellman a new hat and coat if he paid his rent arrears, and in 1747 Richard Corney was given a £10 abatement of his rental only "so as he pay all arrears of rent within a fortnights time..."(29) Even when legal action was finally determined upon, the councils continued to vacillate. Although in 1666 J.Addams of Boston was ordered to be sued unless he paid his arrears before the next Hall, he was given four further warnings before the hall finally ordered again in 1668 that his rents in arrears would be sued for.(30) There was however often no alternative action to be taken, and the records are liberally scattered with orders to distrain or sue for arrears. In 1669 the sergeant at Boston was ordered to distrain for tents in arrear;(31) in 1684 the Town Clerk was required to produce an abstract of all the rental arrears of the last five years,(32) and in 1687 he was asked to send for writs against persons in arrear.(33) Matters did not improve; in 1719 it was ordered that all "tenants of this Hall who in a weeks time do not pay to the Chamberlain the arrears of rent in his Receipt be sued for the same"(34), and this order continued until 1835.(35)

(28) YCAB 1692/3, 1694/5

(29) YHB 43f251

(30) BAB 3f505, 508, 517, 518, 520

(31) BAB 3f525 1669

(32) BAB 4f107 1684

(33) BAB 4f135 1687

(34) BAB 5f336b

(35) e.g. 17th May 1770 BAB 7f81b; 13th April 1815 BAB/8; 15th Jan. 1816 BAB 8

Identical proceedings took place at Nottingham and York, but as at Boston, arrears remained a serious problem throughout most of the period. During the earlier part of the period 1660-1835 arrears in all three corporations stood rather high. Individual arrears give some indication of the degree of indebtedness of many corporate tenants at this time. At York in 1679 proceedings against a tenant were suspended on his agreement to pay £40 within a month "and give sufficient security for the rest of the arrears of rent due by him to this city"(36), and in 1661/2 John Weapon had agreed to pay the Chamberlains £80 with £3 interest for his arrears of Tang Hall,(37). At a time when the total rental income of the corporation was only in the region of £500 to £600 p.a., these were significant debts. At Boston too, in 1730/31 £71..2..6d was owed by only five people, and in 1743/4 one tenant alone owed £30. Three years later a regular defaulter, Mr. Wayett, owed no less than £102.(38)

Tenant debts at this time drained a fairly high proportion of the rental income in all three corporations, and although a large proportion of the arrears were, as in the later period, ultimately received, unpaid rents remained large. Evidence is unfortunately lacking for direct comparison in each borough, but from the evidence available through the York Receivers Rolls from 1661-1674, the average annual total of arrears unrecovered stood at

(36) YHB 38/161

(37) YCAB 1661/2

(38) BCAB passim.

almost 7% of the total rental income per annum - a figure uncomfortably high, and possibly lower than was actually due, since arrears considered to be definitely irrecoverable may not have been included in the Receivers' Rolls of Account.(39) On the other hand, the Chamberlain himself sometimes accounted for arrears received, and thus the overall indebtedness of the tenants may not have been so severe as the above figure suggests.(40)

At Nottingham over the period 1660 1700, the average annual loss through arrears may have been as high as 10% of the rental income per annum, but the figures are probably less reliable than those for York; while at Boston unpaid arrears accounted for some 5% of the full rental income due to the corporation over the period 1700-1749. Thereafter arrears may have declined still more until the early years of the nineteenth century.(40a)

The fault however lay not solely with the tenant, but also with the Chamberlains and Receivers. As long as they were not responsible for the uncollected rents in their year of

(39) See Appendix IV

(40) e.g. in 1661/2 the Chamberlain received £80 for arrears of Tang Hall; in 1663/4, £6 for arrears of a close near St.James; In 1700/1, £13 for arrears (YCAB). It should also be noted that a chart of arrears calculated probably in 1758 places the total arrears at only about half this figure K/43 :

1669	1679	1708	1758
£15.11.6;	£16.17.8;	£10.16.8;	£13.18.3.

There is however, no indication whether this Chart is complete.

(40a) See Appendix IV

office, there was little incentive for them to apply pressure to those tenants unwilling to pay. It was perhaps with this thought in mind that the annual committee at Nottingham recommended, in 1825, that the Chamberlains of each year be in future charged with the arrears of their predecessors, and also with the full rental arising out of the Butchers Shambles and Stalls; but the recommendation was apparently not complied with.(41) However, the constant pressures applied through the orders of Hall, and by legal action, were ultimately successful. For, although tenants continued in arrear, the overall position was not so acute as the accounts suggest. Between 1789 and 1834 the extent of arrears unreceived at Nottingham averaged only £43.10s.0d per annum, in a total rental income ranging from £1,159 in 1789, to £4,000 in 1835.(41a)

Taken in this form however, the figures are misleading, for between 1799 and 1824 the arrears at the year end were rarely below £100, and reached, on occasion, £300 and £400. Many of these rents however, were probably repaid early in the succeeding year. The Rent Day was not until July, but the Corporation's year ended in September, and thus rents two months overdue

(41) 3987 f114; NHB 3584 ff 123,124,125
(41a) Appendix IV

would be designated as "in arrear". That many of these arrears were not those of staunch offenders is suggested by the high income in some years succeeding a year of particularly high arrears. Thus in 1809/10, £328 was due, and in 1810/11, £417, but in 1810/11 and 1811/12, £537 was received for arrears. The arrears owing each year at this period were indeed, phenomenal. Between 1807/8 and 1816/17, they stood almost consistently in the region of £200 p.a., and between 1819/20 and 1822/3 amounted to no less than £1,500. And this despite an order of 1812 that rents more than ten days overdue, would be treated by the re-allotment of the land or tenements concerned.(42) This high rate of arrears was a direct reflection of the economic difficulties faced by the town. A noticeable increase in arrears began in 1795 when the price rises of the Napoleonic Wars were first being felt. But they did not decline with the falling prices after 1814, for Nottingham at this time was suffering severe hardship from the fluctuations of its single major industry of framework knitting. Moreover, between 1819-1822 there was a sharp and unprecedented rise in arrears, which without doubt, reflected the still greater fall in wages both of the framework~~ers~~-knitters, and the lace workers, consequent upon the over-speculation of the "twist-net fever".

(42) NIB 3571/100-101

In the year 1823/4 alone £824 was received - £513 for "arrears of Rent", £186 for arrears of the Exchange Shambles and £124 for arrears of the "Butchers Stalls" - almost two thirds therefore was for houses and lands. The problem would appear therefore, as in Boston and York, to have been one of delayed, rather than refused, payment. But this was almost as lethal to the corporate financial management as non-payment, placing the corporation instead of the tenant in the position of needing a creditor. The order of 1796 that payment "be strictly and literally enforced" on the appointed Rent Days (43), apparently had little effect. But from 1824/5 with prices still falling, there was a noticeable and sustained drop in the arrears owing. From that year until 1833/4 they remained generally below £50, though rising three times to more than £80, and in 1834/5 they jumped to no less than £165. It is unlikely that this was the result of a sudden lapse of diligence on the eve of the corporation's supercession, since the council was most concerned that all persons with any monetary claims on the corporation should make them good before December 1835.(44), It was probably simply the result of this tendency of the tenants to delay their rental payments.

(43) NHB 3555/58

(44) NHB 3594f137

At York, the corporation's continual attempts to prevent evasion of payment apparently had some effect by the close of the eighteenth century, for although the total sum of arrears owed to the corporation stood, in 1790, at £806.4.2d it was increased in that year by only £20.15.9d (45). Unfortunately it is not known how long this running account of arrears had been maintained, owing to the absence of Receivers' Accounts, but from 1790 to 1795 inclusive, the total arrears owing rose by only £106.16.3 representing less than £20 p.a., in a total rental income of approximately £1,900 p.a.

It is surprising in the light of this success and the continued work of the corporation to prevent tenants from defaulting in their rental payments, that tenants should have been allowed to continue in arrears for any length of time. But the account of arrears for 1790 indicates quite clearly that this was so. The total amount of arrears in that year stood at £826.19.11d. Of this sum, the Bellman was in arrear for 32 years at £1 p.a. But on the whole, the arrears of long standing were for small sums, probably in acknowledgement for encroachments for which it would not have been worthwhile to start proceedings. The Reverend Scott stood in arrear for 42 years rent of 6d p.a. - a total therefore of only £1.1.0, and a certain Mr. Yoward stood in arrear at 3/-p.a. for 42 years rent totalling in 1790 only £6..9..0d. Others were

(45) City Rental B78a

74 and 84 years in arrear, but again, their payments were only 6d and 1/- acknowledgements. The majority of the defaulters indeed were only in arrear for the year in question, and upon examination it becomes quite evident how the sums owing to the corporation could become so large. In 1790 three tenants owed between them for only one year, no less than £448..1..5d.(46) An examination of the arrears account for 1793 demonstrates clearly that although there were several very long standing arrears for nominal sums, most of the debts for proper rents were slowly repaid, and new ones contracted. The corporation's diligence was therefore reaping rewards although the payment of rents a few months behind was becoming, as at Nottingham, the most serious problem.

Nevertheless, in 1796, the corporation at York admitted defeat, and finally 'wrote off' £582..7..5d in arrears on Audit Day thus dropping the balance due from £913..0..5d to £330.13..0d.(47) This was an admission which was made at Nottingham too, for they annually dismissed a small number of arrears as irrecoverable. The total arrears of £101.12..0 due to Nottingham in 1823/4 (48) contained £12.18.6d which was considered irrecoverable (49), and in 1796 £13..2..0 was dismissed as irrecoverable leaving £125,0.10d.(50)

(46) E780

(47) York E78a

(48) NCAB 1823/4

(49) IHB3584 ff 123 to 125

(50) NCAB 1796

The remission of certain arrears was almost inevitable - and Leicester were regularly obliged to strike some arrears out of their accounts during the 19th Century.(51)

With the appointment of the finance committee at York in 1816 however, all aspects of corporate finance came under yet more vigilant observation, and not least the problem of arrears. As a result the corporation virtually ended the occurrence of arrears, but in contrast with Nottingham, the Committees were greatly aided by the steady fall in prices from 1814-1830. For although York's economy may not have been flourishing, it was not so severely in decline that, as at Nottingham, falling prices were of little benefit. Within three months of its appointment this first finance committee ordered the City Steward, Peter Atkinson, to produce a list of all unpaid rents.(52) The effects were not immediately seen, and as late as this, York corporation allowed an arrear of eighteen years standing. In 1830 they finally received the arrears owing from Mary Luffield amounting to £116 for payments for encroachments and the arrears of rent for 18 years of two stables and a rampire and moat.(53) At the close of 1822/3

(51) In 1804 no less than £77.4.6d was removed from the arrears account, leaving only £71.4.5d to be transferred to the succeeding Chamberlain. In 1811, a further £63.12.0 was lost, either by lapse of time or because the rents were sold and the arrears which accumulated just before the sale, could not be claimed. In 1820, £32.5.0 was declared irrecoverable, and the following year, one item of £36 was struck out of the account LBR VI

(52) E77 25.3.1816

(53) YCAB 1830/1

total arrears stood at £300. By the following year they totalled £450, but thereafter they began to drop. 1825/5, £400; 1826/7, £350; 1827/8, £122: until by 1832, the Committee were sufficiently assured to state that the £300 outstanding in arrears was "expected to be shortly got in".(54) At the close of the year 1833/4, "with trifling exceptions" only three tenants were in arrear (55), and in Michaelmas 1835, one quarter of the £187.0.3d due, was owed by one tenant.(56)

By the time York handed over to the reformed Corporation in December 1835, there was only £65.14.10d in arrear, £47 of which was owed by two tenants at Fawdington "who complain of the badness of the times and expect some return".(57) The Corporation at York had thus by 1835 achieved a great degree of success in their drive against tenants in arrear, but by this time the Committee themselves had begun to collect the rents. Their success is a clear indication of the disadvantages inherent in relying on a salaried officer whose incentive to collect the full revenue due to the corporation, was, after all, non-existent. The steward was moreover entrusted with numerous other duties connected with his employment as City Husband or Surveyor, and the Chamberlains in Nottingham had no small degree of business to conduct, albeit that the Town Clerk was responsible for copying up the final draft of the account.

(54) Finance Committee Reports K110 passim & 3. 1.1832

(55) K 110 3. 2.1834.

(56) K101 3. 2. 1835.

(57) K 110

In their Annual Report for 1833/4 the Committee at York "having been entrusted with the receiving of the Rents during the last year, and being sensible that many advantages have arisen from that mode of receiving them, beg leave strongly to recommend the adoption of it for another year".(58) The method adopted on Peter Atkinson's death in 1832/3(59), had certainly proved worthwhile in so far as it prevented the accretion of large and numerous arrears.

Until the later years of the period however, it is clear that both York and Nottingham, and Leicester too, were fighting a losing battle over the arrears of their tenants. Diligence and effort showed little reward, for the practical results were by no means comparable. Having come into contact with the slow procedure and expense of the legal system, it is surprising that Nottingham Corporation in 1819 petitioned against a bill, then before the House of Commons, for "the more easy and speedy recovery of small debts in their town" on the grounds that it was an infringement of their chartered privileges and was "constitutionally bad in principle. (60)

Under constant attack in the sphere of their rights and privileges, arrears were a further area where the corporations were put, ^{to} undue trouble and expense in the exaction of their just and lawful dues. Redress was indeed to be had, but at a greater

(58) K101 February 3rd 1834

(59) K101 February 3rd 1833

(60) MSS 3578 f32-35

cost often than the rent involved, and the example afforded appears to have been of little moment to other tenants. But it is clear that both York and Nottingham were benefiting as a result of increased control and improved management. Although the total extent of rented properties was increasing, and despite the greatly enhanced size of both towns, which rendered an absconding offender much more difficult to trace, both corporations increasingly minimized the occurrence of arrears.

At Boston however, a rather different trend was evident. Here the preponderance of agricultural land ensured a declining arrears problem while farmers enjoyed the rising food prices of the war years. Immediately prices began to fall in 1814 however, there began a serious arrears problem, which correlates closely with the arrears graphs plotted by David Griggs on the Lincolnshire estates of Welby, Ancaster and Thorold. (61)

At the same time however, arrears repayments were, as at Nottingham, quite high, indicating a problem of delayed rather than totally refused payment. Unpaid rents thus stood probably in the region of only £128 p.a., in an expected rental income ranging from £3,500 to £4,500.

The economic conditions which had created this upsurge in arrears had however still further repercussions upon the corporate income in the form of abated rents. For although

(61) David Griggs, op. cit., 124

as a landlord the corporation was responsible for leasing its property to the best possible advantage, as a civic body it was responsible also for the social welfare of its townspeople.

To speak of the corporations' "social responsibilities" at this time is rather an anachronism, but all three councils evinced an awareness of their duties towards tenants in distress which was matched by only the more philanthropic landlords of the time.

Abatements of rent were made in all three boroughs throughout the period to those in need. Thomas Eyecroft was £24 in arrear to York corporation in 1749, but since he and his family were "in a most distressed condition and unable to pay any part of the said arrears, and unlikely to pay the growing rent" the Lord Mayor agreed with him for the surrender of his lease and forgave him his debts.(63) In 1654 too, the committee for arrears had been directed to "make allowances where it is desperate", (64) and in 1723 the lease committee resolved that £3.12.0 being an arrear of rent due from Edward Booth be forgiven him in regard of his poverty and great family, consisting of a wife and five small children".(65)

(63) YHB 43f320-1 1.11.1749

(64) YHB 37f69

(65) 77f95 In this connection it is interesting to draw a comparison with the letter inserted in the Nottingham Evening Post of February 19th 1971

"I can only note with joy and surprise the sensible view that Nottinghamshire County Council have taken over rent arrears in Southwell. I don't mean by that that I condone people who neglect to pay their rent when they could well do so, but that there are very many cases when the family troubles are far greater than merely rent arrears, and where an inflexible attitude on the part of the council can be disastrous....Nottinghamshire have taken the lead in publicising what one or two London Authorities have been doing quietly for some time. For the sake of a great many families, we must hope that others will be quick to follow this sensible and humane need.

J. Willis. Director of Shelter.

(The unreformed councils of Nottingham and York seem to have been over a century ahead of their times!)

On the other hand, feigned hardship and dissatisfactory tenants reaped only contempt. An application by William Justice at York in 1719 "for money pretended to be expended and layd out in repaires" was rejected with the comment that "if such repairs were made, the same were for the necessary convenience of his under tenants".(66) At Nottingham a request from eleven Butchers in 1819 that the Shambles committee consider "such an abatement in our Rents as they.....ay think proper, and as the state of the times require... ", was granted only to those not in arrear with their rents,(67) and similarly at Boston, Danby & Walker's abatements were withheld in 1823 as compensation for their bad management of their farms.(68)

By the early nineteenth century however abatements to occasional distressed tenants had at Boston given way to relief on a wide scale. The plunging price of agricultural produce after 1815 led to unprecedented reductions of rent on the corporate estates. Wheat prices had reached an astonishing peak in 1812, but they had halved by 1815 and continued on a downward trend throughout the remaining years of the old corporation's existence.

(66) . 101/74

(67) 1508 July 1819. An application for a rental abatement by Thomas Atherstone on the grounds that his trade was low and his average less than stated in his lease, was equally curtly rejected since in fact he held 24 sq.lyds more than his lease stated, and, despite a reduction of £21 in May 1815, he was still two years in arrear.(3987/51). He received his reduction ultimately in 1822 (3987/64), and his original rent of £142.9.2s in 1811 was thereby reduced to only £106.9.2.

(68) 5/A/3/23 Curtois' report, Dec.2nd 1823

As a Doddington landlord said in 1836, "The price of wheat is so much lower than the most thorough-going enthusiast for its reduction could have brought himself to believe in the wildest of his speculations at the close of the French war.(69)

In January 1816 the council met the crisis by appointing a committee to consider an "abatment of rent to the Tenants in general in consequence of the pressure of the times".(70) The result was an abatment for that year of 20% in the rent of all the lands held by lease from the corporation, except those used for wood.(71) But it was only the first of many reductions to follow. In December 1821 a further committee "taking into consideration the great reduction in the price of all kinds of agricultural produce "recommended further reductions, and advised that the letting of the corporate estates be postponed those expiring at Lady Day being let only for one year".(72) In the following year the surveyor noted a "still greater reduction in the price of all kinds of agricultural produce.....since the last year";(73) and recommended further abatements. Thus the situation continued, rent reductions being made in every year from 1821 to 1835 despite the growing financial difficulties of the corporation, who in 1833 had to admit that "The Finances of the corporation will not permit

(69) D.Griggs, op.cit., 118 Lines Archives Office Jarvis 8

(70) 2/A/27 15th January 1816

(71) 2/A/27 22nd February 1816

(72) 2/A/27 10th December 1821

(73) 2/ /3 28th October 1822

a general abatement to be made out of the rents of their estates"(74).

1821 to 1824 BOSTON ABATEMENTS OF RENT

Year		Amount of Rent on which abatements to be made.			Amount of the Reduction		
		£	s	d	£	s	d
1821	ch.	2,932	8	0	423	7	0
	eb	1,712	10	0	215	1	0
1822	ch	2,897	8	0	588	9	0
	eb	1,755	2	0	307	14	6
1823	ch	2,897	8	0	588	9	0
	eb	1,591	2	0	279	2	6
1824	ch	1,415	8	0	159	3	6
	eb	341	12	0	38	11	6 (75)

Figures are not available from 1824 to 1835, but by 1830 the abatements were declining, the corporate loss in 1831-2 being only £100 rising to £202 in 1834-5.(76)

Even considered in isolation these reductions amounted in some years to a substantial proportion of the annual rental income. In 1822/3 the total rental produce of the

(74) 2/D/3 13th May 1833. Individual abatements were made instead.

(75) 4/B/3/110

(76) 2/D/3 3rd February 1831, February 3rd 1834

Chamber estate should have been £4,315..5..6d, and abatements thus accounted for more than 12½% of this sum. But when taken together with the annual arrears, the figures reach even more alarming proportions:-

	Full Rent Payable:	Rent Received after arrears, abatements & other reductions *	Total rent received & arrears received in that year.
15/16	3,474..2..0	2,535.10..3	3,382.18..0
16/17	3,628..0..6	2,472..4..4½	2,711.11..4½
17/18	3,451.10..6	2,561..1.11½	3,015.16..8½
18/19	—	4,456.13..0	5,041.12..0
19/20	4,513.15..6	4,005..0..6	4,158..5..6
20/21	4,533.15..6	3,734..1..0	4,159.16..0
21/22	4,300..5..6	3,243..4..0	4,051.16..0
22/23	4,315..5..6	3,200..1..0	3,806..0..0
23/24	4,306..5..6	3,335.19..0	3,802..6..6
24/25	4,223.15..6	3,259..4..9	3,829..5..0
25/26	—	3,722..0..6	4,527..1..9
26/27	4,100.15..6	3,294..8..5	3,710.10..5
27/28	4,448..6..6	3,106.10..0	3,637.12..5
28/29	4,353.18..6	3,193.15..0	4,109..1..6
29/30	4,356..3..6	2,930..9..6	3,564.12..0
30/31	4,144..8..6	3,166..3..6	3,621.14..0
31/32	3,518..3..6	2,614..3..6	3,156..1..0
32/33	3,592..3..6	1,860..8..0	2,366...5..6
33/34	A/C Missing.		
34/35	3,594.13..6	2,290.10..0	3,078..0..0

*(The council sometimes made allowances for various assessments, e.g. Dikereeves assessments for the EXTRA repair of the seabanks in 1815 4/C/2/78)

At a time of financial difficulty associated with inflation and increasing expenditure, the council at Boston was therefore

suffering further serious monetary problems on account of the financial hardship of its tenants. The repayment of arrears by tenants did improve the corporation's financial receipts in most years, but the incidence of these repayments was most irregular. Although therefore they were in 1815/16 sufficiently high to leave the entire corporate receipts from current rents and arrears only £100 below the expected current rental figure, for many of these years the total receipts from these sources were over £500 less than the expected current rental, and in 1832/3 the loss was £1,200.

At Nottingham too applications for abatements increased heavily during the 1820's.(77) In contrast with Boston the corporation was faced not solely with agricultural distress, but with manufacturing distress too, and although general reductions were not found to be necessary, countless individual requests for rental reductions were received. Certainly they were sufficiently numerous to suggest that although property was at a premium in the town, the poverty of the major part of the population was to some degree conducive to deflationary rents. Most of the requests received were readily granted by the corporation; in 1822 on application from William Robinson, the

(77) 3987; 1508 passim.

annual committee recommended a £40 abatement of his rent of Lambley Farm, on "account of the low price of agricultural produce", and this was followed in 1824 by a £25 refund on his rent.(78) In 1821 Thomas Atherstone received a further abatement in his rent of some land near the Nottingham canal and in 1823 an application for a reduction of the rent of Wood Lane Close was also granted.(79) But an application for a reduction of several rents in the Shambles was in 1820 dismissed as "not worthy of mention".(80) At York however abatements were only occasionally found necessary during this period. This was to some degree a reflection of the increased use of yearly letting, which allowed regular flexibility of the rental terms, whereas at Boston most of the properties were tied to ten-yearly leases. During 1822/1823 reductions of the rent of agricultural land at York were fairly common,(81) but the position in Nottingham and York was in no measure so acute as at Boston.

By meeting such requests, all three corporations showed a social awareness which placed them at the forefront of philanthropic landlords of the time.(82)

(78) 3987f57,90

(79) 3987f49;64;76

(80) 1508,27th June 1820

(81) Especially Fawdington, Tanghall, Carlton Miniot E77/29.11.1822; 20.1.1823; 1.1.1823; 6.3.1833.

(82) Note the unfeigned gratitude expressed in the Editorial of the Nottingham Review in 1833:-

"In these times when the tenants of farms have to struggle with unprecedented and almost unsurmountable difficulties, we hail with unfeigned satisfaction every instance of liberal consideration we hear of on the part of landlords, and it is with real pleasure that we notice the conduct ofEarl Manvers, who ... has just made a reduction of 10-15% on the rents of his Nottinghamshire Tenants...."

N.R., Nov 22nd 1833 p3

It was only one of many ways in which the councils acted as subsidizers of poor relief in the borough, and must inevitably modify the view that the Corporations had little thought for the needs of the populace over whom they presided. But in supporting the extraordinarily heavy rental reductions of the early nineteenth century, Boston Corporation, in particular, experienced losses which contributed, in no small degree, to the financial difficulties of the unreformed Corporation.

Even by 1835 it is clear that none of the three Corporations was reaping the fullest possible benefit from their Estates. But the administrative developments which had taken place, together with improvements in the nature and extent of their Estates, undeniably contradicts the generalizations made by the Municipal Commissioners in their general report.

Redevelopment and improvement of the corporate estates was not overwhelmingly apparent in any of the three boroughs, but it did occur from time to time, increasingly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and from early in the period, a remarkable prudence was shown in matters concerning the corporate property. As early as 1734 the Corporation at Nottingham had the forethought to enter a covenant in a lease to Alvery Dodson "that he relinquish those shops and buildings

next the Shabbles.... if the corporation shall have occasion for it...",(82a) and at York a lease of properties on Foss Bridge contained a proviso "to make the same void in case Foss Bridge shall at any time be widened".(83) In 1834 the Finance Committee even advised the corporation to "anticipate the day when the new Market (Parliament Street Market) will be placed under their control and consider what regulations and management they will adopt".(84) But there was little consistent planning in any of the three boroughs. Nowhere was this more apparent than at York where the corporation in the early nineteenth century annually expended large sums in the repair of the Mint Yard properties, only to decide in 1831 that they would be better demolished and the area redeveloped.(85)

Recognition of the value of their properties and how best they could be utilized was not lacking however. In 1808 the annual committee at Nottingham advised against the acceptance of a lessee's proposals in the belief that "it would be highly inexpedient for the corporation to permit such land to be devoted to the purpose designated".(86) In 1819, the applications from the three town parishes for leases of land on Mapperley Plains on which to set the poor to work, were readily assented to, not

(82a) NIB 3494 December 1st 1734

(83) E101/137b

(84) K110 February 3rd 1834

(85) K1101 February 3rd 1832

(86) 3987/35

only because it was socially beneficial and "productive of great public good by furnishing the poor of this town with employment, but because it would also increase the value of the land so to be cultivated" and thereby produce ultimate advantages to the owners and occupiers of Mapperley Plains.(87) Not least amongst these was the corporation.

In all three boroughs attempts to improve the value of their estates were increasingly made. Simplest amongst these were improved leasing systems. At Boston in 1789 the lease of a cottage and ten acres in Boston West Fen was postponed "on a motion that it would be beneficial to the corporation to let the four cottages with the large farms", (88) and at Nottingham in 1824 the stone pit coppice within the near coppice previously let at £3.10.0 per acre, was instead re-let at £2.10.0 p.a., the corporation claiming in addition two shillings per thousand bricks made.(89) This same improvement was made on Mapperley Hills where the Brick-makers were in 1820 ordered to pay 6d per thousand bricks made, the number to be ascertained from the excise books, instead of holding the yards by lease as previously.(90) By such methods the corporation held a small share in the profits of the business.

To a large extent however, Nottingham corporation benefited from the expanding industry and housing in the town.

(87) 3987/35

(88) 4/3/4/14

(89) NHB 3583f 51

(90) NHB 3579/199-200

Butchers Close, which lay to the East of Leen Bridge and was bounded on the South by the River Leen, had, until 1793, always been leased as farming land, producing, since 1728, an annual rent of £10.(91) But in that year, the Corporation ordered that the area be advertised on 30 year leases as wharves.(92) This must undoubtedly have secured a substantial rise in the rental value of the land, although unfortunately the new leases cannot be traced.

Nottingham Corporation benefited still more from the expansion (albeit limited) of housing into areas hitherto undeveloped. Much of this was on Corporation land, for the Corporation owned extensive areas of common land around the town, and as early as the 1730's, waste ground between Derby Road and Wollaton Street had been taken over. In 1739 there were eighteen houses here, but they were occupied by sixty-nine inhabitants of the "lowest order of people" (93) and not surprisingly, therefore, rendered little profit to the Corporation, most being rented in 1738 at only 2sh. per annum.(94) During the same period however the first house outside Chapel Bar was built (1730) there previously having been no habitations other than rock holes, and in 1735, the Corporation put out to rent five houses there. Within two years, this number had increased to fifteen, and by 1834, there were fortyfour individual leases held, many concerning several properties. (Some may have

(91) 5078; Rental Books passim.
(92) NHB 3552 f39
(93) H. Field, Date Book (1884) 193
(94) Chamber Rental

been within Chapel Bar, for the rental book is not specific, but in 1688/9 and even in 1728/9 there were in any case only three properties and one garden in the corporate rental either within or without Chapel Bar). Of these forty-four, twenty-five were on long lease, but only eight were building leases, and the total produce of these premises per annum to the corporation was £401.14..0. Virtually all of these were new acquisitions since 1660. The area around lower Mansfield Road and York Street underwent similar development, as too the areas near Broad Marsh and the Leen, Gilliflower Hill (Castle Hill), and Hockley. Until 1826/7 the corporation held only two properties on Hockley; the Leather Bottle Inn and a messuage which together produced £59 p.a. By 1831 they held nine properties here producing an annual rent of £225.18.4d.(95) On Leen side and Broad and Narrow Marsh the rentals give evidence of still greater increases in the area under lease.

In all three corporations the councils further improved their rental returns by the purchase of additional properties.(96) This did not take place on a large scale, and Nottingham made noticeably few, but where opportunities appeared

(95) The rent of the Leather Bottle Inn remained static at £55p.a, but the other messuage, previously let at £4 p.a. was in 1827 let at £15 p.a.; the remaining income came from the new properties Rentals passim.

(96) An indication of the difference which purchases could make is amply given at Leicester, where in 1833, the revenue produced by modern purchases of property was £937.

appropriate they were taken. At Nottingham there was in fact rarely any cash balance left at the year end which could be applied to such ends. This was particularly so during the nineteenth century, but it is noticeable that after sustaining a rare profit of £1,397 in 1832/3 the corporation did in the following year invest £919 in property purchase.(97) At Boston several properties were purchased over the period 1660 to 1835. In 1735, twenty-seven acres and three roods of arable and pasture in Algardyke and Foss dyke were purchased from Joseph Chown for £400.00.0d. ,(98) and were leased in 1744 to Christopher Measure for £37.10.0p.a.(99) As early as 1675 York corporation treated with Lord Halifax for the premises which he owned in Mint Yard, as a matter very "necessary and commodious for this Citty".(100) By the following February a committee had been appointed to view the property and Wconsider of a way that may bringe the most profitt and convenience to the Citty in the management thereof", (1) and in May four Aldermen were ordered to "take the Mynt Yard into their consideration and to lett the same upon such tearmes and conditions as they...shall thincke reasonable", (2). The wisdom of this move needs little elaboration: property provided a permanent augmentation to the

(97) NCAB 1520

(98) BAB 5 f 448; BCAB 1732 to 1736.

(99) A/B/4/6

(100) YHB 38f110^b

(1) YHB 38f116

(2) YHB 38f118

corporate income. As Drake wrote in 1736 "it was certainly the interest of the corporation to buy up this privilege place.. for Dwelling houses, gardens, wood yards, stables etc...."(3) The purchase price was £800 which by 1683/4 had been paid in full,(4) and the council had in addition authorized the building of a house there.(5) But the rental income thereby received amounted, even during the seventeenth century, to almost £100p.a.(6)

York corporation in fact purchased a fairly large amount of property over the period, but it was not without careful consideration of the economic advisability of the transaction\$. In 1711 the Hall debated whether it was more profitable to buy lands at Laxton for £1,000 or put the money out on loan. The money was ultimately invested in the purchase of Laxton,(7) followed by Fawdington in 1727 and 1730.(8) Both proved of immense value to the corporation, not least because of their thriving woods from which timber was regularly sold. Laxton became more valuable when the tithes were purchased in 1808,(9) and although they were slow to yield any profit, being let in 1811 for £57.9.6 p.a. on a year to year lease (the purchase price was £1,100) the farm itself by 1814 realized £410 p.a.,(10) and Fawdington was let for £290.(11)

(3) FDrake , op.cit.,II 373

(4) YCAB 1683/4

(5) YCAB 1679/80 J.Todd in full on the contract for building a house in Mint Yard £120

(6) C79.1 1690/1 £499.9.8 p.a.

(7) YHB 41/89^b

(8) YHB 41/101^b 138

(9) YC/Ch A.56 Other purchases were made at the same time, notably York Tavern and the Stables in Lendall for £3,600, other nearby houses at the corner of Lendall St.& St.Helen's Sq. for £1,005, and the gaol YCAB 1808/9

(10) E101/142 pt 11

(11) E78a

Beyond these moves however the corporation was left only with the possibility of improving existing properties. Uneconomic properties were disposed of if they held little prospect of bringing increased returns. In 1681/2 at Nottingham the "Howses yt wv lately built agt the south side of the Wall of St. Marye's Church Yard that are nowe vntenanted....."(12) were ordered to be demolished, and at York too in 1702 the corporation resolved upon demolition as the most economic move. The houses on Foss Bridge were found to be "...very ruinous and much in decay and ...the Tenants ... very poor and much in arrears of their Rent and most of them incapable of paying the same....." It was therefore decided that since, "if the said houses were rebuilt or repaired the charges thereof would be so great that the accrowing profetts and Rents would not make upp and clear off and pay the same...", they should be demolished.(13) The same conclusion was reached over the stables next to the common hall,(14) but often the property was sold instead of simply demolished. As early as 1563 the Mayor and Aldermen at York reviewed their repair costs, and finding that they exceeded the rental receipts, resolved upon a ruthless sale of decayed properties to persons willing to make speedy repairs.(15) More often that not however property was sold

(12) YHB 3449/11
 (13) YHB 40/125

(14) 1720 They were thought to be of "no benefit or advantage to the City" for "the profitts or yearly paymts acrweing thereby can scarce counterballe or amount to the expense of Repaireing the same" E101/77

(15) "York Civic Records," Yorks archaeological society VI 43
 It shows a remarkable interest in the appearance of the town in preference to the corporate well-being, and is an early example of the council considering the economic well-being of the town, as a place to attract nobility etc.

to cover the corporate debts or extraordinary expenses. The sale of several houses held in Puddledock, London, by Nottingham Corporation was not prompted by their economic inviability, nor the difficulties of their administration, but only to answer the costs of a lawsuit against the school estate.(16) Similarly Mansell Park was sold to pay Nottingham Council's debts, despite the fact that it was a valuable source of rent. In 1700 the lease renewal fine was agreed at £100 with an annual rent of £69.(17), but the temptations are obvious, for the sale realized £2,380 (18) for which the corporation was much in need. Sales were indeed rarely occasioned by the reasoned thinking of York's finance committee who in 1824 recommended the sale of the Tavern public house on the grounds that "having found the Tavern to be a species of property entailing very considerable expences annually....
... it.... should be sold and the purchase money laid out in the purchase of other Freehold Estates".(19)

Redevelopment of uneconomic property was indeed ruthlessly conducted by the finance committees at York after 1816. Controlling both income and expenditure they had a financial omniscience which enabled them to discover that, for example, in 1833 Saint George's buildings cost as much in repairs, assessments and taxes as the rent they yielded.(20) It was under their advice

(16) NHB 3470 F5; 3471 F28; 3483 FF 9, 14a

(17) NHB 3467/18th July 1700; Rentals passim.

(18) NHB 3481/5,7

(19) K110 19th October 1824 (It was not ultimately sold)

(20) K110 February 3rd 1833

too that Mint Yard was finally redeveloped. In 1832 the committee reported that "...unless immediate steps be taken for putting the premises into tenantable repair and condition, the property will very soon become wholly unproductive".(21) Repairs however could not be accomplished for less than a very considerable sum, and the committee wondered "whether the property could be put to a better use". To this end the site was surveyed and the committee projected a scheme for a new street from the top of Blake Street to Bootham, later named Saint Leonard's Place. There was sufficient space for a street forty feet wide and houses with back gardens, providing in all six hundred square yards of building land. The cost of the project was high: £5,112.19.7 was spent on preparing the site for development (22) (plans, demolitions and a main drain) and only £202..0..9d profit was recouped on the old materials.(23) Since the development was by building leases, the corporation received a rent of only £404 p.a, but the old Mint Yard rent had yielded only £280 p.a, and as the committee themselves declared, the improvement ^{was} "universally acknowledged to be at once highly ornamental to the city, and an invaluable accomodation to its inhabitants, and the public in general; your committee are perfectly

(21) K110 February 3rd 1832

(22) K110 1831/2; 1833/4; 1834/5; 1835. The total value of old materials was £1,460 but most of it was used in improvements.

(23) YCAB 1833/4

satisfied (that this) cannot, with any propriety, be considered as a useless or disadvantageous application of corporate funds".(24) Similar improvements of civic property were numerous throughout the period and produced most advantageous rental increases.

At Boston in 1770 the corporation undertook large scale rebuilding of Cooper's Row, creating several new dwelling houses with fish stalls underneath, at a total cost of some £4,835.18s.7d.(25) The increased rental productivity cannot be ascertained with complete accuracy since the rental books contain insufficient detail.

However, in 1741, a messuage in Cooper's Row had been leased for twenty years at £3.10s.0d per annum; but in 1773 a "new erected" messuage there realised £16 per annum and another property there was rented for £20 per annum.(25a) Certainly it would seem that a significant increase in productivity could fairly be expected from an undertaking of this scale.

(24) K111 December 24th 1835

(25) BCAD 1770 to 1773

(25a) 4/B/4/6

At Nottingham too similar improvements were constantly undertaken. Enumeration of them and their results would be impossible but a number of large-scale developments amply illustrate the improved rental returns gained from these carefully considered and calculated improvements.

The developments in the Shambles perhaps show these results best, demonstrating how greatly the corporation increased its returns by invoking specific improvements. In 1734 the "new" Shambles were ordered to be re-roofed and largely rebuilt, with an additional room built above.(26) The cost of this improvement was estimated to be £160 and this was the sum for which the work was contracted.(27) The rental produce of the "new" Shambles subsequently increased from £26 in 1732/3 to £44.8..0 in 1734/5, and by 1740 it stood at £50..2..0p.a.(28)

Alterations undertaken in the 'old' Shambles in 1746 whereby eighteen new butchers shops were provided (29) and the old Shambles demolished "and rebuilt in a very commodious manner" (30) for an estimated expense of £150, raised the produce of these Shambles (subsequently called the broad and light Shambles) by almost £10 p.a.(31) These increases were nominal however in comparison with the increases occasioned later in the century.

(26) NHB 3493f13a, 15, 16, 16a

(27) NHB 3493f16

(28) Rentals 2232, 2234, 2241 probably £50 in the first full year after 1734

(29) 43505f25

(30) G. Deering, op.cit., 7

(31) 2246; 2255

In 1771 the country shambles were rebuilt on land bought from the rector of Saint Nicholas (32) and in 1783 were further enlarged by the demolition of part of the Dunkirk Shambles.(33) The result was an increase in the rental of the country shambles from £15 in 1769/70 to £90 by 1792/3. (These are not entered individually in the Chamber Account between 1769-1792 and cannot be more closely traced). In the early nineteenth century erection of new stalls in the Market Place resulted in an additional annual income of £88 in 1808/9 which jumped to £168 by the following year, and thereafter steadily increased until 1822/3 when their produce dropped slowly. But the vast improvements of the Exchange and Shambles between 1814-17 and the subsequent smaller improvements undertaken in the shambles had the most phenomenal effect. The expenditure involved was high. Between 1814-24 at least £15,524 was spent on these improvements with a further expenditure of £1,248.17.3 on the North Shambles in 1824/25.(34) But the Shambles rents subsequently rose from £342.9.6 in 1813/4 to £856.13.7 in 1825/6, rising to £1,099 two years later. The committee in fact reported to the Hall that although by 1817 they had expended about £13,095.13.4d, and work in hand would cost a further £890, nevertheless "the improved rental upon these several buildings will amount . . . to the sum of four hundred and seventy pounds per annum over and above the old rents".(35)

(32) NHB3530f29

(33) NHB 3543f14

(34) NCAB passim

(35) NHB 3576f61-63

The improvements of the rental produce was a strong inducement in these undertakings. The committee in 1817 wished "most distinctly to state to the common Hall that the expenditure (however heavy it may appear) has not been made without due consideration, and they trust it will be found a lasting and substantial improvement and of great public utility"(36). The improvement of the Dunkirk shambles in 1827 was considered carefully before the work was put in hand.(37) The final cost was at least £1,253..9..0 (38) exclusive of Staveley's charges for plans which totalled in that year £173..5..0, but the total rent received for the forty-seven shops ultimately built was £8 per week - or £376 p.a.(39)

These improvements were not confined to the shambles. On the contrary, the account books afford ample evidence of such alterations and rebuilding throughout the period. In 1804 a new public house was ordered to be erected at Trent Bridge "in the room of the house lately occupied by Mr.Beverley"(40) (This had been the Red Lion). This venture cost the corporation more than £533.13.0 (41) but the rental of the new "Union Inn" was £50 p.a., Beverley's house having produced only £9 p.a. with £5.50 for a close.(42) In 1826 several premises were under improvement - Lowater's house on Fishergate was demolished and rebuilt, so too were several

(36) NHB 3576f61-63

(37) NHB 3586f53,71-74

(38) NCAB 1726/7

(39) 3987f139

(40) NHB 3563f33

(41) Ledger B f 8

(42) Rentals passim

properties on York Street,(43) but perhaps the most noteworthy was the demolition of the entire corporate properties on Carter Gate. In December 1826 Edward Staveley produced a plan of the buildings intended to be erected on the site of these old tenements,(44) and the following year the annual committee reported upon the successful leasing of the new premises. In 1824/5 the old land and tenements had produced an annual rental of £43.17.6 (45), but after this re-development, the nine properties, with a wheelrights yard, were leased for a total of £115.10.0(46).

There is certainly ample evidence that Boston, Nottingham and York corporations recognised the need to redevelop and improve their property in the interests of their rental returns. Although such improvements were often imposed upon the corporation by the derelict condition of the properties concerned, there was also evident, within each corporation, strong awareness of the need to undertake redevelopment for the returns it promised to the corporate coffers. What becomes immediately apparent however, is the size of the capital outlay required for even a small rental return. The houses in Cartergate at Nottingham cost the corporation at least £1,530, which, on the rental terms established in 1827, would not be repaid for some thirteen years. The money

(43) NCAB 1826/7

(44) NHB 3586f34

(45) Rental Book 1824/5 (1826/6, 1826/7 seem to be missing)

(46) NHB 3586f113-115

expended on the Dunkirk Shambles would, in contrast, have been recouped within three or four years, but the major expenses of the Shambles development would have taken twenty to thirty years to regain, and on general tenements the returns were necessarily slow. In a situation where the ordinary income needed to be increasingly augmented by extraordinary revenue merely to meet day to day costs, this type of long-term investment in property was entirely inappropriate. The corporations were thus tied to a system in which they could not really afford to invest. Where they did so there were promises of worthwhile returns in the long term, but in the short term, there was only the reward of deficit. Such ventures demonstrate the ill-advised foundations upon which the primary source of corporate revenue rested. Property must always require some expenditure for its maintenance - (the constant expenditure in this field will be discussed later), and thus a certain proportion of the annual corporate income was inevitably lost. Moreover any real augmentation of the annual revenue depended similarly on the investment of a goodly proportion back into property. The corporation never therefore had at its disposal 100% of its rental income. Indeed, to have utilized the entire rental income in other ways would have been gross mismanagement.

As Greaves points out, the corporation grants at Leicester of £1,500 towards the laying out of new streets where there had formerly been the unenclosed South Field of the town, so far from being disinterested and public spirited contributions to the general welfare of the town, served merely to increase the corporate revenues.(47) But this was the inevitable result of the form of revenue granted to most of the unreformed boroughs. Without increasing their revenues, there was no possibility of contributing on the scale demanded in the late eighteenth century to the town's welfare. Improvement of the town rested inextricably on the corporate revenues; that is, upon the corporation's ability as a landlord, to increase its rental income. "The development of the town lands revealed it as simply in the end, a corporate rentier...."(48), but this was surely the inevitable result of the outdated form of corporate revenue. The need by the eighteenth century was for an income of pure profit. The beginning of such a system came with the annual rate granted to the new borough council of 1836.

By 1835 the corporations of Boston, Nottingham and York had, despite the opposition of their tenants, and their own managerial failings, achieved a degree of administrative efficiency far beyond what the municipal commissioners

(47) R.W.Greaves, *op. cit.*, 30

(48) *Ibid.*, 86

in their general report would have us believe. A fundamental recognition of how best to administer their estates was evident from 1660; but by the close of the succeeding century, managerial capacity had been enormously augmented and was in addition, successfully implemented. Committee organization and the appointment of professional surveyors ensured that an increased sense of civic responsibility was translated directly into business acumen. There remained ample room for further improvement; coherent policy making was still in its infancy, but there is little ground for severe criticism. From this difficult and limiting form of revenue, the three corporations were for most of the period, and particularly from the late eighteenth century, reaping little short of the fullest benefit.

The total income derived from rents rose markedly over the period as a whole. In part a reflection of the improved administration of the estates by the councils, it was inevitably conditioned essentially by the economic changes which occurred between 1660 and 1835. The result was an improvement in the rental receipts of all three councils from some £400 to £4,000p.a.

Until the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, rental income in Nottingham and York rose only slowly. At Nottingham the annual receipts fluctuated quite widely but

the average income received by the Chamberlains from rents between 1660-1700, increased from about £380 to £450 n.a. The absence of accounts for the succeeding twenty years leaves a total blank, but in 1724 the rental income averaged £510p.a., so it would appear that the slow but steady increase had been maintained. At York however, the sparcity of Receiver's accounts, recording the actual rental income and rents due, necessitates the use of the Chamberlains' Accounts. By using the Chamberlain's entry of cash received from the Receiver, a reasonably valid graph of rental trends can be constructed, but the yearly payments fluctuated violently in amount, particularly during the earlier part of the period. Such a graph must therefore be used with care. The apparent rise from 1680-1700 and the subsequent fall from 1700-1720 may be somewhat deceptive. The rental income taken by the Chamberlain from the Receiver fluctuated equally violently from £300 to £600 p.a., and it is clear that the Receiver at times retained in his hands a large balance.(49) Artificial increase and decrease could thus easily arise even over the long term, according to the corporate need and the Receivers' payments. However it is clear from the decennial averages

(49) Appendix II e.g. 1723 Alexander Harrison£350; 1726 Thomas Harrison £441 and a further £200.

that some decline in rental income must have occurred between 1700-1720. The reason for such a fall is not however apparent, for the scarcity of documents recording the actual rental value of the estates, causes a complete lack of evidence. By 1720 however the Chamberlains' rental receipts had risen overall, by some £80 since 1664. These very gradual overall increases were to some extent a reflection of the overall economic stability of the period. The level of living and productivity in a pre-industrial community is relatively stagnant, for over the long term the forces working for improvement in productivity were no stronger than those working for a decline. When the population rose, productivity per head fell, and when output rose, the population usually followed, thus eventually evening out the original price gain per capita. As Rostow said, it was an economy in which something like "a ceiling existed on the level of attainable output per head".(50) Natural population growth was over the country as a whole restricted within the narrow limits of 0.5% and 1.0%,(51) and with the recurrent Malthusian deductions it might hardly increase at all. Thus in the period 1660-1750 the population of England and Wales fluctuated between 5.8 million to 6 million, growing perhaps from 5.8 million in 1701 to 5.9 million

(50) W.W.Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth (1960) 4

(51) P.Deane, The First Industrial Revolution (1967) 21

in 1741 and 6 million in 1751.(52) In the towns the pressures would have been rather different; Boston, Nottingham and York were all sufficiently important commercial places to attract some immigration, but local figures are even more difficult to calculate than national averages. However it is clear that even here, there was little economic or demographic pressure to cause rents to rise.

The overall stability of the rental income, especially at Nottingham, as too of individual leaseholds, was however to some degree a product of the policy of granting leases at low, and often static, rents with heavy "entry fines" or "consideration monies" charged upon the lessee at the granting of the lease. This lease system prevailed at Nottingham until the early years of the eighteenth century, but by 1723, entry fines no longer contributed significantly to the Chamber receipts and were no longer recorded as an individual category. Until 1700 however they were a ready source of income to the corporation, producing irregular but large sums. Between 1660&1700 they increased the average annual rental receipts by some £70 p.a.

The value of entry fines: Nottingham 1660-1699. By 1723 they cease to be entered as a district receipt and rarely figure in the casual receipts, when these are detailed.

(To nearest £)	Rent	Fine	Total.
1660/1	404	45	449
61/2	412	373	785
62/3	428	0	428
63/4	301	106	407
64/5	340	12	352
65/6	-	-	-
66/7	393	38	431
67/8	390	133	523
68/9	388	40	428
69/70	393	56	459
70/71	387	22	409
71/2	-	-	-
72/3	387	2	389
73/4	374	158	532

Value of Entry fines contd.

(to nearest £)

	Rent £	Fine £	Total £
1674/5	377	23	400
75/6	381	100	481
76/7	383	20	403
77/8	451	66	517
78/9	381	0	381
79/80	420	40	460
80/1	448	0	448
81/2	412	13	425
82/3	-	-	-
83/4	411	11	422
84/5	405	193	598
85/6	411	19	430
86/7	413	33	446
87/8	-	-	-
88/9	412	123	535
89/90	412	75	487
90/1	-	-	-
91/2	-	-	-
92/3	464	48	512
93/4	462	128	590
94/5	458	65	523
95/6	-	-	-
96/7	452	85	537
97/8	441	156	597
98/9	443	30	473
1999/1700	442	175	617
		<u>2,368</u>	<u>17,285</u>

Entry fines were used regularly at York too, although the absence of Receiver's Accounts leaves no indication when they were replaced by ordinary rents, but at Boston it was resolved in 1702 that all lands were to be let "at an annual rent and not by fine".(53) Unlike at Northampton,(54) they had probably ceased to be used regularly in all the three boroughs by 1730.

(53) BAB 4f226

(54) J.C.Cox, Records of the Borough of Northampton II (1898) 166

During the third decade of the eighteenth century rental productivity took a sharp upwards turn. From the annual receipts for Nottingham a lull can be discerned between 1728-32, but otherwise the annual rental value of the corporate estates continued to increase, rising to a peak of about £770 p.a. in 1740.

At York this same trend was further intensified. Here the rental productivity of the estates more than doubled from almost £500 p.a. to almost £1,100 p.a. over an identical period of time. The cause of so steep a rise must to some degree undoubtedly lie in local economic factors. Nationally prices were certainly not rising; the aggregate price of consumables calculated by Phelps-Brown and Sheila Hopkins, shows a noticeable decline in average prices from 1700 until about 1764.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Neither was the population increasing noticeably on a national scale. But there is some evidence that the population at Nottingham was already increasing. Field speaks of new houses on Derby Road, occupied by "the lowest order of people", and Deering estimated the population in 1739 to be 10,000, which may represent an increase of 3,500 since 1690.⁽⁵⁶⁾ (Estimate based on Parish registers suggests a population of 6,575 in 1690). Population pressure may already therefore have come to bear on rents in the town. At York too,

(55) E.H.P. Brown and S. Hopkins, "Seven Centuries of the Price of Consumables," Economica (1956) 296

(56) H. Field, Nottingham Date Book (1884) 93
A. Rogers, Themes from Nottingham's History (1960) 4

economic factors may have similarly affected rental values. Drake observed that "notwithstanding the great plenty of some years last past, in corn and other articles, yet it is well known that our markets and fairs are risen considerably of late years, especially since landlords began to raise their rents and the tenants the produce".(57)

At Boston however the steep increases seen at Nottingham and York occurred twenty years earlier. The absence of earlier accounts leaves no evidence for the period before 1696, but from 1700, the annual rental produced took a steep upwards turn which showed a doubling of the rental income by 1720.

From the chronology of these rises at Boston and Nottingham, it becomes immediately apparent that whilst economic and demographic factors were of some significance, the changed leasing system which resulted in the abolition of entry fines, had a marked effect on rental movement. At Boston, entry fines were abolished in 1702; while at Nottingham it seems likely that they disappeared after about 1720. The result for individual leaseholds could be a rapid rise in the annual rent payable. In effect the corporation was to some extent merely transferring a separate category of large and occasional income into the rental income, as a small annual increase. The entry fine paid for a

(57) F. Drake, op. cit., II 172/3

Toftstead and land at Boston for example, was £150 in 1700, on a ten year lease. This therefore represented an additional £15 p.a on top of the rental payment, and when the fines were abolished and the rent increased, this was to some extent only splitting up the entry fine into annual payments. However the increases were in many cases large. This particular Toftstead in 1711 was leased for £42p.a instead of £15.4.0 and £150 fine.(58) At Nottingham, Saint George's Close was in 1708 leased for twenty-one years at £2 p.a., with £120 fine, but in 1729 the lease was granted for the same term at £12 p.a. rent and no fine. Land and tenements at Saint Mary's were similarly increased on their re-lease in 1740 from 10/-p.a. and £20 fine, to £2.10.p.a. (21 year lease) and the Pinder's fee was in 1730 let for £15 p.a instead of £103 fine and 12d per annum rent.(59) Increases on these scales clearly go far to explain the heavy increase in receipts, as the corporations pushed their properties on to economic annual rents.

These early increases, which in each borough extended over a period of twenty years, were followed by a marked lull in rent rises which ended during the 1750's. At York the rental value of the corporate estates took a sharp upward turn

(58) Appendix III

(59) Ibid.

in 1750 and rose phenomenally after 1780. Between 1750 and 1780 the rental income rose by almost 50% (60), but from 1780 to 1810 and from 1810 to 1830 it increased by a further 95.8% and 52.3 % respectively. At Boston and Nottingham the rental trends bore a close similarity to York's. Steep increases in both boroughs did not really occur until 1760, at which date the Boston receipts rose rapidly from £860 p.a. to £1,400 in 1780. The annual produce then followed closely upon York's rising less steeply to 1800, but then rocketing to a peak of £4,545 in 1822. (61) (Actual rental due, not averaged) At Nottingham however the rental improvements were steady but not sharp for the twenty years after 1760. Thereafter they rose rapidly to £3,800 in 1830, after a brief hesitancy during the 1790's.

This sustained inflation of rents which began in all three boroughs between 1760-1780, was a reflection of the enormous demographic and economic changes associated with the advent of the "industrial revolution". Although neither Boston nor York had gained any manufactures of commercial significance (Boston was relatively self-sufficient), they shared nevertheless, with Nottingham, in the tremendous developments

(60) At this time wheat prices showed a steady improvement. The average annual price of wheat in 1760-94 was one third above that of 1720-59, and later wheat prices rose prodigiously. A. Youngson, Possibilities of Economic Progress (1959) 122

(61) This figure moreover excludes the receipts from the Harbour Tolls which after being increased by the 1812 Harbour Act, were producing in 1830 some £1,000 to the Harbour Trust. The income recorded here however is the expected and not the actual income, which owing to arrears and abatements was considerably less. The apparent decline between 1811-15 may represent no more than the difference between the expected and actual receipts, for no figures of the expected rent remain until 1816.

in British economy and society. The transition to an "Industrialized" society in Britain can be neither simplified nor specifically dated, but the changes associated with that development were evident long before and long after Britain could be said to be truly "industrialized", and it was these attendant changes which for all three boroughs were the most significant factor in their economic and demographic development after the mid eighteenth century. For whatever the divergence of opinion, and whatever the variations from place to place, it is clear that by 1750, population, prices, output and incomes were already beginning a continuous and systematic upward trend. In all three boroughs this brought rising prices and increasing populations. By 1790 these trends, particularly prices, were accelerated by the Napoleonic wars. Without even the consideration of local factors, these dominant trends in population and prices inevitably exerted a pressure upon rents to rise.

Total rental income to nearest £, including Fairs and Tolls, and at Boston, Buoys and Beacons profits, p.a.

Date	Boston	Nottingham	York
1700	368	442	386
1750	345	773	1010
1800	1632	1413	1250
1830	3166	4003	3950
Tolls 1830	2281)	1037	-
Wharfage 1830	630)	(Received by Harbour Trust)	

Under this impetus, the rental value of their estates more than trebled in all three corporation in the fifty

years before 1835. The overall trend is again clearly displayed in the individual leases. At Nottingham steep rises occurred in the 1800's and after the initial jump, the rental levels were sustained until 1835. A messuage in Hockley rose from £4 p.a. to £15 in 1827 and increased again in 1832 to £22. The rent of the Leather Bottle Inn rose from £19 to £40 in 1805 and jumped a further £15 in 1808.(62) But at Nottingham local conditions contributed heavily to increase the value of buildings and land. The steep rise in population in the circumscribed town inflated the prices of building land to between 15/- and £1 a square yard both in the town and in the new hamlets being established over a mile distant, beyond the common lands.(63) From 1803-21 the population of new Sneinton increased twenty fold and building land which was selling at £1 a yard fetched only 1/- after the 1845 enclosure.(64) Although in 1784 houses in Broad and Warrow Marsh still had gardens, by 1808 when the first plots of land in the "Park" were sold for building, 9,000 sq. yards on Standard Hill sold for £7,000. (15/6d a square yard).(65) The worst pressure however came in the 1820's with the "twist net fever". Rents and the price of land and building materials

(62) Appendix III

(63) 3937 passim e.g. 1821 land on Lerby Road realised 10/- sq.yd; but on Tollhouse hill 18/-, and on Hockley 11/- and 15/-.

(64) J.D.Chambers, Modern Nottingham in the Making (1945) 30

(65) A.Barnett, The Poor Laws and their operation (1833) 27,28.

shot up. Bricks rose from 30/- to £3 per thousand, and building land in the town reached 36/- per square yard.(66) But the rent rise was not so continuous as the decennial graph suggests. Although at Nottingham the total rental income rose almost unabated until 1835, this was largely due to the produce of the Shambles. For much of the decade after 1810 the rental income, exclusive of the Shambles rents showed a marked decline. This may fairly be considered to be a result of the increasing demand for lowered rents at this time. For although after 1814, rices generally were falling, at Nottingham the vast majority of the population, the framework knitters, were experiencing severe deprivation. From 1794-1803 the lowest paid Framework Knitters, the plain cotton workers, averaged about 10/6d per week (67). But between 1809&1812, wages fell by about one third, and in 1819 ~~the~~ cotton worker was receiving only four to seven shillings a week.(68) As at York between 1821/1826, and at Boston after 1822, the decreasing rental may be largely the result of local conditions to which the corporation was obliged to respond. At Boston rental income dropped severely after the peak year of 1820, as a result of the permanent decline in rents occasioned by the continually falling agricultural prices of the post

(66) S.D.Chapman, Thoroton Society (1963) "Working class housing in Nottingham during the industrial revolution" 67

(67) Nottingham Review 12th June 1829

(68) Nottingham Review 20th August 1819 See also the introduction above

Napoleonic War period. Before this date, temporary abatements had relieved most tenants, but as the 1820's progressed, the Corporation could no longer obtain for its leaseholds, the rents which had prevailed during the period of unprecedented high food prices before 1814. In this respect Boston Corporation suffered a decline of revenue from which Nottingham, with its heavy predominance of urban properties, was largely exempt, and which York experienced in a much lesser degree.(69) Individual rents which had risen phenomenally during the early 1800's now plummeted: Robin Hood Walk pasture rent fell from £34 to £18 p.a; the Augustine Priars pasture from £70 to £45; and although some property rents in the town continued to rise, the predominance of farming land led to a heavy decline in value of the corporate estate.

If the phenomenal rise in the value of their estates was conditioned by external demographic and economic factors, it was nevertheless solely as a result of the corporate awareness of the changing values and the civic administrative capacity, that rents rose with such proximity to price movements. The most negligent landlord must, in these circumstances, have seen some improvement in his returns. It would be naive to simply conclude, as did the Municipal Commissioners of Nottingham in 1833 that, "the general

(69) Appendix III

management of their property appears to have been judicious; the income having been for many years gradually increasing."(70) But it cannot be denied that managerial improvements contributed largely to the increasing rental returns. The sustained increases remained well abreast of price movements (71) only by virtue of to close corporate control and careful estimation of the changing value of particular properties at specific periods.(72) The improved administration of leases evident in all three boroughs; the use of open competition, the employment of surveyors, cannot be dissociated from the rising rents of the period, and yet neither can their significance be tabulated. At Boston the large acquisitions of land by enclosure contributed in no small way to improved rental returns, but rental increases on individual leaseholds indicate clearly that this was not the only way the rental produce was augmented, for individual rents show a close correlation to the total rental patterns.

At Nottingham however, the significance of corporate management emerges clearly in the rental of the shambles estate. During the first thirty-five years of the nineteenth century the total rental produce of the Chamber estate at Nottingham rose from £1,200 to £4,400; yet the total rents from properties other than

(70) MCR 2006

(71) Appendix III Nottingham Rental

(72) Appendix III Sample Rents

the shambles rose to only £2,600, a figure markedly lower than at Boston or York. The difference was made up entirely by the rapidly increasing rents produced by the shambles property which the corporation entirely re-organized and improved. Management ability was clearly as much a pace-setter for rental increase as changing conditions.

Between 1660&1835 the corporate administrative ability undeniably improved. Much remained to be learned, but from the later eighteenth century control over management of the corporate properties increased immensely. It was only by virtue of these advances that the revenue from their estates was so hugely augmented. By 1835 Boston, Nottingham and York showed neither ineptitude nor corruption in the management of their vast possessions. But their landed estates were already showing themselves to be ill-suited to the needs of the new towns which had been slowly emerging. The population of the three boroughs had since 1660 greatly enlarged; the needs of the populace had radically advanced; the responsibilities acknowledged by the councils towards their towns had slowly mounted, and to these problems had been added the inflation of the war years. Under these changed circumstances rental income, inflexible as it was, became thoroughly obsolescent as a primary source of civic revenue. The three councils were more and more pushed into finding alternative sources of income.

CHAPTER 5

THE RESORT TO EXPEDIENTS

Although the rental income was increasing by such great proportions, it nevertheless became increasingly inadequate to the civic requirements. One of the most immediate causes was the rapid price rise of the later eighteenth century, after a hundred years of comparative stability. The price of consumer goods rose by almost 40% between 1760 and 1792, with a doubling of prices during the war from 1792 to 1813.(1)

Faced with price rises on this scale, the three councils experienced acute financial problems. Their rental income was indeed rising sharply, as were all monetary wages, and this lessened to some degree the effects of the inflation of the war years. But until almost 1810, the civic rents, as is to be expected, lagged some distance behind prices. The sharp price increase affected the borough councils no less than everybody else; but after 1813 rental income remained well above the now rapidly falling prices. The three councils of Boston, Nottingham and York were, however, then entering one of their worst periods of debt. Between 1811 and 1835 Boston raised on bond a sum of £40,850, Nottingham £36,135, York £31,123. In the five years from 1831 to 1835 alone, York took out loans of £21,000 and between 1826 and 1830 Nottingham borrowed £11,650. York's heavy loans at this time were largely a result of the stringent economies exercised by the finance committee after 1816,(2) but the figures give clear indication of heavily increasing debt at a time when rental income was well abreast of the precipitously falling prices.

This situation is indicative of a further problem which faced all three councils increasingly after 1750. This

(1) H.P. Brown and J.V. Hopkins, "Seven centuries of the Price of Consumables," Economica (Nov. 1956) 296.

(2) Chapter V 323

was the growing civic commitments in the sphere of town improvement. It has long been thought that few corporations felt any real responsibility for the maintainance of the town in which their population lived, and that still fewer of the unreformed corporations actively promoted or contributed to the improvement and betterment of their boroughs. They did indeed hold few direct responsibilities in this sphere; their authority over the cleansing, lighting and watching of the street, had never been much more than to enforce the obligations of the householders, and as the period progressed, these tasks, together with street repair, came increasingly to be considered as falling within the orbit of the parish vestry. With the advent of Improvement Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament to authorize and conduct works within the borough, the corporate responsibility became even more indistinct. Indeed as late as 1809 Lord Ellenborough in King's Bench upheld, in a case against Derby Corporation, that a corporation had the right to apply the produce of their estates in any manner they pleased, and not specifically to the good of the town, excepting only where they were obliged by the terms of a grant to apply it to a particular purpose.(3)

(3) A. Temple Patterson, Radical Leicester (1954), 143.
Leicester Journal 1st February 1822.

Yet indistinct as the corporate responsibilities were, many councils did evince a growing awareness of their role in town life, and their duties in the spheres of town improvement, the economic welfare of the town, and social relief to the poor and distressed. From about 1730, town improvements figured more and more in corporate business. In 1726 York built a magnificent Mansion House for the Lord Mayor, which was considered to provide a notable augmentation of the City's dignity. Eye-catching improvements of this nature intended to add to the grandeur of town and corporation alike were generally the first major improvements to be made. Nottingham between 1725 and 1728 also rebuilt the town exchange, and the shambles adjoining, but other more necessary improvements soon followed. In 1742, Boston Council rebuilt the town bridge, and street widening schemes, and the construction of new roads, soon followed in all three boroughs. From the mid eighteenth century such schemes made increasing financial demands on all three councils, but within the last thirty years of their existence they undertook large scale alterations which were a quite unprecedented financial drain on their resources. In 1814 the shambles at Nottingham were rebuilt and the Exchange improved at a total cost, by 1824, of £15,000(4) which exceeded five times the annual ordinary revenue.

(4) These improvements, and their cost, together with those following will be discussed at greater length in Section III.

This was followed in 1826 by the improvement of the Market Place at a cost of some £2,000, and in 1833 the municipal commissioners discovered that over this period of nineteen years, £29,278 had been laid out in repairs and improvements on the corporate estates and in the town.(5) At York too improvements were made at this time in the state of the markets: a new Cattle market was constructed outside the walls at a cost exceeding £10,000 (1826-31) and in 1834 the scheme for Parliament Street Market was put in hand. In addition the corporation contributed under act of Parliament over £5,000 to the rebuilding of Ouse bridge, and undertook the rebuilding of Foss Bridge and Layerthorpe Bridge (1829 30), bringing the total bill between 1811 and 1833 to even more than the £29,000 which the municipal commissioners estimated.(6)

In Boston too the corporation between 1803 and 1807 expended more than £22,000 in constructing a new iron bridge over the Witham. A further £14,000 was spent erecting the new Assembly Rooms and Corn, Poultry and Butter markets, and further improvements brought the total bill between 1801 and 1833 to £48,529.(7)

(5) MCR 2000

(6) MCR 1757

(7) MCR 2158

The money to meet such demands could be raised only by extraordinary means. With rental income reaching only £4,000 per annum by the close of the period, and producing less than £2,000 per annum in 1800 (Boston and York almost £2,000, Nottingham only £1,500 by decennial average)(7a), it is clear that large sums of money had to be raised by other means. The inadequacy of the rental income to provide for extraordinary payments in the nature of improvements and other unexpected bills, became apparent early in the period; but from the late eighteenth century the position became acute. In any case, the rental income was already consumed in day to day administration, which, in its turn, was becoming more expensive. Legal costs mounted hugely as the Corporations faced greater challenges to their rights and privileges; and social relief, taxation and assessments, increased markedly during the years of the Napoleonic Wars. No longer able to meet their commitments with the financial means provided them, the three councils turned more and more to extraordinary forms of revenue provided by alienations of the corporate estates and

(7a) Appendices I and III.

heavy borrowing. But if the rental income was already ill-adapted to the corporate requirements, loans and property sales only worsened the position. A decreasing annual income was the inevitable repercussion from property sales, while the interest payable on loans pushed up the annual commitments still further. Before 1835 the town councils at Boston, Nottingham and York faced serious and seemingly intractable financial problems.

Before resorting to the more drastic measures of loans and property sales however, the corporation at York turned firstly to the exploitation of what was in the other two boroughs essentially an irregular but ordinary source of revenue, namely the income derived from payments for admission to the freedom. Admission to the burghesship of a corporation rested on qualifications which varied considerably from borough to borough, but excluding honorary elections, there were three standard methods of entry. The most common was perhaps by birthright, whereby certain of a freeman's children were entitled to receive their freedom at the age of twenty-one. Probably equally well used was the right of entry after serving

a seven year apprenticeship with another burgess. Since however the burgesship was invariably a prerequisite of trade, it was necessary to make provision for persons who did not fall into the above two categories; and it was therefore possible to "redeem" one's freedom. Legally a corporation could not sell a part of its own franchise, but it could admit members on the payment of a fee, and in practice therefore, this was simply a matter of purchasing the burgesship.(8)

By 1833 the number of freemen within the town population had in most boroughs drastically declined.(9)

<u>Borough.</u>	Pop:of Mun: Borough.	Freemen-resident and non-resident	Borough	Pop.of Mun.Boro'	Freemen resident & non-
Cambridge	20,917	194	Newcastle on-Tyne	42,760	4,000
Chester	21,363	1,550	Norwich	61,096	3,460
Exeter	28,285	586	Oxford	19,370	1,408
Ipswich	20,454	1,130	Plymouth	31,080	437
Hull	36,293	2,631	Portsmouth	46,282	102
Leicester	40,512	4,500	Wigan	20,774	166
Liverpool	165,175	5,000	Worcester	18,590	2,800

(8) Qualifications of Admission:-

Boston: Birth - All sons of Aldermen and the eldest sons of common councilmen on attaining the age of 21 years.

Apprenticeship: 7 years servitude to a freeman within the borough.
(2/C/1 5.9.1653; MCR 2152)

Nottingham: Birth the eldest son of a freeman born in Nottingham on attaining the age of 21. This privilege does not pass to the next son if the eldest dies.

Apprenticeship: 7 years to a freeman within the borough or for freemens' younger sons, an apprenticeship to any person anywehre. (MCR 1993)

York: Birth. Every child born after the father has become a freeman, on attaining the age of 21.

Women lose their freedom upon marrying a non-burgess.

Apprenticeship: 7 years to a free person in the City.

(MCR 1741)

(9) S & B Webb, The Manor & The Borough (1963) 391; MCR 33

In York in 1831 in a population of 25,359 only 2,400 (10)(9.5%) were resident freemen, and in Nottingham and Boston the percentage was even lower. In Nottingham resident burgesses numbered only 2,295 in a population of 50,610 (11) (4.5%), while at Boston only 480 of the population of 11,240 were resident freemen (4.26%)(12) But although the numbers were declining relatively to the population, they were not necessarily declining absolutely. At York and Nottingham at least, the main reason for the increase in the numbers of non-freemen was not a relaxation of the bye laws governing trading, but a change in the composition of the town populations, which saw a heavy increase, particularly at Nottingham, in the numbers of journeymen - hirelings - who by working for a manufacturer escaped the denomination of "trader".

Indeed, many boroughs until 1835, staunchly maintained their bye laws concerning eligibility by burgess-ship to trade. There were after all, strong economic reasons behind the existence of such laws, for they ensured a corporate control over all aspects of trading from quality control to trading hours, and enabled too a control over qualifications to trade and a rudimentary exercise of economics:- the numbers of practitioners in any trade could be loosely regulated.

But other reasons for the protection of these bye laws

(10) MCR . 1757 , 1740

(11) T.Cockayne, op. cit., 9; MCR . 1985

(12) MCR 2151, 2164

came increasingly to the fore. The only persons unlikely to take up their freedoms were after all those who, not being eligible by other means, must purchase the honour. At York economic considerations became an increasingly important, if not primary, objective in the law suits threatened and conducted against unfree traders. At Nottingham however, although the Hall ordered in 1698 that "specyall care shalbee taken to prosecute and suppress all forrainers from and for vseing any trade within the said Towne, and also all others who shall vse any Trade in the said towne vnto wch they haue not served as an apprntice within the said Towne, tho' he or they be a Burges or Freeman of the said Towne", (13) nevertheless it appears that the effectiveness of the order was not turned to economic ends. Following consultation with Robie Sherwin (Attorney) in 1702 (14) a bye-law was promulgated against unfree traders in March 1710/11, (15) but when faced with the possibility of turning this law to other purposes it was decided in 1717, that despite the heavy debts, the privilege of burgess-ship would not be degraded by allowing wholesale purchase of the freedom. The resolution was entered in the Hall Book that "The question being putt whether or no this Corporacon shall Admitt any psons to purchase their Freedoms in order towards

(13) NHB 3465f20

(14) NHB 3469f25

(15) NHB 3477f4a "This day a Bylaw for the restraining Forraignes Trading in this Town had by consent of this hall the Comon Seale Affixt to itt in order to be presented to the Judge att the next Assizes for his Allowance of the same".

paying the Corporacons Debts itt was carryed in the Negative by the Majority of Votes".(16) Instead it was agreed that one of the shares in the Waterworks and the corporate estate at Mansell Park should be sold.(17) By 1729 however a committee was appointed to "consider of fit psons to whom this Corporacon may sell or give their Freedom and for what consideracon"(18) As a result, the income from purchased freedoms rose from nothing in the two previous years to £27 in 1728/9 and £75 in the following year. But this increase was not sustained. Although there was an income of £97.12.0 from this source in 1732/3 the total fluctuated considerably from year to year,(19) and the absence of litigation together with the severe fluctuation in the number of purchased freedoms, would suggest that there were at Nottingham no sustained attempts to enforce non burgesses to take up their freedoms.(20) This is probably not surprising in consideration of the rapid population increase in the borough, which inevitably rendered detection a greater problem. In fact, there may never have been undue corporate concern over this problem. In the earlier period, and particularly during the eighteenth century, a substantial number of freedoms were purchased, suggesting a

(16) NHB 3480/16a

(17) NHB 3480/1

(18) NHB 3488/8 February 4th 1729

(19) See Appendix VI

(20) During the earlier part of the seventeenth century, the council many times evinced their concern over the problem of unfree tradesmen. In March 1646-7 it was ordered that "...the shopp windowes of all persons that trade in this towne who are not sworn burgesses shalbe forthwith shutt up".(NBR v p 248) and in June 1647 two men were restrained for "béeinge noe burgesses". (NBR V p 251) but such action appears rarely to have occurred during the 175 years after the Restoration.

concern or need amongst traders to comply with regulations, but from 1820 purchases were constantly low. The corporation at Nottingham clearly took no excessive advantage of their rights.

A similar attitude was evident at Boston too. Again bye laws had been promulgated against the exercise of trade by non-freemen. In 1653 the council fixed a penalty of 10/- upon all unfree trading (21), and in 1745 all non-freemen found selling goods outside the mart yard, which as a market place was open to all tradesmen, were to be fined no less than £2.(22) In the following year, continued trading by non-freemen was so prevalent that the common council ordered all such offenders to either take up their freedoms or be prosecuted,(23) but even this order had little effect, for in 1764, and again three years later, committees were appointed to look into the matter.(24) Yet despite this apparent concern to uphold the bye laws, it would appear that the council did not for long actively prevent the abuse. The last prosecution for trading whilst unfree seems to have been as early as 1736,(25) and purchased freedoms never figured to any significant degree in the Chamberlains' accounts. As at both Nottingham and York, in the years immediately preceeding a Parliamentary election, some considerable use was made of the

(21) 2/C/1 5. 9.1653

(22) BAB 5f512

(23) BAB 5f514

(24) BAB 6f6,29

(25) P. Thompson, The History and Antiquities of Boston (1856) 306,7

purchased freedom. At Boston the number of Freedoms bought rose from a customary one or less to four between May 1700-01 (election Feb. 1701) and to six between May 1704-5 (presumably after the dissolution of parliament in April 1705). Again in 1713/14 purchased freedoms jumped from virtually none per annum to eight. (Election Feb. 1714) This tendency became less apparent as the eighteenth century progressed, but at Nottingham and York election years continued to see heavy increases in the number of Freedoms purchased. The election of 1802 occasioned noticeable increases in both boroughs. (26)

In Boston provision had in fact been made for persons who wished to qualify for a vote as holding the burgesship of the borough, by granting the freedom to residents who did not trade, for £5. (27) By the mid eighteenth century however, the general purchase price was £20, but in 1790 a representation from the freemen at large claimed that if Freemen by purchase were allowed to vote for Members of Parliament, then the purchase price should be increased yet more, to £40. (28) This was duly done, and by 1800 a further ten pounds had been added to the price. By contrast the council at Nottingham adopted a policy during the early

(26) Appendix VI

(27) BAB 5P334 1719/20 26th January (Tradesmen after 1707 paid £10)

(28) P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 306-7

eighteenth century of creating large numbers of honorary freemen purely for the purpose of securing the return of the corporate candidate at general elections.(29)

Although however freedoms continued to be purchased at both Boston and Nottingham, either for eligibility to trade in the borough or to secure a vote, they did not contribute significantly to the corporate income, and remained an erratic source of revenue. At Nottingham only four freedoms were purchased during the last fifteen years of the old corporation's existence, and in both boroughs the annual figures were constantly low.

This decline in enrolments by purchase was undoubtedly connected with the lack of concern in both boroughs to enforce the trading bye-laws. At York however, campaigns against unfree traders formed a regular part of corporate business. There were explicit bye laws restricting trading to freemen, and in 1615 the council financially indemnified the officers who supported these regulations:- "Whereas severall unfreemen do drive Trades within this City to the prejudice of those that are Freemen, it is therefore ordered, that when the Goods of any unfreemen by them sold to Foreigners can be seized, if the owners....shall bring any action for such seizure....the charge of such suit shall

(29) eg; 1820-21 491 honorary freemen were created by the Corporation

be borne by the Chamberlain....."(30). The records thereafter until 1835, bear evidence of constant litigation on the subject. In 1664 it was ordered that Thomas Taylor "of Fosbrigg. being noe Freeman be arrested at the suite of the Maior and Commanlty"(31), and in 1708, whereas many foreigners and strangers had been "tradg contrary to ancient customs....being unfree" a Forty shilling fine was to be levied for each offence.(32) In 1678 a campaign was pursued against such offenders which was followed by a temporary, but marked rise, in the number of admissions,(33) producing in the following year £113.(34) But the eighteenth century witnessed much more concerted efforts to apprehend the misdemeanants. In 1707 John Terry was to "be sued att the Citys Charge for not making himself a free brother of the Whitesmiths Company.....of which he has....been severall Times Adnonished and advised thereto"(35) and in 1734 the first of many committees was established to enquire into the number of unfree tradesmen.(36) The most successful of those which followed (37) was appointed on November 1st 1775, as a result of which, action was brought against a large number of offenders. Unfortunately the case was lost on a legal technicality for the corporation carelessly claimed that its jurisdiction extended to the whole city including the liberties;

(30) F. Drake, op. cit., II 96

(31) Y 352/D5

(32) Y 352/D5

(33) YHB 38f149

(34) YCAB 1679/80

(35) YHB 41f22a 5th January 1707

(36) YHB 42f187, 193

(37) In 1754 YHB 43 f 467; 1773&1775 YHB 44 ff 321, 362;

1784 YHB 45 f 168; 1793 YHB 46 f 28

but on the court's recommendation many unfreemen took up their burgesship. The corporation subsequently maintained a trifling differentiation between the trouble makers who had waited for the results of the legal actions and those who had given in graciously. The latter - 84 in all - were obliged to pay only £25 each (38) for their freedoms, but the former had to forfeit £30 on the lines of "Daile Dorothy of York Spinster who in consequence of the Evidence given at this Assizes in the cause against David Phillip and who before such Tryal would not submit but now petitioned for her freedom and it was granted by the comtee for £30".(39) The unfortunate subject of the court case was obliged to pay £35. The reward for the committee's trouble was an increased income of £2,490 in 1776/7, but as the committee admitted:- "as it always has been, so it will ever continue impossible to find out, or if found out to compel, every individual who may be liable, to purchase his or her freedom, from the various causes of poverty, contrivance, secretion, connivance and deceit".(40) The report listed no less than 239 offenders but despite frequent orders and numerous prosecutions, only a percentage of the eligible freemen were apprehended.

The cost to which the corporation was put by these numerous prosecutions was heavy. In prosecuting the suits in 1776 the corporation expended over £575,(41) and in 1820

(38) YCAB 57

(39) Ibid

(40) YHB 44f385 *

(41) YCAB 57

(40 *) It is noticeable that after 1776, the receipts from "fines for permission to trade" rose markedly. These fines, received as an acknowledgment from those persons who were, for varying reasons, allowed to trade without actually being free, had previously been of negligible amount, but in 1777/8 they realised £22. The receipts from this source soon declined rapidly however and by 1803 they ceased to yield any return.

one such suit against William Wellbank cost £940.19s.11d., of which only £446.10s.0d. was ultimately recouped in taxed costs.(42)

Yet the Corporation clearly still reaped a profit and there can be little doubt that financial gain was a strong motive behind this vigilance. In 1758 a committee was appointed to "enquire what sum of Money will be wanted to pay off and discharge the City debts... and how and by what means the same can be raised".(43) At the next house, together with an order for the sale of wood at Laxton and the procuring of £400 in loans, there was noted the admission of eleven men to the freedom at £25 each, and one freeman with exemption from offices of Chamberlain and Sheriff for £150.(44) Indeed, it seems strange coincidence that in this year, the income from burgesships jumped from an average of £400 to £805.(45)

Certainly by the nineteenth century the council at York had come to rely on the large number of purchased freedoms as a regular annual income. The sum received was generally large, averaging over the first twenty years of the century, over £550 per annum.(46) (This includes Burgesses by apprenticeship who paid £1 each on enrolment, and by patrimony, 6s/8d). However this high revenue was not maintained without perseverance. In 1816 a list of

(42) YCAB 1822/3, 1823/4

(43) YIB 44f67 November 6th 1758.

(44) YIB 44f68, 69 29th November 1758

(45) YCAB passim. and 1758/9

(46) Appendix VI

non freemen trading was ordered to be compiled,(47) and two months later writs were sent to thirty-six people who had not taken notice of the warning.(48)

With the returns so high, it is not surprising that the finance committee noted with concern the sudden drop in purchased freedoms during the financial year 1833/34. The committee observed that "although expenditure had very considerably exceeded the annual revenue, necessitating a recourse to the lease fund, this was not a result of increases in ordinary expenditure, but was "attributable to the very serious falling off in the last years' Revenue as compared with that of the preceeding years":- freedoms, which had over the last thirteen years averaged £880 p.a., had produced only £86.(49) It is with evident relief that the same committee could record a revenue of over £500 from freedoms in the following year.(50) The purchase of freedoms at York was quite clearly a most important, if fluctuating, source of revenue, upon which the corporation heavily, but unwisely, relied. This form of income was after all entirely unpredictable, often rising sharply prior to an election. True at York the income from burgesships never dropped to nil as at Boston and Nottingham, but the experience of 1833 was only one of many such, which forcibly demonstrated the uncertainty of this form of revenue.

(47) B77 25th March 1816

(48) E 77 9th May 1816

(49) K110 February 3rd 1834

(50) K110 February 3rd 1835

Inevitably York was not the only borough where the retention of the bye-laws governing trading qualifications became financially motivated. At Beverley legal proceedings against unfree traders featured regularly in Corporation transactions (54) and the income from freedoms was substantial.(55)

Concomitantly with the campaigns against non-burgess traders, boroughs steadily raised the price of purchased freedom. The fixing of the price was always somewhat capricious, being regulated according to the ability of the purchaser to pay, or the needs of the corporate coffers. In Beverley in 1662, Wm.Camp, a joiner, had to pay £6.13s.4d, but Roger Brown, a carrier, paid only £5. (56)

(54) K.A.MacMahon, "Beverley Corporation Minute Books 1707-1835," Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series CXXII 141,142 & passim.

(55) An Analysis for 1811 to 1832 cannot be abstracted because J. Willis, the Treasurer, included other items.

Beverley Account Books:-		Income from purchased Freedoms, Beverley	
1792	£132	1798	£293
1793	£193	1799	£518
1794	£185	1800	£431
1795	£145	1801	£181
1796	£643	1811	£1,111
1797	£453	1832	£312

(56) J.Dennet, "Beverley Borough Records 1575-1821," Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series LXXXIV 127,128

(footnotes 51 to 53 inclusive, omitted)

At Norwich the price was even less justly fixed, being dependent solely upon the political affinities of the candidate, and the "party" preponderance within the bicameral council. Thus, while the Tories held the balance within the Assembly from 1827 to 1832, Tory non-burgesses paid only £9.0s.6d. for their own redemption, but Whigs paid £17.16s.4d.(57) On the other hand, the charitable inclinations of the councils did, at times, come to the fore. At York in 1710 a remission of £5 was made by the Lord Mayor after a £20 (58) redemption had been paid, but the Corporation took full advantage of the situation when they could. At York in 1750, John Smith was given his freedom in part payment for providing a new clock on Ouse Bridge Hall (59), and in 1757 John Carr had £25 deducted from his bill for work at the Pikeing Well, in return for his freedom.(60) Similar examples are to be found at Nottingham too, where in 1792 it was ordered "that the Exchange be painted by Mr. Samuel Stretton in case the said Samuel Stretton be willing to accept the freedom of the corporation as

(57) S & B. Webb, The Manor and the Borough (1963) II 551

(58) YCAB 1751/52

(59) YCAB 1751/2

(60) YCAB 1757/58 ; C39f12 & YHB 43 f318. In 1740 William Aspinall was given his freedom gratis in return for supplying a Turkey Carpet for the Mansion House. YHB 43 f43

a consideration for the same".(61) It would have been most impolitic to refuse!

On occasions, the freedom was in fact given gratis for the purpose of encouraging under-represented traders in the town (62), but these were far outweighed by purchases and as the councils came to realise the importance of purchased freedoms within the borough income, the redemption was given a minimum price, which was steadily raised. At York apprentices paid only £1 on enrolling their freedom, (£1.6.8d for Bakers after 1722/23), and for claimants by birthright, there was no fine involved (only certain fees payable to the Town Clerk), although bakers and members of certain other trades after 1722 paid 6/8d on admission.(63) But for a purchaser, the price could be very high indeed. Until 1694, the cost of a redemption was variable; in 1661 the fines varied from £3.6.8d to £8, but by 1692 they had risen to between £7 and £15, and in January 1694 it was ordered that "Whereas the admitting of strangers and Forreigners to ye Freedom of this City for small fynes hath by

(61) NHB 3551f39 and eg. NHB 3546f20. 1787

(62) eg. 1709/10 York Freedom given to several workers in the new cloth manufactory (YCAB 30) and YHB 12.9.1740, Richard Prestwick, a "thread throwster" admitted to his freedom gratis "there being no person in this City who exercises that manufacture which by this means may be established here....."

(63) YCAB passim. 1722/23 In 1770/1 a Tallow Chandler paid 6/8d for admission by patrimony.

long Experience been found not only prejudiciall to the Citizens in generall by bringing upon them a Burden to the maintainance of such strangers soe made free and their Familyes as have fallen into Poverty, But Allsoe a great discouragement in Trade to such of the Citizens as have heretofore taken their Freedoms by Patrimony or Service" in future therefore "noe stranger shall hereafter be admitted to purchase his Freedom of this City under the Fyne or rate of twenty pounds at the least", their sons being permitted to claim by patrimony only on payment of a further small fine.(64) This ruling in fact proved to be applicable to all who wished to purchase their freedoms, with discretion exercised in exceptional circumstances. By 1720 however, £25 was the usual fee, and this remained the ordinary charge until 1833. This was by no means excessive in comparison with other boroughs. At Nottingham the fine was not fixed until 1805, but it was then established at £31.10.0., and raised again in 1817 to a minimum of forty guineas.(65) Throughout most of the eighteenth century however, the ordinary purchase price was usually £15 or £20, rising to £21 by 1795. At Beverley however, resolutions were constantly taken on the cost of freedoms until by 1825 it had risen to a minimum of seventy guineas,(66) exclusive of fees,

(64) YHB 39f73

(65) NHB 3564f52; 3576f125-126

(66) BMB passim and 131

and at Hull, although there were only thirteen applications for the purchase of the freedom between 1823-33; the price varied between £100 and £300.(67)

These moreover were only the ordinary purchase prices. The Councillors were fully alive to the potentiality behind the prospective civic or parliamentary candidate. Accordingly these were mulcted for far heavier fines than the mere tradesmen. The corporation at Nottingham appear not to have pursued this rather disloyal policy, but instead courted the affections of these important borough representatives by conferring upon them honorary freedoms. When Joseph Burn was thus privileged in 1802 "in consequence of his having been yesterday chosen a Representative in Parliament for the Town"(68), it was specifically ordered not to be taken as a precedent, although this procedure had regularly been adopted in the past.(69) At Boston too, borough M.P's were sometimes accorded honorary freedoms, but as early as 1719 the purchase price of a freedom for a prospective parliamentary candidate was raised to £50. This sum was doubled in 1790 and increased to £125 in 1800.(70)

At York however, as too at Beverley and Hull, the prospective parliamentary candidates putting up for their

(67) MCR 1550

(68) NHB 3561f66 July 15th 1802

(69) e.g. 1710 John Borlace Warren and Thos.Mansfield NHB 3470f22
1785 D.Parker Coke NHB 3544f30

(70) P. Thomson, *op.cit.*, 306,7

freedoms were fined heavy sums. At Beverley the council agreed in 1825 that the minimum for such purchasers should be two hundred guineas (71), which Capel Cure and Henry Burton accordingly paid in 1830 (72), and at York, Parliamentary candidates had long paid £150, Robert Fairfax paying that sum in 1713.(73) These heavy payments did however exonerate these men from serving in any corporate office as well as purchasing the freedom.

The income from purchased freedoms early became in many boroughs therefore, a substantial and important form of annual income.(74) This was by no means so in all boroughs and at Liverpool there had apparently been no provision for the purchase of the freedom since 1792. The electoral consequences were loudly complained of, professional men being largely excluded. (out of two hundre surgeons it was claimed that only seven were freemen), but it would appear that the council had not surrendered an annual income of any importance for these sales produced only £626.9.10d between 1773/1792.(75) But at York it is quite evident from the reports of the Finance Committee that a severe drop in revenue from this source played havoc with the accounts. Freedoms had come to be increa ingly used as a source of ordinary annual income.

(71) BLB 131

(72) BTB 139

(73) YCAB 1713-14

(74) MCR 2709,2712

(75) At Leicester the corporation had even manipulated the Thos. White loan fund to this purpose. Intended as interest free loans to enable burgesses to set up in business, the corporation developed the habit of granting them primarily to publicans who then had to purchase their freedoms at £35 in order to trade. Out of 738 of these trust loans granted between 1800-33, no less than 203 were to licensed victuallers.

MCR 1916; S. & B. Webb, op. cit., II 480

Of an equally lucrative, and unreliable nature, was the income derived from fines paid by burgesses to secure resignation from, or avoid service in corporate office. For the privilege of a burgess-ship carried with it the onerous obligation of civic duties, the freemen being required to undertake any concillar position to which he might be elected.

This obligation was invariably supported by legal ratification in the form of local bye-laws or charters. (The Charter of Charles II making such provision at Nottingham) and accompanying this would be the power to levy some degree of fine on offenders. The purpose of this statutory backing was to ensure an upholding of the corporate dignity and a stability within the ruling body but, as with the purchasing of freedoms, there developed less disinterested motives behind the retention of these rulings.

At Nottingham, as at Doncaster (76) it again appears that the corporation, if alive to the potentialities behind this situation, did not exploit it. Throughout the entire period from 1660-1835 there does not appear to have been one instance of a fine being levied for exoneration from service in a corporate office. Resignations were numerous (77), and nominees were not infrequently excused from service; in 1739

(76) MCR 1496

(77) NHB 3508f11 December 2nd 1748; NHB 3560f37-8 March 24th 1801.
NHB 3590f90-91 28th July 1831

Samuel Wright was excused from serving as Chamberlain, he having occupied that Office for ten days,(78) and in September 1755, John Hornbuckle's resignation as Alderman was willingly accepted despite his having been nominated Mayor for the succeeding year.(79) But no consideration whatsoever was required from these men.

At Boston too, the Chamberlains accounts leave no evidence of regular fines being procured for refusal of Office, and neither does any direct evidence arise of the nomination to office of burgesses who would be unlikely to serve. Exoneration and resignation fines were however required. The bye laws formulated in 1753 imposed a fine of £100 for refusal to become Mayor, and in 1670 a scale of charges was established which required £20 for exemption from the office of common councillor (or eighteenth man), £20 for resignation from Aldermanic Office and £15 for resignation from the council.(80) In 1675 these fines were further increased to £40 for resignation or exoneration from the council and £60 for resignation from the Aldermanic benches.(81) That such fines were both demanded and paid is evident from the Hall books. In 1681 John Bell and Stephen Bridge were sued for

(78) NHB 3499F7

(79) NHB 3514F44

(80) 2/C/1 5th September 1653; 1670

(81) 2/C/1 19th August 1675

their penalties of £20 for "departing the house and refusing their offices" (82), in 1693 the Mayor demanded £40 from Samuel Preston for refusing to become a councillor, (83) and the Town Clerk received Samuel Preston's fine of £40 for refusing conciliar office. (84) The regularity of such fines cannot however be ascertained, for the Chamberlain rarely recorded them amongst his receipts. (85) This however was probably not because they rarely occurred, but rather because they were appropriated to different ends. In 1670 all sums raised by such fines were ordered to be "employed for the repairs of the Staithes and wharves" (86), and judging by the frequency of refusals to serve, the staithes must soon have been in excellent repair. When they were not thus appropriated to specific purposes, it seems likely that they were received into the "Treasury". This was a cash box held by the hall, into which various sources of revenue were paid. Thus in 1717 the "profits of the toll on Stickleback Oil" were ordered to be paid into the Treasury (87); in 1718 and 1719 the Butchery rents were placed there; the out rents were for many years received into the Treasury, together with the profits of the Mark yard (88) and until 1767/8 any balance held by either Chamberlain or

(82) BAB 3f520,521 (1668)

(83) BAB 4f175 (1693)

(84) BAB 4f396 (1730)

(85) Only one such occasion can be detected, in 1819 when an unstipulated receipt of £100 from Stephen Polloxson appears from evidence in the Hall Book to have been his fine for refusing the Mayoralty. DCAB 1818/19; 2/A/27 25th March 1819

(86) 2/C/1 1670

(87) BAB 10th April 1717 f 326

(88) BAB 5f329b, 330b, 332b, 333

or Election Bailiff at the year end, was transferred directly into the Treasury (89). From this accumulated fund numerous and varied payments were made; not least to eke out the Chamberlain or Election Bailiff's accounts. It seems therefore certain that although on occasions resignations were graciously accepted, as for example when John Betts resigned from the Mayoralty because of ill health (90); it was customary for fines to be imposed. To what extent the Corporation exploited the growing unwillingness to take civic office cannot really be ascertained.

At York however, not only were fines for exoneration and resignation persistently levied, but there without doubt developed the deliberate 'policy' of nominating and electing for office men known to be unwilling to serve. Between 1663 and 1688 more than forty burgesses bought an exemption from office and Sir Metcalf Robinson was probably not mistaken when he made allegations against the corporate integrity in these matters. He himself was proposed for the shrievalty and an aldermanic vacancy several years in succession despite the fact that as York's M.P. he would be absent from the borough for long periods.(91) During the following century, burgesses resident in the East and West

(89) BCAB passim.

(90) BAB 8 12th March 1801

(91) YHB 37 ff153,154,182,183

Ridings, Leicestershire and Lancashire, were frequently nominated for office.(92) Objections to service moreover were carefully investigated. In 1821 an affidavit was sent to a Mr.Allen stating that between 1799 and 1821 he had never been a lite (93) for sheriff and therefore his answer to the Lord Mayor "that he had a similar message sent to him 15 years ago", must be an error.(94) In 1781 however the council at York finally decided that the counsel of the 'best and most respectable' citizens was of greater value than the fines they could offer (95),and the practice of deliberately nominating unwilling candidates to aldermanic vacancies largely ceased.(96) Yet York was not alone in these dealings; the same policy is evident elsewhere. London was

(92) YMB41 ff40,43,74

(93) A lite was the name given to the nominee prior to election. It is probably derived from the word élite.

(94) E77 26.10.1821

(95) Ibid.

(96) By ancient custom the Chamberlains continued to pay £6.13s.4d each for exoneration from the offices of Bridge and Mure master. E34 ff586 - 592

notorious for its persecution of the wealthy non-conformist merchants.(98) The customary fine in London for refusal to serve as Sheriff was £400, and in 1748, in order to cover the costs of the new Mansion House, over £15,000 was levied in fines, largely from non-conformist nominees.(99) The appropriation of the shrievalty fines to the Mansion House building costs resulted from the resolution in 1728, that "all money that shall hereafter be paid as a fine for not holding the Office of Sheriff shall be appointed for the building of a Mansion House". By 1736 the "London Magazine" reported that "By an exact list of Persons who have fin'd for the Office of Sheriff of London, there appears to be now in hand, deducting £500 paid to five Sheriffs in the years 1730 and 1732, the sum of £20,700 towards building a Mansion House for the Lord Mayor....." Indeed, the final cost of building and furnishing the Mansion House for occupation in 1752 was £70,955. of which all but £5,286 was raised from shrievalty fines which continued to be applied to this purpose until 1784.(100) The magnitude of this sum gives some indication of the council's success in nominating for office, unwilling candidates. But in 1767 the principal sufferers, the Dissenters, fought the question in the law courts (Chamberlain of London v Allen Evans) and secured

(98) S. & B. Webb, The Manor and the Borough (1963) I 392n.3

(99) S. & B. Webb, op.cit., II 392,671

(100) Lady Knill, The Mansion House (1937) 38,68,74

the abolition of the fines as contrary to the spirit of religious liberty.(1) Undaunted however, the corporation proceeded to nominate instead, busy merchants and bankers whose trade dictated against the time-consuming business of public office.

At Beverley too, there emerged a conscientious objector to such policies. In 1751 Abraham Sperin criticised the council for electing William Strickland as Alderman in the knowledge, apparently, that he would not be prepared to serve. Sperin was promptly ordered to be prosecuted in the Court of Kings Bench, for having "very scandalously vilified and abused the Mayor and Aldermen,....by representing them as rogues and pickpockets, and speaking other scandalous and opprobrious words against them....." Sperin in fact escaped prosecution by the submission of a most imprecise, but apparently acceptable, apology.(2)

The imposition of exoneration fines was to a large degree a reaction to the growing unwillingness of burghesses to serve in civic office. At Boston the position had become so acute that in 1670 a scale of fines was imposed because ".....seurall Aldmen & Comon Councillmen of this Borrough, forgetting that dutie which they owe to the maior & Burgesses, & give(ing) way to their owne exorbitant humers & passions have of late

(1) S. & B. Webb, *op.cit.*,II 392,671

(2) BBB 32,33

yeares contrary to the example of all former tymes without any just or reasonable cause & without consent of the said Maior & Burgesses, deputed from the service he oweth to the said Maior & Burgesses & refused to execute the office of Alderman & Comon Councill men["](3) Yet, despite more than doubling the fines in 1675, the hall was again obliged to reiterate the orders, since ".....the government of this Borrough cannot be upheld without a continuall supply of sober & discreet Burgesses.....(4)

The increasing reluctance to undertake civic office is not surprising, for the encroachment of civic obligations upon the time and money of a businessman could be a severe detriment to his trade. In 1684 the three governors of Beverley spent twenty-two weeks in London ^{Supplicating} for a renewed Charter (5), and it was the incompatibility of such demands with a working life which led to the constantly deepening rift between the civic officials and the very large body of merchants at Hull.(6) At Southampton the council in 1788 was reduced to appealing to the "Gentlemen of the Grand Jury" to become members. "....Diminished in number, we have lost nothing of that spirit which should ever accompany authority, and by which we are enabled to bear the burden of quick returning offices and to

(3) 2/C/1 1670

(4) 2/C/2 1677

(5) J.Dennet, *op.cit.*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series LXXXIV 173

(6) McGawtress, A report of the Inquiry into the State of the Corporation of Hull (1834)

despise the unjust reproach of being tenacious of our rights. If animated by the same spirit you accede to our wishes that burden will become light and that reproach will be heard no more".(7)

Apart from the time, the mere expenses of fulfilling the dignity of Office, were no small consideration,(8) and it was an understatement when, in speaking of the mayoralty the municipal commissioners at York stated :- "...the expenses attending the Office are very great".(9) Indeed, the fine for exemption was in many cases, infinitely preferable to the expenses involved in undertaking the office - to that extent the Corporate policy was quite just.

To some degree therefore, the increasing number of exonerations was a result of this growing reluctance to serve, but as burghesses became less willing to serve in office, and as exonerations came to play an increasingly important part in borough finance, the sums demanded increased steadily. By 1659 a minimum sum of £150 had already been fixed for exemption from the shrievalty at York,(10) but over the succeeding years it was reconsidered many times. Until 1710 the customary sum paid was only £100,(11) and in that year it was established at £70, in consideration that the expense of making feasts was "not so great as formerly".(12) At that sum it remained despite orders to the

(7) S. & B. Webb, op. cit., II 392

(8) For greater detail see chapter 11 Section iii

(9) AGR 1743

(10) VCH 184

(11) VCH 231

(12) ibid.

contrary, until in 1806 it was increased to one hundred guineas.(13) Exemption from the offices of Alderman and Mayor required a much heavier fine. In 1691 exemption from Aldermanic service was ordered to be obtainable only on payment of a fine of £200,(14) but abatements were common, and it is unclear whether the usual payments of £100 or £125 during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were for resignations or for exemptions. By 1729 however, one burghess paid £300; although £200 for exemption from the shrievalty, and sometimes all other offices, as well as the aldermanic office was not an uncommon payment. In support of the resolution of 1781 the aldermanic fine was raised to £500 in 1793.(15) It seems however, that this fee was never paid in entirety, £300 being the customary payment. But in any case, fines for Aldermanic exemption had by the nineteenth century become rare, the last such payment recorded in the accounts being in 1817. There is in fact no record at all in the accounts of the full fine being paid for exemption from the Mayoralty. This is not perhaps surprising, for in 1833 this consisted of a two-fold fine of £1,000 - £500 for not holding the office, and £500 for not occupying the Mansion House. It would have been interesting to see the reaction, had a refusal

(13) YCAB 1806

(14) VCH 184

(15) VCH 232

to stand been accompanied by a willingness to occupy the Mansion House! Refusals to undertake the Mayoralty did occur. In 1748 Sir John Lister Kaye was elected to the Mayoralty again, but on his request to resign, the standing Mayor replied in no uncertain terms that"as an Election has been made of you for Mayor....we have thereby executed all the powers we have and therefore cannot proceed to the Election of another Mayor, and for that Reason the acceptance of your Resignation of your Town will answer no purpose. And if it be impossible by means of your indisposition for you to be here upon the third of February to take upon you the office of Mayoralty and the accustomed oath...there is no way left but to apply to the Court of King's Bench....which will be a matter of great inconvenience and expense to the city....."(16)

The Council's displeasure was quite evident, and a fine of £500 was imposed on Kaye. He refused however to pay the money,(17) but met the costs of obtaining the writ mandamus to elect a new Mayor and offered a fine of £100, which was accepted.(18)

There appears however to have been only one further refusal, when in 1793 Henry Myers "did absolutely neglect and refuse" to attend to be sworn subsequent to his election. Again

(16) E 34f163,177-82; YHB 43f271-6

(17) YHB 43f263,264,271, 273-6

(18) YHB 43f285

a writ mandamus was applied for, which cost the corporation £30.13.8d, and a second election was made.(19) From the accounts, it appears that Myers never paid, despite the order of January 24th 1793 raising the fine.(20) The corporation experienced considerable difficulty too in enforcing the Chamberlains' fines. The first reaction occurred in January 1736 when the elected Chamberlains"severally refused to pay the....twenty nobles a piece, but offered to give the usual treat and be sworn in". Eight new Chamberlains were subsequently elected and sworn, but they too refused to pay their fines, and an action was commenced against Robert Wilton, one of the original Chamberlains.(21) Meanwhile, the council found it impossible to levy the customary fines from the Chamberlains, but at the Assizes in 1738 judgement was finally given for the corporation:-"therefore it is considered that the sd Mayor and Commonalty of the sd City of York recover agt the sd Robt Wilton their sd debt and their Damns afd to 40s.6d assessed by the sd Jurors in form afd. and also 336.19.6d for their costs & Charges...."(22) The suit had in fact cost the corporation £175.10.11d for the Town Clerk's bill,(23) but the defaulting Chamberlains of the past two years all paid their fines.(24) This incident was repeated in

(19) K30

(20) See 15

(21) E34f586-92; 600-607

(22) Assize rolls November 8747,48,49

(23) YHB 43f11

(24) YCAB 1738/9

1754, but the defaulting Chamberlains ultimately agreed to pay their fines although they never gave the customary feast.(25) But in 1784 refusal of two Chamberlains to pay their fines led to a further court case. On this occasion the taxed costs of £30.17.1d did pay the Town Clerk's bill, with 11/4d so spare.(26)

By 1833 therefore, the corporation at York had a scale of charges for exemption from office ranging, from £1,000 for the office of Mayor and not occupying a mansion house, to £400 for Aldermen, £150 for the Shrievalty and £10 for refusing to undertake the Chamberlainship.(27) (This £10 had been the customary fee since at least 1634,(28) but it was common to pay £150 for exemption from the offices of both Chamberlain and Sheriff). These rendered an annual income averaging £225 over the first thirty years of the nineteenth century and were not therefore highly lucrative. They were certainly not on a par with the returns to London Corporation which, between 1701-1752, amounted to £67,413 from the Shrievalty alone.(29) But they nevertheless proved a useful addition to the annual corporate income. Having decreasingly exacted fines in the forty years after 1740, the corporation at York was obliged however, under the strains of the Napoleonic era to have increasing recourse to this form of revenue until 1835.(30)

(25) YHB 43/438,446,450

(26) YHB 45/179

(27) MCR 1741

(28) YCAB 1694/5

(29) S. & B. Webb, *op.cit.*, II 671

(30) see appendix VI

Yet if at Boston and Nottingham the councils did not use freedom and exoneration fines in the same manner as York Corporation, these two councils did have alternative funds which could prove a buffer in times of financial need. The basis of these funds was the numerous charitable bequests which, by 1830 had made all three corporations trustees for valuable and extensive charitable holdings. York corporation, by 1830, acted as trustee to over forty charitable trusts and three loan funds;(31) Nottingham by 1830 was trustee to eleven charities including the Bridge and School Estates and a substantial loan fund (32), and Boston was in 1830 trustee to nine charities payable annually from bequests and three loan funds totalling £82 (33). The Corporation at York held the most extensive charitable bequests of all three boroughs. As early as 1690 the basic stock amounted to £2,695 (34), and by 1830 this had swelled to over £6,120 in cash or landed property, and £5,189.1s.6d in government consols.(35) However at both Boston and Nottingham the corporations were entrusted with the management of charity funds which received substantial income annually from lands and privileges left by endowment, namely the Trecton Estate at Boston

(31) MCR 1753

(32) MCR 2001 - 2004

(33) MCR 2158,2159

(34) YCAB and Chamberlain's roll 1690

(35) YCAB 1830; MCR 1753,1754

and the Bridge and School Estates at Nottingham.(36)

In these more substantial endowments and loan funds there lay ample opportunity and temptation for the three Corporations to seek financial support for their own civic coffers. Much was said by the Charity Commissioners in the 1830's about the maladministration and misappropriation of Trust funds by Municipal Trustees;(37) and it would seem that their observations were not without substance.

At both Nottingham and York the civic authorities administered wealthy loan funds which were derived from bequests by Sir Thomas White, Merchant Tailor and Alderman of the City of London, but neither borough in 1835 had the full amount on loan or in hand which the regular endowment would have provided.

At York £104 had been received every twenty-fourth year since 1577, excepting the loss of four years during the Civil War. Before the last payment to the unreformed council in 1820 there should have been, therefore, some £1,040 in the loan fund, but the Charity Commissioners reported that only £750 remained(38) and by 1830 this had decreased still further to £625.(39) The later deficiency was a result of legal costs arising from a suit

(36) see above Chapter 2

(37) e.g. Boston Charity Commissioners Report(1837) 8 - 13

(38) York Charities Y360 acc. 19251 Sir Thomas White's gift;K87(A)

(39) MCR 1753

against Bristol Corporation to secure the due payment of York's portion of the bequest (40) for which the Hall ordered, in 1823, that £125 worth of bonds owing to the Charity should be used.(41) But since accounts of the loan fund no longer remain, the reason for the rest of the deficiency cannot be determined. Inadequate security from borrowers undoubtedly accounted for some of it, and some may have found its way into the civic funds. The Charity Commissioners however concluded that "the deficiency has existed for a very long period of time" (42) the fund after all, spanned a period of over two hundred and forty years.

At Nottingham however, a far greater deficiency had arisen, and the inadequate method of accounting for the fund within the Chamber finances undoubtedly accounted for some proportion of the money. The genuine concern which the Corporation came to feel for exemplary administration was clearly, if rather piously, expressed by the committee appointed in 1797 to investigate the state of the charity's funds. Concluding candidly that "the methods heretofore pursued in conducting this business, have been radically defective, in as much as they have not been calculated to prevent abuse or to correct error so essentially necessary to the management of public concerns", the committee proceeded to make practical suggestions for managerial improvement, including a standing bond

(40) 187()

(41) YCA3 1823/4

(42) York Charities Y360 acc.19251

committee to examine the loan transactions, and a clerk "with a salary not exceeding £5 per annum; for more speedy and correct management of this business".(43) From this attitude it would be fair to assume that conscious misappropriation had played no part in the relationship between the Charity and Corporate funds; but nevertheless the Committee had discovered a deficiency of £663.8s.1½d. The total balance should have been £9,763.8s.1½d yet only £9,100 remained in bonds and unallotted monies.

£181.7s.4½d of this deficiency the committee claimed, had been appropriated by the Chamber from the surplus left in the Charity account, and the transferral of the money can be readily traced from the Chamberlains' accounts between 1723 and 1799.(44)

Balance of Thomas White's Loan Fund remaining in the Corporate funds after each quadrennial payment:-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1723/4	nil	1748/9	£13.4s.4d		
1728/9	£8	1758/9	14.13.4d	1783/4	£10.7s.3d
1733/4	nil	1768/9	30. 4.0d	1788/9	29.8. 3d
1738/9	nil	1773/4	35. 6.4½d	1793/4	30.0. 0d
1743/4	£30.13s.11d.	1778/9	3.17.7d		

1750: Profit remaining from a dividend received on a sale on the Thomas White Estate: £7.4s.4½d

Total £212.19s.3½d.

Deficit on Thomas White money received.

1753/4	£6. 7s.0d		
1763/4	£12.17s.0d		
1798/9	<u>3. 6s.7d</u>		
	<u>22. 1s.2d</u>	Balance owing to the loan fund.	<u>£190.18s.2¾d</u>

(43) NHB 3559 ff26 - 40

(44) These figures differ slightly from the Committee's. This is accounted for in the profit in 1750 and a small discrepancy in the figures for 1768 and 1773.

NCAB 1523,1524

In addition, a further £460 had been absorbed by the corporation between 1732&53 by the application of several bonds to corporate purposes as they became due. Only £22.0.9d therefore remained unaccounted for, and virtually the whole of the deficit had occurred through civic appropriation. The members of the Hall however remained dissatisfied. The task had not been easy owing to the deficiencies of the accounting system, but Nottingham was apparently better than some boroughs. Having written to Coventry for information regarding the payments due to the fund between 1710&1720, the committee "after much delay" reported "that the books and papers and other documents respecting that charity were found to be in so confused a state at that period that they were not able to give us a satisfactory answer".(45) However in 1801 the bond committee made corrections to the first report which increased the total deficiency to £713.6.7½d, but gave credit to the corporation for £214.1.6d paid to Robie Sherwin, Attorney, for further costs in a protracted case against Coventry for a larger share in the increased productivity of the estate. (1697-1724).(46) The Thomas White money received in 1707 in fact went direct to Sherwin: "whereas the City of Coventry the 16th day of June last entered into one bond to t is corporation for the payt of £260 with interest.....And whereas Mr. Sherwin hath now paid to this corporation the sum of £49.10.6 which with the sum of £214,1,6 before mentioned to be due to the said Mr. Sherwin amounts to the full sum of £263.18.0 being the whole money due on the said bond -

(45) NRB 3559, 26-40

(46) CCR Nottingham 483

it is therefore ordered that the said Mr. Sherwin do receive the Money due on the said bond to his own use".(47)

This transaction amply illustrates the difficulties in attempting to trace the apportionment of the charity trust, yet in 1802 a third committee succeeded in completely reversing the situation, and placed the trust as debtor to the corporation in the sum of £192.10.7d.(48) Their findings were based more on conjecture, albeit reasonable, than on factual evidence. Certainly it seems likely that the costs in the protracted case against Coventry were largely paid from the corporate estate. The committees debited the charity account with £614.1.4 (49) expenses in this case, but the total legal costs which can be elucidated from accounts and vouchers remaining, amount to £1,012. 13. 2d. (50) This clearly indicates that corporate appropriation may not account for the entire deficiency in the funds.

To the public however, it was the facility with which the council could retain large proportions of the loan fund in hand, and then borrow from it, which was most disturbing. At York the balance in the loan funds (Thomas White's, Loveland's, Johnson's) was for many years used as part of the Chamber income. In 1830 however, the finance committee apparently realized the ineligibility

(47) 4051 V 2 Replaced by a bond for £333.17.0 in 1711

(48) NHB 3561f33-52

(49) NHB 3559f26-40; 3561f33-52

(50) 4051 I to IV; NCAB & Vouchers passim.

of the situation and submitted "... the propriety of directing some public notice to be given to the freemen either by advertizement or otherwise that these moncoys are ready to be let at the usual terms, in order that the intentions of the respective donors may be duly carried into effect".(51) At that time £327.10.0 remained unappropriated in these funds, and this decreased little, but thereafter the committee always recommended in their annual report, that sufficient money be kept in hand to meet any calls upon the loans fund.(52)

At the beginning of the century the council did however pay first cost on loans from these funds. In 1731 the loan fund consisted of £15,838 but only £10,005 was lent out to tradesmen. Of the remainder, £2,400 had been lent to the Chamber of Trade, and £300 to the Lambley estate. Now, although the current rate of interest was between four and five per cent, the corporation paid only three per cent, and for this they claimed to be doing the charity a favour, since bank interest stood at only two percent ! (53)

Although the unappropriated balance was large there seems little evidence which gives credence to Mr Aubigny Hilton's allegation that "with a view that to appropriate a certain the Charity Funds, the corporation have had or frivolous and unfounded pretexts of the negligibility of parties and inadequacy of sureties

(51) K 110 Feb.3rd 1830 .

(52) K 110 Feb.3rd 1831 and successive general reports

(53) MCR 2003; T.Cockayne, op.cit., 14

and on undue and improper motives refused and declined many fit and proper persons".(54)

The refusal of loans for inadequate sureties indeed occurred, for upon the recommendation of the committee to enquire into the fund, a bond committee was appointed to examine and approve all sureties, and the conditions of all bonds since "many inconveniences and much injustice have arisen from various partialities and extension of Time.... & Sir Thomas White's intentions defeated by the allotment of money to persons who have no means of making use of it themselves".(55) At the 1833 enquiry it was in fact the lack of advertizement of the available funds which was considered by the public to be the reason for the large balance, yet notices were, as Enfield (Town Clerk) testified, annually inserted in the local newspapers.(56) These were however, exceptionally brief, and it is to be questioned whether even today many people are successfully informed via this medium, of the existence of this fund.

The loan funds could therefore prove a useful source of revenue, but at Boston and Nottingham the councils acted as Trustees to further, rather different charity funds of a large and accumulative nature; namely the Erection Estate at Boston and the Bridge and School Estates at Nottingham. In both boroughs these

(54) NHB 3594/91-99 Information filed in Chancery against the corporation at the suit of Robert Gill and D'Aubigney Shilton, for alleged mismanagement. Suit never concluded, after Trustees changed in 1836.

(55) NHB 3559/26-40

(56) e.g. Nottingham Journal June 30th 1832
" " June 7th 1828
" " June 10th 1820
" " February 3rd 1821

were utilised to provide an annual source of additional income in times of need.

At both Boston and Nottingham the common Hall at times regarded the trust funds as part and parcel of the corporate estate, and although the basic liabilities of those funds were duly met, the remaining money was turned, for a substantial period, to corporate ends, prompting the Charity Commissioners at Boston to declare:-

"The members of the corporation seem ever to have considered themselves an irresponsible body and to have acted entirely on that principle in the administration of the charities; misapplications of the trust funds and application of charity balances to the general corporate account, with every other abuse of which charity funds are capable, are exemplified in every volume of the records". In spite of a decision in January 1628 "that all and every the rents of the Erection lands, given to charitable uses within this borough, shall be disposed of to the same uses as be limited and expressed in the charters and grants of the same lands and to none other use", since the date of the above minute, the misapplications, so far from having decreased, appear to have increased with the amount of the fund".(57)

If the statement was over exuberant, there was a firm basis of fact behind it.

The Charity

(57) C C R Boston 13

Commissioners concluded that between 1567 and 1773 the Corporation had received £3,844.18s.2d from the Erection Estate funds and paid £299.14s.2½d leaving a balance of £3,545.3s.11½d due to the Charity.(58) Indeed, from the Civic accounts it appears that until 1768 both the Erection Bailiffs and Chamberlains paid all the credit balance remaining after Audit, into the Treasury funds; deficits probably being made good from this central fund, since references to them are rare in the accounts before this date. After 1767 however, the credit balances were generally returned from the Treasury to the succeeding Chamberlain or Erection Bailiff. (59) Before this time, from 1694 until 1767, the Erection Bailiffs paid into the Treasury £2,857.18s.7d (60) in credit balances. Over the same period deficits totalled £513.10s.4d (61) so the final amount taken into the Civic Treasury from the Erection Estate totalled £2,344.7s.3¾d. Thereafter however, the Erection Bailiffs did not always receive the full credit balance from the Treasury. In 1786 only £98 was received from the Treasury, yet the late balance had been £471. Similar instances occurred in 1793, 1796 and 1807.(62) In addition it was not unusual for the Erection Bailiff to be required, by Common Hall, to pay debts or bills rightfully belonging to the Chamber Estate. Thus in 1715, he was ordered to pay the Recorder two and a half years salary (63), in 1719 he was required to level a piece of ground for the convenience of the sheep market (64), and in 1770 he was required to pay the Chamberlain the balance of his accounts.(65)

(58) Ibid., 13

(59) BCAB & BAB passim. Erection Bailiff's Accounts passim.

(60) Erection Bailiffs' accounts passim.

(61) Erection Bailiffs' Accounts passim. Including the deficits of £137.2s.11½d in 1767 paid to the Erection Bailiff from the Treasury in 1768.

(62) Erection Bailiffs' Accounts 4/C/1/75, 82, 85, 95

(63) BAB 4 f 313

(64) BAB 5 f 335

(65) BAB 6 f 82b

A similar state of affairs existed at Nottingham in relation to the School and Bridge Estates. Until 1790 credit balances on these two Estates were invariably transferred to the Chamber Estate, yet deficits were rarely made good by the Chamberlains.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Thus between 1719 and 1790 the account between School Estate and Chamber Estate can be determined as follows:⁽⁶⁷⁾.

Credit Balances.

Received by Chamberlains	£3326..10..8½
Received by B/Masters or others.	£ 120.. 6..2
Received by School Wardens	£ 63..14..6
Not apparent.	£ 26.. 6..11

Deficits.

Paid by Chamberlains	£ 223.. 3..2
Paid by School Wardens	£ 28.. 6..1

Total Profit to Chamberlains+ £3103..7..6½

A similar state of affairs existed with the Bridge Estate. Before 1737 the credit balances were often paid into the Chamber Funds, but from 1737 until 1789 this occurred on all but six occasions, yet deficits were again rarely made good by the Chamberlains. Thus between 1737 and 1789 the Chamber Funds received £3201..2..9½ from the Bridge Estate and paid back only £198.16.10d towards deficits on the Accounts.⁽⁶⁸⁾

To these surpluses the Chamber was, to echo the words of the Charity Commissioners, "in no way eligible",⁽⁶⁹⁾ yet

(66) School Wardens Accounts & NCAB passim.

(67) Excluding the period from 1698 to 1722 inclusive for which no accounts remain.

(68) Bridgemasters Accounts and NCAB passim.

(69) CCR Nottingham 476

until 1790 the Council appeared oblivious of the fact. Thereafter, however, transfers of money ceased except when particularised as loans, and with the advent of Edward Staveley as Surveyor in 1796 the accounts were sufficiently well managed to retain the distinction between the Estates through the medium of Ledger accounts. Indeed the pious declarations of the Committee appointed in 1824 to examine the Corporation Accounts, suggest clearly that if misappropriation had ever occurred, it would not continue. As trustees, the Corporation's "bounden duty to watch with care and vigilance not only the appointment of the different officers to their several trusts, but to see that the Estates.... be managed with a due and faithful regard to the wishes of the Crantors and for the benefit of those for whom we are acting". In conclusion they suggested that if necessary, Staveley be given an increased salary for the keeping of the Accounts of all three civic Estates in order to secure "the whole of the accounts being kept in such a clear, intelligible and satisfactory state that at all proper times they may fearlessly be opened to the inspection of friend or foe and that we, as members of this Hall, may each of us feel the conviction in our minds that we are guarding these Trusts as though they were our own property, and as if our proceedings were watched by the departed testators themselves who claimed from us the sacred and solemn obligations of our Burgess oath".(70)

(70) NHB 3585 ff74 - 79; 3987 f126

The penultimate clause is more ironic than the authors may have realised, but their good intentions were two years later realised when it was resolved that the school should be absolved of its debts to the Corporation, in consideration of the earlier appropriation practised by the Council.(71) There was indeed no attempt to disguise the anomalous practices of the past.

During the later eighteenth century therefore, appropriation of the trust funds largely ceased, but at Boston the Council more than compensated for the loss by placing to the Erection Account a full half of the costs of erecting the new Town Bridge after 1801. By these means the erection fund continued to contribute to the civic liabilities.(72)

The applicability of the fund to this purpose was however questioned by the charity commissioners when they visited Boston in 1837. The expenses of maintaining the bridge were, they claimed, only the consideration of the grant and not a charge to which the fund should be put. The Charter of Philip and Mary did in fact state the grant to be made "in consideration of the great charges and expenses which the Mayor and Burgesses daily and continually sustain in and about the reparation of the Bridge and Port there".

(71) NHB 3587 ff 60 - 62.

(72) Chapter 9

Thus far the donors' intentions were quite clear, and in a legal decision the corporation would no doubt have won their case against the charity commissioners with the closing words of the charter: "...the Mayor and Burgesses....shall expend and convert all the issues, rents, and profits from time to time coming from the messuages afore said,....for the maintenance of a school master and usher....and for the chaplains and poor men....and other necessary things, only touching and concerning the said borough, school chaplains and poor men aforesaid, and the support and maintenance of the same....."(73)

Until the charity commissioners made their report, the legitimacy of using the erection estate towards the support of the bridge, did not in fact, arise. When Samuel Partridge, vicar of Boston wrote to Lord Walsingham, Chairman of the Committees of the House of Lords in 1801, opposing the town's bridge bill, he

(73) Charter Philip and Mary 6/4 I/B/2

did not claim that the erection lands were in no way applicable to the bridge. He claimed only that the grant "provides only for the Reparation and upholding of the bridge but not (surely) for building a bridge of iron in the room of a wooden one, in a new Situation across a much wider part of the river". For although the corporation had proposed in the bill to finance the project entirely at their own cost, "it is not said out of what fund this expense is to be paid, but we apprehend it is intended to be paid out of the rents of the messuages and Lands" (89) of the Erection estate.

His objection was without doubt influenced by his poor relationship with the council at this time, for he was in the throes of a disagreement over the liability of the corporation to repair his vicarage, (90) but the council decided to withdraw the bill and re-submit it in the following session together with any accounts which they suspected the House of Lords might now wish to see. The Lords however passed the bill without objection, and in 1833 the municipal commission too reported the erection lands to have been provided for "the maintenance of the bridge and port", the School, the presbyters and the bedesmen. (91)

Even if the charity commissioners were correct in their assessment of the charter terms, they were mistaken in their

(89) 9/A/1 f 9

(90) BAB 17th August 1801; 4th September 1801; 7th January 1803

(91) MCR 2151

assertion that the corporate view of the responsibilities of the erection estate was "of very recent date, in as much as no part whatever of the charity revenues arising from the chartered property was, from the reign of Philip and Mary, applied to that purpose, until the year 1793...."(92). Small costs on account of the bridge and for jetties too were often paid, and when major restoration or rebuilding of the bridge took place, the Erection bailiff was required to contribute. In 1742 when the bridge was rebuilt he paid £96.14.6d for William Jackson's charges, and in 1787 £212.19.7d was paid out for bridge repairs.(93)

The corporation was therefore probably justified in using the Erection Estate towards the cost of the new bridge, and by these means the strain on the limited civic income was greatly lessened. The erection bailiff began making contributions towards the costs of the iron bridge in 1801 when he paid £300 to Francis Thirkill towards the legal and surveying costs.(94) In the same year he paid £700 "as per order of Hall" to the Chamberlain, but the reason behind the payment remains obscure. However, payments towards the bridge erection costs began in 1803/4, when the Erection bailiff made probably the first of many payments to follow "on account of the bridge".(95)

(92) CCR Boston 12,13

(93) BAB 5/498 The Chamberlains pd Jackson £200 for rebuilding the bridge BAB 5/494

(93) Erection Bailiff's account 1787/8 4/C/1/76

(94) Erection Bailiff's account 1801/2, BAB 29th May 1801; 24th May 1802. Thirkill's total bills inclusive of accounts from Rennie and other Surveyors 1801/2 = £1206.10.10d, 9/A/5/11

(95) BCAB 1803/4; Chapter 9

Between 1801 and 1832 the Erection estate had advanced to the Chamberlains £21,839..5..6d as principal and interest towards the cost of the bridge.(5) Overall the erection estate had therefore almost paid the primary cost of the new bridge (6) and yet in 1832 it owed a further £7,000. In interest alone £9,305 was paid between 1814-1832. The trust estate had proved itself a most valuable source of financial support.

As insolvency became more pressing however and no amount of subsidiary funds could help, the three councils had no alternative but to turn to borrowing. Until the later eighteenth century there was little cause for concern. Generally the ordinary expenses of local government, the fees and salaries, the costs of day to day administration and the provision of rudimentary amenities and repairs, could be met by the ordinary income. But the three councils at Boston, Nottingham and York, as probably most other unreformed corporations, did not live easily within their means. The credit balance at the year end was rarely large, unless an extraordinary income had been received and not used. In consequence, and coupled with the entirely inflexible nature of the financial provisions of the unreformed borough, when contingencies arose, expedients had to be found to meet the costs. This was no less so before the middle of the eighteenth century than after, and it was such circumstances which

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- (5) This figure has been calculated from the Erection a/c's and BCAB, together with the orders of hall in the minute books. It excludes payments made to Chamberlains which were not specifically stated to be for the bridge. (£500 in 1801/2; £1,000 in 1813/14; £150 in 1831/2)
- (6) No account has been taken in calculating the cost of the bridge, or the interest which the Chamber estate had to pay on the loans raised.

initiated the raising of loans. Thus when York was honoured with a visit from Richard III in September 1483, £401 had to be raised from amongst the councillors to meet the occasion.(7) In 1612 Nottingham too was selected for a royal visit, yet although it was to be only an overnight stay, "the company debating upon the necessary charge to be imployed upon his Majties entertainment" found it requisite to borrow £150 on interest.(8)

Occurrences such as these played havoc with the system of borough finance. In 1688, involved in costly supplications for a renewed charter, the corporation at Nottingham wrote most poignantly to their deputy recorder Nathan Wright "As we promised...you may when you please receive £50 upon this bill inclosed and wee shall send you £50 more the next week by our carryer,..and if this will not doe our business, as (thro yor mediation and the reprsentation of the poor and necessitous condition of our Corporacon) we hope it may, we shall take care to furnish you with more as soon as possibly we can. Tho' to deal plainly with you, we have borrow'd this £120 and £20 more the Kings mandates cost us, upon our owne single credits and so we are like to do whatever else wee shall need upon this occasion; for our Corporations credit is sunk now

(7) YHB 2164 f98

(8) D.Gray, Nottingham Through 500 Years: (1960) 31

soe low, (thro' the Honour of the loss of our Charter, and the uncertainty or difficulty of getting another and from other ill circumstances you know we lie under), that none will trust us.....in truth, besides what we owe and are like to owe upon this account, we owe so much of the debts of the former magistrates, and have so little left us to pay them.....that we know not wch way to discharge them and keep up the ordinary grandeur of the Town....."(9)

Legal charges

at Nottingham were in the next century and a half, to bear heavy responsibility for the raising of loans. It was legal charges which placed the corporation in debt to their Attorney Robie Sherwin for £1,383 in the first years of the eighteenth century.(10) It was to defray a legal bill that £100 was borrowed from Alderman Langford in 1735.(11), and it was to pay the costs involved in the mandamus regarding the junior council that John Wainwright lent the council £400 in 1750.(12) There indeed arises a far more than coincidental correlation between legal expenditure and the raising of loans at Nottingham, which the length and frequency of legal battles adequately explains. Between 1803 and 1809 the corporation paid more than £6,571 (13) on suits relating to the corporate consitution, the money

(9) 4692 c/5 punctuation has been added for the ease of reading

(10) NHB 3480/7; 3481/14,14b

(11) NHB 3494/12 For a suit over the corporate right to levy tolls Samuel Shepperdon v Jackson & Taylor

(12) NCAB 1523 1750/1 It was doubtless for the same reason that a debt of £225.17.10 was contracted with J. Seagrave "of the Inner Temple, London" Rental Books 1755/6

(13) Dealt with at greater length in chapter 14

for which was raised largely by property alienations, but also by loans. At York the loan from Sir Henry Thompson of £300 in 1665 was in payment for the expenses of obtaining a new charter. The final charge was in fact only £177.9.11d, which was recognised to be a bargain price. John Hill wrote to the corporation that "though that some is great yet it is much lesse than any new charter of any cittye considerable hath cost. Mrs. Rushworth can informe yr Lopp. that we saved £100 wch the King's Secretary & the Lo. Chancellor used to receive in business of that nature but being informed of the disability of the place were satisfyd with smal fees".(14) Nevertheless the Corporation had not even this amount of money available from the ordinary revenues. Large scale improvement and repair schemes ran into the same problems of lack of ready cash, and it was when such contingencies arose that the corporations of Boston, Nottingham and York found occasion to borrow money on bond.

The debt contracted with Thomas Smith by Nottingham Corporation between 1725-1728 was a direct result of the rebuilding of the "Shambles End" and the erection of the new Exchange there. Smith was the proprietor of the Nottingham bank of that name, (established in 1658 and probably the oldest provincial bank in the country)(15), and following some apparent agreement

(14) E40f47

(15) J.A.S.L. Leighton-Boyce, Smiths the Bankers (1950) 7,8

with the corporation, the council resolved on August 6th 1725 that "whereas the buildings at the Shambles End are resolved to be considerably enlarged, it is therefore ordered
.....that the Mayor do draw out of Mr.Smith's hands from time to time what money there shall be occacon for"(16)

In consequence, on Smith's demise in 1728, the corporation owed him some £2,432.12..9d (17), the repayment of which could be effected only by a further loan. Alderman Langford therefore agreed to lend the corporation £1,400,(18) which, together with property sales, raised over £2,600.(19) None of this money however passed into the Chamberlain's account, for it had already been spent in an independent account before it was ever received. In a similar way, a £1,000 loan from Ichabod Wright, founder of a rival bank in 1759, never swelled the general Chamber Account, for it was raised specifically to "be applied toward a discharging the money due from the Mayor and Burgesses to Mr.John Wainwright and Mr.John Seagrave and other such debts as the Hall shall hereafter consent to be paid of and discharged....."(20)

Accordingly"Mr.Chamberlain Foulds brought in an account to this Hall how he had paid and disposed of the sum of one Thousand pounds borrowed by this corporation of Mr.Ichabod Wright...with his vouchers which are approved of and ordered to be laid up in the common Repository....."(21)

(16) NHB 3484f19b

(17) 1802F 209

(18) NHB 3487f10b,12

(19) NHB 3486f16, 18,20,21,22; NHB 3487f16

(20) NHB 3515f26

(21) NHB 3515f44

At Boston a similar situation arises with the use of the Treasury from and to which loans were paid or received to an incalculable amount.(22) Yet here too the Chamberlains' Accounts confirm the experiences at Nottingham and York. Five years of contingent expences between 1758 and 1762, when £500 was subscribed to the Turnpike road from Boston to Spalding, and when the repair of the bouys and beacons, (1759/60) the celebration of the coronation, and Bridge Repairs (1760/1) brought further heavy charges, resulted in unprecedented borrowing to the sum of £1,500. £400 of this was borrowed in 1758, presumably for the Turnpike subscription.(23) An identical situation arose in 1770, when to pay for the rebuilding of the houses in Cooper's Row, the corporation, between 1770-1773, raised £3,400 on loan, and £5,180 on annuity.(24)

It was therefore, when unexpected expenses arose that the corporations of Boston, Nottingham and York first found occasion to borrow money on bond. In this respect, corporate finance before 1835 was essentially hand to mouth: when contingencies arose, money raising expedients were used to meet the situation.(25)

(22) e.g. BAB5/f327,328 5th August 1718 £400 to be procured by the T/Clerk or any member of the Hall for the corporations' use for one year; f328b 22nd August £400 received from Edmund Dickinson and paid into the Treasury

(23) BCAB passim. Order of Hall total subscription to the Donnington Turnpike to be £2,000 BAB5/f581

(24) BCAB 1770-73 and Coopers Row Supplementary accounts.

(25) See Appendix I

However, as the years progressed, although it was still the particularly large improvement schemes, extraordinary bills, and similar unexpected expenditure which caused the heaviest loans to be raised, and which accounted for the worst corporate debts, loans came to be raised almost as a matter of standard procedure. As there developed within the three councils a greater awareness of the needs of the populace, and a deeper sense of civic responsibility, (26) "ordinary" expenditure became correspondingly heavier. Repairs and improvements came to feature in every year's accounts, and whether from greater feasting and ceremonial, unnecessary salaries and rewards, or an enhanced awareness and activity within the sphere of "civic duties towards the town", expenditure began to outstrip regular income. The ordinary revenues became decreasingly sufficient for ordinary needs let alone for the increasing liabilities connected with large improvement and repair schemes, and legal suits. As expenditure rose, an annual surplus was maintained only by virtue of extraordinary revenues. Money raised by loans and sales came to be increasingly necessary, not merely to meet contingencies, but to cover the growing ordinary annual commitments.

Until 1750 loans were, in all three boroughs, only spasmodically raised, but around the middle of the eighteenth century they began to be raised with an increasing regularity until after 1790 each council placed a reliance upon borrowed income which was wholly unprecedented in amount and constancy. (27)

(26) Discussed at greater length in Section III

(27) Appendix VIII

The first intimations that matters were becoming acute came at York in 1758, when a committee was appointed to consider "what sums of Money will be wanted to pay off and discharge the city debts and payments agreed to be made, and how and by what means the same can be raised".(28) As a consequence, the Town Clerk, John Raper, was authorized not only to sell the wood at Laxton and some building materials, but also to borrow up to £400 (29). This inaugurated a spell of heavy borrowing which ended in 1775, but which was followed by a brief interlude in which not only were extraordinary or casual sources of revenue unnecessary, but £1,350 of the previous principals was repaid. The reason however was not lower expenditure, but a much enhanced income from purchased freedoms, resultant upon the campaign of 1776 when 2,490 so received helped to pay off £750 worth of bonds. By 1783 however the financial position was again becoming less stable. In the previous year a small deficit of £1.12.1d had been incurred, and the corporation began to issue annuities. Within ten years however, an order was made for further bonds to be contracted to the value of £1,000 bearing interest at 4½% (30), and in 1812 the corporation owed on loan bonds £1,710, and on workmens bonds £3,594.(31) By 1824

(28) YHB 44/67 6th November 1758

(29) YHB 44/68 29th November 1758

(30) YCH 233

(31) ACC 86/12

however this had been entirely liquidated by the exertions of the Finance Committee, appointed after 1815,(32) but the success could not be maintained. In 1829 the finance committee,"taking into consideration the amount of these several liabilities and the necessity of providing for their immediate liquidation", submitted "to the corporation the propriety of borrowing upon Bonds in sums of not less than £100 each the sum of £3,500..... ..which mode of obtaining money the commee.recommends as the most advisable under present circumstances".(33) The following year £5,500 was in fact secured on bond, but the financial provisions continued to be insufficient. The corporation at this time was undertaking extensive improvements. Exclusive of street widening and repairing, the town walls were undergoing costly renovation aided by subscription; the new cattle market was constructed outside the walls in 1827 and Saint Leonard's Place was constructed during the last years of the old corporation's existence. These expenses could only be met by expedients. In 1830 the improvements of the mansion house cost £3,921 exclusive of money received for old furniture, and nearly the whole of this sum remained unpaid. The committee reported that:- ".....in the present state of the funds....they have no means of discharging the several claims upon them.....than by effecting a further loan", so £5,000 was to be borrowed "at aslow a Rate of Interest

(32) E77 & K110 passim.; Appendix VIII; Chapter 5, 86

(33) K110 February 3rd 1829

as the same can be procured for".(34) By February 1835, the bond debts stood at £13,500, and as a grand finale, the old corporation managed to leave the scene with £21,500 owing on contract.(35)

Nottingham was experiencing the same developments. Partially a result of the inflation associated with the post Napoleonic era, and partially a result of increased liabilities in the sphere of improvements, the provision of amenities and the prosecution of legal cases, loans became more and more vital to the year's income. From 1790 loans formed a regular part of the corporate income, but it was not until 1813 that they were raised on a really extensive scale. Indebtedness had been reasonably high throughout the eighteenth century, but it took a noticeable leap in 1795, and a yet more significant jump after 1810.

Nottingham Indebtedness.

1729/30	£1,400	1770/1	£1,500	1804/5	£5,316.15.0
1735/6	900	1775/6	1,500	1810/11	£5,256.15.0
1740/1	700	1780/1	1,900	1821/2	£15,170.15.0
1745/6	550	1785/6	1,900	1824/5	12,140
1755/6	£1,175.17.10	1790/1	1,900	1830/1	18,030
1760/1	1,050	1795/6	4,200		
1765/6	600	1800/01	3,400		

Extract from Chamberlains' rentals, list of loans on which interest was payable.

Between 1813/23 not a year passed without a loan being levied, and though they thereafter featured less frequently,

(34) K110 February 3rd 1831

(35) K110 February 3rd 1835, December 24th 1835

the sums borrowed remained high. Between 1813/23 no less than £22,485 was so raised - an average of approximately £2,044 p.a., and between then and 1834 a further £13,690 was taken on bond. (£1,260 p.a.) When the Commissioners visited the town in 1833 the corporation stood indebted to the sum of £18,030 by loans on mortgage and bond. This showed an increase of almost £15,000 since 1798/9 when the corporate bond debts stood at only £3,410.(36) Bonded loans moreover did not constitute the entire corporate debt, for the memorandum at Nottingham that "This money was laid down by Mr. Robert Seagrave and to have been paid him again by the Chamberlains, but they not having money in hand only paid Mr. Seagrave nine pounds towards it...."(37), shows evidence of a practice which saved the corporation from pecuniary embarrassment more than once. Seagrave, the Town Clerk, had paid out £45 to apprentices under the Lambley Charity (38), since the corporation had not the money in hand, but he had to wait two months for reimbursement and received no consideration whatever for his kindness. This practice of deferring payment of bills is evident time and again. At York in 1708 the bill of a London solicitor was ordered to be paid "as soon as the Chamberlains have the money"(38), and as the corporate finances grew tighter, the debts on unpaid bills

(36) MCR 1999 Thus £18,030 had not as the Commissioners report, been contracted since 1814 (MCR 1999 para 2). Only some £13,000 had been contracted since that date when the corporate debt was apparently about £5,600 (MCR 1999 para 3)

(37) Nottingham Vouchers 1780/1 no 147

(38) The Lambley Charity was inaugurated by the Corporation and held in trust by them. The accounts were for long administered within the orbit of the Chamber Account, and not independently.

(39) YHB 41/32,33

reached alarming proportions. The settlement of workmens' bills was often delayed for no inconsiderable length of time, and the corporation frequently made no compensation to the unfortunate tradesman in the form of interest. The existence of numerous ledger accounts at Nottingham between the corporation and workmen, leaves ample evidence of this wily habit. Work to the value of £186.1.11½d done by Thomas Pepper, plumber and glazier, in 1810 was not paid for until 1812,(40) with no interest provided. William Stretton, Builder, had to wait seven years for the settlement of his £54 bill for work done for the school wardens in 1795, and ten years for the payment of his charges of £9 in 1808, yet on neither occasion did he receive interest on these sums,(41) and when Smith and Parrott's bill was paid in 1811, the accountant even had the effrontery to discount the odd 6½d on the bill. (42). Where payment was too severely delayed however, the corporation usually paid interest on their debts (43), but the effect of these delayed payments on the corporate accounts, was severe. The corporation was, in effect, undertaking yet more loans, which ultimately must be repaid:- they were merely delaying the evil moment. Many large sums at Nottingham were in fact transferred into loans on bond, and the large income from laans which the corporation

(40) Ledger B/31

(41) " A/42, B/39

(42) " B/37

(43) " A/17,18 Stretton

apparently received, was in many cases, an invisible gain. In 1820, the corporation owed a local Stationer, Jonathan Dunn, £314.10.0 but finding that they could not pay him, the corporation transferred £200 of it into a loan on bond which was repaid with the additional balance, four years later.(44) Since so many loans were thus contracted for services rendered, it is not always possible to trace the initiation of every loan for which interest or principal repayment is recorded, but it should be noted that this is not evidence of income wrongfully omitted from the accounts, but is the result of credit received in kind.

The degree of indebtedness to which this accumulation of unpaid bills could lead becomes apparent when in 1823/24 the Chamberlains at Nottingham paid £1,130.16.10d for "outstanding debts as p. their supplementary acct".(45) But whereas at Nottingham most large bills were transferred to bond, and were therefore, included within the orbit of loans, at York many large bills remained unpaid and untransferred. In consequence, although the bonded debts at Nottingham probably accounted for most of the moneys owing, at York there were extensive debts additional to the loans recorded. In January

(44) Ledger B/49. See Appendix VIII The result is that although from 1751-1835, £49,936.16.0 can definitely be traced as loans or bills put on bond, only £41,726 was received in cash loans into the Chamber account.

(45)NCAB 1520 1823/4

1812 the finance committee reported that bills owing to tradesmen amounted in toto to £3,594 (46) making, with the loans on bond, a total debt of £5,304. Many of these tradesmens' bills were subsequently put on bond, and when the new finance committee took over in January 1816, the total corporate debt stood at £11,515. 17.10d exclusive of annual payments owing on life annuities.(47)

In 1816 bills still remained unpaid from 1811, but in that year the finance committee gave instructions that all tradesmen in future be paid in cash. In April 1816 all bills owing for the years 1811/1813 were discharged, and those for 1814 under £10. By such painstaking care the corporate debts were, by the close of 1823, entirely liquidated, and the committee could report, with justified satisfaction, that they were "not aware of being subject to any demands on them except the annuities and usual payments....."(48)

(46) Acc.86/12

(47) E77 23rd January 1816

(48) E77 9th February 1824

York : State of indebtedness 1812-24

Year	Armuties	Bonds	Workmen's Bonds	Case Bridge Bonds	Old Bills	Total
1812	Annual payments owing	1,710	3,594			
1816	928.9.6	1,560	2,730	5,850	1,375.17.10	12,444. 7. 4
1817	892.7.0	1,460	2,132	4,735	1,260.10. 6½	10,479.17.6½
1818	970.9.6	1,310	2,692	3,135	364	8,471. 9.6
1819	1027.19.6	1,310	1,782	1,980	443	6,542.19.6
1820	937.17.0	1,310	1,060	1,580	nil	4,882.17.00
1821	706.12.0	1,310	nil	1,000	nil	3,016.12.0
1822	736.12.0	1,310	nil	200	nil	2,246.12.0
1823	724. 2.0	nil	nil	150	nil	874. 2.0
1824	667.12.0	nil	nil	nil	nil	667.12.0

Liquidation of the debt:-

1819 Debt = £6,542.19. 6d

1819 Discharged Bills = £443, bonds 1,120

1820 " " 1,640

1821 " " 800

By 1828 however, the cost of fitting up the Cattle Fair and building the City Arms Inn there placed on the corporation a debt to the sum of £1,700. In addition they owed £700 to their bankers, Wilson and Tweedy, and the credits held by Townend, the late Town Clerk, were expected to be only partially recouped from his estates. To cover these liabilities loans were secured, but the yearly debts owing to tradesmen began to accumulate once more. By February 1831 the corporation owed £1,233.12.5d in general bills and a further £3,921 for the Mansion House improvements.(50) It was decided however that bond debts were preferable to deferred tradesmens' bills, and in that year, further loans totalling £5,000 were effected to cover the sums owing. Thereafter this was the policy pursued, £5,000 being raised in 1835 to liquidate all tradesmens' bills for the new corporation.

At Boston an identical trend is revealed by the Chamberlains' accounts: After 1730, loans became increasingly frequent, but from 1760 until 1775 they formed a significant source of income. At this time the corporation was heavily committed to the many local drainage enclosure and turnpike schemes, contributing generously to the Witham and Black sluice drainage and navigation

(50) K110 February 3rd 1831

schemes, (51) to the Spilsby Turnpike (52) and the enclosure of Holland fen. (53) In addition they lent out £2,000 on bond in 1767/8 (54) and after 1769 became heavily indebted for the impressive improvement scheme for opening up the bridge approach by the demolition of the fish stalls and the rebuilding of Coopers Row. (55) But as at Nottingham it was not until 1790 that loans became a constant and major source of income, and the real watershed came with the numerous improvement schemes between 1811-1835. Between 1816-1830, the council undertook several major improvements, erecting the Assembly rooms, a new fish market, a new gaol and improving the sheep market. The total bill, exclusive of the bridge costs, exceeded £27,000 (56). To meet these expences, the finance committees invariably recommended the raising of several loans. In July 1821, the committee appointed "for the purpose of examining into the state of the finances of this corporation and of the funds, if any, which may be applied to further improvements in the town"....recommended that, since the funds usually in the Chamberlain's hands at the beginning of the financial year "have been nearly exhausted by the payments on account of the new buildings in the market place and various other extraordinary

(51) BCAB 1762/3 £160.10.0; 1766/7 £150; 1767/8 £150; 1768/70 £231.16.6;

1771/2 £300; 1773/4 £200;

1765 £700 worth of shares to be bought 4/A/1/40/3

1770 " " " " " "

1775 " " " " " "

(52) BCAB 1766/7 £100; 1768/9 £50

(53) BCAB 1769/70 £160.6.8d; 1771/2 £56.18.9d; 1772/3 £248.13.2
1773/4 £1,256.9.11d

(54) BCAB 1767/8 To Capt. Taylor

(55) BCAB 1771/2; 1772/3; 1773/4

(56) 6/4

expenses last year", £500 should be borrowed from the Harbour Trust and £2,000 be borrowed on bond.(57) Even when alternative sources of money were used, the committee was prudent in its advice. In 1817 they suggested that the money for building a new gaol would be adequately provided by the repayment of the loan which the council had made to the harbour trust. But they hastened to add that "in case of the corporation being called upon for payment of any sums due from them on bond, and to provide against any other extraordinary contingencies it is extremely desirable to raise a fund equal in amount to the sum to be expended to meet such contingencies", and recommended the sale of some borough property.(58) It was by advance planning of this kind that at Boston as at York the corporate accounts, after 1790, almost invariably showed a credit each year end; while at Nottingham the chamber estate, after the turn of the century, was constantly overdrawn. (The overall state of the account, inclusive of contingency income.) In order to balance their accounts, the corporation at Boston undertook heavy loans after 1811. Some were only short-term; in 1820 the council merely needed £400 to tide them over until the next rent day,(59) but most were taken for a number of years. From 1790 until 1835 Boston raised a total

(57) 2/A/27 21st August 1820; 30th July 1821

(58) 2/D/5 17th June 1817

(59) 2/A/27 12th October 1820

of £51,253 by loan and trade bills on bond, and £47,973 of this was borrowed over the last twenty-five years. For despite the rapid decline in improvement schemes after the completion of the Assembly Rooms in 1823/4 the ordinary corporate income was still swallowed up in interest annuity and tontine repayments, in heavy repayments of principal, in annual subscriptions to the paving commissioners, and heavy expenditure on repairs. And, as at Nottingham and York, legal conflicts continued to provide heavy extraordinary expences,(60)

The consequence was that from an indebtedness of only £800 in 1790 (excluding charity money held in trust), the corporate bond debts had increased tenfold by 1821 and reached £17,500 in 1833.(61) On October 8th 1835 after innumerable requests from worried creditors for the repayment of their loans before the old corporation's dissolution, the council received a loan from the Royal Exchange Assurance Company, which at £20,000 became their sole bond debt.(62)

For the last fifty years of their existence therefore, the indebtedness of the three corporations was acute; and on these large principals, interest had to be annually paid. Throughout the period, interest rates varied normally between 4% and 5% although in the earlier period it sometimes rose as high as 6%, and at the bottom of the scale, 3% was not unknown.

(60) e.g. 1831 £1,000 borrowed on bond to meet costs of the toll cause 2/D/5 3rd February 1831

(61) 6/4

(62) 2/D/3

On the whole however, interest was paid at 5% in Nottingham for the fifty-five years before 1835, but at Boston and York the corporations managed to secure their loans at 4½% (York paying only 4% on those taken out after 1831, but Boston paying 5% on those received in 1833).

As a result of the heavy indebtedness of each corporation, the interest payable had by the nineteenth century reached excessive proportions. By 1823/4 Nottingham Corporation paid £940 interest over the year, inclusive of £124 charged on the bank account. This was indeed the highest sum the corporation ever paid, but from only £67.10.0 p.a. in 1770/71, the interest chargeable rose to an average of almost £800 p.a. in the 1830's. At a time when the annual ordinary income fluctuated between only £4,00 to £5,000, this represented some 17%. At Boston too, interest payments increased rapidly during the early nineteenth century. From only £170 in 1800-1801 they had increased to almost £500 in 1811, and totalled £804. in 1834/35. (Over 22% of the expected rental income in that year).

At York, the interest paid each year cannot be so readily computed, for the entry in the account frequently includes principal repayments and purchased and gratuitous annuities, but from £109 in 1770, the interest chargeable had risen to £459. 4. 8d in 1833. (Approximately 11.3% of the rental income). By 1835 it stood at £558.13.4d and the following year would have been in the region of £860 (21.5% of rental income) since the corporate debt jumped in 1835 from £13,500 to £21,500.

Interest payable: Nottingham and Boston. (63)

<u>Date:</u>	<u>Nottm:</u>	<u>Boston:</u>	<u>Date:</u>	<u>Nottm:</u>	<u>Boston:</u>
1729/30	70.0.0	?	1817/18	619. 5. 0	388. 0. 0
1740/1	28.0.0	10. 0. 0	18/19	696. 9. 6	391. 0. 0
1750/1	42.0.0	24.10. 0	19/20	781. 5. 1	410.17.10
1760/1	42.0.0	32. 0. 0	20/21	643.18. 6	398.17. 6
1770/1	67.10.0	124.15. 0	21/2	707.18. 0	475.10. 0
1780/1	80.0.0	206.15. 0	22/3	759. 3. 6	525.10. 0
1785/6	95.0.0	238.18. 6	23/4	940.12.0*	530.10. 0
1790/1	95.0.0	48. 0. 0	24/5	763.14. 7	550.10. 0
1795/6	210.0.0	205.12. 6	25/6	580. 2. 0	499.10. 0
1800/01	188.6.0	170. 0. 0	26/7	611.16. 0	524.10. 0
1805/6	309.0.3	326. 0. 0	27/8	665. 2. 4	535. 3. 9
1810/11	272.16.9	315. 5. 0	28/9	537. 0. 0	564. 6. 8
1811/12	272.16.9	480. 9. 4	29/30	615. 5. 6	550.10. 0
12/13	272.16.9	497. 0. 0	30/1	814.17.6	574. 6. 6
13/14	281. 4.5½	435.10. 0	31/2	863.12.0	547.14. 0
14/15	448.19.11	461. 5. 0	32/3	785.10.0	604. 1.11
15/16	579.15.10	449.15. 0	33/4	775.18. 0	656. 1. 0
16/17	697.18. 4	367. 9.11	34/5	846.13. 6	804.17. 0

* From this date on the entries include interest paid on the bank account.

(63) Chamberlains accounts and rentals

Paying interest at such rates, it is hardly therefore surprising that the corporations found themselves unable to make impressive and permanent inroads into their overall debts. There can be no doubt that from the undertaking of their first loans the Councils had embarked on a most unwise policy, the ramifications of which they found themselves unable to control. Loans were clearly entirely unsatisfactory for a body with a fixed income, and the three councils soon experienced the folly of their actions. As early as 1640 the corporation at Nottingham made acknowledgment of their plight: "taking into consideration the towne's debts and thatt they doe amount vnto 550Li, for wch, or the moste ptt thereof the towne payeth intereste, and the Chamber of the towne, by reason of those and such lyke, payments, is nott Able to subsiste nor the Revenewes sufficient to defray or beare the same chardges and expenses....."(64) therefore an annual charge was laid upon the burgess parts (65) to repay the debts. Borrowing from Peter to pay Paul soon proved to be the only way in which these loans could be repaid, for with little prospect of a naturally enhanced income, there was equally little likelihood that the corporation would be able to repay their loans by ordinary means. In 1817, the Lambley Estate borrowed £360 from the Chamberlains in order to repay the principal owing to another

(64) NHB 3414f47

(65) See Chapter VI

creditor, Smith, and in 1819 £801 was borrowed from the executors of Wright Coldham in order to repay the debts of the Lambley Estate to the Chamberlains.(69) The corporation simply had not the wherewithall to repay the loans for which they had contracted. The rapid turnover of persons to whom interest was being paid gives ample evidence of this, for the total indebtedness was little lowered. In consequence when a creditor, in despair, requested re-imbusement, it was requested that he "would not press the immediate payment", for "Measures were in agitation for raising the money".(70) The measures proved to be the sale of three waterworks and eight Trent shares.(71) Further loans, or the alienation of valuable property provided the only real answer to the corporate debt.

Yet there were attempts to relieve the situation by other means. Especially in the earlier period there was considerable self help amongst the councillors. At Nottingham in 1661 an appeal was made in the hall for as many councillors as could, to lend £5 each towards the cost of the new mace. This was to be repaid as soon as the rent money was received, or alternatively was to be borrowed at interest for three months.(72)

(69) NCAB Ledger A1817/18; 1819/20 and Ledger C/253

(70) NHB 3556f28 The creditor was Sam Smith the banker. (1797)

(71) NHB 3557f14

(72) NHB 3434f16, 17a

Many of the loans were in fact secured within the orbit of the councillors, perhaps for reasons of dignity, and it may even have been expected of the Mayor to provide a loan when he came into office. In 1727/8 the Mayor of Nottingham made a loan of £130 (73) and at York there are several occasions when a Lord Mayor provided a loan.(74) But the Councillors, and particularly those who became Mayor, were the wealthier men of the town, and it is therefore hardly surprising that it was from these people that the corporate credit so often came.

Attempts to reduce the indebtedness by serious retrenchment appear however to have been, at Nottingham, rarely made. That the corporation recognised the intractability of their situation is apparent. In 1704 an order was made that all fines for leases should be accumulated to pay off the corporate creditors,(75) and in 1717 it was resolved that "whereas the corporacon is such in debt", the jurors only, and not the councillors should be paid for at the Mickletorn dinners.(76) In August 1728 a committee was even appointed to "consider of ways and means of paying the corporacon's ^{debts} _l",(77) but its report was never recorded. Whether these decisions had any practical effect therefore cannot be known, but as the century progressed, the pecuniary embarrassment of the corporation considerably worsened, and in 1784 the following

(73) NCAB 1727/8

(74) e.g. 1680/1, 1686/7, 1697/8 - See Appendix VIII

(75) NHB 3471f3

(76) NHB 3481f4

(77) NHB 3487f20

motion was entered in the Hall Book:- "The members of the Hall, having taken into consideration the present state of the Finances of this corporation and finding that they are not only involved in a considerable debt, but that large sums of money have been expended by gentlemen in office without any application to a Hall or first obtaining the consent and approbation thereof, and being convinced that nothing but a system of frugality can ever discharge the Debts they owe, or restore this corporation to any degree of consequence or Respectability, they have come to this Resolution that no Mayor or Bridgemaster shall presume to expend more than the sum of Ten Pounds nor School Warden more than the sum of Five Pounds, without first obtaining the sanction of this Hall.....and the more effectually to put this order into Execution and render it permanently usefull,(sic) It is determined that this Resolution shall be proposed annually the First Hall day after every Michaelmas" (78) Two years later, the Council took steps to limit fraudulent bills from tradesmen:- in future, no bill was to be paid without a written order from the Chamberlains, Bridgemasters or School wardens, and these officers were themselves not to order work over the value of £5 without the Authorization of the annual committee.(79) The practical effects of these resolutions however

(78) NHB 3544f7-8

(79) NHB 3555f31-2

appear to have been minimal, for in 1807 a finance committee was appointed and empowered to receive all the produce of corporate sales for the purpose of defraying the debts.(80) Again however, the practical effects were negligible. There were certainly attempts to maintain the balance of payments. It was not uncommon for salaries to be withheld if the year had been one of unusually heavy expenditure. This occurred in 1779/80 in the Chamber Estate (81), and in 1807 and 1808 Edward Staveley's salary was withheld by the School estate until 1809/10.(82) It is true that this accounted for a mere £35, but at a time of great financial worry after the bankruptcy of the late School warden Samuel Stathan, it may well represent an attempt to maintain an equilibrium. It does however illustrate the futility of most of the retrenchments which were effected in Nottingham. For all their resolutions, it appears that the Council made no prolonged or effective attempts to reduce their bond debts. Such action would have demanded small committee attention of an intensive nature, and this was not provided.

Yet, even at Boston where committee planning so effectively ensured that the year's expenditure was met by sufficient extraordinary revenue, prolonged and effective attempts

(80) NHB 3566/132-3

(81) NCAB 1779/80; 80/81

(82) School Wardens Accounts

at retrenchment, or the repayment of principals, was noticeably absent. As early as 1677 expenditure had been controlled by an order forbidding any chamberlain from expending more than £1 without licence from the Hall,(83) and in 1747 this was made still more stringent. "It is ordered that the present and future Erection Bailiffs and Chamberlainsshall not from this Time do any work or lay out any sum whatsoever for or in the name of this Hall without the express orders from this Hall for that purpose, under the penalty of forfeiting their salaries..."(84). But determined attempts to economize did not occur until the closing years of the old corporation's existence. Although since 1817 finance committees had investigated and reported upon the increasingly inviable state of the corporate finances, further loans and sales had been their constant remedy until in 1828, with the prospect of a decrease in the present income, they were shocked out of their indifference. The committee urged the "absolute necessity" of dispensing in future with the venison dinner, the court leet, admiralty and court licence and audit day dinners.(85) Finding that "a retrenchment of the annual expenditure is absolutely necessary", they extended their recommendations four months later by the inclusion of the four sessions dinners "by

(83) BAB 4/53 1677

(84) 21st August 1747 entered in every account book after this date

(85) 2/D/5 Nov.20th 1828

which a saving of £100 will be made", and a reduction of £50 p.a. in the allowance made to the Mayor for his entertainments on Lady Day "on the understanding that the Dinner....be a private instead of a public one".(86) Still however, annual expenditure exceeded income. Exclusive of the toll suit, for which £1,000 had been borrowed, the expenditure in 1830/31 was calculated to exceed the ordinary income by £422, and for the following year the committee estimated a deficit of £652..9..0d. To meet these requirements the committee now suggested the temporary abolition of all the remaining allowances to the Mayor (then £330), all dinners and treats, and other minor expences ranging from £1.0.6d paid to the gaoler for firing the guns, to twelve guineas for cleaning the fish market. In addition, several reductions in annual salaries were made, those of the town clerk and surveyor being cut by half.(87)

The effect of these reductions was soon felt. In 1832/3 the ordinary income was expected to exceed the ordinary expenditure by £114.12.0d. The actual Account however, including contingent expences and receipts left a deficit of £738.19.5d.(89)

Meanwhile repayment of loan principals remained an insuperable problem. In 1829 the Hall ordered that "in

(86) 2/D/5 March 1829

(87) 2/D/5 3rd February 1831. Total reductions in salaries amounted to £114.

(88) 2/D/5 February 1832

(89) BCAB 1832-3

future whenever any part of the sum of eight thousand pounds due from the erection bailiff to the Chamberlain be paid off, the same be applied in reduction of the debt on bond or otherwise due from the corporation", (90) but by 1831 the Erection bailiff was again making only interest payments.

At York however, attempts to reduce the corporate debt apparently met with great success, but it was not the unqualified success which it at first sight appears to have been.

Initial attempts to control spending and prevent or lessen debts occurred long before 1660, when the corporation faced acute financial problems during the mid-Tudor period. Retrenchment was effected in many spheres, but it was only an Act of Parliament, reducing the corporate liabilities to creditors, which really resolved the situation in 1536.(91) During the period 1660-1835 however it was upon local conciliar power alone that the corporation relied for the solution of its problems. Throughout the eighteenth century, committees were regularly appointed to resolve the situation. In 1713 a committee was appointed "for trade and to find means to lessen the city's expenses or improve its income", (92) but its proposals were shallow in effect: many of the petty officers were to be paid smaller salaries

(90) SCAB 4/B/1/145

(91) YCH 123

(92) YHB 41/108, 109, 124

and given less livery, and the total annual saving would have been £20 at the most. In February 1744 the corporation decided to concentrate on the more fundamental aspects of the town's debts, and ordered "that the City Husband examine all the works for the future to be done for this city and that the bills shall be signed by the City Husband and two or one warden at the least of the Ward where the work shall be done".(93)

But in 1812 steps were taken which ultimately led to the complete liquidation of the entire corporate debt. On the 3rd February in that year, a finance committee was appointed with power to examine, audit and liquidate all outstanding accounts.(94) At that time, Corporate debts were over £11,700 (95) and the Hall was being sued for £1,000 owing for timber used in rebuilding Ouse Bridge,(96) but although the committee reduced expenditure below the receipts, the actual indebtedness remained unresolved. On their demise in 1816 the committee reported that "In this involved state of the finances; the only probable remedy must arise from the appointment of a committee to have the entire management of the revenue, and complete power to order only such expenditure as should seem to them to be absolutely necessary".(97) There was thus established at York the machinery which Boston and Nottingham never acquired.

(93) YHB 43/130

(94) MCR 1755

(95) YHB 13th April 1812

(96) YHB 30th April 1812

(97) E77/23rd January 1816

The finance committees (subsequently appointed for three yearly periods until 1835) set about their tasks with great verve. The utmost attention was paid to detail. Apparently in pursuit of the adage that well managed pennies would look after the pounds, the Lord Mayor's application for household articles was, in 1816, examined with minute care, and the purchasing of a new oil cloth was deferred! (98) It was in this vein that finance was managed. In January 1816 the committee ordered that "repair bills be carefully scrutinized and that expenditure be made only when authorized by the committee as absolutely necessary".(99) In March directions were given that all tradesmen in future be paid in cash,(100) and the committee then began slowly to liquidate the tradesmens bills outstanding since 1810.(1) In 1822 it was ordered that estimates and contracts be henceforth secured for every expense in buildings and repairs over five pounds.(2) Subsequently the committee was able to report in February 1824 that the last bond for £150 had been repaid and all other claims liquidated.(3) The committee had in fact, repaid debts of £11,515..17..10d handed down in January 1816, as well as the bills and charges associated with their own years of office.

(98) E77/30th January 1816

(99) E77/23rd January 1816

(100) E77/29th March 1816

(1) E 77/5th April 1816; 9th May 1816; 24th January 1817;
28th February 1817; 23rd May 1817; 31st October 1817;
28th November 1817 and Appendix III

(2) E77/27th December 1822

(3) E77/9th February 1824

But to what extent was this really attributable to the frugal and painstaking administration? The fact remains that it was with extraordinary income and not with moneys saved that the debts were primarily repaid. In 1817 it was with a £400 annuity that four bonds were discharged (4) and the committee acknowledged in February 1821 that it was the large income from freedoms and exonerations amounting to over £1,300 which had enabled the repayment of so many debts.(5) The corporation at York was also at this time benefiting enormously from their assets on Ouse Bridge, and it was the final repayment of principal by the commissioners in 1822/3, amounting to £3,461.10.0d exclusive of interest which together with £945 received for purchased freedoms, enabled the committee in that year to liquidate £1,510 of their debts, and invest £2,000 in 4% consols. Although therefore the close and discerning committee administration kept expenditure within the limits of the corporate income and prevented a worsening of the corporate debts, the ordinary income could still not be stretched to accommodate the liquidation of loans. Even with such discriminating administration the corporation at York, as the corporations at Boston and Nottingham, was obliged to rely on extraordinary revenues to repay the debts. And in this respect, the

(4) E 77 2nd July 1817

(5) E77 3rd February 1821

the York council was somewhat more fortunate than the one at Nottingham,(6) for in a time of great financial strain, York was reaping large benefits from assets in Ouse Bridge, in addition to a healthy income from freedoms and exonerations, while Nottingham in the early nineteenth century, was burdened with many heavy law bills.

The fact remains therefore, that the corporations had, with these loans, entered into a spiral of debt from which their ordinary incomes could never release them. All too often the only "ways and means" which the committees could suggest for discharging the corporate debts, concerned, as at Nottingham in 1756, the raising of further loans.(7) Yet there was little alternative open to them. How else could Nottingham corporation have raised over £20,000 for the improvement of the exchange and shambles after 1814? It is hardly surprising that the school wardens at Nottingham, when authorized in 1799 to contract for the redemption of the land tax on their estate, were also empowered to raise the purchase money on mortgage,(8) for there was little possibility of providing the £318.18.2d (9) out of the annual-ordinary revenue of only £320. This was invariably entirely used in paying salaries to the master and usher and providing

(6) Boston too had the benefit of the Election bailiff's contributions to the Bridge, and the interest paid by him on this large debt.

(7) NHB 3515f19,21

(8) NHB 3558f39

(9) Ledger Bf54

for small repairs. It was only by using some expedient that York could provide for the heavy expenses incurred in building the new Market Place and Inn in 1826, for constructing Saint Leonard's Place and refurbishing the Mansion House in the last years of the old corporation's existence. It was indeed these excessive charges, associated with public improvements, which in all three corporations so hugely enhanced the debts. At Boston between 1801-1833 total expenditure on improvements exceeded £48,500.(10) In 1814 Nottingham borrowed £6,700 specifically for the Shambles development, and a further £15,000 between 1814-18, during these years of very high expenditure on improvement.(11) This raised the overall corporate debt from some £5,156 in 1811/12 to £15,170 in 1821/22; while at York almost solely for improvement schemes, the corporation between 1828/9 and December 1835, borrowed £21,500. The insufficiency of the ordinary revenues at this time is blatantly evidenced in the year 1829/30 when improvements, a subscription of £500 to the Minster, and costs of obtaining a new charter, totalled £6,426.18.3d, yet the ordinary income amounted to only £4,922.11.2½d (12) The deficit was inevitably supplied from loans realizing £5,500, other casual receipts and charity payments from which the corporation managed to save some £600 for investment in 4% consols. The

(10) MCR 2158

(11) NHB 3576/61-63; see appendix VIII

(12) K110 Annual Report February 3rd 1839

corporation most certainly appreciated the need for a policy of investment, but when funds were inadequate to cover the enhanced civic responsibilities, it was inevitable that financial theory must succumb to the dictates of necessity.

At Doncaster, the position was even more acute.

In spite of an annual income averaging £11,864 from 1822/32 (13) the corporation had debts in 1830 of £94,835. Of this, £9,322 was owing on annuities and £2,210 was held in trust for Jarrats charity.(14) The corporation had apparently always been rather heavily indebted. In 1723 the debt amounted to £1,810. By 1730 the entire corporate debt had reached £3,622, rising to £26,580 in 1780.(15) The growth of the debt after 1780 is not perhaps surprising, for between 1822-32 expenditure exceeded the income by some £10,000. At the same time, there had been over £21,000 spent in improvements, and between 1780-1830, £25,244 expended in purchases.(16) The consequence was, that in 1832 the annual interest payable amounted to £3,755.15.7d - over 3% of the annual income.

It is not therefore surprising that so little principal was repaid. Indeed, the resolution of the annual committee at Nottingham in 1829 was entirely unrealistic. Finding

(13) MCR 1506

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) J. Tomlinson, *op. cit.*, 221-275.

(16) *ibid.*, 275

that a sum of over £10,000 was owing on the Chamber estate for loans bearing 5% interest, it questioned "whether it is not desirable to ascertain if the money cannot be borrowed at 4%, and if notice should not forthwith be given to the parties that unless they will take 4% the money will be paid in". No suggestion followed as to how the repayment should be effected if the creditors were disobliging.(17)

In addition moreover ^{to} the large bonded debts which each of the three corporation had contracted, they had all raised large sums of money by way of life annuities, for which they were committed to heavy annual premium payments. Annuities became a popular mode of money raising in corporations after about 1780, but they were certainly not a new development. In 1632, Nottingham council issued an annuity of £10.10.0 p.a. in return for £120.(18) At Boston, John Preston in 1661 paid £100 to the chamberlain for his lease fine and an annuity with a £4 p.a. yield,(19) and at Doncaster in 1723, "The Debts of the corporacon amounting to £1,810 being had under consideracon and severall Methods proposed for the best paymt thereof, and a Question ariseing whether the same shall be undertaken to be discharged by a Mortgage of the corporacons lands, or by taking

(17) NHB 3987/185

(18) 4655 V

(19) BAB 3/462

annuities; resolved to be done by taking in annuities", By these means £2,000 was raised, and from 1782 annuities were offered on a large scale to persons over sixty years.(20)

Life annuities were essentially a gamble. Upon payment of an agreed lump sum an annuitant was guaranteed a specified annual premium until the date of his death. The annual yields were percentaged according to average life expectancy, and since the principal was never returned to the annuitant, the returns were fixed at a much higher rate than interest on loans, most falling within the range of 7 - 14%. If an annuitant died early then the trustee could make an absolute gain, but if the annuitant outlived his expectancy his profits could be very high, and there seems indeed to have been a remarkable proclivity amongst annuitants to live long and healthy lives. At York Richard Simpson lived to the unexpected age of 92½, thereby profiting from his investment with the corporation by £232, and Charles Appleby clearly outstayed his welcome, having reaped over £1,092 on a £420 annuity when he died aged 87.(21)

Although therefore by the nature of the annuity system the corporations usually repaid more than the value of the original deposit, the system was not so unfavourable as might

(20) J. Tomlinson, op.cit., 22 The scales ran as follows:-
Age 60-64 returns p.a. 10%
65-69 " " 11%
70 upwards" " 12%

(21) Appendix IX

superficially appear, for the original principal had never to be repaid. Although interest rates were therefore higher than those for loans, an insuperable advantage lay in this factor. The annual payments did however prove to be a heavy millstone around the councils' necks. In 1822 the finance committee at York urged that until "the present annuities..... be extinguished or at any rate greatly lessened, it will be absolutely necessary to continue to act on the Economical system which hitherto has been so successfully pursued....."(21a) Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that such pleasure was taken by the committee in announcing the local deaths.

York first issued annuities regularly in 1783, during an interlude notable for the absence of corporate loans, and from 1806 they provided a steady flow of money until the last two were accepted in 1818. The emphasis on this form of income from 1806 is quite noticeable, and again coincides with a period until 1812, when loans were rare. (21b)

(21a) E77 1.2.1822

(21b) Appendix VIII

The minimum age of the annuitant acceptable by the corporation was fifty years, (22) presumably in the belief that the corporate losses would thereby be somewhat curtailed, and the annual premiums were fixed accordingly on a scale ranging from 8 to 14%. These scales were strictly adhered to, Richard Dilcock having his annuity reduced to £32 p.a. when it was discovered that he was in fact 58 years old and not 62, (23) and the corporation was not open to cajoling. Their gamble was already big enough, and they turned down £400 in 1818 rather than offer Elizabeth Wrighton more than £42.16.0 p.a. (24)

Initially it would appear that the corporation felt this system to be at least equitable with loans, an advertisement in the York Chronicle in 1806 declaring that:- "the Mayor and Commonalty...having occasions to Borrow a considerable sum of money, have determined to raise the same on their bond, bearing legal interest, or by granting Life Annuities.....to any persons above the age of 50 years who shall propose to advance the same, upon the most advantageous Terms". (25) As a result, £3,100 was raised in annuities, and nothing on loan, leaving no doubt of the public preference,

(22) YHB 46/132; York Chronicle No. 2569 December 11th 1806

(23) E77 14th June 1816

(24) E77 19th August 1818

(25) York Chronicle 11th December 1806

and indeed by 1818 the corporation had apparently come to regard annuities as too favourable to the opposition. In May of that year the minimum age of the purchaser was raised to sixty years,(26) and after October 1818 no further annuities were granted. At the same time it is possible that the public too had become disenchanted, for an invitation to them to invest between £700 and £1,000 in annuities in July 1816 was answered with only one annuity of £300.(27)

At Boston, annuities were first raised on a large scale (being initially utilized towards the costs of the Coopers Row project) in 1770-71. Thereafter they became a valuable, but irregularly used, source of extraordinary income until the last annuity was accepted in 1828-9. By these means a total of £19,482 was raised, almost three quarters of this sum being secured before 1790. But unlike at York and Nottingham where minutely calculated scales were invariably used, there seems at Boston to have been a strong tendency during the eighteenth century to grant annuities at 8% yields, apparently irrespective of the age of the annuitant. Since ages however are not usually stated in the grants it may be that the council advertized for purchasers within a specified age-group. This is borne out by occasional higher yields to persons who

(26) E77 29th May 1818

(27) E77 14th June 1816

may have been older than usual for they died within a short time of their investments.(28) After the turn of the century however, yields became intensely variable, according without doubt, to the age of the annuitant.

At Nottingham however, annuities were not raised until 1814, and by 1822 had ceased to produce an income of any value. Two annuities were thereafter accepted, in 1830 in the sum of £280, but the corporation took one of these only "as a matter of charity".(29) In entirety therefore, the corporation raised only £8,296 in annuities.(30)

But this form of money raising was perhaps not so inadvisable as the corporations themselves apparently came to feel. Certainly it involved the Council in heavy annual outlays. Having realised only £8,296, the Corporation at Nottingham was committed in 1822 to payments in the region of £749..3..0dp.a. Fortunately annuitants did die, and the following year saw the demise of £81.10.0 worth, but the decrease in annual payments was slow.

(28) e.g. 10% to Miss Brewer in 1784-5. She received only 4½ premiums before she died. Also Anne Hunt 10% in 1773/4 She received only seven premiums. See Appendix IX

(29) NHB 3590f42

(30) Appendix IX

Annual Premiums Paid for Life Annuities, Boston, Nottingham and York

Date	Boston		York		Date	Boston		York		Nottingham	
	£	s d	£	s d		£	s d	£	s d	£	s d
1772/73	182.	8.0	-		1804/05	570.	0.0	347.	7.0		
1773/74	324.	8.0	-		1805/06	558.	0.0	310.	0.0		
1774/75	324.	8.OE	-		1806/07	570.	0.0	366.	0.9		
1775/76	324.	8.OE	-		1807/08	570.	0.0	615.	0.0		
1776/77	538.	8.0	-		1808/09	434.	18.0	693.	15.0		
1777/78	526.	8.OE	-		1809/10	646.	8.0	719.	10.0		
1778/79	550.	8.OE	-		1810/11	891.	16.0	782.	10.0		
1779/80	514.	8.0	-		1811/12	694.	0.0	927.	13.8		
1780/81	554.	8.0	-		1812/13	645.	8.0	967.	12.3		
1781/82	567.	8.0	-		1813/14	686.	14.0	856.	12.6		
1782/83	628.	8.0	-		1814/15	819.	0.0	800.	4.6	12.	10.0
1783/84	540.	8.0	-		1815/16	784.	0.0	923.	19.6	59.	9.6
1784/85	500.	8.0	53.	0.0	1816/17	815.	13.8	888.	5.6	90.	0.0
1785/86	572.	8.0	57.	0.0	1817/18	729.	0.0	909.	2.6	259.	10.6
1786/87	594.	0.0	75.	0.0	1818/19	640.	0.0	958.	13.3	340.	12.3
1787/88	746.	5.0	75.	0.0	1819/20	529.	10.0	967.	9.6	453.	17.0
1788/89	831.	0.0	75.	0.0	1820/21	628.	10.0	775.	8.9	557.	2.4
1789/90	843.	0.0	150.	0.0	1821/22	585.	10.0	685.	12.0	711.	3.9
1790/91	855.	0.0	150.	0.0	1822/23	546.	0.0	685.	12.0	749.	3.0
1791/92	843.	4.4	150.	0.0	1823/24	538.	0.0	635.	8.6	734.	4.9
1792/93	815.	0.OE	150.	0.0	1824/25	556.	0.0	519.	2.0	670.	13.0
1793/94	815.	0.0	110.	11.0	1825/26	556.	0.0	486.	18.6	656.	13.0
1794/95	763.	0.0	92.	0.0	1826/27	548.	0.0	384.	10.9	650.	13.0
1795/96	747.	0.0	127.	19.0	1827/28	614.	10.0	281.	10.0	650.	13.0
1796/97	743.	0.0	206.	10.0	1828/29	617.	5.0	248.	10.0	650.	13.0
1797/98	735.	0.0	248.	0.0	1829/30	452.	0.0	248.	10.0	627.	11.0
1798/99	652.	0.6E	248.	0.0	1830/31	429.	0.0	233.	10.0	636.	13.9
1799/1800	652.	0.6	248.	0.0	1831/32	392.	0.0	181.	10.0	644.	11.0
1800/01	639.	0.0	321.	0.0	1832/33	367.	0.0	94.	0.0	644.	11.0
1801/02	607.	0.0	354.	0.0	1833/34	342.	0.0	94.	0.0	493.	15.6
1802/03	550.	0.0	367.	0.0	1834/35	330.	0.0	86.	15.0	456.	15.0
1803/04	548.	0.0	375.	0.0							

Sum Total: Boston £37,713.5.0
 Nottingham £10,750.15.4
 York £21,307.13.5

Boston figures: E represents the estimated figure for years when the Chamberlains' accounts are missing.

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But despite the heavy annual outlays, the overall cost of obtaining the money was not as excessive as may be supposed. To obtain £8,296 Nottingham paid over £11,088; and had many years of payment still to come, and at Beverley in 1809 to raise £1,100 for the Beck improvement the corporation paid £1,947.⁽³¹⁾ This clearly proves that money cannot be acquired at cost price, yet compared with the system of loans, annuities certainly had advantages. The greatest advantage with annuities was that no principal repayment was ever required, for it was this which rendered loans so hazardous a venture: the corporations had not the money available to repay their creditors. Where loans could be repaid within a short term, they were doubtless a more suitable form of money raising. But where the loan was to be long-term - as inevitably happened with large sums, the interest and principal paid frequently exceeded the repayments made to a long-lived annuitant. On a strict comparison of these costs, the use of annuities was infinitely cheaper. At York the total corporate loss on annuities was £6,088.17..8d.⁽³²⁾, whereas the costs which would have resulted from taking the annuity sums on loan at 5% for the length of time the annuitants lived, would have been £8,374.10..0 for interest payable, plus the original principals

(31) Beverley Account Books

(32) Appendix IX

amounting to £15,186..5..0d. The corporation would thus have faced a tremendous loss by taking these sums on loan, but it must be realized that a strict comparison is misleading. For the likelihood of the corporation holding a loan of, for example, £420 for twenty-five years, (i.e. Charles Appleby's annuity) is slight. On the other hand, it is equally unlikely that the corporation would have repaid £400 in two years (i.e. Elizabeth Yeoman's annuity) and though the comparison must therefore be regarded with great caution, it is not entirely purposeless. Annuities could have been highly preferable to long-term loans; particularly where the terms were carefully considered. The percentage returns at York for example seem to have been far more successfully estimated than at Nottingham or Boston, (33) and it seems clear that this system of money raising should not be condemned out of hand.

(33)

e.g. Comparative age and yield rates; The closest possible dates have been used.

	DATE	Age	%Yield	Investment
BOSTON	1820	61	11.5%	£100
NOTTM:	1818	60 $\frac{3}{4}$	12.0%	£250
YORK:	1812	60	11.04%	£175
BOSTON	1820	66	13.5%	£300
YORK	1818	66	12.07%	£300
NOTTM:	1817	57	11.0%	£100
YORK*	1817	57	10.0%	£300
NOTTM:	1818	57	11.2%	£360

* Yield rates at York were clearly as much as 1% lower than at Boston and Nottingham.

Annuities inevitably remained a gamble, but with due care there was at least a fifty-fifty chance that corporation or annuitant would benefit. Wisbech corporation in 1774 transferred the whole of their bonded debt to annuities, being alarmed at the slow rate at which the debt was being reduced.(34) Far more inadvisable than the annuity system however was that of tontines by which Boston corporation, in 1804 and 1814, raised a total of £14,000 towards the expence of the new bridge and other improvements. Of enormous cost to the corporation, it is difficult to imagine how the council could ever have considered it to be an acceptable method of raising money. Similar to the annuity in principle, tontines were infinitely more disadvantageous to the sponsor. The investors gave in shares the amount of money which the corporation wished to raise, and received in return an annuity at a specified rate. But as the investors died, their annuities, instead of ceasing, were shared amongst the surviving shareholders, until the last investor died.

This was surprisingly a popular method of money raising during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At Hill the Butchers' Shambles were rebuilt by a tontine for £12,000 and Parliament Street was rebuilt by the same means, by a group of public spirited individuals led by Aistroppe Stovin. Shares were

(34) S & B Webb, The Manor and the Borough (1963) II 144

purchased according to expectation of life, and the advertisement in the Hull Advertiser offered two hundred shares varying from £100 each for the most valuable lives to £40 for the least valuable:-

Up to one year of age -	£78	43-49 years	£70
1-2 years	£89	49-53 "	£63
2-5 "	£95	53-57 "	£58
5-12 "	£100	57-61 "	£53
12-20 "	£95	61-64 "	£48
20-31 "	£88	64-67 "	£43
31-37 "	£83	69 onwards	£40
37-43 "	£77		(35)

The first tontine at Boston followed apparently upon the council decision empowering the bridge committee to borrow up to £5,000 "by way of annuities or at interest or in any other manner that may be thought most adviseable"(36). £1,000 was subsequently raised on loan, but the remaining £4,000 was raised by Tontine and in March 1804 the Town Clerk was asked to continue the advertisements in the Stamford paper, the two London papers and one of the Hull papers and also the issue of hand bills in the Boston area.(37) By April 1804 £3,900 had already been subscribed, and the town Clerk "had no doubt of being able to raise the extra £100". The shares were each £100 but no nominee was to be under sixteen years, and the dividends were fixed at 7% p.a.(38) The corporate liability was therefore £280p.a.(39)

(35) Hull Advertiser 13.9.1794

(36) BAB 11th August 1803

(37) BAB 19th March 1804

(38) BAB 16th April 1804; 9/A/8/ 26th June 1805

(39) Property tax allowed £28

So successful did the council apparently find this method of money raising that in 1813 a further £10,000 was resolved to be levied by the same means. The dividend was originally settled at 6%, but when the money was raised and the indentures sealed, the rate was altered to 7%,⁽⁴⁰⁾ increasing the full corporate liability for tontine dividends to £980. The drain on the corporate finances was immense, and it was an expense which the council could ill afford. Yet the long term effects were even more debilitating. The last survivor of the 1805 tontine appears to have died in 1867, making the total payments by the corporation for a sum of £4,000, a full £17,360. But the last survivor of the £10,000 tontine in 1814 did not die until 1904. Having been nominated at the age of two, she lived for a further ninety years, making the total corporate outgoings £62,300.⁽⁴¹⁾ The figures speak for themselves. At a time of spiralling debt, the council between 1804 and 1834 paid out £22,400 in tontine dividends alone.

Yet whatever method of money raising was used, the fact remains that by the time of the municipal commission in 1833 most corporations stood deeply in debt. The annual repayments on loans and annuities became a severe drain on the annual corporate income. The Corporations had found themselves in a whirlpool of debt into which they could not avoid being sucked, and from which

(40) BAB 15th July 1813, 18th March 1814; 9/A/7 1st February 1815

(41) 9/A/8

they could not escape. The inflexible income and ever increasing demands made this almost inevitable.

Corporate indebtedness in 1832/3:-

Borough	Bond Debt	Annuities payable per annum	other debts.
BOSTON	14,130	1,322. 0.0	£14,000 on tontine
NOTTINGHAM	18,030	644.11.0	nil
YORK	10,500	95. 0.0	
BEVERLEY	nil	182. 0.0	
DONCASTER	86,800	848.17.10	£2,200
HULL (since 1828)	34,324	1,160.10.3	£1,075
LIVERPOOL	792,009	-	
SCARBOROUGH	1,500	-	

(42)

There remained only one alternative expedient left to the corporations : the sale of civic property. Alienation of the corporate possessions was not necessarily a badly judged move. At Leicester between 1800-1810 some £8,386.17.0d was raised by the sale of houses and gardens which had previously returned only £127.8.6d p.a. in rent. This money, together with £1,613.13.0 received from the sale of the property in the funds

(42)

MCR 2158,1999,1757,1462,1506,1570,1723

was subsequently applied to the redemption of the land tax which totalled approximately £80 p.a.; the redemption of an annual rent payable to the Duchy of Lancaster "which incumbered the Whole of the Corporation Estates"; the expenses of the South Fields enclosure and sub-division, and the purchase of several small areas of land. The consequence of these transactions was an additional income of over £220 p.a. from the two redemptions and an increased rental of almost £1,000 from the South Fields.(43) By judicious application of the profits from these sales, the corporation had thus augmented their annual income by about £1,000. This astute deal was followed in 1814 by the sale of five acres of the South Fields. This area had previously let for approximately £30 p.a. but was sold for £6,577.16.0d of which some four thousand pounds was reinvested in property. The houses and buildings thus purchased were let for £132 p.a. The corporation had, of course, benefited from the demands of the growing urban centre. Land previously used only for agricultural purposes was sold at a tremendously enhanced value as building land to house the expanding population. Not surprisingly the South Fields Committee observed that "...much land eligible for building upon, and adjoining the streets which have already been laid out, still remains unsold, and

(43) I. B. R. entry No 1382

as it now lets for only six pounds per acre, and the clear produce from the sale of it would be at least £1,250 per acre, your committee feel themselves called upon to recommend to the Hall in the strongest terms the policy of continuing to sell those parts so long as customers can be found, by which means the corporation will in time be enabled to execute any scheme of public advantage which they may have in contemplation, or they may be enabled by re-investing the produce in the purchase of other property to add at least £50 p.a. to their income for every acre which they can sell". The committee themselves felt that re-investment was the answer, "it being the estimation of your committee of essential importance that the annual expenditure of the corporation should be confined to its income only".(44) and thereafter property alienations were undertaken with justified assurance. In January 1815 the South Fields committee made street plans which they could heartily recommend, for they "brought into a Building situation a quantity of land near to the Town which would otherwise have remained excluded from the market", (45) and by the time of the Municipal Commission, the public estimated that between twenty-five and thirty acres of the South Fields had been sold. The accuracy of this estimate was subsequently challenged by the corporation in a communication after the close of the Enquiry, in which they

(44) LBR entry no 1415

(45) LBR entry no 1416

asserted that only thirteen acres, ^{hundred and} three~~h~~twenty-eight yards had been sold since 1814, making in all 18 acres 328 yds.(46)

However, it seems clear that the application of the purchase money received deserves little criticism, albeit that the sale transactions showed gross partiality.(47) The corporation had richly enhanced their annual income through a willingness to adapt to the changing values. Perhaps the sacrifice of open land to housing estates was unsavoury to contemporaries, but in an age when bricks and mortar have made an even greater advance, it must nevertheless be resignedly accepted that pleasures must give way to material profits. The profits, however acquired, from sales of land at Leicester, and their reinvestment, amply demonstrate that alienations of the corporate property could have beneficial results.

But unless such money was wisely reinvested, the only result which the corporation could expect was deeper and deeper indebtedness. A reduction of the primary source of income was the last thing the borough could afford, and the only ramification could be an increasing inability to meet costs. Yet at Boston, Nottingham and York, it appears that property alienations were invariably undertaken to provide cash for expenses already incurred.

(46) MCR 1904, 1905

(47) MCR 1905 It was asserted that the corporation had sold large areas of the land to councillors at preferential prices, and it seems more than likely that this was indeed so.

The money from sales which was reinvested was negligible, and the overall result was a slow decline in the number of corporate possessions.

Both Nottingham and York corporations possessed wooded estates from which timber could occasionally be profitably sold. In 1758 the committee established at York "to enquire what some of money will be wanted to pay off and discharge the city debts... and how and by what means the same can be raised....", recommended the sale of timber from the farm at Laxton "for the best price that can be got for the same....." (48). Accordingly this produced £80 (49) and was, therefore, a possession of some value. The corporate woods were indeed, regularly but not excessively, thinned. In 1765 a parcel of wood at Fawdington realised £200, and the following year, wood at Carlton was sold for £110. In 1797 wood at both Carlton and Fawdington was sold for £816 and ten years later, the sale of timber from Carlton, realised no less than £3,220 and that from Fawdington £424.(50) These were therefore assets of great value, and though Nottingham did not have comparable possessions, the corporation nevertheless secured a small irregular income from such sales, receiving £230 in 1739 and in 1766 £94.10.0 for the trees in the Coppice.(51)

(48) YHB 44f67

(49) YCAB 1760/1

(50) YCAB 1765/6, 1766/7, 1797/8, 1807-8, 1808-9

(51) NCAB 1739/40, 1766/7

Unfortunately however, the produce from the woods could only be slowly replenished and sales irregularly made, and both corporations increasingly turned to the actual alienation of possessions to provide ready cash.

As had been noticed, as early as 1717, Nottingham council found that the only way to pay their debts was to sell their splendid estate at Mansell Parke in Derbyshire.(52) This valuable property had produced an annual rent of £68 exclusive of heavy entry fines charged for the lease; but the resolution had been made and the transaction secured to the corporation for no less than £2,380.(53) This entire sum went to the payment of old debts and bills. After repaying Robie Sherwin his loan with interest, there remained £996.10.0 of which £175..1..6d was specifically stated to have been "pd about ye new pavement", (apparently the Market Place) (54) while the remainder went to the liquidation of the accumulated loans, debts and bills. Indeed the corporate indebtedness was such, that in addition to the money raised from Mansell Parke, a share in the waterworks had also been sold.(55) Thereafter sales of property took place irregularly but not infrequently. The absence of account books between 1699-1723, as too the brevity of the entries throughout the period from 1660-1795, leaves scant

(52) NHB 3480/18

(53) Acct. book of Richd. Smith recording the income from the sale and its disbursement 7438

(54) NHB 3480/18; 3481/5,7; 3481/11 all the streets to be viewed to ascertain how much corporation is liable to pave

(55) For what price we do not know, since there are no accounts between 1699-1723 NHB 3480/16a

evidence from which to work. What evidence we do have however, suggests that sales for the purposes of meeting commitments were made all too often. In 1724 land was sold to the value of £80, possibly to meet the slightly heavier expenditure incurred in that year. In the same year several houses at Puddle-Dock in Blackfriars, London, were sold for £126, but this was the property of the school estate. It had however, again been sold not for the inconvenience it occasioned, situate so many miles away, nor because of its economic inviability, but in order to repay the costs of a law suit in which the corporation had been involved with the past school master, Richard Johnson, (56) In order to meet the costs of the exchange and shambles improvements between the years 1725-28, a considerable amount of property was sold. Two messuages in Angel Row realized £300 in 1726/7, tenements in Carter Gate in the same year were sold for £150, and £600 was received for the White Lion Inn on Backside. The sales continued the following year, (57) and it was apparently by such means that the further £1,399.14..8d owing to the corporation's bankers was raised. (58)

In 1732 the Castle Inn, two messuages, a tract of waste land and the Pindars fee were sold in order to repay Alderman Langford a portion of his large loan, and several years later, further

(56) see 353a

(57) NIB 3486f16, 18, 20; 3487f17b, 22 et passim.

(58) 1802 F/209 £1032.18.1d was raised by Ald. Langford's loan.

(56) Johnson was for some time mentally unbalanced, and ostensibly on these grounds, though apparently for other motives, the corporation dismissed him without a sufficient pension. He however, received from them a testimonial, and on the strength of this, brought a suit against them for having dismissed him for insanity. The corporation counsellor, Abney, in irritation said at the trial "in short, Mr. Johnson, that has happend to you which Felix imputed to Paul, much learning hath made thee mad". To which Johnson sarcastically replied that "whatever might be the case with respect to himself, he was persuaded that the excellent Judge...and the...Court, would agree with him in opinion, that the gentleman who made this remark would never be made from the same cause". (N. Review 20th Nov. 1833) (and memoirs of Gilbert Wakefield 1792). The corporate defence was dismissed and the hall faced costs of £126. Dr. Thomas in his History of the Nottingham High School (1957)

73 note 1 does not give currency to the assertion that the Puddlak sale was to pay these legal costs. He fails however to give any reasons for his opinion, and though I would agree wholeheartedly with him that the corporation was long before this date, heavily in debt, there seems little reason to doubt that the sale of the Blackfriars property was indeed occasioned by the costs above noted.

sales reduced his loan still further. In the middle years of the 1730's, heavy legal costs associated with the cases prosecuted for non payment of bills, doubtless explain alienations to the value of some £450, and so throughout the century, property sales were almost invariably made to answer indebtedness.(59) They were however, spasmodic, according to the state of the finances, but from the last years of the eighteenth century, sales came to be a regular feature in the annual income. Between 1796-1835, alienations were made to a value of £45,054.7.3d at Nottingham. (See appendix X)

Nottingham:-

	1796-1805	1800-1815	1816-1825	1826-1835
Land	1503..9..0	5410.16..5	18564.15..3	11461..1..8
Shares	2017..0..0	1800. 0..0	nil	nil
TOTAL:	3520..9..0	7210.18..5	18564.15..3	11461..1..8

From the money thus raised virtually no reinvestment at all was made. This income was needed to make ends meet, and a surplus was simply unavailable for such applications. It is clear that the corporation at Nottingham did recognise the

(59) See Appendix X

value of purchasing further properties. In 1833 when a profit of £1,397 was handed over from the previous chamberlain, the corporation apparently felt sufficiently secure to purchase property on Long Row, and on Burton Leys to the value of £919. (60) No extraordinary revenues of any note were raised during the year, but unfortunately the financial well-being could not be maintained, and a deficit of £848 was incurred. Clearly it was not for want of sense that the extraordinary revenues failed to be ploughed back into the conciliar wealth. There had indeed been purchased for over £5,000 the Jalland and Langley shambles in 1829, but for this purpose, loans of £6,750 apparently had to be raised. (61)

The one redeeming feature in this melee of sales however, lay in the fact that the corporation was not alienating on any drastic scale, the property from which its rental income derived. The property sold during the nineteenth century consisted almost entirely of areas hitherto under-developed. As the town population expanded rapidly, demand for housing and land in the small circumscribed town, grossly inflated land and property values. How soon the corporation began to benefit by selling large areas of land is not certain. As has been stated, the brevity of the accounts allows of no itemization of entries, but the council

(60) NCAB 1833/4

(61) NCAB 1829/30

minutes record that by 1793 the corporation had sold land on Tollhouse Hill and five lots on the Sandhills for £937..6..7d.(62)

It was this type of land which featured in the sales in the early nineteenth century:- waste land on the edges of the town. As Enfield (Town Clerk) stated at the 1833 Enquiry, the property sales were almost entirely of building land.(63) As demands for housing grew, the corporation alienated, or let on building lease, the areas on the old town's perimeter; on the Mansfield and Derby roads. Some of this was commonable and provoked opposition from amongst the burgesses, but from 1821, sales of land on Mansfield Road and York Street proceeded without abatement. Between 1821 and 1825 they realized £9,010.15.10d. Inevitably land prices rose steeply with the population pressure of the 1820's. In August 1822, waste land on Mansfield Road was selling for five or six shillings a square yard; by the following year it had risen to seven shillings and in 1824 fetched ten shillings. By 1826 its value was no less than 15/- a square yard.(64)

At the same time, the construction of the Nottingham canal enhanced the value of the land on the South of Leenside, and in consequence, in 1793 the corporation decided to let Butchers' Close - previously pasture land - in wharfs on thirty year leases. (65) The Island too was let as wharfs (66), but within

(62) NHB 3552/20

(63) T.Cockayne, op.cit., 45

(64) 3987 Ann.Cttee.reports passim.

(65) NHB 3552f39

(66) NHB 3553f9

a few years, the corporation resolved instead to sell these areas. The first large sale of land in Butcher's Close took place in 1804 for over 9/- a square yard, and by 1825 sales here had been made to the value of over £5,500.

Even where the properties had been in lease, the sales appear to have been not injudicious. The Bowling Alley house sold to John Crackle in 1822 for £1,100 had previously been leased for only £13 p.a., and the Island indubitably produced better returns when sold than it could have done in lease. Parts of it were still let, but those parts which were sold, realized at least £8,770 between 1824/1832.(67)

In many respects therefore, the corporation at Nottingham was pursuing a wise policy. They alienated few of their buildings and established agricultural lands, but sold large areas which had hitherto been waste. The inflated land values rendered immense returns, and the corporation had realized the benefits to be made. Yet they had utterly failed to view the long term effects of their actions. To reap the fullest benefits, the monies received should have been wisely invested, rendering to the corporation at Nottingham, as at Leicester, increased annual receipts. Had the corporation only hesitated in their rush to sell, they may

(67) NCAB 1824-35 NB The years 1826-8 do not contain specified entries of sales.

have realized that their annual cash receipts could have been used to develop other areas of waste. The profits of each sale could have been used for the erection of properties for lease on land which otherwise was to come under the hammer.

But perhaps in this matter, as in others, the corporation had little power to help themselves. The income from the sales was entirely absorbed in the years' accounts. To have invested would have created a considerable time lag before the increased income was felt, and although the returns would have been regular, they would have been but a percentage of the principal received from the sales. The corporation was simply not in a position to act according to long term returns. The vicious circle had been in progress for too long, and the council could not escape. Its need for ready cash sabotaged any hope of escaping from the spiral of debt.

At Boston and York the corporations indulged in alienations of no comparable magnitude with Nottingham primarily because they did not have similar land available. Between 1796 and 1835 only £18,557.17.3¹/₂d was raised by sales at York, and most of this occurred in the years immediately before and after the establishment of the finance committee in 1812.^(67a) It was the decision of this committee that, to cover the £11,710 in debts, not only should

(67a) Appendix X

money be raised by loan and annuity, but that some property should also be sold.(68) In May 1812, the sale of the Tang Hall estate was ordered, in November further city houses were to be alienated, and early in 1813 the committee even resorted to the sale of all the "old broken Mayor's furniture". The Tang Hall estate was not in fact sold, but other properties of lowish rent and heavy maintenance cost realized £1,721 in 1812/13 and £6,475 in 1813/14. Few of these properties made any major contribution to the rental income, but, on the other hand, there was no inflation comparable to that at Nottingham to push prices very high. Wasteground sold at Foss Bridge realized only 2/- per square yard. The following table gives some indication of the rental and selling prices:-

	<u>Rent</u>	<u>Selling Price</u>
1812/13		
Punchbowl Stonegate	6.12.0	1110..0..0
Ground-Foss Bridge	5.0	714..5..0
House Holgate Lane	9. 0.0	398..0..0
Houses-Micklegate Bar	21.10.0	905..0..0
Close Walmgate	16. 0.0	605..0..0
Close nr.Horsefair	22. 0.0	535..0..0
The DogKennel	4. 4.0	270..0..0
Pavement Cross	1. 0.0	150..0..0
p.a.	<u>120.11.0</u>	<u>4687.15.. 0</u>

(68) YHB 13th April 1812

As at Nottingham there was no question of applying the money raised to long-term profits. The sales had been effected purely to raise money for the liquidation of standing debts. The committee did evince an awareness that some properties would be better sold, but their good sense was not always acted upon. In 1824 it was recommended that The Tavern, being "a species of property entailing very considerable expenses annually upon the corporation.... should be sold and the Purchase money laid out in the purchase of other Freehold estates".(69) The resolution however was never put into practice.

At Boston too it was principally in order to meet expenses that sales of the corporate property occurred. Alienations had taken place from time to time since the corporation received its first Charter in 1545,(70) but they did not occur on a large scale until the early nineteenth century when the finance committee, "having investigated the Accounts of the corporation and considered of the best mode of raising a sum of Money for erecting the intended bridge, recommend(ed) the sale of the Estates as under, from which it may be reasonably expected that the sum of £9000 of thereabouts may be raised for erecting the said bridge and other necessary improvements in the borough".(71) The rental of the estates was £188.17.6d p.a.,

(69) E77 31st December 1824

(70) 5/A/3/26; 4/B/3/112

(71) BAB January 7th 1803

and to most of the proposed sales the council consented. The auctions did not all take place immediately, but in 1803-4 £2,196..1..9d was received from the sales of land and houses, and the following two years produced a further £3,494. Thereafter sales again slowed down, but old materials and occasional alienations continued to provide an appreciable income until 1822.(72)

Perhaps one of the more ill advised sales however was that of the shares which the corporation held in the Witham navigation. The corporation first invested in the project in 1765 and within the next ten years purchased £2,000 worth of shares bearing interest at 5% p.a. In 1814/15 the council contributed a further £1,000 and was therefore receiving £150 p.a. It was not a large return, but it would have been difficult to better it appreciably, but the decision to sell these securities in 1823 (73) by public auction

(72) BCAB; Appendix K

(73) It is noticeable that at Nottingham too, most of the securities of this nature were sold during the early nineteenth century. e.g. 5 Flood Road shares, bought 1797 & 1801, sold 1805 and 1824; Nottingham Canal, 12 shares held; 3 sold 1800, remaining 9 sold 1809; Ledgers A.B.C.D.

demonstrates the financial difficulties which the corporations faced. They could not afford to hold investments of this nature at only a 5% yield p.a. Indeed they could not, in the short term, afford to invest at all. Their entire income and all their reserves were needed to meet the growing expenses of corporate business. But in the long term it was the ordinary annual produce from properties and investments which was all-important.

For some years before 1835 therefore, the borough councils at Boston, Nottingham and York had serious financial problems. Their primary source of income, that received from the rental of their estates, had increased enormously in yield over the centuries, but it had still failed to keep pace with the mounting expenses which the councils had to meet. It was in any case, ill-suited to the fluctuating expenses of civic administration; it was both inappropriate and inadequate as a primary revenue for the expanding urban centres, which the three towns were becoming. But more significantly it began to provide a steadily decreasing proportion of the corporate financial needs from year to year. Some of the deficiency was met by the expanding value of other regular sources of income, as the three councils purchased shares in local government schemes, or invested their money in government consols.

At Boston returns on turnpike and navigation shares produced over £200 p.a. during the 1790's, and at York returns from the Ouse Bridge commissioners on money lent by the corporation on the security of the tolls, produced £²1,908.16..0 interest between 1810-1822.(74) But it was essentially from loans, property sales and other extraordinary sources, that the deficiency between income and expenditure was met.

The financial position first became noticeably difficult in the middle years of the eighteenth century, as the increasing resort to extraordinary sources of revenue, amply illustrates. At York the Chamberlains' accounts reveal a marked dependence upon extraordinary income after 1758. From 1751-1758 inclusive, no extraordinary income was received, and the overall profit on the account was 14/7d. In the eight years after 1758 £1,823.12.1½d was purposely raised from extraordinary sources, and a further £195 was received from unexpected donations and other irregularly recurring supplies. The overall profit on the income of the eight years was £266.1..4d, leaving an absolute deficiency in the ordinary revenue of £1,557.10..9½d.

<u>YORK</u>	£..s..d
Overall profit on accounts 1751/58	14 7
Balance in hand 1751	£63.15.7½d
" " 1758	64.10.2½d
Casual income raised 1751/58	- - -
therefore <u>total profit on ordinary income 1751/58:-</u>	<u>14. 7</u>
overall profit on accounts 1759/66	166 1 4
balance in hand 1758	£64.10.2½
" " 1766	330.11.6½
casual income raised 1759/66	<u>1823. 12. 1½</u>
therefore <u>total deficit on ordinary income</u>	<u>1557.10..9½d</u>
<u>1759/66</u>	

(74) Sum loaned by corporation £6,595, which was entirely repaid by 1822, but no trace of this loan going from corporate a/c's to the Commissioners.

These years marked the beginning of a trend which became increasingly apparent as the century progressed. In the decade from 1760 to 1769 the income from loans, sales and annuities accounted for 14.4% of the total income received, and a fall in this form of revenue in the succeeding twenty years was made possible only by the sharp rise in the returns from purchased freedoms and exoneration fines. Thereafter money raised from loans, sales and annuities became increasingly vital to corporate solvency. The following tables illustrate clearly the increasing reliance upon extraordinary income which in all three boroughs became particularly marked after 1790, and which saw Nottingham between 1800 & 1835 raising as much by sales and loans as by rental income. (75)

Rental income as a percentage of total income worked from decennial averages. (76)

Date.	1660-9	1680-9	1700-09	1720-9	1740-9	1760-9
Boston	-	-	88.5	97	95	76.5
Nottn.	88%	92%	-	77%	72.7%	71%
York ¹	46.5%	46%	45%	47.4%	69.5%	55%
York ² (77)	69.5%	69.8%	88%	87.5	94.9	77.4

Date:	1770-9	1780-9	1790-9	1800-9	1810-9	1820-9
Boston	40%	52.5%	60%	36.6%	32%	48.7%
Nottn:(78)	69.5%	76%	54.5%	53%	48%	42%
York ¹	65.5%	62%	61.5%	52%	46%	53.5%
York ²	97.1%	88.6%	79%	70.6%	56.8%	68.4%

(75) 1820 to 1834 average income p.a. Rents: £3475
 Sales: £2030
 Loans: £1360

(76) The late Chamberlains' balances have been included in the total income. In most years this is small, and makes little difference to the figures quoted, but even when it was large, as at Boston in 1795 to 1835, its exclusion from the total income figure does not materially alter the trends which appear. Its most noticeable effect is to increase the percentage which rental income, as the largest single item, bore to the total income. See Appendices I & III

(77) York figures (2) show rental income plus freedom and exoneration fines as a percentage of the total income. Rental income at York never constituted so large a percentage of total income as at Boston and Nottingham, primarily because freedom and exoneration fines always provide a large income. Although this income was unreliable it was generally regular and substantial. Although variable, the income from these two sources was rarely low. In the last forty years of the seventeenth century it fluctuated violently, but only twice dropped below £50 from either source, and they together averaged £260 p.a. 1700-40 both sources gave consistently high returns, and although exonerations for the next twenty years remained low, there was at the least, always the fine from the six or eight Chamberlains. The income received at York from freedom and exoneration fines can therefore, to some degree, be regarded as ordinary 'income', providing most years a regular and substantial income, but open also to exploitation. Unlike at Boston and Nottingham, income from this source never dropped to nothing at York.

(78) At Nottingham the declining rental percentage 1760-1789 was created by the income received from the late school and bridge balances. These comprised: 1760-9 8.6%; 1770-79 10.5%; 1780-9 11.53% of the total income. At Boston the sharp decline in rental percentage 1770-9^{ca} largely a result of extraordinary income raised for the Coopers' Row and other projects, and the maintenance of a substantial balance at each year end.

Categories of income as a percentage of total income, worked from decennial averages

	1780-89		1790-99			1800-09		
	Boston	Boston	Nottingham	York	Boston	Nottingham	York	
Rent	52.5	60.0	54.5	61.5	36.6	53.0	52.0	
Other ordinary income: Investments, freedoms, exonerations	12.5	11.6	3.02	0.23	4.9	6.2	0.56	
Freedom & exonerations fines - York				17.5			18.6	
Loans, annuities, sales	26.5	15.7	26.4	16.7	31.6	33.8	23.6	
Donations, levies, Charities paid in	1.66	nil	0.0	0.45	0.74	0.0	0.12	
Returns on Charity money invested	nil	nil	3.3	0.0	nil	3.60	1.15	
Undesignated casual Late Chamberlains Balance	2.4	10.8	3.2	1.34	16.1	1.15	4.16	
School Wardens/Bridge masters contributions Nottingham.			3.96			0.0		
Erection bailiff contributions - Boston	0.795	1.15			7.87			
Treasurer contributions - Boston	3.48	nil			0.64			
Total	99.835	99.25	100.33	97.72	98.45	96.75	98.99	

	1810-19			1820-29		
	Boston	Nottingham	York	Boston	Nottingham	York
Rent	32.0	43.0	46.0	48.7	42.0	53.5
Other ordinary income: Investments, freedoms, exonerations.	4.05	4.25	6.5	9.3	2.85	11.3
Freedom & exonerations fines - York			10.8			14.9
Loans, annuities, sales	22.56	46.0	30.3	20.4	50.5	12.5
Donations, levies, Charities paid in	6.0	0.8	0.99	0.61	1.81	0.96
Returns on Charity money invested	nil	0.47	0.11	nil	0.25	0.74
Undesignated casual Late Chamberlains Balance	26.4	0.0	5.2	9.65	2.36	5.16
School Wardens/Bridge masters contributions Nottingham.		0.0			0.0	
Erection Bailiff contributions - Boston	7.0			10.02		
Treasurer contributions - Boston	nil			nil		
Total	100.01	99.52	99.80	98.68	99.77	99.06

Even with the money raised from extraordinary sources, the council at Nottingham became heavily insolvent. In contrast with Boston and York there was invariably a deficit on the yearly accounts from 1800-1835. Evidently the council did not plan their financial position with the care shown in the other two boroughs. But in all three, the deficit on the income with which the council was traditionally expected to meet all civic requirements was immense. The chartered property, toll and other miscellaneous rights and privileges had never been intended to provide local government such as the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century towns were coming to require. But in a limited way the three councils were meeting these needs by the provision of improved streets and public buildings, yet their financial provisions remained unaltered. The expenses could be met only by extraordinary revenues. Even in their "ordinary" expenditure the councils were facing insolvency. The calculations by the Boston finance committee suggest that "ordinary" expenses exceeded the expected rental income by over £400 p.a. between 1824 & 27, (79) and extraordinary expenses swelled this deficit to an average of over £1,000 p.a., exclusive of the repayment of principals owing on bond.

(79) 2/D/5 Figures quoted as follows:-

	Total income i.e. expected rental + interest & tythes.	Ordinary expenditure
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1824/5	4425.17.0	4566. 7. 0
1825/6	4281.18.0	4810. 7. 0
1826-7	4289.10.0	4824.10. 0
1827/8	4237. 1.0	4768. 2. 0
	<u>17234. 6.0</u>	<u>18969. 6. 0</u>

Deficit 1824 to 7 = £1,735 (on ordinary accounts)

Extraordinary Expenses still to be deducted 1824-7 = £2,764

1824 to 1827 Total deficit: £4,499 = £1,125 p.a.

1821 to 1827 " " : £13,687 = £1,955 p.a.

By 1835, the position was slightly improved. For the year beginning May 1835, ordinary revenue, namely the rents due, interest on securities and £350 interest from the Erection bailiff for £7,000 owing on the bridge, would have realized £3,808.0.6d. Ordinary disbursements for interest on loans, and annuities, salaries, pensions, subscriptions to charities and annual assessments, would have totalled £3,443.19.6, leaving a balance of only £364.1.6d, which was entirely dependent upon the interest received from the Erection bailiff. But from this balance there was the cost of repairs, legal advice, and all other incidentals to be met. In the twelve years between 1824-1835, these amounted to no less than £20,354.3.10d, and in 1835 alone, extraordinary expenses for the eight months from May 1st to December 24th totalled £2,881.18.6d.(80)

Yet before the close of the eighteenth century, town clerks' bills, and repairs had become so regular an expense as to constitute none other than "ordinary" expenditure. Only improvement schemes, unexpected celebrations, and extraordinary legal suits could by this time, fairly be termed contingent expenses, and even these occurred with a monotonous regularity. But taking total expenditure as it appears in the chamberlains'

(80) Report of the finance committee appointed by the town council of the borough of Boston, to examine the accounts of the late corporation, containing a summary of the accounts for the last twelve years. (1836) Boston public library

accounts, there was in all three boroughs an increasingly heavy discrepancy between the customary revenue (i.e. total income exclusive of loans, sales, annuities and the later Chamberlains' balances) and the total income necessary to meet expenditure. The subjectivity of calculations made from the accounts becomes immediately apparent from the two finance reports mentioned above, which neither tally one with another, nor with the chamberlains accounts themselves. (81)

But from the accounts as they remain today, it is clear that between 1790-1834, a total of £86,321 was raised at Boston by extraordinary means: by sales and various types of loans. This moreover was only the cash levy, and excludes all bills transferred to bond, and all loans which never entered the accounts. (82) At York the cash loans and sales entered in the account were rather less, amounting to some £59,297.1.3½d (83) between 1790-1834 inclusive, but only £5,965 of this was raised before 1806 and the debts owing on tradesmen's bill were particularly heavy.

(81) The figures in the report 2/D/5 although not annotated can be readily comprehended and bear comparison with the actual accounts. Extraordinary incomes were ignored, the rental income used was the expected rent, and no repayments of principal were recorded. The later report of 1836 however is much less clear. Although convincingly set out, it is extremely difficult to correlate it to the actual accounts.

(82) Exclusive of the accounts for 1792/3, 1798/9, which are missing.

(83) £2,753.17.11 received for 4% consols sold in 1833 and 1834 also £900.8.10d. rec'd 1826/7 for consols at 3% has been included.

The discrepancy between ordinary income and total income is clearly indicated by the figures available at Nottingham.

Nottm: 1795-1835 NCAB.(84)

	To nearest £ Total income	'ordinary' income	Total income	'ordinary' income.	
1795-6	2125	1439	3513	2805	1810/11
6-7	1657	1300	3134	3013	11/12
7-8	2983	1420	2945	2939	12/13
8-9	1429	1333	8281	3086	13/14
9-800	2269	1441	6470	2696	14/15
1800-1	1964	1607	7162	2846	15/16
01-2	2119	1949	6285	2792	16/17
02-3	2064	1667	5360	2708	17/18
03-4	1793	1696	5496	2927	18/19
04-5	4315	2014	4933	2892	19/20
05-6	3024	1930	6297	3064	20/21
06-7	2848	2242	8281	3348	21/22
07-8	3653	2022	4500	3302	22/23
08-9	4196	2191	10998	4036	23/24
09-10	6237	2510	6758	3119	24/25
			7930	3446	25/26
			8339	3556	26/27
			6415	3690	27/28
			7077	3856	28/29
			12563	3772	29/30
			7171	4116	30/1
			6702	4511	31/2

Deficiency of ordinary income to total income:- 1821-30 £36,241

av:= £3,624 p.a.

(84) i.e. total income exclusive of late Chamberlains' balances, the income from loans, sales, annuities, and returns on charities £96 p.a. on Bilbies & Lambleys 1795-1805; £116 from 1805-1810. After 1810 (nil) except for odd years when accordingly deducted). Also excluded 1826-7 a levy for dilapidations on leasehold, and 1827,28, 1829,1831 grants from the market place account. These figures correlate closely with those given to the municipal commissioners and quoted in T.Cockayne, op.cit., 61

Under these circumstances, the councils could do no other than resort to loans and property sales, yet by these means their insolvency was only made more acute. By their bond commitments, the three councils entered a spiral of debt from which their ordinary revenues could not release them. The principals could be repaid only by further extraordinary levies, while the interest payments augmented the ordinary annual outgoings. yet further, averaging almost 50% of the total rental income at Boston and Nottingham by 1820-29.

BOSTON: Interest paid on loans, annuities and tontines, p.a
decennial averages.

1770-9	£572	1800-09	£1,148	1830-34	£1,984
80-9	813	10-19	1,546		
90-9	903	20-29	2,036		
Interest as % of rental income.			as % of total income.		
1770-9	49%			19.4%	
80-9	58%			30.6%	
90-9	53.5%			32.6%	
1800-09	50%			18.4%	
10-19	47.5%			15.4%	
20-29	50.4%			26.6%	

NOTTINGHAM: Interest paid on loans and annuities p.a. -
decennial averages. (no annuities taken until 1814)

(85)					
1800-09	£230	1810-19	£695	1820-29	£1348
				1830-34	£1392
Interest as a % of rental income.			as % of total income.		
1800-09	13.5%			7.1%	
10-19	27.8%			13.0%	
20-29	40.0%			17.0%	

(85) The figures in the accounts at Nottingham are inadequately detailed. -before 1795. At York the interest payments always included other 'outgoings' and are also unreliable.

Moreover as interest payments increased the annual commitments still further, property sales decreased the regular income. The sale of property by a body to whom rental payments were the principal supply of money was both short-sighted and ill-advised, when it was not followed by re-investment. But there seemed to be no alternative solutions to the growing corporate insolvency. The primary form of income was ill-adapted to the needs of the new urban boroughs which were emerging from the metamorphosis of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and the councils were powerless to amend these inadequate financial provisions. Many boroughs did, it is true, take advantage of their right to levy a county rate on the inhabitants, but this was not technically applicable to the corporate responsibilities at large. It was intended primarily for the costs of the administration of justice, and the maintenance of the gaols, the prisoners and vagrants. Necessarily such applications relieved the councils of several financial responsibilities which they had hitherto borne, but it is noticeable that at Nottingham at least, the imposition of the county rate was accompanied by a vast increase in spending in these spheres, and removed few financial commitments of any real value from the corporate shoulders. (86)

(86) The county rate was definitely authorized by Statute 24 Geo III c 54 1734. See Chapter 6

Long before 1835 therefore, Boston, Nottingham and York, as too many other corporations, were deeply in debt. Yet if they could not resolve their insolvency, neither did they have any real means to avoid it. All three boroughs attempted to economise. This was less successful at Boston and Nottingham than at York, but there was in any case a limit to what could be effected by retrenchment alone. Recurring expenses consumed almost the entire ordinary revenue before repairs were even considered, and as the efforts of the finance committee at York clearly show, costly repairs, improvements and other contingent expenses could only be postponed. Thus although retrenchment could successfully reduce expenditure below income for a number of years, this position could not be maintained. The result at York was the borrowing of some £17,200 in the ten years following the finance committee's report in 1824 that they had liquidated all the debts.

There was however one conspicuous error in the financial management of all three boroughs. Each failed to make any serious and prolonged attempts to augment their regular income. All economies were futile until the annual income had been augmented, yet investment or a planned

incomes policy never emerged. Sales and loans were undertaken invariably to meet expenditure and rarely to effect building or investment programmes. But to a large degree the councils could not escape the error of their ways; they could not avoid being pulled into spiralling debt, for investment could yield only slow returns and their needs had become immediate. Expenditure had mounted so quickly after 1750 that they failed to recognize their problems until they became acute. The demands of the short term precluded long term planning, yet with so obsolete a form of income, long term planning was essential. Its absence was the most significant failure of the old corporations.

By 1835 corporate reform was essential from a financial viewpoint alone, but not because of corruption or maladministration. There was room for further retrenchment and closer management of expenditure, but essentially the financial problem would have remained. From the closing years of the eighteenth century the three councils had over-reached themselves. Encouraged by public approbation, they had conducted improvement schemes way beyond their means, and to finance them had entered into a spiral of debt from which they could not re-surface. Necessary as such schemes were, they overburdened the councils at a time when other expences were already rising markedly.

Coherent planning and permanent augmentation of income were certainly lacking, but the principal root of the problem lay in the obsolescence and unsuitability of the primary source of corporate income, to the growing needs of the boroughs which the councils were administering. The only real remedy lay in the establishment of a regular rate levy upon the inhabitants. Already available to the municipal borough in the form of a county rate, this levy was extended by the municipal act of 1835 to cover all expenses beyond the regular corporate income.(87) The rating system remained for some time in its infancy. At Boston the reformed council continually refused to pass a county rate. But it formed the germ of modern corporate finance, without which the widescale provision of amenities by most late nineteenth century councils could not have been effected. At Nottingham the county rate had indeed, prior to 1835, already been heavy - between 1814-24 it produced almost £7,000 p.a. But this revenue was applicable only to the provision and maintenance of justice. Its importance after 1835 is illustrated by the fact that in 1838 the corporation financed expenses of £11,320 almost entirely by ordinary revenue - by the county rate and the rental income.

(87) Municipal corporation Act 5 & 6 William IV c 76, 1033-4

From 1821-30 Nottingham's ordinary revenue averaged only £3,624 p.a., with the county rate applicable only to limited purposes. After 1835 whatever expenditure was considered necessary could be met without immediate recourse to loans and sales. Even at Boston, although the council refused to authorize a borough rate, and maintained local government purely from their rental income of just over £4,000 p.a., it was nevertheless from other sources that the principal amenities and services were provided. Paving, cleansing and lighting were maintained entirely by the commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament 32 Geo III 1792, and in 1850, 51, 52, the gross assessment for the drainage and lighting rates was £31,196. (88)

In 1835 municipal reform was essential. There was indeed a need for still closer management and control, but essentially the need was for a wider basis for corporate finance. The 1835 provisions were no panacea, and their effects were long in being felt, but they provided the beginnings of a new concept in local government. Essentially the unreformed boroughs at Boston, Nottingham and York had overreached themselves. They had tried to do too much with too small an income. Under pressure in many spheres, unpopular and mistrusted, the three councils had succumbed to the public demand and their

(88) H. Porter, op. cit., III 19-23

own increasing awareness of a need for improved urban conditions, and had tried to provide facilities way beyond their incomes. They could hardly be called forerunners of local government today, but they did much to update town conditions, providing greatly improved market places, better streets and new bridges. They had in fact done sufficient to enable the new councils to abandon any further large-scale improvement schemes, and to consider instead their financial position and repay the debts left by the pre 1835 corporations. There was in all three boroughs a noticeable lull in activity after 1835, as lack of financial resources, lack of power and lack of initiative continued to hinder municipal progress.(89) It was not until the last half of the nineteenth century that progress really began to be made, for like most other councils, municipal reform was at first merely followed by "a different body of people doing the same things as before in the same way".(90) As late as 1859 an editorial in the Nottingham paper complained that "Lanes and alleys we have in plenty, but of anything like main thoroughfares we are innocent,"(91) and at York the Ministry of Health report of 1884 leaves little doubt that substantial improve-

(89) Even with the new rate provisions this and the annual rent continued to be insufficient at Nottm. to meet ^{regular} expenditure until 1837/8 when a surplus of £615 remained, and in the early 1840's the average balance was only £700, despite the lack of improvement schemes. R.A. Church, op.cit., 180

(90) W. Ashworth, The genesis of Modern Town Planning (1954) 70

(91) Nottingham Review October 14th 1859

ments had not been achieved.(92) A change of personnel was clearly not the answer to the problems of local government in 1835. Attitudes of social responsibility amongst the councillors still needed developing. But after 1835, improved financial provision for civic administration, was slowly brought to bear. The financial chaos of 1835, which made reform so necessary, was primarily a result of inadequate money for growing needs.

(92) Report of the Prevalence of typhoid fever in York(1884)

CHAPTER 6

THE MUNICIPAL BOROUGH UNDER CHALLENGE

By 1835, the concepts upon which the financial provisions of most boroughs rested had become increasingly incompatible with the values and notions of the industrializing and urbanizing society. Many boroughs were faced not only with financial obsolescence, but with a growing radicalism among the public at large, which found expression in increasing opposition to the civic body and its rights and privileges. A prime example of outmoded practices and principles, the municipal corporation became a primary target for the new awareness of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century public, whose belief in social rights gave them a hatred of exclusiveness, of privilege and of the pecuniary impositions which so unrepresentative a body made upon them. England in 1835 was a very different place from England in 1660, and if the town council remained fundamentally unchanged, the attitude of the town population did not. No less important than the demographic and economic changes were those which took place in society and politics: even before the opening of the nineteenth century, politics, local and national, had become the concern of the man in the street. In the public houses and in the newspapers, the urban artisan, merchant or labourer, found stimulation for his new-found political and social awareness. A Thomas Paine

and a Jeremy Bentham was alive in many a town, exciting public feeling and organizing petitions and riots. Thus could James Ackland make a career of propaganda and arousing public opinion. Active in Bristol from 1827 until the riots in 1831, he printed a newspaper "The Bristolian" on unstamped paper, which became the basis of a campaign against the corporation. Tireless in his efforts he left Bristol one week before the Bristol riots and moved to Hull where he pursued a similar campaign of questioning and challenging everything possible. By 1840 he had joined the anti-corn law league, speaking, amongst other places, at Nottingham in 1840¹. In similar vein Caractacus D'Aubigny Shilton was ever ready at Nottingham to act as public spokesman against the corporation.² This awareness amongst the people at large, a growing sense of what was "right" or "just", a many faceted radicalism, was something new, and it grew enormously in strength during the last fifty years before 1835. More evident in Nottingham than in York or Boston³, the participation of the man in the street in politics was nevertheless evident in all the urban centres. And it was directed to an alarming degree against the conciliar bodies as the nearest example of all that was wrong with life. Opposition grew on all sides, not only amongst the unrepresented non-free, yet wealthy, traders and manufacturers, but amongst the burgesses too.

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1. K.A. MacMahon, Transport History 1969, "James Ackland and the Humber Ferry Monopoly";
D. Fraser, "Nottingham and the Corn Laws," Thoroton Society Transactions 67
 2. e.g. NHB 3594f191-99; 7652 iv a & b; See Chapter 3
 3. The town was well-known for its riots, not only at the times of the Luddites, but during the French Revolution and at other times too.

3

But it was not only in the streets and in the newspapers that the growing mistrust and division between the rulers and the ruled was felt. For it extended into what was becoming a more precarious sphere, that of corporate finance, and each swell of opposition was accompanied by a decline in the revenue from privileges both old and new.

One of the first sources of revenue to suffer from public opposition was the income derived from the privilege which most unreformed boroughs enjoyed, of collecting various tolls. Often a valuable source of income to the corporation, these became by the close of the period 1660-to-1835, the cause of violent and sustained opposition from the townspeople at large. They were considered unjust in their imposition upon certain classes of people and not least in the fact that burgesses of the borough in question were generally exempt, or only had a limited liability to toll.⁽⁴⁾ They were identified too as the cause of declining trade, but above all they constituted yet another financial burden upon the populace. A relic of medieval days, the tolls had become obsolete in the new industrializing society where manufacturers and shopkeepers had no toll liability. But they ~~were~~ often represented a valuable source of income to the corporation,⁽⁵⁾ and thus became one of the many spheres

4. This exemption could also extend in cases of boroughs with earlier charters, to freemen of other boroughs granted exemption of all toll in the kingdom.

5. Chapter 2 Financial provision in Boston, Nottingham and York 53

in which rulers and ruled came into bitter opposition. As a consequence the tolls were, in many cases, abandoned altogether in spite of the corporations' legal rights, and at best, their value declined significantly.

Opposition to the right to take toll had occurred in all three boroughs at an early date. In 1460 the corporation at York, "considering the great decay of this city that dayly decreases by the withdrawal of toll"⁶, ordered that all freemen swear on a book that they were buying and selling their own products and goods. But the years from 1660 and 1835 witnessed increasing challenge. In 1675, the corporation at Boston discovered that in order to "raiso and gaine unto themselves of his custome and to obstruct the --porte"; Adam an unjust advantage, and to hinder his said Matie/Tomlinson of York and William Hickson and William Hodgson of Scarborough doe endeavour to hinder the relators of the said Tolles and other priviledges ... with an intent to hinder the said navigaCon to the said Porte and Burrough of Boston" by erecting a wharf at Skirbeck quarter and bringing in several hundred chaldrons of coal and salt, skins and other goods on their way to Boston, without paying the toll?⁷ Odd cases of evasion and litigation are not uncommon at this period in all three boroughs⁸, but by the 1730's refusal to pay river tolls at Nottingham became a serious problem.

6. E35/116,3-4

7. 6/3

8. eg. Boston. B A B. 1670 g 536; BAB 1707 f 250.
Nottingham. MHB3449/19 (1682); 1692, 3 Vouchers.
York YCAB1667/1666; YHB41/148 (1714); YHB39/87,89 (1694/5)

Opposition to the council's right to navigation dues at various places along the Trent was early manifested by the burgesses of Newark who, in 1566, on the advice of one of their Aldermen, staunchly refused to pay the Nottingham toll.⁹ The collector subsequently impounded the horses of the next offenders but threatened with the loss of his life "and mutilation of his limbs", he was obliged to surrender them.¹⁰ By 1601 an agreement was concluded which exempted the Newcastle burgesses from the toll,¹¹ but opposition was manifest at all the Nottingham toll points along the Trent. In 1682 William Bingley, the farmer of the tolls at Everton and Mattersey, was given leave to employ Jonathan Acklam as Attorney to prosecute all who refused to pay,¹² and an order of 1684 remained the keyword for the remainder of the unreformed corporation's existence: "Upon refusall of paynt" the Sheriffs were to "take a reasonable distresse; and if such distresse shal be replevied, the charges of such suit shalbe defrayed at the charge of this corporacion".¹³ In the 1730's however resistance to tolls reached a peak, and it came not merely from foreigners. On June 16th 1731 it was ordered that "all the suits and disputes relating to the tolls upon Trent now being and depending.....between this corporacon and Mr. Francis Ward shall be psecuted and defonded on the part and behalf of this Corporacon".¹⁴ Ward held a wharfe at Trent Bridge in lease

9. NBR IV 42,131

10. NBR IV 45

11. NBR IV 261

12. NHB 3449f19

13. NHB 3451f29

14. NHB 3490f11

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from the corporation¹⁵, and his opposition to the underbridge tolls¹⁶ seems therefore deliberate and calculated. In fact the prosecution alleged that Francis Ward "is a contentious man" who "finding the sheriffes, who are only in for one year, not inclined to go to suit about it, has often kept off from paying the Toll. Sometimes he has paid and often contracted with sheriffes for it and then refused payment....."¹⁷

Action commenced in November 1732¹⁸, and pursuant to the order of June 1731, the Sheriffs were ordered in September 1734 to pay £15 towards the law charges involved in the case, the Chamberlains paying the remaining £11.¹⁹ This sum was however subsequently reduced to £10, since the profits of their office²⁰ were much decreased. By the time the case was concluded it was almost four years since Ward had first had his goods distrained, and the Sheriffs been authorized to commence legal action²¹ - a clear indication of the difficulty which the corporation faced in legally supporting its rights.

However, it was often upon questions of legal theory rather than the right of the corporation to take the toll, that the verdict of the case rested. Thus the case against Ward was²² dismissed, "as being a matter of law", and further opposition immediately ensued, "spirited up" so the corporation believed, by

15. 7444 1694 for 21 years; Renewed, with 7 years cancelled, in 1708 for 26 years.

16. NHB 3490f5a

17. 7643 Brief Shepherdson v Jackson

18. NHB 3492f4a

19. NHB 3493f18

20. NHB 3494f1b

21. NHB 3490f5a

22. 7643

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Francis Ward, since "the Navigators paid the toll for many years till the said bill (against Francis Ward) was dismissed."²³ In July 1735 the corporation agreed to defend Thomas Jackson and Samuel Taylor in a suit brought against them by one Samuel Shepperson of Derby, for their seizure of some deal boards in distress for a toll of 2d per ton which Shepperson refused to pay.²⁴ In 1735 "Notwithstanding a verdict has gone against Taylor and Jackson....." the corporation, undaunted, ordered that "proper measures be taken to preserve and keep the rights of the corporacon to the tolls of Goods on the Trent".²⁵ Messrs. Seagrave and Smith were required to draw up a proper defence²⁶, and a further action was to be brought against the Derby men.²⁷ The following year an action brought against the corporation lessee of Mattersy toll for a distress which he levied on Aaron Jeffries²⁸, was directed to be defended, but at the next Hall this case and a further action brought by Shepperson were "demurred to". With discretion, it was resolved that only the case brought by the corporation against Joseph Eggleston of Derby should be continued.²⁹ But actions against such continued and extensive opposition to the corporate levies had reached unmanageable proportions, and eventually the suit against Eggleston was also discontinued.³⁰ The final bill rendered by the Town Clerk for the defence of suits over tolls

23. 7643

24. NHB 3494/f20,21

25. NHB 3494/f21 Aug. 5th 1735

26. NHB 3494/f24 Sept. 3rd 1735.

27. NHB 3495/f15 Jan. 1736.

28. NHB 3495/f15 Jan. 1736.

29. NHB 3495/f16 Jan. 1736

30. A voucher 1735/6 No. 81: 22nd May "ordered that the palintiffs pay defendant his costs...for his attendance at the last assizes because the plitiffs did not proceed to the Trial of the Cause" £19..19..4d.

Mayor and Burgesses of Nottingham against Eggleston.

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between 1735 and 1737 amounted, alone, to no less than
£634 : 6 : 4³¹d, and the corporate right to such tolls
had apparently still not been vindicated. The final
verdict in the last trial over the Trent tolls in the
1735 to 1737 controversies was ultimately removed from
the Assize Jury to the court of Common Pleas where
the right of the corporation to damages of 8d, and expenses
of £2 : 13 : 4d, was to be dependent upon the decision of
that court as to whether Richard Lambert originally promised
payment of the corporation tolls.³² Opposition continued,
but legal action was not employed; perhaps the corporation
felt that the costs did not justify the end. It is not
therefore surprising that the tolls collected at Everton,
Gunthorpe and Fiskerton disappear from the rental book. In
1762 a committee was appointed to inspect the charters and
other evidence regarding the corporate right to tolls,
especially at Gunthorpe,³³ but after 1768 the rental of
Gunthorpe tolls is not to be found. The entries for Fiskerton
and Everton disappeared long before, and it seems doubtless
that the corporation ultimately abandoned their rights.
Meanwhile, although they continued to collect at Newark and
Nottingham bridges, the corporation had not been able to

31. Vouchers 1604b, 142, 1

32. 7643

33. MIB 3521/19

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legally justify its claims. In 1820 the farmer at Trent Bridge informed the Hall that "it is intended to contest the right of this corporation to part of those Tolls whereupon it is ordered that the Mayor for the time being (& others) are..... authorized, in case such opposition shall be made, to take such steps as they shall judge expedient for ascertaining the Right of this corporation to any such Toll as may be disputed and to report to a Hall their opinion as to the course which it will behoove this corporation to pursue"³⁴. A few years earlier Enfield, the Town Clerk, was ordered to make enquiries into the practicability of rendering Newark Tolls more productive to the Sheriffs.³⁵ But in 1828 to 1829 they were still farmed for only £20 per annum which was the rental received in 1697,³⁶ and in 1833 the Sheriffs reported that the rent had not been paid because of opposition to the tolls.³⁷ Evasion of the fish tolls at York prompted an order in 1750 that persons bringing crabs and lobsters, and not paying the tolls, were to be prosecuted.³⁸ By 1784 the situation had improved a little, and on a petition from the lessee of the fish tolls, an investigation into toll evasion was ordered.³⁹ It was however, evasion of the corn tolls which caused most worry. At its peak value in 1735 this was worth £336 per annum,⁴⁰ but by 1753 the lessee

34. NIB 3579f202.

35. NIB 3570f89.

36. Vouchers 1850 I 1176 (Sheriffs Acct); Rental 2219

37. NIB 3593f33

38. YHB 43f345

39. YHB 45f178

40. YHB 42f202b

was allowed £30 per annum from his rent of £170 :- " He has been as carefull and diligent as he possibly could both by himself and carefull persons by him employed in gathering and collecting the said Tolls, and all he has been able to raise only amounted to the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds p.annum so that he is out of pockett each year the sum of twenty pounds besides all the trouble and loss of time".⁴¹

An investigation into the City's rights to the toll on corn conducted in 1751⁴² had concluded that one pint of corn had been taken for every Bushel from all non-freemen, and until the last five or six years this had been taken without interruption.⁴³ The Recorder and City Counsel were subsequently ordered to take any necessary action to enforce payment,⁴⁴ and in 1754 they advised action against one or two offenders.⁴⁵ Little improvement resulted however, for in 1783 a further committee was appointed "to enquire into the state of the corn tolls"⁴⁶ and the rights and usage of taking them. By 1784 collection had ceased,⁴⁷ and official suspension followed in 1791.⁴⁸ During the 1790's similar opposition was in progress at Nottingham. On February 10th 1792 the Town Clerk was directed to "state a case for the opinion of Counsel as to the right of the corporation to certain tolls claimed by them and the validity of some objections lately made to the payment thereof".⁴⁹

41. YHB 43f408

42. YHB 43f357

43. YHB 43f375-6

44. YHB 43f375-6

45. YHB 43f456

46. YHB 45f145; K100. 3.12.1783

47. W. White, op.cit., II 554

48. K100 21.12.1791; YHB 45 21.12.1791

49. NHB 3551f22

The position had become acute. Formerly objections had been curtailed to navigation dues and through tolls, but the corn tolls had now come into question. In 1794 the Town Clerk inserted a notice in the Nottingham Journal vindicating the corporate right to the corn tolls, and threatening "That actions at law will be immediately commenced against any Farmer or Farmers, or his or their servants refusing to permit the persons authorized by the corporation to collect and receive such Tolls, from taking the same out of their waggons or carriages, previous to the delivery of the corn into the warehouses of the persons purchasing the same. The farmers, being hereby apprised of the amount of such Tolls; are desired to bring the amount thereof in a separate Bag or sack, which being delivered to the collectors of the Toll, will save them much unnecessary delay, trouble and expense, and prevent any possibility of dispute".⁵⁰ Legal proceedings were soon undertaken and in February 1797 a writ was received from George III to enquire what damages the Mayor and Burgesses had sustained by the refusal of Thomas Mann to pay toll or duty on grain.⁵¹ On October 16th 1798, the Town Clerk (George Coldham) was instructed to submit an account of his expenses incurred in supporting the Corporation's rights to the tolls, and was directed to try only

50. N.J. 4.10.1794

51. 4726

one cause and abandon the rest.⁵² His bill revealed that action concerning tolls between 1796 and 1800 had cost £578..17..5d, and with taxed costs was expected to total about £600.⁵³ On April 1st he was directed to discontinue all actions then depending, and the annual committee was requested to consider which tolls it would in consequence be expedient to abandon.⁵⁴ A record of refusal to pay the corn tolls between December 7th 1798 and August 31st 1799 listed no less than 452, many people refusing numerous times,⁵⁵ so the situation was clearly acute. After an expenditure of £635..7..5d⁵⁶, the Corporation were obliged to relinquish their legal right (Sutton states that the case was in fact determined against the Corporation, King's Bench confirming the verdict given at the Nottingham Assizes)⁵⁷ and the corn toll disappeared.

It was in the closing years of their existence however that there arose the most intense opposition to tolls in each of the three Boroughs under consideration. At York, the Corporation found itself ill-equipped to take action against the increasing evasion of tolls and stallage until, in 1833, an Act of Parliament for the erection of a new market

52. NIB 3558/14
 53. NIB 3559/147
 54. NIB 3559/54
 55. 6009
 56. Ledger A £ 170
 57. J.F.Sutton, op. cit., 244

place sanctioned new regulations and payments. Negligence on the part of the Corporation was the main factor behind non-payment of stallage. As the Council admitted, "relaxation from the vigour of former times", had "given rise to the infringements or encroachments of modern days", whereby in 1826, stalls were being erected beyond the confines of Thursday market, and stallage was often not paid.⁵⁸ But legal advice did not recommend stringent action, for as the Recorder, J.W. Nicholl advised over the sale of wares not authorized by Pavement market regulations (1829) "the people improperly placing stalls are entitled to the most lenient proceedings the eradication of the mischief will permit, as the laxity and forbearance, so long shown, has given them a strong idea of prescriptive right".⁵⁹ Lengthy legal actions did not therefore ensue at York, but at Nottingham the stringent enforcement of increased stallage rates in 1827 brought violent opposition from the public.

The motivation behind the increased vigilance of both Corporations was, without doubt, economic. In 1826 the Council at York had provided new stalls for Thursday marketplace at a cost of £408..1..5d;⁶⁰ "a considerable expence",⁶¹

58. K 127
59. K 127
60. K 110
61. K 127

At Nottingham a thorough renovation of the market place
between 1825 and 1826 cost in excess of £2,000,⁶² and prompted
the Corporation to impose a single increased stallage rate
in place of the old tolls and stallage. Trouble immediately
arose over the mistaken belief among the stallholders that
by immemorial custom the stallage rates should be only 1d.⁶³
This payment however, had in fact been for the small toll
and not for stallage;⁽⁶³⁾ although the public confusion is
not to be wondered at, since the Corporation themselves had
some difficulty in distinguishing the two.⁽⁶⁵⁾

This corporate concern to augment their
income is understandable. All three Corporations of Boston,
Nottingham and York were suffering a shortage of money, both
as a result of the inflation of the war years, and as a result
of over commitment. But needful as the Councils were of every
potential revenue they had, so the public too were needful and
desirous of a reduction in their own financial commitments. All
three towns were suffering economic depression at this time, and
although wartime inflation was dropping, prices in 1820 were
still 29% above their 1790 level; and wages were falling.⁽⁶⁶⁾
Moreover the rising poor rates were increasing the financial
burdens. These economic grievances were voiced in public petitions
for the reduction of toll charges. In 1816 Boston

(62) N C A B 1520 1825-6, 1826-7

(63) 4048; 4049

(64) 4049

(65) MB 3581/94 Lease of the "stallage or small toll".

(66) J. Burnett, A History of the Cost of Living (1969). 202-206.

merchants complained of the "heavy port charges.... the burden of which is severely felt in the present depressed state of the shipping interest"⁶⁷. In 1829, a memorandum to the Council on the question of abolishing the tolls instanced the "trade and commerce of your borough borne down on every side with taxation, particularly parochial taxation, to a degree that never in former times existed or nearly had a parallel.....", every inhabitant in the borough "exercising his utmost skill, industry and ingenuity in his business and practising the greatest possible economy in his household (bordering on deprivation) to keep the wolf from the door"⁶⁸.

The public therefore had good cause to reject the conciliatory attempts to increase their income from their medieval charter rights, but the violence of the public reaction is perhaps surprising. It was however an ideological struggle as much as an economic one, and behind the public outcry lay organized groups of vociferous radicals behind whom the public, not unwittingly, fell. Committees were set up both at Boston and Nottingham to organize publicity and the provision of legal advice in order to take up their suit with the Corporate bodies. At Boston active opposition by legal proceedings to certain of the market tolls and

(67) 2/3/2 8.8.1816 / The Corporation in fact acceded and gave a temporary reduction by $\frac{1}{3}$ to all Boston registered ships BAB 21.11.1816

(68) 6/8 29.5.1829

stallage was begun in 1829, but as early as 1828 a committee had been appointed to investigate the corporate right and take opinion of counsel.(69) This committee advised the formation of an association to prove the inhabitants right and accordingly a "numerous meeting of the subscribers and friends to the abolition of the tolls" was held in May 1829.(70) This association was the mainstay behind the legal proceedings which continued at Boston until 1832. The toll question was settled by the Corporation consenting to a non-suit in 1830, for with further evidence lacking, the case became dependent upon the proof that Boston's Charter, in granting a right to tolls "such as the Mayor and Burgesses of Kings Lynn have", gave Boston the right only to tolls such as were collected at Kings Lynn in the time of Henry VIII.(71) In the matter of stallage the Corporation retained their right, but only at the cost of several proceedings in Kings Bench and Lincoln Assizes.(72)

It was only through such associations that the public at large could oppose the Corporation. At Nottingham the brief for the conciliar body asserted that opposition had

(69) 6/8 29.5.1829

(70) 6/8 26.5.1829

(71) 6/8; 5/A/1/5; 5/A/2/5: In 1828 the tolls and stallage were leased for £410 per annum 4/B/4/15

(72) 6/8 Mayor & Burgesses v Woods 1830,
Mayor & Burgesses v Parker 1832.

been begun by a "trifling opposition" by John Gainsley in 1829, and although he was joined by three or four others, the remainder of the stallholders made no objections.(73) Yet the existence of an undated broadsheet clearly suggests that Gainsley's action was supported from the start by the "Committee appointed to carry on an action at law against the Toll Collectors of Nottingham Market".(74) From these committees came oratory of a most rousing kind. A poster advertizing a meeting in Nottingham in May 1833 for the "abolition of the illegal and unjust tolls", asked "fellow Townsmen and sufferers" to "rally forward (this just and glorious cause) and put a stop to this most abominable imposition of the corporation; if not for yourselves, for the honor of your children, your Town and Country, come forward, the hour of trial and danger is past, you have only to say the word now and the victory is won; the enemy is now chained fast down, he may grin and show his teeth, but the Law prevents him from biting.....".(75)

That there was more than the grievance of paying tolls behind these movements is clear from some of the publicity. The Councils were believed to have massive wealth which was exacted from the pockets of the man in the street, yet never

(73) 4049 I 14 ff 40-94

(74) 4048 VII ff 1-30

(75) *ibid.* Opposition continued until 1833 when decision was given in favour of the corporation. NHB 3549f132

expended to his benefit. At Nottingham the "enormous" toll demands of the Corporation were wildly calculated to yield the Corporation more than £1,400 in less than a year.(76) At Boston the inhabitants resolved "to teach the rich oligarchy - - that the borough of Boston was not incorporated for the aggrandisement of a few, but to promote the trade and commerce of all the inhabitants thereof."(77) The fight against the town tolls which became so bitter in the last few years before 1835 was an expression by the public of a wider distrust and disenchantment with the privileged and undemocratic councils of their towns. The right to demand tolls from foreigners and non-freemen smacked of gross inequality; in the rising spirit of "whig democracy" this was an anathema; an unjust imposition by an unjust élite. The zenith which was reached in the early 1830's in public opposition to corporate tolls was not simply financial; rather it was a right of principle. It was moreover a movement which was general throughout the country. The inhabitants' associations themselves were in touch with each other.

At Boston a newsletter remains which was

(76) 4048 VII ff 1-30

(77) 6/8

issued by an inhabitants' committee of Cambridge to acquaint their county with the state of the toll proceedings against Cambridge Corporation.(78) The toll opposition at Boston indeed seems to have been largely fomented by increased corporate exactions as at Nottingham and York, but by the widespread movement in Lincolnshire against toll demands. "These tolls have lately been the subject of great disputes in many towns in the county of Lincoln, where every disposition has been shown to resist them, and associations have been formed and subscriptions entered into for the purpose of abolishing them altogether".(79) Toll causes were in progress at Stamford and Peterborough in 1829 and 1830 and Boston Corporation in fact requested that their cases be tried in Middlesex, owing to the "agitation in the county of Lincoln on the subject of tolls, and the danger of some associators being on the Jury".(81) Disputes over the legality of tolls were occurring everywhere however. Regarding stallage, the Town Clerk of Leicester wrote; "It is a subject which I have always feared to have agitated here".(82) At Northampton opposition over stallage and tolls had arisen in 1744 and in 1829 and had been overcome, but in Hull and Norwich, stallage cases were proceeding at the time of Nottingham's

(78) 5/A/2/5

(79) 6/8

(80) 5/A/2/6

(81) 6/8

(82) Nottingham 4049 VIII I

(83) Nottingham 4048 VIII 2; J.C.Cox, Records of the Borough of Northampton II (1898) 205-208.

(84)
troubles in 1832 and 1834. In Hull judgement had been
found for the Corporation,⁽⁸⁵⁾ and so too in Norwich, where it
was declared that "if ever the freemen of this city had
possessed such an exemption (from stallage payments) it
had been lost by the lapse of years, and after custom had
sanctioned it three score years, even the King himself
would be subject to such custom".⁽⁸⁶⁾ Nevertheless the
offender again resisted payment the following week.

Meanwhile the Docken Hill cause at Doncaster
had shown clearly how invidious the opposition could be.
Doncaster Corporation paid out no less than £2,052..17..6d
to defend their right to an ancient toll on minerals
navigating the Don when the river Don Company in the early
years of the nineteenth century resisted this imposition and
encouraged independent persons to challenge the corporate
rights.⁽⁸⁷⁾

Yet active opposition was in most cases
restricted to a small but vociferous group, and the impression
cannot be escaped that the grievance was directed against the
whole concept of the governing body rather than against the
rates in question. Bingham, one of the defendants at Nottingham
had paid his rates regularly from 1827, and although he

(84) Nottingham 4048 VIII 16; 4048 IX 8

(85) HullAdvertiser 30.11.1832

(86) Norwich Mercury 16.8.1834

(87) J. Tomlinson, *op. cit.*, 260

submitted to a petition for the lowering of the rates, to which the Corporation could not accede because of their heavy expenditure in the market at that time, no further objections were raised by him until he was roused by the radicalism of the stallholders' Committee.

As a result of this opposition, the Town Clerk felt it expedient to reduce the stallage rates which had been initially imposed. "These rates would be low but considering the very small amount formerly paid and the desirableness of avoiding law suits with the Corporation I think that these charges will not be too low". He recommended however that in addition the Corporation should consider the resumption of the ancient tolls, on Saturday, of the Market people, Smithy Row Butchers and the Country Shambles Butchers, and at Goose Fair by the Sheriffs Officers.(88) Enfield was obviously aware not only of the need to preserve the Corporate privileges, but of the need also to avoid litigation over them. Not only had the Corporation been involved in the unnecessary expenditure of over £1,000(89), but they had, by public opposition, been obliged to retain only nominal market dues. At the same time that the public were decrying the corporations for their failure

(88) 4048 VII 23.

(89) £1041-16-0 4048 V 11

to provide amenities, the public evinced its complete unwillingness to provide any contribution towards such ends; they would consider nothing more than a nominal rent for their right to trade in the market place. The situation demonstrates what is often true today:- that the rate levied on the public for the use of necessary amenities often does not cover the cost involved in their provision.

What emerges most clearly from these conflicts is the lack of information which the townsfolk received about the business of local government. Nottingham Corporation was making no profit out of the market place levies,(90) since the initial costs of improvement were high. Moreover they were contemplating the erection of a cattle market out of the spare funds which would eventually accrue,(91) but the public was not informed of this.

Of potentially important value, the tolls and levies to which many unreformed boroughs were entitled thus decreased in value and became costly to retain. These grants, originally of such value were, by 1835 a thoroughly outmoded form of income. An epitome of privilege and everything undemocratic, they were a source of income from which the Corporation could, for most of this modern period, secure little benefit, but much animosity.

(90) 4049 I 14

(91) 4049 I 14

The toll income was additionally insecure by virtue of its nature. Reliant as it was upon good trade, its produce decreased rapidly in York as trading declined. The increasing toll rents in seventeenth century York show a thriving commerce, but the declining value of the corn toll from the mid eighteenth century reflected not merely increasing opposition, but declining trade too. They became moreover outdated in their emphasis. The newly developing and thriving trades remained exempt; the hosiery trade at Nottingham was untapped by tolls and levies, and in 1833 Benjamin Richards claimed he could not afford an increase of his rent for the lease of the Trent Bridge Tolls from sixty guineas to eighty guineas since "the tolls have considerably decreased in consequence of cattle travelling by Ferries and other roads...
....(92)

Yet, in so far as the tolls were dependent upon thriving trade, they were declared also to be the cause of commercial decline. At Hull it was stated at the enquiry of the Select Committee that the water bailiff's dues could make a difference of outlay between two traders of equal capital, one who was free and one unfree of up to £100 per annum.(93)
One defendant stated that the dues on wood affected the timber

(92) NIB 25th September 1834; Microfilm 2231

(93) Select Committee Report Hull (1833) Brit. Parity Papers
Municipal Corporations. 6845 to 7354

trade particularly badly,(94) and another that he had been induced to take his to Grimsby instead, "in consequence of the Charges being so much greater here than elsewhere".(95) Yet many townsmen disagreed. Mr.Cooper claimed that although commercial and shipping interests were very bad, the causes were general, and the port and harbour dues and wharfage levies were probably no greater impediment than in any other port.(96) His allegations were supported by others, and as another witness pointed out "I consider the town to be an exceedingly convenient port, and I have heard it stated by ship owners that there is not a port in the Kingdom^{to} which they would sooner come....."(97) Certainly declining trade cannot simply be attributed to oppressive tolls. At York the fish tolls were remitted in 1724 in an attempt to improve the market, but in 1727, their removal having effected no change in the state of the trade, they were re-imposed.(98) At Nottingham too, although the stallholders petitioned the House of Commons claiming that the levies "operate injuriously, as your petitioners believe, on the trade and prosperity of the town in general", (99) there seems little evidence to support this belief. Enfield, (Town Clerk) had taken extreme care in ascertaining the 'reasonableness' of the new stallage rates

(94)W.Cawtress, A Report of the Inquiry into the existing state of the Corporation of Hull (1834) 287

(95) Ibid., 305

(96) Ibid., 287

(97) Ibid., 295.

(98) YHB42 f95

(99) Nottingham and Newark Mercury; 4048.

imposed after 1826. He wrote to numerous Corporations requesting detailed information of the toll and stallage charges. In most cases these were slightly lower than Nottingham's new scale of charges. Although entitled to certain tolls, Leeds "have not for a great number of years exercised their right in that respect for the last fifty years or upwards", nevertheless they levied tolls on cattle and goods under an improvement act secured in 1824, and these, though 'small and varied', were let by auction for £812 per annum.(100) They cannot therefore have been much less exacting than at Nottingham. Leicester charged one shilling per week for a stall of the dimensions which Enfield quoted, but "your case differs from ours in this respect, that we actually provide the stalls for the Butchers and place them out in the Market place every week... ..all at our own charge...."(101) Nottingham's charges were in fact to be one penny per foot (presumably per day) whereas Sheffield charged four pence per day for a seven foot stall and one halfpenny a foot for the "Ld of the Manor's Charge" (ie. the stallage),(102) It was in consequence of these replies that Enfield recommended a lowering of the rates to four pence for the first eight feet, one penny for

(100)4048 VIII 5

(101) Nottingham 4048 VIII. 1.

(102) Nottingham 4049 I. 14.

the next eight feet and penny-halfpenny for the next eight feet, and these certainly compared most favourably with the boroughs with which they had been in contact. These charges were moreover retained by the new Corporation, it being resolved in May 1836 that "it is inexpedient to reduce Market Stallages".(103)

Long before 1835 urban life had outgrown the medieval form of revenue represented by tolls. Declining trade at York had seriously affected the income to the Corporation from this privilege, and in each of the three boroughs opposition to the toll levies had marked effect. In each, the right to levy various tolls was lost or abandoned, and with them went an income originally of great potential. In this process the public played its part. Yet it then made equally vociferous accusations of civic laxity in the promotion of public amenities. These two attitudes were incompatible. The public had yet to recognize their financial role in local government. For if "no taxation without representation" was a genuine cry in many hearts, there was at the bottom of most a more fundamental selfishness, as the public evinced a total unwillingness to contribute financially to the amenities which they all demanded.

(103) NBR ix 3 May 5th 1836

This was most immediately apparent in the tumults which followed the attempts by all three councils to apply the terms of the statute 24 George III c 54 for the levy of county rates by municipal Corporations. A borough rate was first levied in Nottingham in 1794, when in January, the magistrates in Quarter Sessions appointed Joseph Howard high constable of the town "for the especial purpose of collecting and raising of and from the several respective churchwardens and overseers of the poor of each and every parish within the Town such ... sums of money as we the said justices may from time to time tax and assess upon such parishes by means of a rate in the nature of a county rate....(1)

In some towns, at Bristol and Kings Lynn, for example, the power to rate had been given by old charters (2), and at York the Corporation had, even after 1660, been given power by the charter of Charles II (3rd June 1664) to impose a tax, when necessary, for the repair of the walls and King's staith. In other boroughs the J.P's had long levied a general rate for the expenses of justice and maintenance of the gaols in accordance with the clarifying act of 1739 "for the more easy assessing, collecting and levying of County Rates". But it was the unequivocal authorization of such levies by statute in

(1) Sessions Records 355/13-15

(2) S & B Webb, The Manor and the Borough (1963) 703.

1784 (24 Geo.III c.14) for all Corporations with courts of Quarter Sessions (3), which initiated the widespread use of County rates. Between 1784 and 1833 about half the Corporations of towns with over 11,000 population, and a quarter of those in smaller towns (some fifty or sixty in all) were levying rates of one sort or another.(4)

The county rate was applicable only to the costs of the administration of justice and the maintenance of gaols and houses of correction, but these were charges previously met by the Common Council, and it was upon this point that criticism was most strongly centred. At Nottingham in 1812, declining to stand as Parliamentary candidate after thirty-two years service, Daniel Parker Coke issued a hand bill condemning the rate as unnecessary and unjust: "There is only one point in which I leave you in a worse situation than I found; this I have only to lament but my comfort is, that it cannot be laid to my charge. I found you bearing your full share of the Burthens of the country which it was your duty to do, but you will recollect you were then paying Taxes only to the legitimate Government of this Country and the Poor: I leave you I am sorry to say paying

(3) The levy was made not by the Corporation, but by the court of quarter sessions and was managed by a Treasurer and high constable appointed by the court. It did not therefore fall strictly within the orbit of the Corporation, although in fact the Mayor and Aldermen were all J.P's.

(4) S & B Webb, op.cit., 703

Taxes to a Corporate Body, within your own bosom, who have imposed a very heavy Town Rate upon you, to supply the waste of their own extravagance and to defray expenses which ought to have been paid out of those Estates which they held in Trust for you, and which, if well managed would have been fully adequate to the purpose".(5)

Indignantly the Council resolved that "the attack made upon this Corporation ... is grossly untrue and a foul slander without the slightest foundation". They proceeded to labour the theoretical distinction between the Corporation and the town magistrates, but the occasion serves to point out the essential cause of variance between each party. Both in a sense were justified in their claims. The levying of a rate by a municipal Corporation which had its own property, not surprisingly, appeared to the public to be unfair and unnecessary. Until 1794 the charges for which the rate was imposed had apparently been adequately met from the ordinary corporate revenue and there seemed little reason to alter this arrangement. In fact however, as the Council explained, the costs of the administration of justice and the maintenance of vagrants and criminals had reached such proportions as far exceeded the corporate means. "Many of the charges have arisen

(5) NHB 3572/19-21.

in latter times, and although the corporation in whom the Government of the place resides, might have thought proper while such charges were small to pay them out of their own Funds, yet as they became more heavy that could not preclude them from recurring to legal methods of raising supplies for that purpose from the Public".(6) Under such circumstances the Corporation had taken full advantage of Lord Chief Justice Kenyon's judgement in 1795 that these particular "Public Expenses" were in nowise chargeable to the Corporate Estates.....(7)

The root of the popular objection lay, at this time, more in the size of the county rate rather than in its actual imposition. A petition at Boston instanced the "extravagant parochial burdens"(8), and the public outcry can be readily appreciated from the rapid inflation of the annual levy. From a total of only £500 in 1795 (9), the rate at Nottingham rose to £6,300 in 1823, and £6,975 in 1833.(10)

(6) Ibid.

(7) In the first year of levy of a county rate at Nottingham, the Mayor and Aldermen had been challenged at law by one John James NHB3554f7. James had been elected to the Junior Council in 1794, and was only a youngster, having obtained his freedom as a burgess - born in 1792 NHB3572f19-21

(8) 2/D/5 From one million pounds in early eighteenth century the poor rate rose to nearly eight million in 1818 throughout England. S. & B. Webb, The Development of Eng. Local Govt. 1689 to 1835 (1963) 82

(9) The levy of only £100 in 1794 was, as Enfield stated at the Municipal enquiry, for the purpose of a test case, rather than representing the actual sum required T. Cockayne, op. cit., 144

(10) MCR 1995

Annual County Rate Levy Nottingham 1794 to 1823.

	£		£		£
1794	100	1804	2800	1814	3800
1795	500	1805	1200	1815	6000
1796	850	1806	1700	1816	6100
1797	1250	1807	2650	1817	6600
1798	1000	1808	3800	1818	6889 ¹ ..11..2d
1799	650	1809	2300	1819	6900
1800	675	1810	1700	1820	6404..7..6d
1801	1350	1811	2800	1821	6900
1802	1500	1812	3650	1822	6600
1803	2100	1813	4300	1823	6300

Total: £99,368..18..8d(11)

The heaviest increase had occurred in 1815, after which the rate remained in excess of £6,000 per annum, and so severe had the assessments become that in 1822 St. Mary's parish petitioned the magistrates on this vexed question: ".... the proportion of St. Mary's parish to the County Rate has within the last twenty one years progressively increased from eight hundred to upwards of five thousand pounds per annum". The consequence was a rate of 6/- in addition to the costs of annual expenses, and the sum paid from the poor rates to the county rate

(11) 4079c I-XLVI County Rate Accounts 1794 to 1823. For the period of 1824 to 1835 no accounts remain.

for two quarters had amounted to "within £63 of the total expenses of all the poor of the parish inclusive of the medical establishment".(12) By 1832 the rate amounted to 35% in St.Nicholas' parish, 45% in St.Peter's parish and 27½% in St.Mary's parish of the total poor rate, and the Municipal Commissioners denounced the rate as "undoubtedly disproportionate to the population and exigencies of the town". "There is little probability" they concluded, "that any body of magistrates not identified with the corporate authorities would have consented to impose such an amount of rate on the town as would have the effect of totally exonerating the corporation from a charge to which they had been immemorially liable".(13)

Certainly it is true that the rate at Nottingham was exceptionally high. A late overseer of Saint Nicholas' parish testified that in 1823 for the entire county of Cumberland the rate appropriated to such uses was only some £9,000 (14), while from 1816 to 1823 inclusive, the Nottingham levy exceeded that of York and Hull by some half to two thirds. Moreover, although at York and Hull the rate decreased steadily, at Nottingham it remained static.

(12) County Record Office CP 5/4/403

(13) MCR 2007

(14) T.Cockayne, op.cit., 145

Date	Nottingham	York	Hull
1816	£6,200	£4,032	£2,060.14.9
1817	£6,600	£2,268	£2,423
1818	£6,639.11.2	£3,024	£1,211.10.0
1819	£5,550	£2,772	£1,615.6.8
1820	£6,404.7.6	£2,772	£1,615.6.8
1821	£6,900	£2,520	£1,615.6.8
1822	£6,600	£2,733.18.0	£1,615.6.8
TOTAL:	£43,993.18.8	£21,121.18.0	£12,156.11.5 (15)

It is certain too, that had no county rate been available, the total cost of the provisions for which it paid, would never have reached such proportions. But as Enfield reminded the commissioners "the justices who make the county rate are rate payers, and contribute to the rate, they can have no object in keeping the expenses large".(16)

The corporate reply to Parker Coke's attack was indeed as justified as the opinion held by the public, for an examination of the accounts reveals quite clearly that the rate was duly and justly expended primarily in the provision and maintenance of justice. And it was this aspect of urban life

(15) Returns to the House of Commons' request for Accounts 1823 - Nottingham 4079c. No figures remain at Boston but the rate was probably substantially lower, amounting to £873.10.0 in 1831-2; £1,353.10.6 in 1832-3; £1078.12.6 in 1833-4;

MCR 2161

It will be noticed that the figures quoted for Nottingham do not tally with those quoted earlier (footnote 12). The documents themselves are at odds here, although the figures quoted earlier are more likely to be accurate, since they are taken from the working accounts.

(16) T.Cockayne, op.cit., 144

to which the heavy increase in the rate levy was principally attributable, for although the editor of the Journal scorned Nottingham's reputation as a riotous city (17), the town was in fact prone to regular disturbance. In 1815 the Gazette described the town as the "scene of disgraceful outrages of every description".(18) Food riots, election riots, the Luddite riots, were a common occurrence (19), and occasioned startling increases in the cost of maintaining peace. The appointment of constables and other measures to maintain order occasioned expenses on the county rate of £589.1.0d,(20)

(17) NJ 7th March 1835

(18) Nottingham Gazette April 21st 1815

(19) NR December 10th 1813, September 7th 1821,
December 14th 1821, December 6th 1816, January 3rd and
May 2nd 1817, March 16th and 30th 1800 etc

(20) 4079C I-XLVI. Paid for over the four years
1800 to 1803. This figure does not include the
cost of prosecutions.
Also 3990 I 35

during the corn riots of 1800, in addition to sums paid by the Corporation. In 1803 extraordinary excitement during the Parliamentary Election (21), occasioned expenses in the provision of constables and staves totalling £1400 (22), and three years later, with some 2,994 voters participating (23), expenses of a similar magnitude were defrayed from the rate. An abstract of the "special police expenses for preserving ye peace at parliamentary elections, public commissions, assize sessions and upon public emergencies", amply illustrates the increasing disturbance in the town, and the cost of maintaining law and order.

(21) The 1803 election was a re-vote ordered by the House of Commons after an annulment of the previous year's returns. The trouble had been caused by the belated provision of a Whig Candidate (Birch) to challenge the two Tory nominees of D.P.Coke and Sir J.Borlace Warren. The voting had become so violent that Coke withdrew to secure his personal safety, and petitioned the House of Commons for an annulment. So severe were the disturbances that the county magistrates were subsequently given jurisdiction in the town.

(22) 4079c I XLVI

(23) J.Blackner, op.cit., 302

Year	Amount			Year	Amount		
	£	s	d		£	s	d
1794	34	13	5	1811	162	10	5
1795	87	9	6	1812	1040	19	2
1796	80	15	3	1813	515	1	7
1797	56	13	8	1814	484	5	9½
1798	44	16	9	1815	824	9	3½
1799	41	6	0	1816	669	10	5½
1800	267	13	3	1817	1339	13	5
1801	391	1	7½	1818	535	10	7
1802	371	10	10	1819	1729	16	10
1803	1578	13	1	1820	1482	19	3
1804	309	2	1	1821	820	8	9½
1805	105	0	0	1822	1067	5	2½
1806	1583	5	0	1823	708	17	6
1807	747	1	0	1824	714	6	8
1808	72	18	10	1825	773	0	1
1809	127	5	3	1826	1300	13	1
1810	85	7	3	1827	658	11	5 (24)

Such expenses were vastly greater than they had been during the eighteenth century. Special constables had long

(24) 7590/1

been appointed to patrol at the fairs, the assizes and other public occasions, but in 1760 only six constables had been thought necessary to keep the peace at the fair. Their total wages, for three night's work, was just 18/-, (one shilling each per night)(25). In 1787 twenty-four constables had been employed during the election at the enhanced salary of 2/- each, but the total cost of employing them to maintain order at the assizes, the races and other public functions during the year, was little more than £7.4.9d (26). This was certainly a far cry from the situation in 1831 when, as a result of the reform bill riots, no less than one thousand, three hundred and forty four special constables were sworn in during the month of November.(27) The costs of policing moreover were only the initial expenses: there was the militia to be paid for too. In 1803 to 1804 militia expenses amounted to £237.16.0d and augmentation of the local militia became a regular occurrence. In 1800, as a result of the corn riots, the Corporation was informed by the Duke of Portland that "in consequence of information received of the continuance of the riotous proceedings at Nottingham, a Reinforcement of the Military has been ordered to proceed immediately to that town". The order was in fact

(25) Vouchers 1760, 1761 No.5
(26) " 1814 CI
(27) County Rate G154/B12

politely rebuffed, for the Magistrates were rightly apprehensive that "additional Troops may increase the Number of Discontented".(28) But there remained strong local regiments in the town upon whose aid there were constant calls.

A large proportion of the increased county rate was thus directly attributable to the continually agitated state of the town, and such expenses far exceeded the sum which the borough funds had customarily paid. The rising costs were undoubtedly associated with this increased availability of money from the borough rate, yet the expenditure was clearly not excessive, as the municipal commissioners implied.(29) For despite the expenses of police and soldiers, the regular provisions for maintaining the peace remained thoroughly inadequate.

In 1833 the police force of the town consisted of only three regular constables, who, for 15/- each per week, kept daily vigilance to maintain the peace. They were supported by about one hundred fully sworn part-time constables, who, combining constabulary duty with other employment, were available on call when necessity arose.(30) In addition, special constables could be sworn. But no night watch was provided by the corporation or county treasurers at all, and such protection rested solely upon local associations of householders formed for the purpose

(28) Correspondence concerning the Corn Riots 3990 I 28,29

(29) T.Cockayne, op.cit., 145

(30) MCR 1995

of "keeping the streets clear from nocturnal rambles of lewd disorderly people"(31). In 1820 however this sector of law preservation was described as "twelve drowsy and for the most part superannuated watchmen with their watch boxes and rattles... confining their rounds exclusively to those streets in which the subscribers resided"(32). With the annual cost of the night watch alone in 1838 totalling over £2,000 per annum, and the service remaining even then very inadequate, it is clear that the magistrates before 1835 were not making excessive demands on the public finances (33). Had the town been regularly protected in any extensive manner, the county rate would have been much higher, but as Blackner shrewdly foresaw, supposing a good night watch would have proved effective "the magistrates are not to be blamed for not having enforced the measure, for as it would be attended with considerable expense, the capricious and illnatured would attribute to them motives of oppression and unbridled authority"(34) This was indeed the experience of most corporations. At Boston the parishioners in 1826 petitioned the Mayor and Council "to relieve the inhabitants in future from the burden of the Borough County Rate", "that oppressive tax". Yet burdensome though it

(31) M.Thomis, Old Nottingham(1968) 77

(32) *ibid.*

(33) J.Orange, History and Antiquities of Nottingham . I (1840) 460
 Inspector's Report Night Watch 1838 £2110.5.1d p.a.
 Regular Police £732.4.5d

(34) J.Blackner, *op.cit.*, 279, 280

(35) 2/D/5 17th August 1826

was, together with the poor rate and church assessments, it nevertheless appears from the Nottingham accounts, that the money was used solely in the public interest. Over the period from 1794 to 1823 the costs of the maintenance of prisoners accounted for the largest individual increase in costs, rising from £76.19.9 per annum to £1172.0.9½ in 1823 and £1590.8.4½ in 1827.(36) The cost of providing bread to the gaol had risen from only £18 per annum in 1787 to £182 in 1811, and bread for the house of correction which had cost the corporation only £11 in 1787 to 1788, cost the county rate £138 in 1811 and £368 in 1832. Salaries too rose sharply. The gaoler received only £16.10.0 per annum in 1799 and the keeper of the house of correction only £9.1.0 per annum, but by 1806 their salaries were £100 and £30 respectively and by 1833 stood at £200 and £175.(37) Indeed there seems little in the accounts themselves which was not, as Enfield claimed, largely attributable to the increasing crime and disturbance. After 1807 the house of correction underwent extensive improvement, until by 1823 the total cost of enlargement and rebuilding had reached £12,161.16.2½d. The gaol too was scheduled for improvement, but after expending over £3,000, the magistrates

(36) 7590/1 120 i, ii, iii, iv

(37) 4079c I-XLVI; MCR 1990

suddenly decided that in consideration of "the times and other circumstances", they were not justified["] in laying so heavy a weight upon the county".(38) Clearly therefore they were not ignorant of the popular discontent and hardship.

Although therefore the county rate was used for necessary purposes, it aroused intense disaffection amongst the public. Raised by an authority technically distinct from the corporation, it was nevertheless plain that the Magistrates and Aldermen differed in nothing more than title; and it seemed only just that the corporate body who had immemorially undertaken the costs of justice and peace, should continue to do so. From the accounts at Nottingham (39) it is however clear that the rising cost of such a service was completely beyond the financial means of the corporation; especially since the scale of the service needed wide extension to meet the demands of the expanding and discontented urban population. As the need for such a service grew, the associated costs completely outstripped the corporate resources, and a general rate rapidly became a necessity. Although the burden on the corporation had in 1787 been only some £200 per annum, in a year of low repair costs, in 1790 the need for better gaol facilities already involved the corporation in

(38) T.Cockayne, op.cit., 38 The Municipal Commissioners justly criticised the waste of £3,000 in a scheme which was then abandoned MCR 2007

(39) Virtually no county rate records remain at either Boston or York; although a rate was levied in both boroughs.

expenses over £1,300.(40) A general rate, with the onus falling upon the housekeeper, was essential. This was the system which would ultimately be adopted in the future. But the responsibility of the individual to take an active and financial part in the provision of services which Blackner recognised (41), was not yet accepted by the majority of the townspeople. They remained ignorant of their own social responsibility. Quite apart from the radical conviction that taxation and representation should go together, the populace, having experienced the financial difficulties of the Napoleonic era, were further behind than the town councils themselves in recognizing their own responsibility in public welfare. The attitude of the labourers at Plymouth who refused to contribute to the public lighting at Plymouth Dock on the grounds that they went to bed too early to need it,(42) was one that was all too common. Although however discontent against the rate was voiced, all three magistracies at Boston, Nottingham and York continued to impose the levy, and public disapproval had little real effect other than to weaken the already tenuous relationship between the rulers and the ruled still further.

(40) Vouchers 1815 A 100; 354/407 Sessions Records

(41) J.Blackner,op,cit., 279 180

(42) S.& B.Webb, The Development of English Local Government 1689-1835 (1963) 122

By 1835 reform of local government was an indubitable necessity. The income upon which the three councils relied was both inadequate in its extent and obsolete in its emphasis. More advanced methods of accounting and the arrival of the modern officers of local government improved the value of the chartered rights and possessions. But largely inflexible, the corporate revenues became increasingly inappropriate to the needs of urban centres where expenditure could fluctuate violently from year to year. The municipal commissioners in 1835 themselves made brief reference to the inadequacies of corporate finances: "In many of the corporations the revenues are sufficient for the maintenance of all necessary municipal institutions. In many though amply sufficient for supporting the various purposes for which municipalities were instituted, they are but partially applied to them. In most, however, the revenues would be inadequate to these purposes, though they should be entirely expended upon them".(43)

The inhabitants at large could find little sense of identity with an élite body elected by a minority of townsmen, and opposition sprang up on every front.

(43) MCR 31 para.64

Acting in concert, obsolescence and public radicalism together undermined the financial basis of the unroformed Corporation. Management of income was not beyond reproach; but the three boroughs here considered, show conciliar bodies fighting a losing battle as expenditure continued to outstrip the revenues which, in their ordinary form, were not easily augmented.

It remains to be seen to what extent corporate solvency foundered upon ill-managed expenditure, but growing public opposition to privilege, to obsolescent rights, to the old order in general, dictated that local government must change to adapt with the new world which was emerging during the 18th and 19th centuries.

EXPENDITURE

Having obtained, from varied sources, a regular income, the unreformed Corporation was presented with much the same problems as any Local Authority today; namely where and how to spend it. Their decision however was not entirely straightforward. In the first place the unreformed Corporations had amassed their powers piecemeal alongside several other organs of Local Government; The Parish; the County and the Manor. As a consequence there frequently remained in evidence the authority of those who had run affairs alongside and even before the civic body came on the scene. Exactly where the responsibilities and authority of the Municipal Corporation began, and those of the Parish or Manor ended was by no means clear; they were both inextricably tangled one with the other. Although therefore the Corporations were quick to uphold the privileges which placed them, at times, beyond the control of Parliament or County Sheriffs, they were no less eager to cite the responsibility of the Parish or County Officials, particularly when to do so might relieve them of responsibility for payment. In like manner the other Local Government bodies could act against the Corporation by the same methods which they employed against individuals. Thus at Nottingham the Court Leet Jury, the Mickleton Jury, prosecuted the Corporation on several occasions

for negligence (1), and in 1702 to 1703 the Chamberlains at York recorded the payment of 4s 0d for the cleaning of Holgate dike and "other gutters and places for which the Lord Mayor was presented by the Warden Jury"(2).

Ultimately however the responsibility for conducting many of the day to day tasks of town life rested with the individual householder, and upon his responsibility to serve the community the entire system of Local Government was erected. The obligations differed according to local custom or common law, but however they arose they involved a duty to obey, to act and to serve upon the governing bodies. An insistence upon the duties of the individual became increasingly inappropriate to the rapidly expanding borough towns under consideration, yet it was fundamental to corporate organization. It should not therefore be surprising, although it may seem inefficient, that the three Councils relied heavily upon the obligations of the individual.

In such circumstances the duties and obligations the responsibility and authority of the Municipal Corporation were far from self evident. Exactly what they ought to do

(1) egNHB 3571 f 122 1812; NHB2793 April 18th 1687 when the Mickletum Jury asked the Chamberlains to put certain improvements in hand.

(2) YCAB 1702 to 1703

with their money was even less so. By 1689 most of the financial duties which had originally been imposed upon the Corporation had very largely lapsed. No longer did the Corporation need to repair the town walls in order to repel foreign invaders; the fee farm rent was now only a nominal charge in comparison with its burden when first imposed; the poor were not maintained under the Elizabethan statute. Increasingly "To the Hanoverian Monarchs as to Sir Robert Walpole and his successors, it never occurred to connect the existence of a Municipal Corporation with any responsibility for meeting the long standing requirements of its Borough, still less the new and changing needs of its inhabitants"(3). Whatever we might, in retrospect, expect of the unreformed boroughs, they were clearly within their legal rights to spend their income precisely as they wished, with little or no regard to their inhabitants. As late as 1809 Lord Ellenborough for Derby Corporation laid down that Corporations had the right to apply the produce of their estates in any manner they pleased, save where they were obliged by the terms of a grant to apply it to a particular purpose.(4)

As a result it is not surprising that the Municipal Commissioners made the generalization that "It is not

(3) S. & B. Webb, The Manor & the Borough I (1963) 288.

(4) A. Temple Patterson, Radical Leicester (1954) 43;
Leicester Journal 1.2.1822.

often that much of the corporate property is expended on police or public improvements".(5) "Some corporations consider that their property has been vested in them solely as trustees for the public; but in most cases, this truth is acknowledged only when forced on their attention, is received with difficulty and qualification and is continually forgotten. Few Corporations admit any positive obligation to expend the surplus of their income for objects of public advantage. Such expenditure is regarded as a spontaneous act of private generosity rather than a well considered application of the public revenue, and the credit to which the Corporation, in such a case, generally considers itself entitled, is not that of judicious administrators, but of liberal benefactors".(6)

In so far as the generalizations hold true they do not manifest simply an attitude of irresponsibility. The lack of power, the divergence between different bodies of Local Government, the obsolete concept of individual duty, and the ill-defined role of the Corporation were indeed hindrances to what we would consider to be the fulfilment of corporate responsibility for town welfare. Nevertheless we might reasonably expect the unreformed Corporation to recognize the changing requirements of town life, and to shew some

(5) MCR 1835 32 para.66.

(6) MCR 1835 45 para.111

inclination to spend their money for the good of the citizens. The records of the three boroughs of Boston, Nottingham and York indicate that in many respects they did so. In some spheres they could legitimately be seen as the forerunners of modern Local Authorities. In other areas their expenditure is questionable but there seems little blatant corruption or misappropriation, rather a carelessness and extravagance and a code of values which the man in the street, both then and now, fails to understand.

Chapter 7.

The Creation of a Civilized Environment.

If there was any one area where the three Boroughs of Boston, Nottingham and York seemed consistently unwilling to spend their money and ever ready to involve individual householders it was in the provision of rudimentary standards of cleanliness and safety within the Town.

The cleansing of the town streets was regarded, not as the duty of ^{the} municipal authority, but of the householder who was bound to keep the space in front of his property clear to the middle of the road and to observe the council bye-laws in respect of the disposal of rubbish. To this end the three Councils repeatedly made and published new regulations. In 1653 Boston Corporation passed a bye-law directing that "because the streets and pavents within this Borough have beene of latertime very indecently kept - the pavents much broken and much dirt and dust beene suffered to lie and remaine upon then whereby in somer time, especially in hott seasons, infeccions and diseases may be brod and in the winter time the passage in the streets is soe myrey and durty as thereby the health of the inhabitants is much indangered and diverse are dishartned from liveing in the Towne"(7) therefore each inhabitant householder must cleanse and sweep his frontage every Saturday

(7) 2/c/1 5.9.1653.

afternoon. Similar orders are to be found at York (8); so too at Nottingham the Council clearly informed the inhabitants by printed notices to every householder, that as by Order of Hall of 1724, in order to remedy the dirtiness of the streets "All and every Householder.... do sweep and clean the streets against their respective Houses buildings and walls on Thursday in every week and oftener as there shall be occasion". The penalty was a discretionary fine by the Mayor and summary action by the constable in employing workmen to sweep the area the following day (9). The orders however had to be constantly reiterated. The Council tried reminders in the local press (10) but eventually in 1787 had to order the bellman of the City to cry the streets to be swept when the Mayor wished and order an inspection afterwards by the constables. To enforce their decision the corporation even promised to back it with money for prosecutions (11).

The Councils did not however entirely renounce their own duties. As property owners they too were responsible for cleaning their own frontages, although in none of the three Boroughs do we see such an example as set by Lord Mayor Curtis of London who fined himself 5/- for failing to keep the footway outside the Mansion House clean.(12)

(8) eg. 1643 NHB 36/91b, 125b; VCH York 162.

(9) NHB 3484 f 5b November 20th 1724.

(10) Ayscough's Nottingham Courant Dec. 19th-26th 1761

(11) NHB 3546 Jan. 5th 1787. No prosecutions apparently followed.

(12) In 1795, hoping to set an eg. to his fellow citizens. Lady Knill, op. cit., 126

As part of this responsibility the three Councils provided Scavengers to collect and remove the rubbish piled up by householders, and to sweep the public areas of the Market places. These were not responsibilities which were axiomatic; at Boston the byelaw of 1653 stated quite categorically that "in default of a Scavenger" the householder must remove his own rubbish to a place appointed by the Magistrates.(13) However, the Scavengers were chiefly responsible for cleaning the Market areas on a regular basis. At Boston and York Scavengers were appointed from before 1660; and at Nottingham a Scavenger was certainly in existence before 1694.(14) At Boston he was paid monthly, and it was the Chamberlain's duty to ensure that the cleansing was properly carried out. If the Scavenger neglected his duty, the Chamberlain was to "employ some other person to clean the streets, and deduct the expense out of his monthly salary".(15) Perhaps he was slack in his duties, for in 1788 the Surveyor was ordered to make a written report every fortnight to the Election Baliff and Chamberlain on the condition of the streets which the Scavenger had undertaken to clean. (16) The job was probably more onerous than the salary warranted for it changed hands frequently, ^{and} between 1709 and 1720, six men held the job. Certainly the Scavenger was never extravagantly paid:

(13) 2/C/1 5.9.1653

(14) NHB 3462 Jan.9th 1694 to 1695

(15) BCAB 1785/6

(16) BAB 7 £ 125 (1788)

Between 1709 and 1710 Edward Roydon received £18 per annum(17) and the salary rose to £26 per annum in 1733 (18); but it did not rise again until 1790 when Tuxford received £40.(19) Certainly at Nottingham the Savenger's brief was fairly exacting; In 1694 he was told that he no longer need clean in front of the houses on Chapel Bar,(20) but in 1748 his job entailed sweeping and removing dirt from the area of the Saturday and Weekday markets at intervals varying from twice weekly to once a month.(21) His salary however was at £45 per annum significantly better than at Boston, and by 1793 he was paid £60 per annum.(22) It would seem that his responsibilities were substantially greater than those of his counterpart in York whose salary rose from 10/- in 1680 to £14.10.0 in 1750 and only £20 by 1800 (23),. However all three councils appointed extra officials to clean particular areas, especially parts of the markets (24), or as at Boston in 1788, the Quay areas. (25)

Thus the Council at Nottingham in 1783 estimated that over the previous fifteen years their annual expenditure on town cleaning was approximately £50, which comprised £45 p.a. paid to the Scavenger for cleansing the market area and arcess roads, £5.5.0 paid to Henry Worrall for cleaning the weekday market and 10/- per annum paid to Thomas Widdowson for cleaning the Long Stairs.(26)

(17) BCAB 1709/10

(18) BCAB 1733

(19) BCAB 1790

(20) NHB 3462 Jan.9th 1694/5

(21) NHB 3508 Nov.8th 1748

(22)NHB 3552 Feb.19th 1793

(23)YCAB passim.

(24) see attached notes.

(25) Mar.1788 The Chamberlains were ordered to have cleaned the Packhouse quay when necessary. 4/8/81

(26) Dec.16th 1783 NHB3543; Chamberlain's Accts.

(24) e.g. Boston employed people to clean the Fishmarket and butter market. By 1820 the salaries were £21 and £5.5.0 per annum respectively. BCAB passim.

At Nottingham we have reference to appointments to clean the Sheep Market and Saint Peter's Square for £2.10.0 p.a. MHB 3553 Dec. 3rd 1793.
and to clean the Weekday Market for 5 gns. p.a. MHB 3533 April 12th 1774.

At York there were sweepers for St. Helen's Churchyard and Stonogate, Micklegate Bar, Foss Bridge, Laythorpe Postern and Peaseholme Market Place and many other areas appointed individually on small annual salaries. YCAB passim.

This represented however only 4% of the total expenditure in that year and clearly vast areas of the town were totally neglected except for the collection of refuse by muck majors who transported their purchase along the canal and sold it to farmers for manure.(27) Similarly in York, although it was "a place of great resort and much frequented by persons of distinction and fortune whose residence there is of great benefit and advantage to the city", nevertheless the pavements were not "sufficiently cleansed".(28) The Councils moreover clearly recognized this from an early date (29), yet refused to undertake the responsibility themselves. The reason however was not financial but administrative; fundamentally they continued to consider town cleansing to be beyond their province as indeed, by statute, it was.(30) Yet it was not adequately provided for under parish government either, for "the assumption on which universal and gratuitous personal service had always rested was that of a substantially unaltered obligation year after year. The principle was devised for a stable, unchanging community". In Boston, Nottingham and York however, as in many other boroughs and townships, vast changes took place during the later eighteenth century swelling

(27) 2nd Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the state of large towns and populous districts (1845) 250

(28) Improvement Act 3 Geo.III c 48

(29) 2/C/1 5.9.1653

(30) Statute of 1555 obliged each householder to render six days forced labour under superintendence of the parish surveyor. It did not specify the nature of work and was not conceived to cover the multitude of problems peculiar to the town street.

the town population to unprecedented size and rapidly increasing the evils of urban life. Courts and Alleys multiplied and deemed to be private property, they fell beyond the authority of Council or Parish Vestry, while the principle of individual obligation became inadequate and inappropriate in populations numbering tens of thousands. The Councils lacked the authority to undertake the entire cleansing of the town themselves, but more importantly they as yet had no positive conception of civic responsibility, following the ideas and practices of earlier generations rather than adapting to the new demands of their urban "industrial" societies.

New authorities with improved powers and financial provision became the only answer and it was with relief no doubt that Boston and York Corporations solved their problems by obtaining local Acts of Parliament.

The improvement act granted to York in 1763 laid the responsibilities for maintaining and cleaning the street squarely where it had always been held to belong - on the individual householder (31), but in 1825 Commissioners were appointed (32) and the Corporation paid in lieu of their previous responsibilities for paving, lighting and watching, an annual percentage annuity which at £449.17.4d for the years from the Act until the financial year 1827 to 1828, was substantially less than the Corporation had

(31) 3 Geo. III c 48

(32) 6 Geo IV c 127 and amendments 3 and 4 Will IV c 67

previously paid for all three liabilities.(33)

At Boston Commissioners were appointed under the first Improvement Act of 1775 (34), but the Act only covered lighting, watching and the prevention of nuisance. It was not until 1792 (35) that an Act was obtained to cover cleansing and paving as well. Under this Act the Corporation were liable to pay one fifth of the whole expense of passing and executing the Act. This amounted generally to about £45p.a. for paving and cleansing.(36) In 1827 however it was agreed that the Corporation should pay a compensation of £135 p.a.(37)

At Nottingham no such clarifying Act was obtained, but in 1783 a Committee of inhabitants undertook to develop a contributory town improvement scheme which would have included cleansing. The Corporation agreed to subscribe £50 p.a. towards cleansing costs (33), but when the scheme was found to be based on revenue derived from enclosure, much support was lost, and the idea went into abeyance. Cleansing thus remained as it had been, with the Corporation maintaining the public areas, until in 1811 an agreement was made with the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor of Saint Mary's Church, whereby the parish authorities were to undertake the responsibilities of the old town Scavenger,

(33) YCAB passim and Finance Committee Report K110

(34) 1775 15 Geo III and 16 Geo III

(35) 1792 32 Geo III amended 1806; 46 Geo III

(36) BCAB passim, e.g: 1810-1811 £46..7..6d. 1819-1820 £45.12..6d

(37) BCAB passim.; NCR Boston 2163

(38) Dec.16th 1783 NHB 3543 £ 10

namely to "sweep, rake, shovel, take up and carry away the dirt, litter, filth and rubbish and all refuse whatever" from the Market Place and streets adjoining.(39) For doing so they were to be paid the Scavenger's salary of £60 per annum, although the Corporation continued to employ a person to clean and watch the Shambles. In 1829/30 the Corporation paid £16 for the Dunkirk Shambles to be cleaned and watched, but the cost for the entire Shambles in 1833 was £76.2s.0d per annum.(40)

There was therefore some improvement in town cleanliness over the century and a half before 1835, although the most significant advances lay beyond the Corporations with the new Statutory Authorities. To these the three Corporations paid agreed assessments and the civic authorities saw this as relief from further action. They had always shown some degree of involvement financially and administratively, but they could not conceive of a responsibility to vastly broaden the scope of their work, and it remained indeed beyond the imagination of the new Authorities to clean comprehensively.

In the provision of street lighting it becomes again apparent that significant advances were made only under the powers of Parliamentary Acts which appointed trustees with power to rate the inhabitants. However the expenses incurred could not easily have been met from corporate funds, and serve

(39) NHB 3570 April 24th 1811.

(40) NCAB 1829/30, 1833/4

to indicate the dual problem of authority and finance which the Municipal Authority faced in providing modern amenities to large urban centres under the aegis of outdated charters and grants.

The Corporate records suggest however that at least in York the Civic Authorities took a lively interest in improving street lighting and were by no means unwilling to provide for it from their own funds.

Until the late seventeenth century, street lighting in York was very much a matter of individual responsibility, the Civic Authorities in 1527 requiring persons of note to hang lanterns outside their doors (41), and in 1607 directing the Constables to ensure that householders combined in twos or threes to provide lanterns and candle-lights (42) which were, after 1647, to be hung out nightly. (43) However in 1673 the Common Hall made their first contribution to public lighting when they agreed to purchase twelve lanterns at the city's charge, if the thirty-two parishes each provided two lanterns and the candles for them all. The parochial expenses were to be defrayed from a rate levied on all who paid the poor rates. (44)

(41) e.g. The Alderman and 24. York Civic Records iii 110 Ed. A. Raine

(42) YHB 33f97

(43) YHB 36f165 1645

(44) YHB 38 ff 89b, 91. Unfortunately the Chamberlain's Account Book for 1673 and 1674 does not remain.

In 1687 the Council carried their responsibilities further and decided to provide twenty-four lamps to be hung at the Minster gates, Bridge Street, the Council Chamber on Ouse Bridge, the Pavement and "other convenient places".(45)

Whether this order intended twenty-four lamps in addition to the twelve which the Corporation already provided is not clear, but the Chamberlain's Accounts only record the purchase of two lamps at London at a cost of £9 and £1..9.10d for setting up the lamps in the Pavement. Yet doubtless the corporate intentions were good, for in 1724 ninety-two oil lamps were ordered to be provided in replacement of the old candle lanterns.(46)

Twenty-five were purchased for £11.5.0 (nine shillings each) and a further batch cost £13.7.5d. The costs of iron work and erecting them in the wards amounted to £44.1.1½d(47). Thereafter the Corporation also appointed a salaried officer to maintain the lamps; initially his year's salary was only £1.10.0 but by the 1740's it fluctuated in the region of £2.10.0 according to how much oil he used.(48)

It was, without doubt, as a consequence of this forward-looking attitude that Drake could write in 1736: "our streets are clean and lighted with lamps every night in the winter season....."(49)

(45) C.Knight, A History of the City of York (1944) 91

(46) YHB 41 f 195

(47) YCAB 1724 to 1725

(48) YCAB 1731/2, 1735/6, 1737/8, 1742/3, 1744/5

(49) C.Knight, *op.cit.*, 541

Evidently some improvement was thought to be desirable however and the Corporation apparently decided that a general assessment on the public would be more appropriate. Accordingly a committee was set up to prepare a bill for Parliament (50) and the Corporation subscribed £100 (51) towards the act obtained in 1763 for "better cleansing and enlightening the streets, lanes and public ways of the city of York.....". The act placed responsibility back onto the householders by creating a rate not only for upkeep of the lamps and oil but also to cover the purchase and replacement of 389 "bell lamps" of 11" diameter. They were to be lit at sunset every evening until twilight next morning from October 1st to March 31st and during the week of the horse races.(52) The Corporation now transferred their attention to enhancing the civic buildings and the annual bill for lights at the Mansion House and Ouse Bridge gradually increased from £10.10.0 in 1781 and 1782 (53) to over £20 in the early 1800's.(54) By now however they were paying their due part of the rate assessment and the cost of extra lights which they provided to improve the Mansion House. Thus between 1810 and 1811 the cost of some new lights is probably included in the bill of £45.11.1d for lights and oil for the Mansion House,(55) and in 1829 and 1830 they purchased

(50) YHB 44 ff 46,156-157

(51) YCAB 1763/4

(52) 3 Geo III

(53) YCAB 1781/1782

(54) YCAB 1800 to 1808/9

(55) YCAB 1810/1811

a new gas chandelier for the front parlour at the Mansion House (56). In particular however, the Corporation seized every opportunity to delight the public and their Monarch by providing, without undue expense, special illuminations on the King's Birthday. In 1830 and 1831 they secured from Richard Ealand a special fitment which blazed out the letter "W" from the Mansion House at the convenience of the Gas Light Co.(57) Gas lighting had arrived in York in 1824 when the York gas company began,(58) and despite a brief return to oil after an argument with the commissioners of the new 1825 Improvement Act,(59) the company continued to supply the town with gas lighting. It was not however inexpensive. The agreement with the company initially settled the annual price at £1,400, later to be reduced to £915.6.8d but with fewer lamps.(60) Such sums would have been a serious burden had they been chargeable to the Civic Authorities, and they illustrate well the problem which Municipal Authorities faced in rapidly expanding towns. York was fortunate to have obtained the Act of 1763 which re-assessed the principle of parish responsibility based upon rates, for without such an arrangement, the provision of lighting of this adequacy would have been well beyond the corporate means.

(56) It cost £20, YCAB 1829/30

(57) YCAB 1830/31

(58) C.B. Knight, op.cit., 618/9

(59) 6 Geo IV c127

(60) C.B. Knight, op.cit., 618/9

As at York, the Corporations at Boston and Nottingham fairly early relinquished responsibility for public lighting to Commissioners appointed under Acts of Parliament, but prior to this time neither Corporation showed quite the same keenness to provide street lights which was evident at York. At Boston the accounts bear no reference to payments for lamps until 1742 when two small bills for "putting down lamp posts" 5/0d and for "oyle and turps" for the lamps 6d (61) suggest that the Corporation had at last provided some small measure of public lighting, although it cannot have been more than a few lights in the market place by the Mayor's door.

In the following year however, one Fotherby received 19/6d (62) for lamps, and in 1749 and 1750 the first substantial bill for lamps of £9.10.2d appears. At the same time a salaried Officer, Edward Claxon, was paid £5 for cleaning the lamps for the year. (63) By this time therefore, it would seem that provision of lights by the Corporation, although unlikely to be extensive, was certainly being undertaken, and a bill for seventy-two gallons of lamp oil in 1752 and 1753 (64) suggests that the Corporation was probably lighting the main areas of the town, namely the

(61) 4/B/1 1742-3

(62) 4/B/1 1743-4

(63) 4/B/1 1749-50

(64) 4/B/1 1752-3. Also a bill for lamps of £1.13.4d

Market Square and Bargate, and was certainly using oil in preference to candles. From 1749 the cost of keeping up the lamps was entered each year in the accounts, and from the entries it is clear that improved provision was made between 1749 and 1775, although it was probably not of the standard seen at York. Nevertheless it indicates a willingness on the part of the Corporation to accept some responsibility.

Annual Expenditure on Oil and Lamps at Boston between 1750 and 1774. (65)

Year	Cost	Year	Cost	Year	Cost
1750-1	3. 3. 8	1760-1	21 3 8	1770-1	13 5 5
1751-2	5 16 8½	1761-2	5 14 8	1771-2	11 5 6
1752-3	8 5 0	1762-3	13 9 7	1772-3	15 9 0
1753-4	?	1763-4	13 13 4	1773-4	17 11 6
1754-5	?	1764-5	no account	1774-5	no account.
1755-6	no account	1765-6	" "		
1756-7	7 9 11	1766-7	9 4 8		
1757-8	?	1767-8	17 4 10		
1758-9	12 12 10	1768-9	12 1 8		
1759-60	17 4 9	1769-70	17 18 4		

In addition to these sums the Corporation continued to pay Edward Claxon £6 p.a. for lighting the lamps.

(65)A/B/1 1750-1775 and 4/B/1/258 1752/3,1753/4.

However in 1775 the responsibility was removed from the Council by the appointment of Commissioners under the Act of Parliament obtained in that year for lighting, watching and removing nuisances.(66) The Corporation agreed to give their lamps and irons to the Commissioners to be left where they were then fixed (67), but they retained much the same fiscal responsibility, for an account was sent from the Corporation of the annual expense of maintaining the lamps for the previous seven years, from which the Commissioners worked out an average which the Chamberlains were in future to pay. The account differs somewhat from the figures entered in the Chamberlains' Accounts, but not in any way to the Corporation's advantage. However the total expenditure over seven years was calculated to be £137..3..3d from which the Commissioners settled the Corporation's annual subscription at £19.12.0d (68) inclusive of the costs of watching. As in York, gas reached Boston in the 1820's with the creation of the Gas Company and the securing of an act to light the town with gas in 1825 (69),. As a consequence the Corporation became liable for a further ten guineas per annum for gas lights at the New Buildings.(70) However, as at York, it is abundantly clear from the expenditure entailed by the Commissioners that had no Act of Parliament been obtained to appoint commissioners

(66) 15 Geo III; 16 Geo III

(67) BAB 6 f 230 1776

(68) BAB 6 ff 228,229 26th July 1776

(69) 6 Geo IV

(70) 4/B/1 1826-35

and authorize a general rate, the town could not possibly have been lit to the same standard. Over the three years from 1830, 1832, and 1833 the Commissioners expended £2,356.19..5d, an average of £785.13.1½d per annum. Regular expenses of this size were beyond the scope of Corporate finance.

At Nottingham however the Council, and perhaps the inhabitants, were long oblivious of the benefits which street lighting could bring to the town, for until the Act of 1762 (2 GEO III c47), Nottingham must have been a remarkably poorly lit place. Corporate concern seems to have centred solely around the centres of civic life, namely the Mayor's house, the Exchange building and the Market place. Thus the first reference to lighting in the Corporation records refers to the fixing up of a gibbet and frame in 1703 and 1704 (71) for a convex light which was to be set up outside the door of each successive Mayor and maintained at the civic charge.(72) Referred to as "the Towne Lamp"(73), it seems certain that this was the only lighting provided by the Corporation until the new Exchange was built in 1724 to 1726. On this edifice of civic pride were hung three lamps.(74) These were the only lamps maintained by the Corporation until, in December 1742, the Common

(71) Chamberlains' Vouchers 1703/4 Dec.21st £1.0.3d. No.20

(72) NHB 3472f5,7. Oct.31st, Nov.23rd 1705

(73) Chamberlains' Vouchers Oct.8th 1705

(74) " " 1735/6 No.54 refers to 3 lamps at the new Change being lit 94 days at 9d per week.

Hall directed that "the lamp at the Hen Cross be lighted and taken care of at the charge of the corporation".(75)

The expense was hardly excessive, amounting to 14/9d in 1750 and 1751 for the charges of Richard Strey in lighting it and providing cotton and 41 pints of oil.(75) Perhaps the Corporation thought it was good value for, by 1760, they were maintaining a light at the Weekday Cross too (77), but until the lighting Act of 1762, Nottingham must have been a murky town, brightened only by the 5 public lamps in the Market Place and these maintained by individual householders. With the advent of the Act and the Commissioners however the Corporation did not entirely relinquish their responsibilities. They apparently continued to keep up the lights in the Market Place themselves, for during the early 1800's they were paying Joseph Dodd as lamp lighter in the Market Place (78), and indeed they followed this up in 1817 and 1818 with their own lights in the new shambles which were started in 1814, and also lights near the Police Office which was a part of the Exchange complex.(79) This was perhaps a further manifestation of the attitude shown by the Council in 1790 when they provided for 134 lamps to be lit in the town for three nights during the races.(80) The shambles lighting however was continued until 1835.

(75) NHB 3502 f. 15 Dec.15th 1742

(76) Chamberlains' Vouchers 1750/1 No.100

(77) Chamberlains' Vouchers 1760/1 No.51

(78) ex Chamberlains' Accounts A1807/8 1808/9

(79) " " 1817/18 H.Bonser for lighting lamps in the new Shambles £4; Joseph Dodd for lighting lamps near the Police Office £0.12.0d.

(80) Chamberlains' Vouchers 1790/1 No.62

In 1831 it cost £12.8.0d in upkeep (81), but in the following years the gas company rent was £6.6.0 a half year for the Shambles, £7.14.0 for the Exchange and the Lamp Commissioners received £6.6.0 for lighting and cleaning the Shambles and Exchange lights (82). In addition the Corporation paid a small lamp rate of about £2.10.0 p.a. (83) and occasionally subscribed towards new lighting schemes (84). Thus between 1818 and 1819 they subscribed £21 towards gas lamp posts in the Market Place and in 1830 and 1831 they gave £5 (85) towards the lamp posts on Derby Road. The costs however were generally well offset by the dividends which the Corporation received from the gaslight company. When the company was first established in 1818 the Corporation were sufficiently wise and public spirited to purchase ten shares at a total cost of £400 (86). In 1822 and 1823 the first dividend of £25 was paid out, and thereafter one dividend was received by the Corporation in most years, £67.10.0 being received in 1827 to 1828. (87)

By the 1800's therefore the provision of lights was not a major expense in any of the three boroughs, and the responsibility for street lighting lay with specially authorized persons. Until the Acts were obtained, each Council had made some concession to town requirements, but it is unlikely even with the willingness shown at York that the corporate funds could have

(81) MCR 1999; Account 1831/2

(82) Ledger A 1832/3, 1833-4, 1834-5

(83) Ledger A passim.

(84) Ledger A 1818/19

(85) Ledger A 1830/31

(86) Ledger A 1817/18, 1818/19, 1819/20

(87) Chamberlains' Accounts 1822-35.

provided a gas light service of any comparison with that provided by the Commissioners. The capital undertaking and the extent of the service required finance of a very different kind from that with which the Municipal Authorities were endowed. Civic encouragement of private enterprise to provide town amenities seen in the formation of the gaslight companies was perhaps the first and most successfully illustrated in the promotion of waterwork companies at Nottingham and York. Here both Corporations had by the end of the seventeenth century, encouraged and even initiated waterworks to supply piped water to parts of the town. The suggestion of a piped water supply was first mooted by the Corporation at Nottingham in 1693 (88), and although the scheme was not immediately successful the Corporation finally decided in 1696 to have piped water supplied by a "Towne's Man" (89) and subscribed £150 towards their four shares in the Waterwork Company which was to be established on the Leen.(90) The Company found their undertaking difficult and expensive (91), but several meetings

(88) NHB 3461 f 13

(89) NHB 3463 ff 21,22a,23a

(90) NHB 3464 f 6a; Chamberlains vouchers 1696-7 "Received of the Mayor & Burgesses £100 in part of what they are to pay for four shares". £50 was also paid by the Bridgemasters although their funds should not have been used for such purposes NHB3464 f 23,

(91) C.Deering

Nottinghamia Vetus et Nova (1751) 86

took place with the Corporation and other shareholders (92), and the Corporation proved most willing to lease land and buildings to the company at fair rents (93), or share the costs of scouring the Leen (94) or laying more pipes.(95) Thus by 1739 when Deering wrote, the works had reached such perfection that they could supply any part of Nottingham, the East direct from the engine, the West from a reservoir in Butt Dike. For times of emergency the company had also rented a pond in the Park from the Duke of Newcastle which they had made into a reservoir by the erection of flood or lock gates.(96) The entire town however did not yet receive water, and for those without a piped supply, the Corporation provided pumps and wells. In 1781 the Mayor and Sheriffs elect erected three large pumps in different parts of the town instead of the entertainment they usually gave on Michaelmas Day.(97) As late as 1824 the Corporation provided a well for the new houses being built on Mansfield Road at a cost exceeding £78 (98) and Blackner in 1815 spoke of many parts of the town being supplied by pumps["] erected by the Corporation within the last thirty years".(99) Where possible

(92) eg.NHB 3467 f17a; 3469 f30

(93) eg.NHB3477 f14a; 3478 ff 13,34,96; 3497 f 16; 3529 f11.

(94) eg.NHB 3539 f27 July 1780 The cost was 16.1½d, and the company paid the corporation 8.0d.Chamberlain's Vouchers 1780-81.No.9

(95) eg.NHB 3556 f 58 Sept.1797

(96)C.Deering,op.cit., 86

(97)J.Sutton, Nottingham Date Book 1750-1850 (1852) 146

(98) NHB 3583 f 54; Chamberlain's Account 1823-24

(99)J.Blackner, The History of Nottingham (1815) 27

however the Corporation encouraged individuals to provide for themselves. This policy ^{was} seen throughout the period from 1661 when they granted £2 to residents on Short Hill to make their own well (100), through to permission to Mr. J. Hawksley in 1811 to lay his own pipe across the island from the Leen to his mill in Butcher's Close ⁽¹⁾ or the provision of a pump to the corporation tenants in Saint Peter's Churchyard and Paul's Court who complained of "much inconvenience for want of a regular supply of water", followed by a rejoinder for 7½% interest per annum from the tenants on the expenses. (2)

When possible the Corporation also encouraged other waterwork companies to establish themselves and thus the town became increasingly better provided, not least because of active competition between the old and new companies. Although therefore the Corporation were careful to protect their own and the old waterworks Company rights, (3) they readily assented to the formation of the Sion Hill Company in 1779, (4) the Northern Water Work Company in 1825, (5) the Trent Water Work Company in 1826, (6) and the

(100) NHB 3434 f 23.

(1) Bond 4052

(2) NHB 3566 ff 101/2, 110

(3) eg. NHB 3562 f9, Nov. 1829; NHB 3586 ff 63-65 1826.

(4) NHB 3559 ff 11-12, October 1799

(5) NHB 3584 f 122, Sept. 1825 and subsequent extensions
3585 f35 1826; 3587 f41-2= 1827, 3589 f25-6 1829.

(6) 7 Geo IV

enterprise by Thomas Rowell to supply water from his well on Derby Road to the surrounding area.(7) As a result Nottingham was, in 1845, one of the best supplied towns in England with about 55,000 inhabitants supplied with water to their private house or court, mostly at full pressure at all times, with only about 1,000 houses lacking a piped supply.(8)

By a similar encouragement from the Corporation, York too early had a waterwork company and piped supply, although it never reached the standard achieved at Nottingham, probably because provision remained in the hands of one company. The Council first considered a piped water supply in the sixteenth century (9) and by 1616 had helped establish a waterwork company under Mr.Maltby (10). After 1630 the works deteriorated however until in 1674 the Corporation appointed a committee "to consider of the proposals of Mr.Whistler, Mr.Todd and Mr.Thomas Man about conveyinge water to this Cittie".(11) Three years later they gave Whistler a 500 year lease, at a pepper corn rent, of London Tower "to erect and make a water house and water work for the City" on the site of the old waterworks of 1616.(12)

(7) NHB 3589 f98-9, Aug.1830

(8) 2nd Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the state of large towns and populous districts (1845) App.part II 252

(9) VCH York 119

(10) Giles Manuscripts Y352 D11

(11) Giles Manuscripts Y352 D11; YHB 38 ff 98^b-99

(12) Idem.Also YHB 38/99; E35f1367-9

As at Nottingham, the Company experienced difficulties and it was not until 1685 that Whistler secured a satisfactory water supply (13), but the Corporation gave financial assistance (14) and protection from competition. (15) However only 1,000 houses were supplied initially (16) and as charges for the piped water rose, householders began to construct their own drains and pipes. (17) The Corporation themselves in 1763 erected their own pump for water in the Mansion House when the waterworks rent was doubled from £3 to £6 per annum. (18) During the eighteenth century the works were substantially improved, and in 1799 the shares were purchased by a company of twenty-eight shareholders and further improvements followed. (19) Nevertheless in 1818 Hargrove estimated that only 1,600 to 1,700 families benefited and these only received water for half the week, receiving water every day only during the races and assize. (20) Although therefore civic interest encouraged initial progress there was little continuing impetus for improvement, either from the Company or Corporation.

At Boston however the Corporation relentlessly invested time and money in the pursuit of a good water supply but ultimately here too it was only by the establishment of a company in 1849 with a capital of £20,000, that a satisfactory water supply was obtained.

(13) M1 39

(14) e.g. 1688-9 Chamberlain's Account Bk. £30 & £70 to Alderman Wood "for the use of the water works".

(15) Giles Manuscripts Y352 D11. The Corporation agreed to refuse permission to any other person to erect waterworks for 500 yrs.

(16) & Benson, An Account of the City & County of the City of York (1968) III 82

(17) From the middle years of the eighteenth century the corporation frequently had to advertise bye laws to restrict and regulate such encroachments eg. YHB44 f 69 1758; YHB44 f336 1773; York Courant 14th July 1772; 26th Jan, 11th May 1773

(18) YHB 44 f172 1763

(19) Hargrove, History & Description of the Ancient City of York

(20) Idem.

Boston experienced particular difficulties in obtaining a sufficient supply of water owing to the absence of springs in the area, and the problem engaged the Corporation as early as 1568 when the best method of procuring water from Keal Hill was considered by the Common Hall (21). No further steps were taken but the Council undertook the provision of cisterns in public places for collecting fresh water.(22) Water was also received from the West Fen conducted through wooden pipes to the Churchyard and other reservoirs in the town.(23) In 1710 however the inhabitants petitioned the House of Commons for an Act of Parliament to improve these waterworks but they then proved reluctant to meet the expense involved and the waterworks fell into decay.(24) The town subsequently became heavily dependent on water caught in cisterns but in 1746 the Council resolved to solve the problem by sponsoring a search for water in the Market Place by boring for a well.(25) The Hall agreed that the Chamberlain should discharge expenses already incurred of £43..4..0d and finally agreed to spend up to £80 altogether (26), but the idea proved less easy in practice. By 1747 Thomas Partridge reached a depth of 186 feet, yet still no water had been found.(27) For the time being the Corporation dismissed the problem, but in 1775 they initiated a new scheme for "bringing the water from the New river to a conduit in the Market Place" subscribing £200

(21) T.Allen, A History of the County of Lincoln (1830 & 1834) 230

(22) BAB 4f 238 1705

(23) T.Allen, op.cit., 230

(24) J.Saunders, Lincolnshire in 1836 (1836) 47

(25) 9/F/1 1st Sept.1746 BAB5 f 515(1746)

(26) 9/F/1 1st Sept.1746; 25th Sept.1746

(27) T.Allen, op.cit., 230

themselves and sending an Officer around the town for subscriptions from the inhabitants.(28) It would seem however that either the response was poor or else the scheme was faulty for in 1779 the Corporation appointed a committee to "consider the best mode of bringing fresh water into the market place".(29) As a result the Mayor in 1782 sent to Mr.George Naylor of Louth to "come and search for fresh water",(30). On May 7th 1783 Mr.Naylor began widening and deepening the 186 foot well which Thomas Partridge had sunk almost forty years previously. The task however was beset by misfortunes. At 444 feet Naylor inserted 2½" diameter tin pipe to prevent obstruction from falling stones, but it was too weak and separated into several pieces,"so that he was obliged to get the said pipes up again which took him 48 days".(31) In July 1784 Naylor inserted twenty-one pipes of cast iron instead,but on September 6th 1785 he broke one of the screws on these new rods "and took nine days to retrieve it". In October, having reached 478 feet 8½ inches, it was thought that a spring had finally been reached, but the disillusioned Committee were obliged to report that it was only salt water, and "the said George Naylor in no ways accounting for the same," the Committee thought it proper to discontinue

(28) BAB6 f, 198. 1775

(29) BAB 6 f, 320 1779

(30) BAB 7 f . 16 1782

(31) 9/F/1 Report by James Limberd Corporation Surveyor

28th November 1785.

any further operations. The pipes were plugged and the well boarded over. The bills for the boring, over the three years, amounted to £448 (33) but the Corporation did not entirely give up. In 1807 a Committee conferred with Joseph Banks regarding the practicality of inserting a clause in the general Enclosure bill to lay water pipes from Hagnaby or other nearby becks to Boston at the expense of the town and Corporation. (34) Banks was not optimistic about the possibility of conveying water so far, but he did give his consideration to other possible ways of obtaining water (35) and it was in, perhaps, gratitude for his concern and efforts that he was made Recorder of the Borough in 1809. (36) In November 1812 the Corporation wrote to him again informing him "that the Corporation are extremely anxious of forwarding any plan which may have a reasonable prospect of succeeding" (37). In 1822 however the Corporation was still providing water in cisterns, a new one being ordered for the new corn market. (38) Their attempts to provide water by other means had failed and so too did a further attempt to bore for water undertaken by John Wilks in 1826 with full corporate blessing but at his own expense. (39) The town

(33) BCAD 1783/4 £73.13.0; 1784/5 £173.9.3½; 1785/6 £201.14.3d.

(34) BAB 8 22nd October 1807

(35) BAB 8 5th April 1808; 10th October 1808

(36) BAB 8 15th February 1809

(37) BAB 8 24th November 1812

(38) 9/F/2 1822

(39) P. Thompson, The History & Antiquities of Boston (1856) 672, 787. Outlay was estimated to have exceeded £2,000.

had to be content with cisterns, or in dry weather (40), they purchased water by the penny, gallon from carriers who brought it from the River Humber or the Witham Sluice.(41) The townspeople did not however seem sufficiently concerned by the inconvenience to be prepared to contribute to the costs of other attempts to supply water (42), and it was not until the establishment of the Boston Waterworks Company, with a capital of £20,000 and their construction of a reservoir at Revesby Beck in 1849, that the water problem was satisfactorily solved.(43)

(40) 5/A/2/10. Proposal by Wm. Clarke 1834

(41) H. Porter, Boston 1800-1835 (1941) I 88

(42) eg. 1835 and 1836 subscriptions were insufficient to promote a scheme for piped water from Bolingbroke.

(43) H. Porter, *op. cit.*, 88

In cleaning and lighting the streets and providing water, the three Borough Councils displayed varying degrees of interest and commitment, but in all, ultimately, the responsibility came to rest less with the Conciliar body and increasingly with Authorities beyond the Council, whether Commissioners or joint Stock Companies. The new Authorities were primarily a result of lack of concern or lack of authority on the part of the Municipal Body, and ultimately the service they provided, particularly in lighting, demanded greater financial backing than the Councils could probably have provided alongside their other commitments. The companies were formed, often at Corporate instigation, chiefly because the service required a capital outlay which the Councils could not, or would not, afford.

In the provision of one service however, the Councils displayed an active concern which could have been off-loaded to Parishes or private companies, but which the Corporation continued to undertake alongside these other bodies. This was the provision of fire-fighting equipment, and the Corporate concern was almost certainly associated with an immediate and tangible fire risk, ever brought to their notice, and which was so less obvious but still present in the form of disease and ill health in the service of cleaning and water supply.

It was at York that the most active concern was evident, and it may have been consequent on a much graver fire risk in the closely packed and narrow streets of the town. As early as 1675 the Corporation decided to obtain "engines and loopes for quenchinge fyre"(44) from London, and they took advantage of the re-establishment of the waterworks in 1677 to fix public cocks to the mains in case of fire and ordered that hooks, ropes, ladders and leather buckets be kept in readiness in the parish churches.(45) It was however the experience of a severe fire in 1694 which prompted the Corporation to their next step; the purchase of a "leather engine for fire" "soe soon as money can be spared out of ye comon chamber".(46) The accounts for 1694 record several payments "at ye ffyre" for medical assistance, for fire fighting and refreshment and for tools:- spades, bowls, candles. Total costs for fire fighting alone were £45.7.7½d (47), but the most serious aspect of any town fire was the destruction and costs of rebuilding, of which the accounts contain no details. By August 1694 however it had been decided that the engine was to be procured from Mr. Fountaine in London,(48) at a cost of £35 plus £1.19.0 for freight.(49) The experience of fire was not easily forgotten

(44) YHB 38 f 111 Nov. 3rd 1675

(45) YHB 38 ff 111, 123

(46) YHB 39 f 76 May 18th 1694

(47) YCAB 1694/5

(48) YHB 39 f 79

(49) YCAB 1694/5

and doubtless there were others, and in 1711 the Corporation followed up their earlier precedents with a resolution to purchase a large, a small and a hand engine and piping, to be placed in the wards.(50) By 1720 the Corporation owned four large and four small fire engines and they continued to improve their stock. In 1754 they inspected an engine from London (51) and purchased two the following year at a cost of £59..6..0d (52) and yet more in 1760 at a cost of £97..3..0 (53). Amongst the latter was "a perpetual steam engine" which marked a big advance over the hand filled engines. The Corporation must by now have been well equipped, but they apparently did not continue to keep their engines up-to-date for in 1821 a committee enquiry reported that of the six engines only the one presented by the Royal Exchange Assurance Office in 1801 was of recent construction.(54) The Corporation apparently took some notice of the report for the next year they paid out £35 towards a new engine and £85..8..2d (55) for a new engine house. The prospect of using Insurance Companies to maintain the engines for the town doubtless however seemed more inviting, and in 1830 the Corporation transferred all their engines to the Yorkshire Insurance Company which increased its full-time brigade and improved its equipment.(56) The fact that the Corporation

(50) G. Benson, An Account of the City and County of the City of York (1968) III 62 I have no record from the Account.

(51) YHB 43 f 448

(52) YCAB 1755-6

(53) YCAB 1760/1

(54) YHB 48 ff 459-62

(55) YCAB 1822/3

(56) YHB 50 8th November 1830; K110 Feb. 3rd 1831

had to pay the company £140 towards the cost of repairing the corporation engines suggests that they were indeed in a poor state, but thereafter the Corporation paid the company only £20 per annum towards the expenses of the service.(57)

The Corporation had therefore for many years attempted to provide an efficient fire service, but it was probably never intended to be exclusive, being supplemented by private and parochial engines.(58) Certainly the Corporation had long had an agreement with the Sun Fire Insurance Company whereby they contributed one third of costs entailed by the Corporation in maintaining an engineer and firemen. Firemen had already been appointed by the Corporation in 1714 when they received £4 per annum for "looking to and displaying the water engines".(59) But in 1724 the Corporation appointed J.Gill as "fire engine man" and twelve firemen, and the Sun Fire Office agreed to pay one third of the costs of annual salaries, coats and repairs.(60) In addition to these obvious duties however the Corporation themselves paid the firemen to attend the processions and ceremonial occasions notably on Swearing Day when they partook and "played the engines" no doubt to the great delight and edification of all present. The firemen

(57) YCAB 1831-1832; K110.Feb.3rd 1831.

(58) York Courant 14th July 1772

(59) YCAB 1714-15

(60) YHB 42 ff 446, 47

usually needed the help of labourers too at the scene of a fire, to pump the engines, and the Corporation again paid using a scale of charges.(61) Thus in 1738 sixteen persons extinguishing a fire in Little Peter Lane received £1.12.6d (62), and between 1784 and 1785 the soldiers who helped at the fires at the Black Swann and in Saint Saviour Gate received two guineas for each occasion.(63) Small payments were thus always being made towards one or other aspect of the fire service in addition to regular salaries and occasional outgoings on large items as between 1769 and 1770 when £26..1..6d was paid for repairs to the engines (64), or between 1785 and 1786 when thirty-six leather buckets cost £25.(65) Examined every ten years the Chamberlain's Accounts give some idea of the annual outgoings and more extraordinary payments involved with the Corporation's fire service at York.(66)

1730. 2/3rd Mr.Gill's salary for looking after the engines	6. 13..4
Use of the engines on Swearing Day	<u>12..0</u>
	7.. 5..4
1740. 2/3rds Mr.Gill's salary as "fire engine man"	6..13..4
Firemen on Swearing Day	12..0
six labourers	<u>18..0</u>
	8.. 3..4
1750. 2/3rds Mr.Gill's salary	6..13..4
" " of cloth for 12 firemen's coats	6..12..0
" " making 8 coats	3.14.. 8
" " costs of repairs to fire engine.	3..16..4
Firemen on Swearing Day	12..0
six labourers trying the engines on the	
four Sessions days	1.. 4..0
32 men playing the engine at the fire in Walmgate	
"being such as were certified to have been active	
and useful".	<u>3.. 4..0</u>
	25..16..4

- (61) YHB 42 ff 5,26
 (62) YCAB 1738/9; YHB 42 f 238
 (63) YCAB 1784/5
 (64) YCAB 1769-70
 (65) YCAB 1785-6
 (66) YCAB passim.

1760	2/3 Mr. Smith's salary looking after engines £2.10.0 qrt	5..0..0
	12 firemen 1/- at King George III proclamation	12..0
	Firemen Swearing Day	12..0
	Paid the firemen	18..0
	Work at fire engines	1..3..0
	Paid for the fire engines	97..3..0
	For the freight of the fire engines	<u>4..7..0</u>
		109.15..0
1770	2/3 William Clark's salary engineer	10..0..0
	" " "	2.10..0
	2/3 costs of 8 firemen's coats at 25/- each	<u>10..6..0</u>
		22.16..0
1780	2/3 William Clark's salary	10..0..0
	2/3 " " repairing engines	<u>3..7..9</u>
		13..7..9
1790 (67)	2/3 Jona Cartwright's salary	10..0..0
	2/3 24 firemen's salaries @ 10/- each	<u>8..0..0</u>
		18..0..0
1800	2/3 William Halfpenny's salary engineer and 2/3 24 firemen's salaries	18..0..0
	Firemen's Coats	<u>20.12..0</u>
		38.12..0
1810	2/3 firemen's coats (1808)	20.12..0
	24 firemen attendance Lord Mayor's Day @ 2/6	3..0..0
	Firemen attendance when the first stone was laid on Ouse Bridge withothers	<u>4.19..0</u>
		28.11..0
1820.	2/3 J. Stuccliffe's salary engineer and 24 firemen	18..0..0
	Rent for engine house	8..8..0
	Leather buckets	<u>2.17..6</u>
		29..5..6

(67) The firemen apparently ceased to be appointed from sometime after 1760 until 1781 when 24 enginemen and firemen were employed. YHB45 f 33-34

Although therefore fire prevention was not always a major item of expense to the Corporation at York, the accounts and housebooks suggest that it was a matter in which they took an active interest and which they deemed needful of their support.

So too did the Corporation at Nottingham who in 1693 initiated a subscription to provide their first fire engine.(68) Clearly they succeeded in obtaining an engine for between 1696 and 1697 the Chamberlain's Vouchers record payments of 6/10d and 5/10¹/₂d for work at the fire engines (69) and again between 1701 and 1702 and 1704 and 1705 the "Town's Engine" was mended.(70) The council also provided three dozen buckets and thirty hooks on which to hang them (71).

by 1706 a second engine had been bought, but not solely at the charge of the Corporation, for having debated who should pay for them (72) the Hall decided to apply the money collected for the opposition to the River Derwent Bill as well as that collected for the fire engine to pay Nevill's bill of £31.12.0.(73)

As at York however it was perhaps a recent fire which stimulated further action in December 1707 when the Common Council reiterated an earlier bye-law reminding the public that "Nottingham has suffered and is in great danger to suffer very much by fires

(68) NIB3460 f 39 Jan.24 1792/3

(69) Chamberlain's Vouchers 1696/7

(70) " " 1701/2; 1704/5 nos.45 50

(71) NIB 3461 f 45 1694; Chamberlains' Vouchers 1702/3 No.8;
1703/4 nos 9,65

(72) NIB3473 f 6 Nov.19th 1706

(73) NIB3475 f 11a Feb.11 1703/9

occasioned by the bakers keeping stacks of gorse in their yards" and ordered that "both the fire engines be repaired and putt in good order by some ingenious persen att the Town's Charge".(74) The phrasing may suggest that the responsibility was placed back on the populace at large, but this was certainly not always the case, for in 1716 an engine was repaired at the Corporation's expense (75) and bills continue to figure not infrequently in the corporate accounts.(76) In 1724 moreover the Hall required the Chamberlains to purchase seven hand engines which were to be lodged with each of the Aldermen and twelve leather buckets to be hung in the Common Hall.(77) This example was furthered in 1764 when the Corporation purchased two new engines of "a first size" at their own expense. One engine had a suction pipe and an extra forty feet of leather pipe; the other was an engine to be filled with buckets.(78) The cost was £48..8..0 but Mr.Ragg, who provided them, took the old engine in part exchange for twelve guineas.(79) It was about this time too that the Corporation began to pay an officer £2 each year to look after the engines.(80) Clearly therefore the Corporation owned and supported at least two

(74) NHB3474 f 10a Dec.1707

(75) NHB 3480 f 7a Dec.19th 1716

(76) e.g. Chamberlains' Vouchers 1713/14 June 18th;
1718 May 7th; 1721/2 No 74.
1730/1 No.119; 1780-1 Nos.19,66,45,146

(77) NHB 3483 f 9 March 31st 1724

(78) NHB3523 f 15 Feb.10th 1764; Chamberlains' Vouchers 1764/5 No.63a

(79) Chamberlains' Vouchers 1764-5 No 63b

(80) " " 1770/1 No.109; 1780/1 No.66; 1790/1 No.38

engines in their own right but they were doubtless supplementary to engines maintained by the parishes, to which at times the Corporation gave assistance. Thus in October 1733 the Common Hall ordered that "the trustees appointed to buy and take care of Engines to quench fires shall have leave to fence and cover the New Cross near St. Peter's Church and have the use of it to put their engines in" (81) and in 1760 they donated thirty pounds towards a new "ingin".(82) In addition to these provisions the town was also favoured by the presence of Insurance Companies. The Corporation themselves insured with the Sun Fire Office (83) and around 1764 the company presented the town with an engine "of a third size"(84). In 1802 the Phoenix Fire Insurance Company presented the town with another engine (85) but by this time the borough rate fulfilled what responsibilities the Corporation had previously undertaken.(86) Despite this, the Council did however, almost as a last act of generosity and common sense, in 1810 provide for a shop to be fitted up as a fire room "in order that such fire engines as the liberality of the Towne or of the different Fire Insurance Companies may provide for the safety and protection of the public may be placed in a known and central situation and be capable

(81) NHB 3493 f 4a Oct.12th 1733

(82) Chamberlains' Vouchers 1760/1 no.65

(83) " " 1763/4 No.29b

(84) " " 1764/5 No.63a

(85) NBR IX 5

(86) Town rate accounts passim. eg.1824 6120 22 11

of immediate application" (87) In one service at least the Corporation had amalgamated and contributed to the diverse authorities in the Borough rather than using them to entirely replace the ill-defined civic obligation.

This was not however the case in Boston where the civic authorities appear to have been markedly less concerned to provide fire fighting equipment than either Nottingham or York Corporations.

In 1653 the Boston Council placed responsibility categorically upon the local inhabitants, and ordered that within two months of the order six strong iron hooks and ropes and six smaller hooks must be provided by the constable "at the charges of all the inhabitants". In addition, each Alderman must provide at his own expense "two leather Bucketts with handles" and a twelve stave ladder every member of the common Council "one good buckett" and a 12 stave ladder and every other inhabitant chargeable to the subsidy "one buckett".(88) Apart from this and other precautionary orders like that of 1677 when the Corporation ordered that all new buildings should be roofed with tile or slate,(89) the Council seem to have done little else.

(87) MIB3570 f 13

(88) 2/C/a/ Bye Laws 5.9.1653

(89) G. Brears, Lincolnshire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (1940) 102

Presumably fire fighting equipment was kept only by the parish who in 1734 obtained some "Newhams new invented and perpetual fire engines", and appointed Daniel Coppin to look after them.(90)

In 1741 however, if not before, the Corporation did resolve to take an active part in fire fighting when the Chamberlains were ordered to expend £10 on a hand fire engine.(91)

There is no record of this in the 1741, 1742 account, but a similar decision to purchase a hand engine and bucket in 1749 certainly was, the Chamberlains spending £25.10.6d (92).

Perhaps impressed with their purchase, the Corporation bought another engine the following year for a total outlay of £19.17.0 (98).

Clearly however the fire fighting equipment available in the town seems not to have reached the standard which York enjoyed, possibly because the dangers seemed less grave in the more widely spaced town of Boston. This may have been to their cost in 1761 when a fire in the wooden buildings on Dock Square completely destroyed twenty shops (94).

What the Council did do however, was ensure that they themselves were protected from the worst ravages of fire by taking out Insurance on their major buildings. In 1771

(90) *ibid.*

(91) BAB 5 f. 488 1741

(92) BAB 5 f. 535 1749; BCAB 4/B/1 1749-50. They bought a fire engine and 5 dozen buckets.

(93) 4/B/1 1750-51

(94) H. Sweebling Ed., Fenland Notes and Queries n.d. IV 235-6

they took out £500 Insurance with the Sun Fire Office on each of the new houses built in the Market Place (95), but in 1821 this scheme was made much more comprehensive when it was resolved "that the buildings belonging to this Corporation be insured from damage by fire..."(96)

In watching and policing their Towns, the three Municipal Authorities played a decreasing role, with Boston and York early relying on the parishes to maintain the service, and all three boroughs by 1830 supporting the service either by the County Rate or by Commissioners appointed under local Acts of Parliament.

At Boston no accounts of payments to constables for salaries or expenses appear in the Chamberlains' Accounts although the Charter of Henry VIII provided for the Mayor and Aldermen to appoint six constables.(97) However when the Municipal Commissioners enquired into Boston Corporation, the police then consisted of one chief constable and eleven petty constables. The chief received an annual salary of £35 but the petty constables charged only their expenses.(98) Presumably the costs were met by the borough rate for which no accounts appear to remain, except for a record of police and superintendent wages from November 1833 to April 1836. From these it is clear

(95) BAB 6 f 108 1771

(96) BAB 8 26th April 1821; 10 December 1821; 28th April 1823
The Premium was £21.14.6 p.a. BCAB passim

(97) MCR Boston 2157

(98) MCR Boston 2157

that the police were now an expensive item, although not so dear as at Nottingham:-

<u>Boston Police Wages.</u>	£	s	d
23.11.1833 to 10. 1. 1835	438	14	0
10. 1.1835 to 9. 1. 1836	387	18	0
10. 1.1836 to 30. 4. 1836	133	15	0 (99)

Yet, although the Municipal Commissioners commented that the police in Boston were adequate in normal times, it is clear that the division of interest between the Corporation and the public, and the character of the Chief Constable, who had been in Office for twenty-three years, seriously hindered the effective use of the police at times of election or public disturbance.(100) On such occasions the public often refused to act as special constables, and disruption at one election was so serious that £160.12.7d was paid out of the Borough rate for damages(1)

In the provision of watchmen too the Corporation of Boston did not take a regular part. They did however appoint watchmen to act on special occasions, particularly at the fairs. Thus in 1709 and 1710 two watchmen attended the April and July Fairs and received 1/- per day plus a small allowance for ale (2). In 1735 and 1736 these were still the two standard occasions when watchmen were appointed by the

(99) Paid from the Borough Rate and a contribution of £2.16.0 per week from the Commissioners under the 1775 Lighting and Watching Act 5/A/1/5

(100) MCR Boston 2167

(1) MCR Boston 2162

(2) BCAB 1709/10

Corporation, being employed now for seven days instead of five (3), and despite the lighting and watching Act of 1775 which provided five night watchmen, men were still employed to watch at the fairs. By 1785 the annual salary for two watchmen at the fairs was £2..5..0d (4) and in 1832 the Corporation was still paying £2..5..0 to William Sawyer and David Sleight for watching at the May, August and Mart fairs.(5) Watchmen were also appointed by the Corporation to look after new buildings or special consignments: thus in 1710 and 1711 8/- was paid for watching "when getting timber out of the docks".(6)

Despite the provisions of the 1775 Act and the sporadic employment of watchmen by the Corporation, the provision was still inadequate, for on January 20th 1812 the Mayor called a meeting of inhabitants to "take into consideration the state of the watch in this parish and what addition and improvements may be made therein". The Mayor was given ~~the~~ leave by the Corporation to subscribe as much as he wished to the purpose (7), but whether the situation was satisfactorily amended is not apparent.

(3) BCAB 1735/6

(4) BCAB 1785/6

(5) BCAB 1832/3

(6) BCAB 1710/11

(7) BHB 8 20th Jan.1812

At York the Chamber Accounts reveal that from time to time the Corporation paid out minor sums in pursuit of law and order. Thus in 1724 £1..7..6d was disbursed in the recapture of an escaped felon; in 1744 £3..5..9d was paid out for the apprehension and carriage of a man from Bedale to York; and in 1757 and 1758 £1..6..0d was paid to cover the cost of damage done by a gun during the late riots.(8) Maintenance of the City Armoury was perhaps not purely a matter of presenting a good display at the processions and festivals! Although however the accounts record between 1692 and 1693 a payment of 4/8d to the constable (9), the maintenance of constables and the night watch remained essentially the job of the parishes, as the payment of 5/0d "to the constable of All Hallows for taking up several lewd women" suggests.(10) The night watch indeed seems only to have been maintained in times of emergency (11), until in 1713 a reform committee recommended that the day watch was useless and should be abolished, and the night watch should be improved.(12) An hourly patrol by a watchman and constable was subsequently started in each ward, from midnight to four a.m. o'clock in summer and to 10 p.m. in winter. All drunkards and night walkers were to be arrested, but the Officials

(8) YCAB 1724/5, 1744/5, 1757/8

(9) YCAB 1692/3

(10) YCAB 1735/6

(11) YHB 38 ff 121, 147, 149, 185

(12) YHB 4 f 125

The Improvement Act of 1825 supplemented the police with the organization of a regular force of night watchmen, comprising four assistants and a captain whose salaries were met by a rate levy.(19) These provisions however were not maintained, and in February 1828 following the disbanding of the nightly patrol, the Mayor called a meeting of the parish constables to urge them to greater vigilance. A little later a patrol was appointed by private subscription for the winter months,(20) but during the summer the streets continued to be the scene of rowdyism even on Sundays, until the Commissioners made arrangements for a patrol of the main thoroughfares for at least eight hours every Sunday.(21)

At Nottingham however, the policing of the town lay largely in the hands of the Corporation until 1794, the Corporation paying monthly or quarterly constables' bills and also extra fees, and for the attendance of constables on special occasions - the fairs, races, Elections or Assizes. The regular bills usually contained claims for expenses incurred in apprehending and maintaining or despatching vagabonds and criminals. Thus three constables' bills received between 1681 and 1682 from Joseph Taylor, Stephen Ryly and Thomas Cooper

(19) MCR York 748

(20) Knight, op. cit., 618

(21) Idem. 1829

walking about the town to prevent Tumults and riots Shrove Tuesday".(25)

As the eighteenth century progressed however the regular bills began to disappear and it seems that the Corporation may have employed constables, perhaps to supplement those provided by the parishes, only on special occasions. Thus in 1760 Robert Jeffries and "5 more constables" patrolled three nights at the Fair "to keep the peace".(26) The payment of constables to attend Goose Fair, the Sessions days and the Assizes and Elections, were regularly made by the Corporation (27) but in addition, they were sometimes called out on other occasions. In March 1770 5 constables were called to the Cheese Fair to quell the riots, and in January of the same year the constables were paid 5/- by the Common Hall for "breaking up Pigons house of whores".(28) Attending on these occasions the constables in 1787 and 1788 were altogether paid £7..4.9d with £1 paid for their staffs, and £8..0..8d paid by the Mayor's sergeant to constables, vagrants and poor folk for assistance, This was hardly therefore an expensive or comprehensive service, yet Nottingham was a disturbed town where riots were frequent during the later 1700's, and on these occasions

(25) Chamberlains' Vouchers 1750-1 No.29

(26) " " 1760-1 No.5

(27) " " and accounts passing, e.g. 1774-5, 1811 E.V.; 1780-1 vouchers No.11; 1787-8 1814c 95;

(28) " " 1769-70 No.108

the Council often had to employ not simply constables but also the services of the Militia. In 1766 the Hall ordered the reimbursement of soldiers, constables and others who helped quell the riot, (29) and the Chamberlains' Accounts contain many entries, including £26.15.6. to General Elliot's Light Dragoons, £1.1.0 to William Eggleston shot at the Fair and £5.11.6 for his funeral expenses; £4.6.6 for recruiting parties assisting at the riot, and many other small bills for medical care, the hire and repair of guns and payments for damages sustained. (30) In 1779 the Regiment of Blues received twenty guineas for quelling the riots, (31) in 1790, the Dragoons received ten guineas and the Freedom of the Town for their Officers, while the constables received £7.19.6 for their work during the Election riots. (32)

As the eighteenth century progressed the problems and discontents of urban life created a growing lawlessness and riotousness which the town council was not equipped to meet. The threat of the military was too strong, yet it had to be used because the handful of constables called out by the council when need arose were inadequate to the new situation developing in Nottingham and other urban centres.

(29) Oct. 15 1766. NHB 3526 f 8

(30) Chamberlains' Vouchers 1766-7

(31) July 2 1779 NHB 3538 f 28

(32)

June 23rd & July 2nd 1790 NHB 3549 ff 43, 47

"The transformation of the bulk of the English nation from a settled population of yeomen cultivators, peasant copyholders, domestic handicraftsmen and 'small masters', owning the instruments and the product of their labour, and accepting without question the existing order of society, into a migratory swarm of propertyless wage earners, crowded together in the labyrinths of houses, characteristic of the Metropolis, the great ports and the new urban centres, inevitably meant an enormous increase of disorder, licentiousness and crime." (33)

With such an increase the Corporation was not equipped to cope, administratively or financially. It was therefore of some benefit to the town when the responsibility for crime prevention was placed upon the borough rate, for at least the magistrates now had sufficient income to finance a much larger force in times of need.(34). The Corporation did not however entirely withdraw their financial support, particularly for civic affairs. In 1834 they paid £33.4.0 for ^{policemen} attending the election of a junior Councilman and the following year paid the constables £10.17.3 for attending the election of Town Councillors for the new Council.(35)

They continued to offer rewards for the apprehension of felons.(36)

(33) S. & B. Webb, The Devel. of English Local Government 1689-1835 (1963) 83

(34) Chapter 6

(35) Chamberlains Accounts 1834-5, 1835

(36) e.g. June 19th 1703 £50 NHB3542 f 21; Dec. 17th 1811 NHB 3571 f31-2

and so severe were the Luddite riots that the Hall voted £2,000 free from account to a Committee to end the Luddite riots.(37)

By 1833 the town constabulary, maintained by the County rate comprised three full-time constables receiving 15/- per week and about one hundred fully sworn part-time constables who acted when called.(38)

In watching the Town the Corporation played little part; leaving the responsibility with the inhabitants. Although therefore bills do occur relating to Watchmen's coats, bells or duties, amongst the Chamberlains' Accounts (39), it seems unlikely that the Corporation employed a nightly or comprehensive watch. Certainly in 1688 the watch was considered to be a parish affair for Godfrey Cheatham was presented at the sessions for refusing to pay his watch and work dues (40), and in 1746 the inhabitants complained that a good night watch was "greatly wanted" and accordingly the Magistrates in quarter Sessions ordered that the town be watched each nightway by fourteen householders in turn.(41) The magistrates continued the principle of individual responsibility when the town rate was started, for in 1815 the County Rate Vouchers record £1 spent on an advert recommending associations

(37) Dec.17th 1811 NIB3571 f 31-32

(38) MCR 1995

(39) 1718-19 Vouchers 3 Watchmen's coats 6/0; 1727-8 Vouchers 4 watchmen's coats £1..4..0; 1769-70 Voucher Nos.70,179; 1774-5 Voucher 101. They did employ 4 watchmen after the Civil War, but eventually "for want of some superior force to watch them (they) became so remiss in their duties that they were discontinued" J.Blackmer, op.cit., 280.

(40) NBR V 351

(41) NBR VI 215

of inhabitants for forming nightly watches.(42) A system was in fact started under the 1812 Watch and Ward Act, but nevertheless the town continued to be poorly watched, as a letter from "a well wisher" to the Magistrates in 1816 indicates: "several who were on duty last time saw no more of their district than the first public house they came towhere to my certain knowledge they sat until the time of return expired".(43) If there was a lack of concern evident amongst the Municipal Authorities and the Magistracy there was a lack of concern amongst many of the townspeople too when it came to actually carrying out the watch. Moreover as Blackner suggested, the inhabitants would have been no less disagreeable to an increase in the borough rate in order to pay for an efficient watch: "While the great bulk of inhabitantsare exposed to the depredations of those misguided mortals... ..there is more money expended supporting, securing and prosecuting delinquents....than, if partially otherwise applied, would prevent a great part of the robberies from being committed. But supposing that a well regulated night watch would prevent the commission of many crimes and their appalling consequences in this town, the magistrates are not to be blamed

(42) 6086 3 1

(43) NBR VIII 226

for not having enforced the measure, for as it would be attended with considerable expense ^{the capricious and ill natured would attribute} to them motives of oppression and unbridled authority....." (44).

However the ~~lack~~ failure of the corporation and magistrates to enforce or provide a night watch left the more wealthy householders with no alternative but to subscribe to private watch committees which themselves often proved little better, watching only their own area and still requiring surveillance to discourage shirking (45). As a consequence in 1815 only twenty out of more than 400 streets in the town were watched, and these by some nine or ten men, four of whom watched the market.(46)

In the provision and maintenance of a civilized environment, the corporations at Boston, Nottingham and York, did play some part. They failed however to accommodate the rapidly changing needs of their towns, partly because their provisions were inadequate and partly because they refused to recognize in themselves the potential of a central local government authority. Wherever possible they placed responsibility elsewhere, on individual householders, the parish authorities, or on newly created special commissioners or companies, and at best they ran their services alongside these.

(44) J.Blackner, op.cit., 279-280

(45) The Bridlesmith Gate Committee installed a "Superintendent" clock to which the watchmen had to apply a key, every half hour. J.Blackner, op.cit., 280

(46) idem.

They had good reason for this attitude: the Municipal Authority was centred on the medieval concept of the obligation of the individual to serve; it was, in many respects, always an adjunct of other local government bodies, and did not supersede them in authority for highway maintenance or the provision of constables; it moreover lacked the size of regular income necessary for the establishment of new services in gas or water, or the maintenance of a police force and other services equal to the needs of the greatly expanded boroughs. Nevertheless they played some part, sometimes paying for these fundamental services, sometimes initiating improved provisions, but the evidence suggests a willingness to reduce their commitments, and decentralization accelerated the decline of the municipal authority at a time when the rapidly expanding problems of town life requires a central authority in place of ad hoc arrangements. Yet even had the municipal authorities wanted to increase their authority, the tide was probably already against them, and had been since their boroughs began to change, while the municipal authority retained the character of pre-urbanization and pre-industrial life.

CHAPTER 8

THE TOWN THOROUGHFARES

Between 1660 and 1835 fundamental changes took place in the size and function of the three boroughs, and these developments affected particularly the sphere of street repair and improvement as more commodious and better constructed thoroughfares became necessary.

In this, as in the provision of amenities, the fragmentary authorities of the various local government bodies became apparent. Yet in all three boroughs the Civic Authorities involved themselves in road maintenance, extending the paved areas, and improving the methods of road construction, and encouraging improvement schemes.

It was the Corporation at York however which accepted the most widespread responsibility and showed itself to be most aware of the value of widening and improving the City thoroughfares.

According to statute of Henry VII the obligation of repairing the highways for 300 feet from the end of a bridge rested upon the Corporation or County as the case may be (1), but in other streets, disputes over responsibility continued, and York was as ready as any other to disclaim it. In 1693/4 York Common Hall purchased six quire of warrants to be delivered to householders for failing to repair the highways (2), but fifty years later the parishes still had not reached agreement with the Corporation. In 1743 the parishioners of the Parish of Bishop Hill Senior succeeded in pushing the Corporation into repairing Clementhorpe Lane, for although the Corporation asked Mr. Strangeways to represent the City at their indictment by the Parish in Quarter Sessions, the house did decide that since "The Mayor and Comonalty ought to repair the same" Strangeways should "submit thereto" (3). More often however the Corporation were less compliant, as in 1751 when John Roper defended the Corporation against the indictment by St. Lawrence Parish (4), or when the Corporation themselves indicted the Parishioners (5). Essentially however, the responsibility lay with each householder or landowner who fronted the road. Each Corporation therefore had certain clear-cut responsibilities,

(1) A.T. Patterson . . . Radical Leicester (1954) . 8.

(2) YCAB 1693-4

(3) YHB 43f125 27. 1.1743

(4) YHB 43f367 15.7.1751

(5) e.g. YHB 43f391

yet although they were quick to disclaim responsibility for repair, as Boston did in St. Ann's Lane in 1777 (6), they each encouraged the householder to improve the standard of the road by making donations from the civic purse. At Nottingham the Corporation in 1743/4 agreed to make up the cost of paving Bridlesmith gate if the inhabitants gave £20 (7), in the previous year the Chamberlains gave £20 towards paving the upper end of Castlegate (8) and continued to make donations to such schemes until 1835, requiring the inhabitants to make up the remainder or raise an equal sum. Similar schemes were used at Boston and York (9) too. Nevertheless the Corporations retained liabilities of their own in the way of highway maintenance and repair, and although they were anxious to ascertain, as at Nottingham, what part of the town streets "it will be proper and reasonable for the inhabitants to Pave att their own Charge and how much the Corporacon shall be liable" in order that "for the future the Corporacon doe save as much as possible in the Article of Paving" (10), the Chamberlains' Accounts show constant activity in matters of street upkeep. In this sphere of town

(6) BAB 6 f 262,265

(7) NHB 1743/4 f 17

(8) NHB 1742/3 f 27

(9) e.g. YCHB 1794/5 £10.0.0d to the flagging of the Northside of Walngate.

(10) NHB3481 f 11 1717. Boston e.g. 1742 BAB 6 f 499

life the civic authorities did show a greater sense of responsibility than in cleansing. In 1719 the Chamberlain at Boston was ordered by the Hall to "put into repair all ye causeways gutters and pavements belonging to this hall"(11) an order which seems to have been promulgated in most years since 1708 (12). Thereafter bills for paving, for cobbles and gravel featured regularly in the Chamberlains' Accounts, the market areas being probably the most extensive cobbled areas which the Corporation maintained, with Bargate already paved in 1700 (13), and Furtherend Lane in 1706 (14). Several vouchers for 1700/01 testify to the "paving" of 16 yards against the Corn Cross, 26 yards against the Town's hall, 66 yards against the Butter cross, 78 yards between the channel (i.e. kennel or drain) and the Bullring; 9 yards at the Bridge foot, 98 yards at the Market, 14 yards at the Stocks and 186 yards by the butcher's stalls. The total cost of the work and the provision of cobbles and lime was £18..0..5d (15), and the areas mentioned probably constituted the total or major part of the Civic liability in the town. In the early years of the

(11) BMB 5 f 332 21.5.1719

(12) BMB 4 f 262,266

(13) BCAB 1700/01 6½ days Bargate Causeway being 50 yards at 3d a yard.

(14) BMB 4 f 242 1706 Chamberlain to pave causeway Furtherend Lane.
BCAB 1706/7 Paving Furdin Lane £7.4.8 and 4/6d for 1½ days

(15) Boston Vouchers 1700/01 June 5th, April 3rd, May 1st

eighteenth century payments were made most years for cobbles and paving and the corporation even had a regular "coggalman", Edward Gaul, who provided cobbles at 10/- a ton.(16) The outgoings were rarely exceptionally large, but Gaul was regularly supplying some 14-16 tons of cobbles a year.(17)

Year.	Cobbles	Paving	Year	Cobbles	Paving.
1700/01	13.13.10	18. 0. 5	1710/11	-	7.12. 8
		+ 14. 9			
1702/3	2. 3. 0	-	1712/13	7. 4. 0	-
				(16 tons)	
1703/4	14.13. 6	-	1713/14	5. 17. 0	-
	(20 tons)				
1706/7	5 6 0	8.11. 2	1715/16	5. 0. 0	16.1. 0
	(13½ tons)				
1707/8	2 1 0	1.13. 4	1719/20	2. 17. 6	23.15.6
1709/10	16. 5. 0	- 15. 0	1720/21	7. 8. 6	9. 0.11 (18)
	(32½ tons)				

By the second quarter of the eighteenth century however, outgoings were becoming more substantial. In 1730/31 John Hall submitted a bill for paving "the causeways etc; Bargate, Fawdinlane and elsewhere" for £34.(19) The following year the area of the sheep pens was paved by Mr. Love for £28.8.11 (20) and in 1736/7 John Hall submitted bills totalling £49.8.9d for paving (21). It was presumably

(16) e.g. BCAB 1709/10 "ye coggal man" 16½ tons at 10/- ton £8.5.0

(17) BCAB 1703/4, 1706/7, 1709/10, 1712/13.

(18) BCAB passin.

(19) BCAB 1730/1

(20) BCAB 1731/2

(21) BCAB 1736/7

as a consequence of this constant activity that the Hall ordered the Chamberlain in 1742 to bring in an account of the number of square yards of pavement belonging to the Hall (22) and subsequently appointed John Ashley, as a salaried officer, to "repair the coggle pavements" for 20 years at £18 per annum (23). This salaried appointment was continued certainly until 1772 (24), and probably until the appointment of a Corporation Surveyor in 1776. However the paviour's job seems to have become less onerous for in 1766 the salary was reduced to £10 per annum (25). The Officer too may have become less reliable, for in 1772 a message had to be sent to the paviour, Mr. Thomas Wells, "to repair the pavements".(26) However for some time the Council had been paying additional sums for new work or extensive repairs, as in 1769/70 when the area of the pinfold was paved (27), or in 1770/1 when the pavement in Bargate was renewed at a cost of £33.7.10 (28), and by 1780 all paving and road repair was done by tender with detailed contracts and specialists often coming in from outside the town.(29)

(22) BHB 5 f 499 1742

(23) BAB 5 f501 1743

(24) BCAB 1771/2

(25) BHB 6 f17 1766

(26) BHB6 f 125 1772

(27) BCAB 1769/70

(28) BCAB 1770/1

(29) e.g. 9/F/8 15th Sept. 1823. Terms of contract set out by Jephtha Pacey Surveyor, and a tender received from Lincoln.

At Nottingham too, paving was initially set in hand by the Chamberlains at the instigation of the Common Hall. Thus in 1706 the Chamberlains were required to pave the way against Saint Peter's Churchyard and the job was continued in 1708.(30) By 1720 however, the Council had appointed a salaried "Paviour" in the person of Charles Wheatcroft (31). Wheatcroft had paved parts of the town on many previous occasions as in 1696 when he submitted a bill of £11.16.0¹/₂d for "repairing ye Towne Streets" between August and October.(32) After 1720 however, he received £20 per annum and additional payments, presumably for work which was not contained in his agreement with the Council.(33) His work was continued by his son who was appointed official paviour in 1759 at £30 per annum,(34) but his salary ceases to appear in the rental books. However, in 1763, he was still receiving £7.10.0 a quarter(35) for repaving the streets and extra payments for additional paving work.(36) By 1770 however he no longer received a salary, being paid to do work as required. Thus in that year he paved 192 yards at the top of Hollow Stone for £2.8.0d, and

(30) NHB 3472 f 19; 3474 f 146

(31) Nottingham Vouchers 1720/1 No.33

(32) Nottingham Vouchers 1696/7 No.153

(33) " " passim e.g. 1721/2 Nos.64,77,88;
1741/2 No.146; 1760/1 Nos.4,35

(34) NHB 3518 f 19

(35) Nottn.Vouchers 1763/4 No.59(36)e.g.Vouchers 1760/1 Nos.29,4,35

paved Bear Ward Lane for ten guineas (37). In addition the Town Husband, John Blackwell, submitted frequent small bills from "the paver" to the Chamberlain, which in 1770, amounted to £14.0.3½d for the year. (38) In 1774/5 "the paving expenses" totalled £75.0.7 (39), but in that year Wheatercroft died (40) and an official paver appears not to have been re-appointed. Instead, paving and repair was now undertaken by a larger number of individuals who submitted bills as work was done. Thus in 1789/90 Stretton and Son paved 502 yards of Sheep Lane for £10.2.2d; of which sum £2.18.8d was received from public subscriptions. (41) Paving had not however previously been monopolized by Wheatercroft, for in 1773/4 extensive work was done by Thomas Taylor who paved 2,964 yards in High and Middle Pavement and Bridlesmith Gate at a cost of £37.6.8d. (42)

At York too, although the Corporation made it clear that those whose property adjoined the street were responsible for its repair, this still entailed quite extensive responsibilities for the Corporation within the Walls; without the Walls they took most responsibility for

(37) Vouchers 1770/1 Nos. 151, 158

(38) Vouchers 1770/1 Nos. 11, 15, 16, 21, 29, 40, 42, 48, 53, 57, 105, 130, 132, 138, 140, 147, 152, 164

(39) Account Books of Expenditure 1811E V

(40) *ibid*

(41) Vouchers 1789/90 no. 44a

(42) Vouchers 1773/4 No. 94

the state of the roads to their junction with the turnpikes. Perhaps because of the extent of the repairs, the Corporation already employed a salaried paver in 1692 at £15 per annum to cover, as at Boston and Nottingham, work and materials. This salary increased steadily over the early eighteenth century to £50 in 1755,(43) and his contract in February 1746, perhaps explains why. Altogether he was responsible for 6,277 yards of "broad causey" (5 to 8 feet wide) and 4244 yards of "Narrow Causey" (2 to 4 yards wide) without the Walls,(44) comprising basically, the roads from York Bar to Howorth Moor, Bootham Bar to Burton Stone, and to the horse bridge on Horse Fair, Walmgate Bar to Hab Lane East and Holgate Lane to the Bridge and from the bar to Skeldergate.(45) In addition, the paver repaired within the Walls, half the width of Castlegate Lane in front of the gardens belonging to the Corporation;(46) Ogleforth, Lendall Hill, Coney St., in front of the Mansion House, and the Passage and court there part of Saint Helen's Churchyard, the Pavement, Foss and Ouse Bridge, the Staith, Far Water Lane, three lanes from Skeldergate to the river (47), and, in 1755, the area

(43) Accounts passim; YHB 43 f478

(44) E35 f1128

(45) Accounts passim; E35 f1128

(46) YHB42 f221

(47) E35 f1128

opposite Jubbergate Lane presumably at the end of the
little Shambles.(48)

As at Nottingham and Boston, the paver
was eventually discontinued in 1761 as a salaried officer,
being paid instead for the work done.(49) Specialists
were employed when necessary and the City Steward became
responsible for contracting with paviors for the repairs.(49a)

As the eighteenth century progressed
however, the three Councils became increasingly aware of
the need to undertake much larger schemes for the improvement
of their streets by widening, straightening and better
paving. As with general repairs, public subscription was
often favoured as the method of raising the necessary revenues.
Thus when New Street, Bootham, Gillygate and Walngate in York
were flagged instead of being constructed of the customary
cobble stones, sand and gravel, public subscriptions were
raised to which the Corporation made contributions.(50)
Subscriptions were noticeably popular with York Corporation
until in the late 1700's, perhaps as a deliberate means of
limiting their increasingly heavy financial commitments.

(48) YHB 43f478

(49) Accounts passim; YHB 44 f124

(49a) eg. E77 9.2.1816

(50) YHB 45 ff 224,402,403; YHB46 f68; Accounts 1794/5

Thus in the last twenty years of the century they made seven subscriptions towards the improvement of roads in and outside the Walls amounting to only £133.4.0 altogether.(51)

Subscription schemes should not however detract from the fact that throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, the Corporation at York financed a vast number of road improvement schemes.

From the 1680's until the middle years of the next century, their concern lay principally with the approaches to the Town. In every year, small expenses associated with road repair and improvement, figure in the accounts, but from 1682 an increasing number of more extensive improvement schemes were being undertaken. In that year the causeways from Micklegate bar and beyond Castlegate Postern received attention with bills of £10.12.0¹/₂d and £19.13.6 submitted.(52) The roads beyond Monk bar and Bootham received attention in 1684/5 (53), and in 1687/8 paving of the roadways to Heworth Moor, Bishopfield Lane and from Gillygate to the Horsefair and forest, together with repairs in Holgate Lane, cost the Corporation £128.7.11.(54)

(51) YCAB 1781, 1783/4, 1785/6, 1787/8, 1793/4

(52) YCAB 1682/3

(53) YCAB 1684/5

(54) YCAB 1687/8

Significantly the Corporation was already accepting loans, for with rental income averaging only £568 per annum, and freedoms and exonerations some £294 per annum, (55), road repairs alone in 1687 absorbed a significant percentage of ordinary income.

The next sixty-two years saw continued improvement of roads into York. Detailed analysis of the costs involved presents problems, but repair was now becoming an annual expense, with large bills appearing with increasing frequency. In 1688/9 for example, paving and repairs in Holgate cost £25, and paving without Bootham bar £69.15.6 (56). From 1700-1720 upkeep of the highways was more general, but between 1725-1740 the Corporation again resumed improvement of the roads beyond the Walls. Paving in Holgate Lane was renewed in 1725-6 for £20.19.0 (57), and in 1732-33 Seth Hardy paved 828 yards of 5yard wide causeway here and 1407½ yards on the Mount for £67. The improvements on Holgate Lane continued in 1734 and 1736. At the same time 2062 square yards of the road beyond Castlegate Postern were paved, the causeway from Monk Bar

(55) See Chapter 2; appendices VI & VII

(56) YCAB 1688-9

(57) YCAB 1725-6

Hewarth Moor, Horsefair Causey, the road from Middlethorpe to Baggergate lane end and the road without Bootham bar were repaired and paved. To the latter improvement the inhabitants paid one third of the costs, but total expenditure on major bills alone by the Corporation from 1732-38 totalled £399.3.4d.(58) The years from 1744-50 saw a consolidation of the work being done, culminating in the decision to make "the way like a Turnpike road from the end of the City's broad causey to Hoblane end where the Turnpike road begins", and to pave and repair Bootham, Gillygate and make a new 5' broad causey from Horse fair to Mother Maddison's bridge. The total cost in 1747 and 1749 for these alone was £197.7.5.(59) The idea of bringing the roads outside the walls to the standard of the turnpike roads which they joined was extended steadily throughout the rest of the century. In 1757-8 Holgate Lane was made as a turnpike road for £100;(60) in 1762 Monk Bar to Hewarth moor was likewise improved at a cost of £76.10.0,(61) the following year the road from Gillygate to the Horsefair was done for £41.19.0., the road from Skeldergate followed in 1765-6, and the road from Burtonstone to Marygate.

(58) YCAB 1732-38

(59) YCAB 1744-50; YHB43 £158,168,204

(60) YCAB 1757-8; 1758-9

(61) YHB 44 £149-50; YCAB 1762-3

The next year the Corporation followed up a scheme for levelling the Mount as a road, first begun in 1742 for £52.9.7d (63), with an improved road here costing £165 exclusive of other work involved.(64) In addition the Corporation subscribed to schemes for making flagged footpaths along these roads perhaps for fear of the speed which carriages might attain on roads of a turnpike standard.(65)

The improved roads demanded an improved standard of maintenance and by the 1760's upkeep and continued improvement caused a heavy flow of annual bills. Paving outside Micklegate, Monk Bar and Gillygate in 1763-4 totalled £87.10.9d exclusive of particular improvements. In 1764-5 paving without Monk bar and Walmgate cost £197.7.4 other paving in the City and elsewhere came to £112.4.8d. In 1767-8 the large paving repair bills totalled £270.15.3½ and in the following year, repair of the major roads beyond Holgate, Walmgate and Gillygate cost £219.2.0d.(66)

At the same time the Corporation began to show an increasing awareness of the need for improvement

(63) YHB 43/63,66,73,75, 1741-2

(64) YCAB 1766-7

(65) e.g. 1747 sub to Bootham footpath £20. YHB 43/237. 1753 subscription to footpath along Micklegate road YHB43/351,413,422 and £100 subscription to footpath along Holgate Lane. YHB44 12.5.1757

(66) YCAB 1760-69

of the streets within the walls, associated almost certainly with a desire to increase the potential of the town as a tourist centre. Until this time, the Corporation showed little concern for the streets within the walls beyond their own statutory obligations. Where repairs and improvements were undertaken on these roads it concerned usually the paving of the markets or laying and improving drains. In 1687-8 Monkgate and Thursday market were given slight attention;(67) in 1706 the drain in the Pavement was opened, cleaned and repaired at a cost of £29.17.0; Thursday market was paved (£16.3.3) and the drains in Common Hall Lane and Landall were given attention (£17.3.11½, £2.13.6.)(68) Generally however, apart from general repair and improvement of this nature, and improvements in other places of trade and commerce such as the paving and drainage of the "watering place" in 1733-4 (£19.16.0) and the paving of Lendall Staith in 1732-3 at a cost of £49,(69)the Corporation remained relatively unconcerned

(67) YCAB 1687-8 £7.16.7½

(68) YCAB 1706-7

(69) YCAB 1732; 1733

with the areas within the walls until the middle years of the eighteenth century. The year 1744 however marked the beginning of street improvements within the walls which were to occupy corporation and public increasingly over the succeeding century.

The first scheme centred on Davygate.

Already in 1733 the Corporation had purchased Saint Helen's Churchyard at the junction of Davygate and Stonegate in order to widen the inconvenient access into Davygate from Coney Street (70) and in 1745-6 the intended improvement was carried to fruition by the demolition of the Churchyard wall and the paving of the area.(71) At the same time the Corporation purchased and demolished Lardiner's or Davy Hall (72)"a great incumbrance standing in the heart of the City"(73) together with its much abused privileges as a liberty (74) and leased the area, reserving a portion for the erection of a new street (initially called Cumberland Row, but quite invariably afterwards named New Street) linking Davy Gate to Coney Street.(75) From 1760-1800 street widening became general. With the erection of the

(70) YHB42 April 25 1733

(71) YCAB 1745-6 £31.2.6.

(72) YCAB "Pulling down Davy Hall" £40.7.0 1745-6

(73) E. Drake, op.cit., 357

(74) VCH 207,208

(75) YHB43 ff 159,171 YCAB 1747-8 Paving the New Street called Cumberland Row £41.8.9

Assembly Rooms on Blake Street in 1732 the proprietors had felt it necessary to widen the access by the demolition of all the houses from the rooms to the North West end of the street. But the South East end of Blake Street remained very inconvenient, being so narrow "as only to admit one carriage to pass".(76) In 1764 therefore subscriptions were opened to purchase three houses and widen the area, and the Corporation themselves in this year paid £331 for the purchase of houses on Blake Street, £30 for the purchase of houses on Stonegate and a further sum for other land which was exchanged in order to widen the road.(77) In 1767 Nessgate, a road so narrow that "two carriages could not pass abreast" was widened by the public subscription (78), the Corporation giving £100,(79). In the same year the Corporation demolished a house at the end of Christ Church to give a better turn into Goodramgate.(80) The improvement of Spurriergate in 1769 was achieved without significant Corporation help, but at the same time, the Council had committed themselves heavily to the £2,000 improvement in Hosier Lane and the Northeast end of the Pavement Market by promising five hundred guineas towards

(76) F. Drake, op. cit., 374-6

(77) YCAB 1764-5

(78) F. Drake, op. cit., 307; W. Hargrove, History and description of the Ancient City of York (1818) 1 262

(79) YCAB 1768-9

(80) F. Drake, op. cit., 310

the demolition of houses in Hosier Lane and Whipmawhopmagate, improving Saint Saviourgate corner and taking down the Chancel of All Saints Pavement.(81) The Hosier Lane area improvements continued to figure in the Corporation Accounts throughout the 1770's, but by 1750 the Corporation were apparently free to undertake yet further schemes. In 1782 several old and high houses opposite the Mansion House were purchased by the Corporation for £400 and demolished, opening up Saint Helen's Square and Coney Street to a much improved view of the Mansion House.(82) In the following two years Londall was paved at a cost of £167.1.11 (83) and at the same time, the Corporation subscribed to the flagging of streets previously paved with cobbles.(84) Tesseyman's 1796 guide described York as "much improved.....The streets have been widened in many places by taking down a number of old houses built in such a manner as almost to meet in the upper stories...They have also been new paved, additional drains made and by the present method of conducting the rain from the houses are become much drier and cleaner than before" giving York "salubrity as well as beauty".(85) Improvements over the previous sixty years had been extensive but they remained a peculiar combination of public endeavour

(81) YHB 41 f 239. In lieu of cash purchase of some of these houses the Corporation granted annual annuities.
e.g. Deighton £10.10.0. YCAB 1770-1

(82) YCAB 1781-2

(83) YCAB 1782-3, 1783-4

(84) e.g. Newstreet YHB 45 f 224.

(85) C.Knight, op. cit., 582

and Corporate encouragement and undertaking. The last thirty years of the old Corporation's existence intensified this divergence with the creation of the City Commissioners by Parliamentary Act in 1825.(86) They held themselves liable for maintaining the streets (87), yet the Corporation were still liable for the maintenance of the roads, and for the paving traditionally undertaken by the Corporation and ^{the} Council continued to show a willingness to undertake still more ambitious street improvements. The purchase of houses at the corner of Saint Helen's Square and Lendal in 1805-6 for £1,005 (88) signified the greatly increased bills which the Corporation now faced in all improvement schemes. But most significant of their street improvements at this time was the scheme for creating Saint Leonard's place out of the old Mint Yard complex. This new street running past the Theatre from Blake Street to Bootham was to be flanked along the other side by "superior" houses. The street itself comprised a 33' macadamized carriageway and a 7' wide footpath "covered with the best Elland Landings of large dimensions and five inches thick" There was also to be a small pleasure area.

(86) 6Geo IV c 27

(87) YHB 49 30.6.1826

(88) YCAB1805-6

The total outlay on the construction of the street and the demolition of houses exceeded £5,000 as appears from the Finance Committee Reports:

1833-4	Drain for Saint Leonard's Place	654.11..4
1833-4	Removal of buildings " "	226 5 10
1834-5	Removal of buildings etc. "	597 11 2
1835	Saint Leonard's Place	<u>3634 12 1</u>
		<u>5113..0..5</u>

This sum was exclusive of the costs of building the library and improving the theatre, as too the cost incurred in purchasing Mrs. Driffield's house to improve access from Bootham bar, which sum of £2,300 the Committee hoped to largely recoup on resale. On the other hand the Corporation regained materials from the demolition sites valued at some £1,460 (89) which helped reduce their expenditure on general improvements.

The Corporation paid the costs willingly however. For although the scheme represented a long term investment for the Corporation in the houses erected along the street, it was undertaken by the civic body for less self-interested reasons. The purpose behind nearly all the street improvements undertaken and encouraged by the conciliar body throughout

(89) K110 Finance Committee Reports 1833-1835

the preceeding century was to encourage and develop one of the major aspects of York economy - the tourist trade particularly of the gentry and nobility. The Saint Leonard's Place scheme is testimony to a wider concern than civic junketing and property administration amongst the conciliar body. As the Finance Committee themselves explained, the non profit making improvements in the Saint Leonard's area were "universally acknowledged to be at once highly ornamental to the City and invaluable accommodation to its inhabitants and the public in general, (and) cannot with any propriety be considered as a useless or disadvantageous application of the Corporate Funds". (90)

Road and Street improvements at Nottingham

were in no measure as prevalent as at York, and it is clear that where the Corporation showed an interest in such schemes, their reaction was governed by two fundamental considerations; the importance of the improvement in economic terms, and the willingness of the public or other bodies of local government to participate in or undertake the projected scheme. The chief interests of the town, particularly after the mid eighteenth century lay not in tourists but in trade and production;

(90) K110 December 1835

accordingly there was little concern amongst the civic officials for the beauty of their town or the ease with which carriages could negotiate the streets. Their concerns lay rather in facilitating trade by concentrating their improvement schemes upon the market accommodation. Roads and streets in consequence rarely constituted a major item of corporate concern. Even the roads giving access to the market were badly neglected:- Sheep Lane, despite its heavy use, remained notoriously narrow and dangerous until it was widened in 1863.

The Corporation saw their responsibility to be not in undertaking major street improvement schemes but rather to participate with others in forwarding, or at times, initiating them. Accordingly subscriptions from the Corporation were frequent, if often small. In 1743/4 the Corporation agreed to make up the cost of paving Bridlesmith Gate if the inhabitants paid £20;(91) in 1750 the Corporation paid Samuel Wheatoroft £120 for paving work at High Pavement, to which the public subscribed £38..4..0d;(92) and in 1764 the Corporation gave thirty guineas to "new pave" Wheelergate- on condition that the inhabitants raise as much.(93) The

(91) NHB 1743/4 f 17

(92) Vouchers 1749-50, 1806E Nos. 871, 11 & 102

(93) NHB 3524 f9 25.10.1764

examples are numerous, for as at York, Street improvements by widening or paving were becoming increasingly popular after the middle years of the eighteenth century. Between 1801^{and}-1814 the Corporation gave £233.18.11 (an average of less than £20 per annum) towards street improvements by paving, demolition and widening.(94) Their only significant contribution financially was to the widening of Chapel Bar in 1832/3, when the Corporation paid £400 to purchase land for the improvement and gave £800 in donations.(95) The Council had in any case, other means of achieving their ends. There were, after all, patrons to be tapped. Derby Road was much improved in 1740 by Lord Middleton by raising and levelling;(96) Cow Lane was widened in 1811 by a gift of land from the Duke of Newcastle,[&] by way of appreciation the Corporation renamed it Clumber Street.(97) Lord Middleton's generosity was again evident in the Chapel Bar widening.(98) The Council relied also upon the obligations of the three town parishes. Thus, despite their generosity, in 1814 when in order to widen Greyfriargate from the Broad Marsh to the Leen they offered to "sacrifice as much of their

(94) Ledger B f93; Chamberlains Accounts passim; NHB3560 f14,3563 f54

(95) Market Place Accounts 2155;1831/2. nos 3,30; NHB3593 f 30,31

(96) H.Field, Nottingham Date Book 850-1884; (1884) 197

(97) NHB3570 f48

(98) H.Field, op.cit., 407; M.Thomis, Old Nottingham (1968) 47

land as adjoins the road as shall make it 40 or 50 feet wide" which would make the road "one of the most important avenues into the heart of the town... connected... with the Market place (and)with the Wharfs and Canals" they concluded with the observation that "The road is already indicted by means of which it is contemplated that the court of Quarter Sessions should levy a fine upon the two parishes of Saint Peter and Saint Nicholas in which it lies, by means of which it will be put into a complete and perfect state of repair". (99) Again in 1834 the Corporation declared their "gratification" that Castle Road "which has so long been a nuisance and disgrace to the Town will become a respectable street well paved and drained and form a handsome and convenient entrance to the town".(100) Yet they would not undertake the improvement themselves, for while willing to give £30 subscription and make improvements to the Fronting Walls of their properties, they recognized that however desirable the improvement the legal responsibility lay with the surveyors of the highways for Saint Nicholas parish. The same attitude was shown in the fight over the responsibility

(99) NHB3573 ff55-57

(100) NHB3593 ff 88,90,91

for repairing the Flood road. The County Authorities maintained that the Bridge Estate funds held in trust by the Corporation were liable to repair both Trent Bridge and its flood road through the Meadows to the town. The Corporation however successfully defeated this assertion on the grounds that if they had in the past maintained the road ^{it was} only as a wash road and not to the standard of the Flood road now required. Accordingly an Act of Parliament was obtained appointing trustees to repair by toll the road from Trent Bridge over the Leen and through Hollowstone to its junction with Stoney Street. The Mayor and Burgesses and St. Mary's parish were exonerated ^{from} all responsibility for this major entry into the town excepting £100 per annum from the Bridge Estate. (1) In maintaining other major access roads beyond the Old Town boundaries, the Corporation similarly relied on the Turnpike Trusts, the establishment of which the Corporation promoted both verbally and financially. (2) To suggest that the Council did no more for the support of the town streets than give small monetary subscriptions

(1) 31-36 G III 1796. The Corporation did subscribe £250 to the Flood Road Scheme in 1797-8 Chamberlain a/c 1797-8

(2) Ledger Bf18 River Trent Navigation Co. 367½ tons gravel to Meadow Roads £15.6.3.
Ledger Bf50 J. Heathcote, Gravel to Meadow Roads £35.5.5.

would not however be entirely accurate. Roads outside the town were not always neglected. In 1779 the Mayor requested tenders for the levelling of the road outside Chapel Bar. (3) In 1809 the roads through the meadows were well gravelled (4) and again in 1811 the Council fulfilled a dual purpose by employing the poor in removing rocks to level the forest roads. (5) They proved generally willing to give land grants to facilitate street widening as in 1812 when they gave land for the new Woodborough Road, (6) or in 1828 when they gave up part of their estate to enable the Commissioners of the Mansfield Turnpike Road to widen Milton Street. (7) There is evidence too that the Common Hall were willing to purchase property for road widening: In 1810/11 they purchased a house near Broad Bridge for £74 in order to widen the road; and minor improvements were often undertaken by the Corporation themselves, particularly on their own frontages. In 1831-2 they paved the Causeways to the new houses on Derby Road, paved the Yards in Hockley and improved the haling path on the island at Leen Bridge by " piling and centering", to improve drainage.

(3) Nottingham Journal Oct. 19th 1776

(4) 1807 £.3.7.0 Ledger Bf93; 1810-11 £49.14.11. Chamberlains' accounts

(5) e.g. 1759 gave £20 towards obtaining Turnpike Trust on road from Chapel Bar to Derby Road NHB3518 f 16

1828 gave assent to Mansfield Road Turnpike Act NHB3587 54-5

Relevant Acts:- 1737 8 Geo II Trent Bridge - Costock, }
 1759 32 Geo III Chapel bar to Newhaven } & amendments
 1787 27 Geo III Nottm. to Mansfield }
 1828 9 Geo. IV Milton St. to Mansfield }

(6) NHB 3571 ff 42-3

(7) NHB 3587 ff 99, 100, 101.

Such improvements were not costly: the haling path cost £36.19.0, the paving and stones amounted to £20.7.6. In the previous year however, new culverts and sough grates on the island road and Pool Yard Close, amounted to £108.9.0.(8) Major street improvements undertaken solely, or even largely, at the Corporation's expense do not however occur. It is not therefore surprising that the town was described in 1740 as "in a most wretched plight; the roads unpaved in a general way even in the heart of the town and all in the suburbs were quite filthy or even dangerous for traffic".(9) The condition of the streets had apparently declined since Celia Fiennes visit when they were all "well pitch'd",(10) but the main areas of neglect were undoubtedly the narrow streets leading into the main market areas and the mass of totally unadopted alleys and courts not deemed to be any one's responsibility because they were not public highways, and subsequently not paved or drained.

Boston Corporation, as Nottingham, concentrated road improvement schemes primarily upon the market areas, for having little importance as a tourist or even local cultural centre, improvements to enhance the attractiveness of the town seemed inappropriate. It was therefore in the

(8) Chamberlain's Accounts 1830-31; 1831-32.

(9) W. Field, Nottingham Date Book 850-1884 (1884) 197

(10) C. Fiennes, Through England on a Side Saddle, ed. C. Morris (1947) 72-3

market place and Bargate that most improving and maintenance activity was centred. Nevertheless the accounts show evidence of some activity, and if major road improvement beyond the market areas was rare, the Corporation was making the same advances in road and street construction which are evident at York and Nottingham. There is a noticeable development in all three boroughs in the frequency of laying street drainage, in the creation of footpaths and in the transition from pebbles and boulders to paving stones as the main material used. Nottingham Corporation purchased 305½ tons of squared Mountsorrel paving stone in 1809 at a cost of £164.18.0,(11) and Blackner in 1815 made note of the gradual transition over the past century from pebbles out of the Trent, to boulders from Keyworth and finally stone from Leicestershire.(12) At York flagged roadways became increasingly common in the later eighteenth century (13) but their pièce de resistance was the macadamizing of Saint Leonard's Place.(14) This increasing stringency over road construction was seen at Boston too. In 1823 the contract for building the new road from Straight Bargate to Bargate Bridge specified that the excavations were to be "well ranall(ed)",

(11) Ledger B f 30.

(12) J. Blackner, *op. cit.*, 74

(13) Vide *Supra* fn 84

(14) " " fn 89

the pebbles laid "close and properly set in gravel 2 inches thick and to be sorted in regular sizes and well rammed", and when finally laid the pavement was to be covered in gravel one inch thick".(15) Such care in construction was perhaps a result of having consulted Mr. Macadam personally in 1820 to advise upon the paving of the sheep market.(16)

However, at Boston, the responsibility for street improvement and repair had been largely removed from the Corporation in the Act of 1792.(17) In the twelve years before the Act was obtained, paving and cobble bills ran as follows:-

Year	Paving	Cobbles & Gravel	Year	Paving	Cobbles & Gravel
1780-1	109. 15.0	-	1786-7	21. 4. 1	-
1781-2	- - -	-	1787-8	- - -	60. 3. 9
1782-3	3. 9.9	-	1788-9	- - -	46. 7. 9
1783-4	5. 16.1	-	1789-90	56.11. 5	18. 3. 6
1784-5	- - -	-	1790-1	23.13. 5	29. 7. 5
1785-6	7. 14.8½	-	1791-2	24.11.10	- - -(18)

The average annual expenditure was therefore less than £33 per annum, exclusive of any major improvements in, for example the market areas, or as part of other schemes. After the securing of the Act however the Corporation became liable for a one fifth share of the total annual expenses incurred by

(15) 9/F/8 15th Sept.1823

(16) DHB 2/A/27 21.2.1820; 31.10.1822

(17) 32 Geo III

(18) BCAD passim.

Monies paid by Boston Corporation to the
 Commissioners of the Paving Act 1792 to 1827.

1792	200..0..0	
1793	400..0..0	
1795	725..0..0	
1796	180..0..0	
1805	160.19..3	
1805	39..0..9	(Erection Bailiff)
1811	915..9..6	
1823	500..0..0	
1824	319..6..8	
1825	275..3..0	
1826	223.14..7	
1827	<u>213.13..8</u>	
	<u>£4152..7..5</u>	

9/F/8

the Commissioners. Between November 1792 and March 1824 the Corporation's share totalled £3,439.16.2d, an average of just over £104 per annum. Over the next three years the Corporation's portion more than doubled to an average of £237 per annum.(19) Over these thirty-six years therefore the Commissioners were spending an average of £1,705 per annum on street and road repair and improvement; a figure far in excess of the Corporation's earlier commitment and one which they would have found difficult to sustain as a regular expense. The average annual expenditure by the Commissioners had however dropped to £998 by 1830-3,(20) possibly reflecting a lack of income. The Corporation at any rate had agreed with the Commissioners, in 1828, to pay £135 per annum in lieu of their percentage charge,(21). The expenditure by the Commissioners indicates the size of the problem which the unreformed boroughs, without the benefit of statutory authorities, were beginning to face. Had the three boroughs under consideration accepted the liability themselves, they could probably have met the cost had they not been faced with an increased liability in

(19)9/F/8. Monies paid by Corporation of Boston to Commissioners of Paving Act. Needless to say the Corporation contested the exact amount of their liability. 2/D/4

(20) MCR Boston 2563

(21) 2/D/4 1828

other spheres of town management of a similar magnitude.

Costs of paving at Nottingham were of no similar magnitude. In some years costs were high - in 1800, 1801, 1803, the payments totalled £330.8.7d, yet from 1809^{to} 1820 general paving bills totalled only £426.10.4½ an average £35.10.0 per annum. (22) At York however where the Corporation, in spite of an Act establishing improvement commissioners in 1825, carried heavy responsibilities and fulfilled them actively, the annual expense to the Corporation of maintaining the streets and roads within and without the walls, was significantly higher than at Boston and Nottingham, as the table indicates. Under the Act of 6Geo IV the Corporation remained liable to pay for 22,894 yards of pavement and 3½ miles of unpaved roads, and it was not until the amending Act of 3 & 4 William IV that the high cost of repairing the roads ceased to fall upon the Common Hall. From the table it can be seen that annual expenditure on the roads and streets rose noticeably between 1770 and 1830.

<u>York, Expenditure on roads and streets.</u>				<u>Av. per annum</u>	
1771-79	860	15	7½	£95	
1780-89	1678	5	1	£168	
1790-99	2467	16	3	£247	
1800-09	3422	0	11	£342	
1810-19	5638	17	9¾	£564	
1820-29	6547	3	0½	£655	
1830-35	2424	5	0	£404	(23)

(22) Nottingham Chamberlain's Accounts passim.

(23) YCAB 1770-1834

To this should be added a bill for gravel accumulated between 1819-1833 totalling £334.14.6d, and the specific improvement schemes undertaken by the Corporation.

These costs moreover, were only the annual running costs, and they represent the minimum outgoings which each Corporation faced; smaller bills for gravel, or labourer's work and unidentifiable receipts have all been omitted since they could have arisen from other work. Thus for example the Municipal Commissioners assessed expenditure at York in 1832-3 on maintenance of the roads at £427.17.11,(24) being £67 more than the amount paid to the City Steward for his outgoings on paving and repairs.(25)

In addition to these annual outgoings there were the extraordinary costs incurred by improvements and major repair jobs. To assess the amounts spent each year on these would be almost impossible. The schemes like St. Leonard's Place at York are relatively easy to cost out, but without computerization of the accounts it would be impossible to assess the expenditure each year on less significant schemes.

(24) MCR York 1752 . . .

(25) The Steward's figures have been used in the Table except where specific bills for gravel remain, 5¹⁰

The accounts show clearly however that although each Corporation annually had some costs to meet for the roads, it was at York that they became most burdensome, and it was here that most was done by the Corporation for the improvement of the town streets.

CHAPTER 9

THE SPIRIT OF IMPROVEMENT

As the eighteenth century progressed each of the three Borough Councils showed a growing willingness to undertake large schemes of town improvement which culminated in a massive phase of development in the opening years of the next century.

Invariably the Town Hall or Mayoral residence was one of the first priorities of the new-found enthusiasm. It was a reflection of the belief in the need to assert the civic dignity and was in these terms no better displayed than at York where in 1723 plans were afoot for a Mansion House as a Mayoral residence.(1) The records suggest that the proposals were promoted as an effort to enhance the dignity and standing of the Mayor as well as to provide a place for civic entertainment.(1a) Indeed, the suggestion by the Town Clerk Darcy Preston that the house should also contain a repository for the town records was not exactly treated with contempt but was followed up with the decision that on those grounds he should pay £100 to the costs.(2) The

(1) E101 f 89 Cross Keys lease let on a yearly basis because part of it would be required for the Mansion House.

(1a) YHB42 f 52

(2) YHB42 ff 52,55 to 59, 71,87

Council decided that they would spend about £1,000 on the project. Unfortunately the accounts do not remain, for as so often in the case of major schemes, a building account was kept separately from the Chamberlains' annual records. Nevertheless the Chamberlains accounts indicate clearly that the final cost well exceeded the estimate. £1,292 was paid to the building committee between 1726 and 1728, £70 of Darcy Preston's £100 was used in 1725 and in 1729 over £200 was paid for miscellaneous plumbing and glazing work.(3) Internal work and furnishing was also costly. The 'Great Room' alone, wainscotted, stuccoed, painted and gilded cost £326.1.0d over the years 1732 and 1733,(3a) other work and provisions accounted for a further £232 between 1734 and 1738,(3b) and an agreement was reached that £200 should be allowed for furnishing.(4) Yet despite the attention which was clearly given to the building, it continued to make very heavy financial demands upon the city finances. In almost every year from its completion

(3) YCAB 1725 to 1729

(3a) YCAB 1732 and 1733

(3b) YCAB 1734 to 1738

(4) YCAB 1730-31 "Mr John Raper for a large oil cloth being paid for out of part of the £200 for furnishing my Lord Mayor's House"

to 1835 it figures in the Chamber expenditure and invariably the expenses were substantial. Thus in 1744, goods for the Mansion House cost £100; in 1746 £89.19.9d; work, materials, repairs and furniture in 1766 amounted to £216.5.1d and in 1776 £67.9.0 was spent on linen and £19.16.6d on silver table spoons.(5) By the close of the century the cost of upkeep was increasing further, and in 1830 the decision was taken to substantially renovate and refurbish the Mansion House. The house had been found to be generally "extremely dirty and uncomfortable" and the fabric "seriously dilapidated", but while the appointed committee were "guided by a due regard for economy" they felt they must recommend "a handsome and substantial style of furnishing suitable to the stateliness of a Mansion House...."(5a) The final cost was £4,414,(5b) but measures were then taken to reduce the wear and tear consequent upon the annual change of residents.(5a) As the residence

(5) YCAB passim.

(5a) K110 Feb.3rd 1831.

(5b) YCAB 1830 £173.4.6; 1831 £3,718.11.2;
1832 £89.6.8; 1833 £433.3.10.

of the Mayor for his year of office and the venue for official entertainments, the Mansion House was not intended as a meeting place for civic business. This was conducted instead in the Common Hall or Council Chamber in Saint William's Chapel on Ouse Bridge. This building too therefore required to be kept in good order and substantial work was undertaken here, no doubt of necessity, during the eighteenth century.(6) A clock was placed on the building in 1750 by John Smith in payment for his freedom, and a new dial on the North Side of the Bridge was added in the following year.(7) It was however the old Guildhall next to the Mansion House which was most substantially improved. Initially the building was used only for occasional meetings and elections. Nevertheless in 1760 the wooden louvres were replaced with glass and the hall generally repaired and beautified at a cost of some £167 or more.(8) In 1810 however, improvement at the Guildhall became very necessary, for with the demolition of Ouse Bridge and Saint Williams Chapel, the council meetings now had

(6) e.g. YCAB 1683/4 windows £46.8.4; 1751/2; 1754/5 £90.9.6.
1764-69 £77.15.1.

(7) YCAB 1751-2

(8) YCAB 1760-1

to take place in the Guildhall. Accordingly "a spacious apartment was built adjoining the inner room..... and over it another chamber, both admirably calculated for the purpose. In the lower room, the common council assemble... it is lighted by five windows which display the royal and city arms in painted glass... the upper chamber, where the Lord Mayor, City Counsel, Alderman, Sheriffs & 24 assemble.... is equally spacious.... The windows, which are six in number, face the river, some of them commanding a fine view of the new bridge. They are enriched with much beautifully stained glass, representing the armorial bearings of the city and of many members of the corporation".(9) This was clearly not purely a functional building but one which manifested the dignity and standing of the corporation it represented. The total cost of the improvements exceeded £5,500 (10) and substantially portions of this were paid in 1810-11 (c£800) and 1812-13 (c£2,500)(11) creating

(9) W Hargrove, op. cit., II 436

(10) YCAB 1809-10 £185; 1810-11 £811.12.1; MCRp1757 1811 to 1833
£4,550

(11) YCAB

severe burdens on the ordinary income. This included over £300 for the new muniment room built in 1832.

Although such improvements were of most direct benefit to the members of the corporation the improvement of civic buildings was intended also to be of benefit to the town by beautifying and enhancing the central areas. This was particularly the case at Nottingham where the Town Hall or Exchange stood prominently at the head of the Market Place. The building was used as the meeting place of the corporation in Common Hall (12), and lavish entertainments took place here on many occasions, but the scepticism of the municipal commissioner was allayed when Henry Enfield, Town Clerk, indicated that it was also used for public meetings and elections and was moreover a justified expense because it was "ornamental and useful".(13) This belief was supported by a writer in 1807. "Few towns can rival Nottingham with respect to its large and convenient Market Place, the east end of which is ornamented by the New Exchange..... Within the Change there are two large Rooms reserved for public use; one of which....

(12) NIB3485 f 10 1726

(13) T.Cokayne,

A report of the evidence given before the municipal commissioners... (1833) 43

is now occupied as a subscription News Room, but it is also occasionally used for public purposes, as is also the other in which the Burgesses generally assemble for the election of representatives in Parliament".(14)

The decision to rebuild the Exchange was first taken in 1722-3. Prior to this time it was "a plain but handsome brick building supported in front by ten massive stone and four square brick pillars, having a piazza under it nearly twelve feet in width".(15) Originally the Mayor and Aldermen intended to raise subscriptions amongst the townspeople so that the Corporation's contribution would amount only to £150.(16) Apparently however little was forthcoming from the public, and the original plans were amended, perhaps to extend the new building or possibly to incorporate extension and renovation of the old building. A fire at the town clerk's office in February 1724 unfortunately destroyed a large number of the then current documents, but the Minutes of August 6th 1725, throw rather more light on the subject with the decision that "whereas

(14) ^{J. Dunn pub.,} The History Antiquities & Present State of the Town of Nottingham (1807) 17

(15) H. Field, *op.cit.*, 189

(16) NHB 3482 f 7

the buildings at the Shambles End are resolved to be considerably enlarged, it is therefore ordered... that the Mayor do draw out of Mr. Smiths hands from time to time what money there shall be occasion for....."

As a result of this order the Corporation contracted a debt with Thomas Smith's bank which in 1728 totalled £2,432.12.9d.(17) But the new building cost the Corporation much more than this. No Account Summaries remain, but fortunately the Vouchers for building the Exchange from 1725-1728 have survived, and Smith's bill was only one of many. He himself had a further £1,032 credit owing him from the Corporation,(18) which was settled with his executors by virtue of a further loan from Thomas Langford in March 1727-8.(19) In addition, the Vouchers record countless payments to other individuals for work completed, some of substantial amount, like the voucher simply recording "Disburst on account of the New Change" June 1726-Feb 1727 £636.11.5.(20)

Not surprisingly, in August 1728 a Committee was formed to find ways of paying the corporations debts,(21) for with a rental income averaging £536 per annum

(17) 1802F 209

(18) 1802F 314

(19) NHB3487f10b,12; NCAB 1727-8

(20) 1802F318

(21) NHB3487 f 20

between 1725-28 the Corporation had far exceeded their ordinary revenues. By 1814 however, this edifice was again extensively renovated, and from the report made by the Exchange Improvement Committee it would seem fortunate that the Mayor and his brethren of 1727 were long since demised. The architect of the original building was the then Mayor of the Corporation, Alderman Pennell. His work and dedication at that time was much respected; indeed the Council agreed that "whereas there appears to be due to this corporacon from Mr. Alderman Pennell upon passing his accounts about the New Buildings at the Shambles end the sune of £30 it is resolved that the said Alderman Pennell shall be acquitted of the said £30 also that this corporacon will pay the sd. Alderman Pennell another £30 which is to be in full for his care and Trouble about the said buildings....."(22).

One hundred years later however the committee reported that they could not avoid "this opportunity of referring the Common Hall to the reports made by Messrs Wallis, Christopher, Stavely and Stretton of the highly dangerous state of the original Exchange

(22) NIB3487 f 126 April 1728

building and the consequent necessity for the fullest measures being taken for its security.....the dilapidated state of the Exchange as well as the Malconstruction of the Edifice and improper execution, was far more considerable than first suggested; and.....they are convinced that the public will not only be very much accommodated by these several Improvements but very serious and alarming accidents have thereby been prevented".(23)

The Improvement was vastly expensive. Already by 1817 bills amounting to £13095.13.4d had been received of which £8,878.2.11 had been paid with the help of loans totalling £6,700.(24) Between 1814-1818 William Stretton alone had submitted masons bills totalling £1823.12.7 $\frac{3}{4}$ (25) for work at the Exchange. Needless to say they remained unpaid until 1821-3 by which time the interest had accumulated to £645 and the Corporation still owed him £800. In the first year of building alone £5,273 was paid out of the Chamber funds which was more than twice the amount of rental income received in that year of 1814-15.(26) By 1824 a total

(23) NHB3576 f 61-63

(24) NHB3576 f 61-63 May 1st 1817

(25) Ledger C f 236

(26) NCAB 1814-15 & a further £500 for the Shambles road

of £18,321.17.8d had been spent on the new Exchange and Shambles, and improvements continued in the shambles over the next ten years.(27)

Chamberlains' Accounts.

Disbursements on Account of the Exchange and Shambles Improvement.

1814-15	5273..5..8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1820-1	92..7..8	
1814-15	500..0..0	1821-2	1561.12..1	
1815-16	2620..0..4	1822-3	367..9.11	
1816-17	2549..8..3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1823-4	800..0..0	Stretton Bond Debt.
1817-18	1475..0..5	1823-4	2000..0..0	
1818-19	229.17..0	1823-4	14.17..0	Timber
1819-20	813.17..3	1824-5	<u>24..2..0</u>	Spouts
			18321.17..8	

To finance the improvements the Corporation took loans, bonded many of the bills and sold property. Between 1814-18 £15,000 was borrowed, and between 1816-25 £18,564.15.5d was received from sales of land.(28) This raised more than twice the total cost of the improvements, but the Corporation had other ordinary costs to meet, and now had a heavy annual commitment in interest payments.(29)

(27) Chamberlains Accounts

(28) See Chapter 5, 106,129

(29) " " 5, 145

The Exchange improvement was much more than a civic building however, for although the Corporation had refused a request to make it suitable for Assembly rooms as well, deeming it "incompatible with the general purposes and arrangements designed by the Corporation", (30) nevertheless it was used for public functions (31) and restoration had also involved extensive improvement of the Shambles behind the building. (31a) This was of fundamental benefit to the town as a trade and market centre, and it was an aspect of town development which the civic authorities had not in the past neglected. Although the civic buildings were amongst the first priorities, improvement of the market place was another primary consideration culminating in a thorough renovation of the market and market buildings at great expense in each of the three boroughs in the early nineteenth century.

The first improvements in the Market place at Nottingham concentrated on paving the area. In April 1714 it was decided that the Market Place

(30) NHB3573 f 110

(31) e.g. Permission was given for an exhibition of wax figures there in 1824 at the rate of £5.5.0 a week for hire of the ballroom and adjoining room 6485 lxxxii

(31a) NHB 3573 f 95-6

"next the New Walk" (possibly Long Row) as far as the Market Wall, should be paved and the Market wall demolished for the distance of the paving.(32)

Whether this was done is not clear, but in March 1718 the Chamberlains were again requested to pave the Market Place "in such manner as the Chamberlains shall be Advised and think proper".(33) The work undertaken at this time was extensive and resulted in a bill for £175.1.6d which was met out of the money received for the sale of Mansell Park.(34) Ten years later the improvements were continued; the remaining part of the market wall was removed and the surrounding area of the Malt Cross, as far as the west corner of Bearwood Lane, was levelled and paved with good large boulders, by Charles Wheatercroft. The Corporation paid £95 for the work and a £5 bonus for good workmanship. Again the money came from extraordinary revenues, being part of the payments from Thomas Langford's loan.(35) In addition, the paving on the South side, from the doors of the houses to the Channel, was paid

(32) NHB3479 f6 5th April 1714

(33) NHB3481 f 11

(34) 7438

(35) Chamberlains' Accounts 1727/8.

for by the householders.(36) The improvement at this time was, without doubt, prompted by the rebuilding of the Exchange, but whereas the Market Place and Exchange building did not receive major attention again for almost one hundred years, the Shambles were a source of constant concern to the Corporation. How much, if any, attention they received in 1725-27 is not clear, but it probably wasn't very much, for by 1734 the so-called "new shambles" were "in danger of falling in" and required complete rebuilding.(37)

A committee was created to "bargain" with "proper Workmen" and the job was done for £172.(38) Twelve years later the Common Hall agreed to extend the old Shambles by the addition of eighteen butchers' shops, at an agreed price of £150;(39) and further alterations took place in 1771 with the building of the shops in the country shambles,(40) and in 1783 with the demolition of the Dunkirk Shambles (41) and the provision of stalls in the open ground.(42) In 1787

(36) NHB 3487 ff 10a, 12a, 18a

(37) NHB 3493 f 13a

(38) NHB 3493 ff 15, 16, 16a

(39) NHB 3505 f 25

(40) Built c1771, land bought from the Rector of St. Nicholas who received an annuity instead
Vouchers 1770-1 1811A 62 "a bill at a meeting to consult upon a plan to build some shops in the country shambles for the Butchers 7/2d. No direct record remains among the vouchers of the building.

(41) The Shambles were called by many different names. The old Shambles were also called the light, or broad shambles, & their Eastern end was called the Dunkirk Shambles. The new Shambles were called the dark or narrow shambles.

(42) NHB 3542 f 28; 3543 f 14 The Stalls cost £15.

the "Pavement in the Market Place" was again "greatly out of Repair".(43) 330 yards were paved in that year (44) but ten years later the accounts reveal that more substantial work was put in hand:-

1796-7. Paving the Market Place near Friar Lane. 1588 yards of Pebble pitching and pebbles	81.12.10½
William Stretton for "Mountsoril" Paviers & work".	11.16. 1
Miscellaneous	<u> </u>
	126.12. 2½
1800-01 Paving in the Market Place	26. 1.10
1801-2 " " " "	61.18. 6
Sand	6. 6. 0
1803-4 Paving in the Market Place	55. 9. 0
1808-9 Paving in the Poultry, Market Place and elsewhere.	110. 0. 0 (45)

If the motives of certain members of the Corporation are open to doubt in 1796/7; the accounts bearing the comment "This paving was done upon Beast Market Hill near Alderman Howitts and done in his Mayoralty and under his direction"⁽⁴⁶⁾ the intentions in the nineteenth century seem less questionable. In

(43) NHB 3546 f 18

(44) Vouchers 1787-8 Michael Kayes. Paving in the Market Place 330 yards £4.16.3. 1814 B no.142

(45) NCAB 1796-1810

(46) NHB 3584 f 126

1820 representations on the bad state of the Pavement in the Market Place prompted action.(47) In September 1825 a committee was formed to ascertain the annual receipts and expenditure attending the Market Place, and subsequently recommended extensive improvements to the Market area. The pavement was to be taken up the ground levelled and repaired at the cost of the Corporation but by labour provided for £350 by the Overseers of St.Mary's. In addition, the area was to be redrained, the open sough being replaced by an underground sewer and a carriage road twenty-four feet wide from the curb of the causeway was to be made from Mountsorrel stone along Long Row and Beastmarket Hill.(48) A further culvert was also being made at this time between Sheep Lane and Crown Yard along Long Row.(49)

The Council agreed to £1200 being spent on the Improvements, but the final cost was much more. In 1825-6, the Chamberlains paid out £336.4.7 towards culverting and repairing the carriageway along Long Row and maintaining the Market Place generally. In the

(47) Reports & Proceedings of Committees. 3987 f37

(48) NHB 3586 ff 14,15,29

(49) NHB 3585 f 79

following year repairs to the centre of the Market Place cost £1,757.16.4d.(50) In total therefore the improvement cost over £2,000, but as a result the total corporate income did improve, for the stallage rates were now increased and taken directly by the Corporation into the new Market Place account instead of being an emolument of the sheriffs.(51)

At the same time however, further Improvements were being made in the Shambles. Between 1824 -1826 work at the North Shambles cost the Corporation £1,248.17.5d in addition to the work on the Exchange itself.

1824-5	Bricklaying	226.12. 0
	Joinery	244 17 2
	Masons	59 12 0
	Work & Materials	573 12 6
1825-6	Bricklaying	5 7 0
	Work & Materials	<u>138 16 9</u>
		<u>1248.17. 5 (52)</u>

(50) NCAB1825-26, 1826-27. The money was ultimately recouped by the Chamberlains, with interest, from the new Market Place account which was established at this time. Although this was a separate account, it was however a part of the total corporation funds. Only the vouchers now remain, but from them it is apparent that the outgoings from the Market Place account were substantial both for general repairs and market administration and for law cases over the increased stallage charges. Receipts in 1832 from toll and stallage were £1,037.10.0; Expenditure on the Market and attendant services was £1,039.10.6d. MCR 1996, 1999.

(51) See Chapter 4

(52) NCAB 1824, 1825.

In the following year work began on the Dunkirk Shambles to erect 47 new shops and a weighing machine, (53) and a further £1,253.9.0 was paid from the Chamber Accounts. (54) The major Shambles improvements were completed by the purchase in 1829-30 of the Langley and Jalland Shambles and the Hancock and Machin Shambles for a final sum of £5,861.14.0 including commission and expenses amounting to £61.14.0. (55)

Between 1814-33 the Corporation at Nottingham spent over £28,000 in major Improvements of the Exchange and Markets. This does not moreover, take into account the numerous small improvements and repairs which constantly took place; the glassing over of the avenue of the Dark Shambles in 1827, (56) or the new Shambles Gates provided in 1828-9 at a cost of £99.4.0. (57)

At Boston, as at Nottingham, the Market area (58) was the principal concern in improvements, and paving was generally the first, but not the only, consideration. In 1695-6 work at Butchers Row and the Stalls and quay

(53) NHB 3586 ff 72-74

(54) NCAB 1826-7 This does not include bills for bricks etc; which applied to other properties as well, not the cost of plans drawn up by Stavelly.

(55) NCAB 1829-30; Shambles Committee Minute Book 1508
Jan. 3rd 1828

(56) NHB 3587 f 18

(57) NCAB 1828-9

(58) i.e. the Market Place and Bargate where the sheep and beast pens stood.

there amounted to well over £100; in 1707 the Butchers Shambles were taken down and rebuilt; by 1700 the Market was already paved, at least in part, and in that year the area of the Butchers Stalls was paved at a cost of £18.0.5. Bargate and the Market Place continually received attention, in 1730 the causeways in Bargate and Fawdinlane were paved, in 1731 the area of the sheep pens was improved (28.8.11).(59)

It was at this time that the Corporation made the first of many significant improvements in the Market Place. The area was rendered somewhat cramped and inconvenient by the buildings which stood at the East end of the Church and the Fish Market which jutted out across from the Market to the Witham Bridge. By 1830 however these restrictions had been removed and the entire area much renovated and beautified. The work began after the decision by the Council in 1730 that the old Butter Cross be demolished and rebuilt. (60) It was used as a butter market with assembly rooms above where public meetings were held, and later, Council business conducted.(61)

(59) BCAB 1695-6;BAB4 f251;BCAB 1700-01,1731-2

(60) BAB5 f399

(61) R.Thompson

R.Quaint

The History & Antiquities of Boston(1856)
223,225;
Boston in the Olden Times (1841) 28

The Hall agreed that £600 should be spent (62), £40 of which they requested from the Erection Bailiff for materials.(63) Mr.Todd of Spalding was sent for to survey the new cross (64) and by 1732 the work was complete. The building costs do not appear in the Chamber Accounts, but that work was progressing is evident from them:-

Chamberlain's Account 1731-2.

Mr.Morrice for his advice abt ye Cross	2. 2. 0
Expended by ye committy consulting abt ye Cross	0 9 9
Mr.Morrice & for a Man & Horse & both their expences comeing over,	2 13 5
When ye gentlemen with Mr.Mayor mett there for a supper ye 29th May £3 and 5/- by order of Mr.Mayor when ye floor of ye Cross was layd	0 13 7½
28th July at a view of ye Cross when Mr. Morrice was over	3 5 0
Spent at ye Roof rearing of ye Cross a Guinea, beef 5/6, 2 gees 2/3d	0 9 7
A view when alter'd ye Staycase of ye Cross	1 8 9
Mr Tod of Spalding....for a Moddell and his opinion abt ye Cross	7 6
	3 3 0

(62)BAB5 f 399

(63) BAB 5 f 408

(64) BAB 5 f 423

In 1769 the Market Place improvements were continued by the demolition of the old fish stalls and Cooper's Row to give direct access to the Witham Bridge. To replace them a new complex was built at the South East corner of the Bridge and an advertisement for plans was issued for a building to contain fish stalls and houses (65). The new buildings were a costly improvement. Total disbursements in 1770 and 1771 for bricklayers, carpenters and other workers and materials, totalled £3,147.11.10½d(66).

Heavy expenditure continued in the next two years. Unfortunately the Chamberlains' Accounts for 1774, 1775, 1777 and 1778 are missing, but from those accounts which do remain for 1772, 1773 and 1776, the cost of the new buildings in these years totalled £2,466.14.4d (67), which together with the Coopers Row accounts for 1770 and 1771, make a total known expenditure of £5,614.6.2½d. To meet such costs the Corporation needed extraordinary revenues. They

(65) BAB 6 August 1769

(66) Coopers Row Accounts 1770 4/B/1/63) These were not part
1771 4/B/1/66) of the Chamberlain's
annual accounts.

(67) BCAB 1772-3; 1773-4; 1774-5

realised this in 1769 when the scheme was first suggested and authorized the appointed committee to borrow £1200 on annuity.(68) In fact £1880 was borrowed on annuity and £1700 in loans in the first two years.(69) This was the first occasion that Boston Corporation used annuities as a means of raising money, and as a consequence, the annual premiums payable by 1776 exceeded £500.(70) At the same time, interest payments on loans had more than doubled from £85 in 1769 to £218 by 1771. The Corporation succeeded in repaying some of these loans fairly quickly and the interest payments fell accordingly, but by the time the work was completed further loans had raised the interest rate to £206 by 1779.(71) The buildings however were a great improvement not only in terms of access and accommodation, but in elegance, and this latter was an important consideration on the part of Mr. Lumby, the Corporation Surveyor. To the last he carefully observed and

(68) BAB 6 8th August 1769

(69) Coopers Row Accounts 1770-1771 4/B/1/63,66

(70) See Chapter 5 114; BCAB 1776/7

(71) BCAB 1769 to 1770; 1771 to 1772; 1779 to 1780

regulated the workmanship (72) finally recommending in 1776 that the new building be covered with the Best Westmoreland slate instead of flatt Tile..... the slate being much superior both in regard to Duration and Elegance and very little more expence..."(73)

During the rest of the century the corporation at Boston continued to improve the Market area. In 1776 the old gaol was demolished,(74) "a large dismal building which presented towards the Market place nothing but an immense sloping roof, its walls being surrounded on all sides by small booths or shops...."(74) Four years later the Butchery and Corn Cross were demolished and the areas paved,(75) (The Chamberlain's Account for 1789 records £56,11.5 for "paving where the corn cross stood".(76)), and in 1793 the Council agreed to purchase for £700 a house in the Market Place offered to them in order that "they would be able to make such publick Buildings as they might have occasion for on any scale they think proper... ..and would also have it in their Power to make great

(72) 9/F/1 1776 Lumby's report July 9th; Sept.11th

(73) 9/F/2 1776 " " August 10th

(74) BAB 6 ff 187,228

(74) R.Quaint, op.cit., 28

(75) P.Thompson, op.cit., 218,219,220

(76) BCAB 1789-90

improvements in the Market place both useful and commodious".(77) No record remains in the Chamberlains' accounts for 1793 and 1794 of the payment of £700, but the former account records £28.17.7 spent on alterations at the "new building" in the Market place.(78) In addition, improvements were undertaken by the Erection Bailiff in clearing the access to the Bridge.(78a)

As at Nottingham and York however, the new century saw Boston Corporation more active in improvements than they had ever previously been. In 1816 a new fish market was built at the North East corner of the bridge. Work began in 1816 and by October of that year it was complete.(79) Minor building expenses continued to occur however, but by 1819 the total cost was £1233.14.8d:-

Fishmarket

1816	993. 6. 5
1817	53.13. 9
1818	140.12. 3
	16.15. 8
1819	<u>29. 4. 7</u>
	1233.14. 8 (80)

(77) 2/B/2 21st March 1793, 25th April 1793.

(78) BCAB 1793-4, BCAB 1792/3 does not survive.

(78a) 1787 £432.10.0 paid to purchase "Wrangle's dwelling house and shop near the bridge BAB7 f111; Account 1786/7 4/C/1/75; 1788 £258.3.2 paid for the new buildings at the Bridge foot & cleaning the ground. Account 1788/9 4/C/1/78

(79) BAB 2/A/27 18th March, 1st October 1816

(80) BCAB 1816 to 1820; 6/A/b

By November 1816 the Committee appointed to deal with the Fish Market improvement had already decided that the old market, built in Cooper's Row in 1769, should be converted into a public office for the use of the Magistrates with the front room appropriated for a Town Clerk's Office and Committee Room, where the Town Clerk was "to keep a clerk in daily attendance to see to the Town's buisness".(81) Jephtha Pacey (later one of the town's surveyors) was given the contract for converting the market into public rooms, under the surveillance of the current Town Surveyor, Samuel Reynolds. The agreed price was £216 and the work was to be completed by March 1st 1817.(82) In fact the final cost was more, amounting to £279.2.0½d, and in the following year other repairs at the old fish market brought the total expenditure here to £320.0.10½d.(83) In 1818 a new committee was appointed "for considering the best mode of making improvements", which recommended that the frontage of

(81) BAB 2/A/27 4th Nov., 19th Dec. 1816

(82) 9/F/3 December 1816

(83) BCAB 1816, 1817

the Angel and Bell Inns be converted into market area, and that "a Building for public rooms" be erected next to the river between the Bridge and the new Fishmarket.(84) The scheme centred on the demolition of the butter cross and assembly rooms, the removal of which "added much to the beauty and convenience of the Market Place", (85) and paving the area as part of the market. In their stead the Corporation erected a "very noble modern building" (86) housing a new market for poultry, and butter, and over them the Assembly Rooms, including one room "where the balls are held, of great size and very handsomely fitted up".(87)

The Committee intended the structure to be a "handsome building" and decided, as on other occasions, to call in an architect from outside the town to design it.(88) William Atkinson came up from London and produced "A complete set of designs of new buildings for the improvement of the town and a market house" at a charge of £109.14.0,(89) and in January 1819 it was agreed that erection should commence.(90) Notice was given for public

(84) 2/D/1 12th Oct.1818

(85) T.Allen, History of the County of Lincoln (1834) 261

(86) J.Saunders, Lincolnshire in 1836 (1836) 48

(87) *ibid.*

(88) 2/D/1 3rd Dec.1818

(89) 5/A/2/3

(90) BAB 2/A/27 Jan.1st 1819

tenders for the construction (91) and by July 1822 the butter market was "fit for occupation", the public opening following on August 7th.(92)

The Assembly Rooms took rather longer to finish; in January 1823 Mr. Cheesman was complaining that the walls were still so wet that he could not continue with his work and suggested that braziers and charcoal be kept in the principal rooms all night "the way tis done in London".(93) Despite such holdups however the rooms were ready for opening on April 1st 1823,(94) the drapery was lined with its "gommon crimson", (95) the marble chimney pieces brought up from London were in place,(96) and the Mayor opened the rooms with a flourish which cost £99.(97)

The final cost of the Assembly Rooms and Market were commensurate with the standard of decor. The estimates for furnishing the Breakfast Room with curtains and draperies of Merino damask trimmed with

(91) 2/D/1 30th March 1819; 12/2 various contracts

(92) 2/D/1 29th July 1822

(93) 2/D/1 Jan. 23rd 1823

(94) BAB 2/A/27 25th March 1823

(95) 2/D/1 3rd Dec. 1822

(96) 2/D/1 31st May 1823

(97) BAB 2/A/27 28th April 1823; BCAB 1822-3

gold coloured fringe and a complete set of gilt cornices; with forty rosewood chairs and two sets of mahogany tables was £604.13.6d. The ballroom and card room were furnished in similar manner, but there was economy on the chandeliers which "were ordered to be found second hand".(98)

By 1825 the Chamberlains had spent £17,552 on the new markets and assembly rooms:-

1819	£3,200	Purchase of houses from Mrs. Craddock in front of the New buildings & the Angel & Bell Inns.	
1819	50.14.9		} Building costs
	2,739.3.3		
1820	3,361.6.9		
1821	2,384.8.8		
1822	1,083.16.0		
1823	3,474.2.1		
1824			
1825	6.12.2		
	<u>252.4.0</u>		
	17,552.7.8.	(99)	

The costs moreover did not end here for ^{1825 & 1834} over the eight years between (no account remains for 1833) a further £800.16.2. was registered under repairs as spent on the Assembly Rooms.(100)

(98) 4/A/2/4

(99) BCAB 1819-1825; 5/4 d

(100) BCAB 1826 to 1834

The Corporation had meanwhile not been inactive elsewhere. Improvements had also been set in hand in Bargate at the sheep and pig market. The sheep market, despite regular attention by the Corporation, had in 1819 sunk into such a "founderous state even after the slightest fall of rain as to occasion great inconvenience in getting out the stock and the sheep are often so much injured by the exertions of struggling through the mire when hurried on together as to occasion considerable loss to the owners".(1) The Corporation took immediate action; appointed a committee and consulted Mr. Macadam about the best method of paving the area. Considerable delay was incurred between the various stages, but by October 31st 1822, Macadam's plans had been examined and Jephtha Pacey, then one of the corporation surveyors, had made a sketch and estimate of the improvement, which totalled £1233.3.10. Work was scheduled to start "early in the Spring".(2) Interim repairs cost £83.13.1 (3) but the major repairs which finally took place in the sheep market and Bargate brought the final expenditure on improved pavements

(1) Complaint from Boston Agricultural Society 20th May 1819
12/7

(2) BAB 2/A/27 28th August 1818, 16th December 1819,
21st February 1820, 1st May, 31st October 1822

(3) 6/4

here to £2219.17.9 by 1829, and small payments

continued afterwards.

1818-1822	83.	13.	1
1823	499.	7.	2
1824	844.	4.	1
1825	513.	14.	6
1826	90.	9.	10
1827	137.	11.	9½
1828	28.	0.	6½
1829	22.	16.	9
	<u>2219.</u>	<u>17.</u>	<u>9</u> (4)

In the rest of the market place the Corporation were improving buildings and encouraging others to do the same. New shops in the market place in 1820 cost the Corporation £674.2.5d(5) and in 1823 they contracted with John Williamson and Samuel Slight for building "a house shop and premises" in the Market Place for £556,(6) Thomas Vent agreeing to glaze them for £42.(7) At the same time the Corporation had agreed to let six lots on the West side of the Market Place on building leases allowing each tenant £100 if their building proved satisfactory to the surveyor. This was intended for the improvement of the Corporation Estates,

(4) BCAB 1818-1830. The figures given in 6/4 are incorrectly added and slightly inaccurate. The total given 6/4:£2168.19.10 and this was the figure given to the Municipal Commissioners
MCR 2158

(5) BCAB 1820

(6) 9/F/3 July 1823 I have not been able to trace the payment for this in the accounts

(7) HPorter, op.cit., I 97

but from their attitude in other schemes one cannot but feel that the Common Hall had the appearance of their town in mind too.

On public improvements in the market area, for both ~~the~~ trading and leisure pursuits the Corporation of Boston spent £22,126.19.1½ between 1816 and 1835. It was perhaps this which gave rise to the idea expressed in the Stamford Mercury that Boston was an "opulent" town. In reality however the money had to be found from extraordinary sources, from sales and loans. Between 1817 and 1834 £29,550 was raised by loan and annuity and £1573.11.3d from sales.(8)

Much the same development can be traced at York, for although more of a visitors Town than either Nottingham or Boston, trade was nevertheless of vital importance to the City's economy. The markets therefore always featured in the Chamberlains' Accounts, requiring regular and sometimes, extensive attention. For example in 1723-4 masons and plumbers work at the Butter House in Pavement Market cost £20.0.11; and paving for 75 yards outside £1.0.2. In the following year more grates were laid in the Pavement,

(8) BCAB 1818-1835 The Account for 1833 is missing

and in 1729-30 further work was done at the Butter House and at the Herb Market. This latter work cost almost £100. In 1736-7 the Pavement Market cross was repaired, again costing over £100; in 1760 the Butter Stall was built for £100 plus an additional £19.1.0 for bricklayers there. In 1781-2 work at the hay weigh cost £53.5.0 and a new machine was purchased for £47.10.0, and in 1799-1800 the Pavement Cross was improved at an expense of about £40.(9) Such repairs and improvements are a regular feature in the Chamberlains' Accounts, but it was not until the nineteenth century that the Borough Council saw the need for large scale improvements of their market facilities. Pavement Market place and others had been enlarged piecemeal on many occasions during the eighteenth century (10), but the many different markets held at York were all held in the streets in varyingly cramped conditions. In 1826 however the Corporation decided to solve at least one problem by purchasing six acres of land outside the city walls near Fishergate Postern, where all the stock

(9) YCAB passim

(10) See Chapter 9 514

markets and fairs could in future be held. An Inn was also built there and by December 1828 both Inn and Market were ready for lease, ⁽¹¹⁾ The total improvement cost the Corporation £10,359.12.6d :-

1826-7	Licence in Mortmain	180..0..0
	Purchase of land plus interest	3232.13..9
1827-8	Preparing & fitting up Cattle Fair	2091.16..3
1828-9	" " " " " "	396.10.11
	City Arms Inn	992..3.10
1829-30	Cattle Market Inn	1607.03..2 1219.11..0
1830-1	Market and Inn	441.18..4
1833-4	" " "	<u>197.15..3</u>
		<u>10,359.12.6 (12)</u>

As at Boston and Nottingham the improvement was of benefit to the Corporation as well as the public, for it was a productive estate, and the committee themselves in 1828, emphasized that "with the prospect.... of the corporation being reasonably compensated for their endeavours to accomodate the public, the committee cannot help congratulating them on the present success of their undertaking, especially as it holds out expectations of greater remuneration for future years...(13).

(11) Giles Manuscripts Y352 E6 4th Dec.1828

(12) Chamberlains' Accounts 1826 to 1835; K/110

(13) YHB 50 ff34,35 Nov.17th 1828 The rent was about £300 for the Market and £90 for the Inn. Giles' MSS. Y352 E6 4th Dec.1828, March 1832

The Corporation meanwhile improved other markets. Forty-four new double stalls were provided for Thursday Market in 1826 at a total cost of £426.16.3(14), and the following year a new hay weighing machine was provided, plus an office, at Peaseholme Green for £291.17.3.(15) In 1833 however the Corporation resorted to other means of meeting the town's needs. In that year an Act of Parliament was obtained (16) for the improvement of Parliament Street and Thursday Markets by the demolition of property and the creation of a new broad street linking the two markets. The Corporation was to retain its powers of regulating all the markets and fairs, but the cost was to be met by rates as well as contributions from the Corporation. By December 1836 some £30,588 had been borrowed, and nearly £17,000 was still owing in 1840.(17) Although financial responsibility did not now rest entirely with the civic body, nevertheless they had substantial contributions to make:- In 1834/5 they paid £267.0.9 interest on the Market Improvement Act (18) and in the

(14) YCAB 1826/7, 1828/9

(15) K/110 Finance Committee Reports 1827-8

(16) 3 @ 4 William IV c 62

(17) Giles Mss Y352 D11

(18) YCAB 1834/5

following year the Market Improvement Committee called for £1529.19.6 as the Corporation's proportion towards paying off the borrowed money.(19)

Concern for the well-being and improvement of their towns was manifested by the three councils in other ways too. Each had a major bridge into the town to support, in addition to other smaller bridges which required upkeep and improvement, and in each Borough, major restoration or rebuilding occurred at least once during the period 1660-1835.

Nottingham was fortunate in having the Bridge Estate which paid for the Trent Bridge repairs, and often contributed to the repairs of other bridges too.(20) Boston also had the Erection Estate which the Corporation construed as applicable, in part, to the bridge repairs, and when major rebuilding occurred at York in 1809 an Act of Parliament granted additional tolls and provided for contributions from the Ainsty and County. Nevertheless major costs were incurred by both Boston and York Corporations at various times.

(19) YCAB 1835/6; K110 Feb.3rd 1835

(20) E.G. 1765/6 Bridgemaster's Accounts 1524 and 1973/61 the rebuilding of Chainy Bridge.

York Corporation during the eighteenth century incurred heavy expenses as a result of improving and repairing Ouse Bridge. In 1723 the gaol on Ouse Bridge was repaired at the joint cost of the City and Ainsty(21) and as part of the improvements, the bridge and several houses on it were extensively repaired. Between 1723 and 1728 the Chamberlains' Accounts record outgoings of £305.17.3 for bridge and house repairs here; £233.12.6 being stated to have been for bridge repairs (22). Within ten years further work was necessary, building of new battlements on the bridge at a cost of £100.4.10¹/₂d(23) and in 1724 more extensive work was undertaken involving the demolition of several shops and houses on the bridge, the rebuilding of the sterlings (23a) and staiths on each side of the bridge, repairs to the wall and the Northern arch, widening the street, new paving and the erection of new pallisades and two globe lamps.(23b) This work continued until 1763 and the total cost to the Corporation was some £1,271.6.6.(24)

(21) C.Knight, op.cit., 515

(22) YCAB 1723-1728.

(23) YCAB 1736 to 1738

(23a) Sterling or Starling - An outwork of piles projecting in front of the pier of a bridge to form a protection against the force of the river or from damage by the impact of vessels and debris. Shorter Oxford Eng. Dictionary 3rd Edition.

(24) YCAB 1742 to 1763; YHB43 f170,317

(23b) YHB 43 14th June 1743, 1st Nov 1749

The bridge still required attention however for the constant repairs seemed to provide no real solution to the problems of the decaying sixteenth century structure. In 1780 and 1781 further stone work and painting was done (£152.2.0)(25) but in the following decade the Corporation took the initial steps towards improving the approaches to the bridge and applying for an Act to authorize a single-span iron bridge.(26) In 1794/5 the Corporation paid £655 for the purchase of houses and rooms on and adjoining the bridge, and carried out demolition and other work in the next few years.(27) The idea of an Act of Parliament and a new bridge did not however come to fruition until the question of improvement was considered again in 1803 (28) and 1809. In May 1809 an Act was obtained to widen the Ouse and Foss Bridges, the Corporation agreeing to make a "voluntary donation" of £2,000 plus £200 per annum for as long as the tolls were collected. The Mayor and Corporation as trustees under the Act were empowered to borrow £60,000 on the credit

(25) YCAB 1780/1, 1781/2

(26) YHB46 ff 111,132,151,171,80

(27) YCAB 1794-5, 1796-7, 1797-8

(28) YCAB 1803-4 Many payments for legal work drawing up Bill for improving the bridge and valuations and plans

of the passage tolls which were to be levied, but seven years after its repair, the liability for upkeep was to revert to the Corporation.(29) Within a short time however, it was apparent that extension of the bridge was out of the question; the structure needed to be replaced entirely, and in 1810 a suitable amending Act was received and the work was put in hand.(30) Again however, the provisions of the Act were found to be wanting; a debt of £30,000 was rapidly incurred and repayment from the tolls alone seemed impossible.(31) A further amending Act was thus obtained which removed authority for the work from the Corporation and vested it in the Justices of the three Ridings and the City. At the same time, the three Ridings were to contribute £30,000 from their County Rates, the Liberty, Ainsty and City were to make contributions, and the Corporation was to pay £400 per annum for five or six years and £200 per annum afterwards until the bridge was complete, the debts paid and the tolls ended.(32)

The actual cost of the new bridge to the Corporation is not easily ascertained. The agreed voluntary donation mentioned in the Act of 1809 does not figure in

(29) 49 Geo III c126

(30) 50 Geo III

(31) Hargrove, *op.cit.*, I 201

(32) 55 Geo III

the Chamberlains Accounts, but may well have been paid directly from the coffers, or from loans raised for the purpose. The Chamberlain's income in 1809 was certainly unusually low, dropping to £3,886 instead of some £6,000 to £7,000 in surrounding years, with only £226 instead of £2,000 to £3,000 raised by extraordinary means.(33)

The Corporation was however entitled to compensation for the property which they demolished for the scheme, and this may have accounted for the £2,000. Alternatively it is possible that the Corporations' expenses associated with obtaining the Act became their "voluntary donation" but this cannot be verified from the accounts, and it seems unlikely since the Act did not specifically include these costs within the ambit of its financial provisions. However between 1803 and 1815 the Chamber became liable for £1,020.11.6d on this account:-

<u>Account Year.</u>	<u>Article</u>	<u>Cost.</u>
1803	Viewing and valuing property adjoining the bridge and making plan of intended bridge.	98. 4. 6
1803	Townend bill re Act for improving Ouse Bridge	266.19. 6
1803	Expenses attending Committee	7 7 0
1810	Giving up lease of house on Ouse Bridge	30 0 0
1819	Townend and Bayldon applying to Parliament to amend Ouse Bridge Acts.(incurred therefore in 1810 and 1814).	618 0 6
		<u>1020. 11. 6 (34)</u>

(33) YCAB 1806 to 1812

(34) YCAB 1803-1820 They also owed the Recorder and Mr. Nichol £525 on account of the Bridge Acct.
E77 23.1.1816

At the same time, the Chamberlains, until 1829, regularly paid the stipulated £200 per annum, increasing it to £400 per annum for the six years after the amending Act of 1814 to 1815. In total therefore the Chamberlains' Accounts show payments of £6,285.11.6 from 1803 to 1829, on account of the new bridge.

1803-1819	Obtaining the Acts.	1020.	11.	6	
1810-1828	Annual Dues	5100.	0.	0	
1816	Architect's Bill	40.	0.	0	
1823	In full for plans and estimates for Ouse & Foss Bridges	20.	0.	0	
1829	Harrison for bill re. Ouse Bridge.	<u>105.</u>	<u>0.</u>	<u>0</u>	
		6285.	11.	6	(35)

With the promised £2000 this would make the total cost to the Corporation of the new Ouse Bridge £8,285.

In the meantime however the Corporation had also temporarily increased their liabilities by making loans to the commissioners in cash, or in kind.(36) Again the Chamberlains' Accounts indicate that the loans were

(35) YCAB 1803-1830 The figures for 1810 to 1832 agree with those quoted by the Municipal Commissioners of £5245, if the 1823 payment for plans for Ouse and Foss Bridge is omitted. They make no reference to the payment in 1819 for earlier expenses relating to the Act MCR 1755,1756,1757

(36) Possibly the dues for the demolished buildings since few were received directly by the Chamberlain; e.g. £400 was paid by the Commissioners to the Chamberlains on this account, for a house damaged in Briggate YCAB1817,1818

not paid directly from these funds, but by 1810 the fund for the new bridge owed £1800 to the Chamber funds for which they paid interest at $4\frac{1}{2}\%$. By 1815 this debt had risen to £6595 after which time it was steadily reduced, being finally liquidated in 1822.(37) Although an investment return was received on these loans, the Chamber accounts taking £2436.5.9 in interest between 1810 and 1822 (38), there is little doubt that the transaction was, to a large extent, robbing Peter to pay Paul, for the Corporation themselves found it necessary to take out many short term loans.(39)

The Corporation at York meanwhile had other bridges to repair too. In 1794, facing indictment by the Crown (39a) the Corporation put in hand the repair of Monk Bridge. A contract was taken with Lister, Dalton and King for building the bridge for £850, and iron palisades were ordered from Walker and Company of Rotherham. The final cost of the new bridge was £1006.17.2 (40) to which £100 was subscribed by the new Foss Navigation Company.(41) In addition the cost of defending the indictment, which was postponed and finally discharged in 1796, was £70.16.6.(42)

(37) YCAB 1810-1822

(38) YCAB Casual Income 1810-1822

(39) Chapter 5 300

(39a) Giles Mss. Y352E1

(40) YCAB 1794-1796

(41) VCH 519

(42) YCAB 1794 to 1796

Perhaps for fear of further charges, the Corporation at the same time in 1793, preferred an indictment against the occupiers of Castle Mills Bridge for failing to keep it in repair.(43) The bridge had however previously been repaired by the Corporation and to cover their liability a subscription of £28.11.0 was made towards the repair charges.(44) Peaseholme Green or Layerthorpe Bridge was also repaired in the following year by the Corporation at a total cost of £194.2.5½d (45), and by 1809 Foss Bridge was being rebuilt. The Act of 1809 for Ouse Bridge encompassed the rebuilding of Foss Bridge too, and in 1810 the Corporation subscribed £250 to the improvements,(46) however the work subsequently appears to have been undertaken solely at the civic charge (47) excepting a donation of £100 from the Foss Navigation Company.(48) The final cost amounted to £3,000 (49), including over £1,000 paid in compensation to property holders affected by the alterations.(50)

(43) YCAB 1793/4 cost was £16.1.0

(44) YCAB 1793/4

(45) YCAB 1795 and 1796 One bill includes work at Mank bridge

(46) 49 Geo. III c 126; YCAB 1810/11

(47) Presumably as a result of the Amending Act of 1810
50 Geo III

(48) VCH 518

(49) MCR 1755

(50) YCAB 1810-1817

The rebuilding of Layerthorpe Bridge in 1829 and 1830, again by the Corporation despite attempts to cite the responsibility of the Foss Navigation Company (51), cost the Corporation a further £1,425. (52), of which £1358 was for rebuilding by Craven & Sons, the rest the minor expenses and cost of plans. (53) This brought the cost of major bridge improvements by York Corporation between 1790 and 1830 to £12,681.19.7½d excluding £200 subscribed by the Foss Navigation Company.

1794	Demolition of Property-Ouse Bridge	655. 0. 0
1809-1830	Ouse Bridge (identifiable expenses)	6285.11. 6
1794-1796	Monk Bridge	1006.17. 2
1796	Monk Bridge litigation	70.16. 6
1793	Castle Mills Bridge	28.11. 0
1793	Castle Mills Bridge litigation	16. 1. 0
1795-96	Peaseholme Green/Layerthorpe Bridge	194. 2. 5½
1809-1817	Foss Bridge	3000. 0. 0
1829-30	Layerthorpe Bridge	<u>1425. 0. 0</u>
		<u>12,681.19. 7½</u>

(51) K164

(52) MCR 1757

(53) YCAB 1829, 1830

Even heavier liabilities fell upon Boston Corporation in the rebuilding of their bridge in 1801. The bridge had already been rebuilt in 1742 largely at the cost of the Chamber funds. In the previous year William Jackson delivered proposals to the Corporation for rebuilding the bridge for £360 (54), and the Chamberlains' Accounts for that year record payments of two guineas for searching for the foundations of the bridge, 2/4d for "stopping holes in the bridge", and 12/- for carriage of the "modell and designs", for the new bridge. Jackson's proposals were accepted, William Stennett was appointed surveyor and on June 10th 1742 demolition of the old bridge began.(55) The Election bailiff in that year was required to pay William Jackson's charges of £96.14.6 for repairing the bridge (56), but the Chamberlain paid for Jackson's interest of £1.2.6d and other charges associated with the rebuilding:- "Raming" the bridge £2.2.6d; supervising the wood for the bridge £4.4.0; painting the bridge £15.17.6d (57) and in 1743 the Chamberlain made further payments for the bridge including £81.5.0 to William Jackson.(58)

(54) P.Thompson, op.cit., 251

(55) Ibid.

(56) BAB 5 f498

(57) BCAB 1742-3

(58) BCAB 1743-4

Jackson's final charge was £396.14.6, he being allowed £36.14.6 for an alteration made in the plan by the Corporation.(59) The finished bridge "certainly had no pretensions to either elegance or commodiousness", (60) and by the end of the century it was no longer functional either. In 1771 the bridge was reported to be in a dangerous state (61) and extensive repairs were undertaken at the expense of the Erection Bailiff in 1787 and in 1793.(62) On December 23rd 1799 however, the Common Hall agreed that a new bridge should be built. Application was to be made to Parliament for an Act next session, and the bridge committee were to manage the entire buisness and "consult on the ways and means for raising money".(63)

From the start the Corporation were determined to ensure that a workmanlike and lasting job was done. Despite their extreme care and caution, they were to be disappointed in their aim.

By July 1800 the Bridge Committee had decided that John Rennie, designer of the Southwark and Old Waterloo bridges, should be consulted. They were desiring

(59) P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 252

(60) *Ibid.*

(61) *Ibid.*

(62) Erection Bailiffs' Accounts Bridge Repairs:-1787/8 £212.19.7
4/C/1/76; 1793/4 £347.15.2 4/C/1/82; 1794/5 £155.5.9½ 4/C/1/83

(63) Bridge Committee Minute Book 9/A/1 f1

him to direct Mr. Bower "or a surveyor really conversant with navigation and drainage" to make sectional drawings of the haven for the next meeting of the proprietors of the fens and also "to bring with him plans of different sorts of bridges of iron and stone", so that upon a survey of the present bridge and haven he could advise which type of bridge would be most convenient for navigation, drainage and the public.(64)

On August 2nd the committee declared their favour for a stone bridge (65) but within nine days they agreed that the new bridge should be iron. It was not without some trepidation however: In December the Town Clerk was asked to enquire of the Town Clerk at Bridgewater "whether the iron bridge... answers the expectations of their Corporation and whether the same is injured...by the sea water".(66) Ultimately it was probably Rennie's own recommendations which clinched the issue:- A stone bridge would cost £7206; and would take five or six weeks to build; an iron bridge would cost £6310 and "could be erected in less than half the time".(67)

(64) Ibid f 3

(65) Ibid f 4

(66) Ibid f 4; BAB 7 f 392

(67) 9/A/1 f 4; BAB 7 ff 387-391

By June 1801 the Bill for the new bridge was under consideration by the House of Commons.(68) Its passage was hindered by the objections of the Vicar Samuel Partridge who feared that the new bridge and the extensive alterations necessary for access to it would be financed entirely from the funds held by the Erection Bailiffs.(69) By September 1801 the expenses of the bridge were already £465.15.8d(70), but in 1802 the Act was finally obtained (71) at a further cost of £529.17.0.(72) and in April 1803 John Watson was appointed to superintend the Bridge works at one hundred guineas per annum, under the directions of Mr,Rennie.(73) Advertisements were placed in the Hull Packet, Lincoln Mercury, English Chronicle and Leeds Intelligence newspapers (74) for contracts for work and many of the major contractors chosen were from outside Boston. Wilson of Sunderland erected the bridge using castings from Walkers at Rotherham,(75) and the contractors for the building of cofferdams and excavations were Whitaker, Wood and Ellis from Leeds.(76) Work however did not proceed smoothly. Rennie found the first dam to be

(68) 9/A/1 f8

(69) Ibid.,ff 9,11,12,14,17

(70) Thirkill's bill for the Bridge Act 9/A/5/11

(71) 42 Geo.III (72) 9/A/5/11

(73) 9/A/1 f41

(74) Ibid.,ff 40,41

(75) Ibid.,f 22

(76) Ibid.,ff 40 & 41 & passim.

useless and the contractors were given notice to rebuild; but before they built the dam on the West side the Committee decided that Wood and Whitaker would have to be sent to London with Mr. Watson to find out how the "drawing and driving" of piles was done on the new docks there.(77) In 1804 the first stone of the abutments was laid (78), but the Council were still apprehensive about their undertaking, considering again in 1805 whether to proceed with the idea of an iron structure after hearing of the failure of the Sunderland bridge.(79) In May 1807 the new iron bridge was opened to carriages,(80) but if the Council had hoped that the rebuilding would end their repair bills they were soon to be disappointed. Already in September 1807 the durability of the iron work was causing concern., two hundred and four of the radii were broken and more were breaking daily.(81) Rennie was quick to cover his own position, claiming that Wilson "carries forward as an Inventor, does the arch his own way....and then where his work fails he attempts to shift it from himself to me.. whatever happens to his part of the iron work must rest with himself".(82) He was however obviously anxious for

(77) P.A. Downley, "The First Iron Bridge at Boston," Lincolnshire Poacher I no.4 (Autumn 1953)18

(78) 9/A/1 f92

(79) BAB 8 March 19th, May 23rd 1805

(80) P.Thompson,

op.cit., 253

(81) 9/A/1 f 183 Sept.19th 1807

(82) 9/A/1/Letter of Aug.26th 1807 f 502

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(68) 9/A/1 f8

(69) Ibid.,ff 9,11,12,14,17

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(71) 42 Geo.III (72) 9/A/5/11

(73) 9/A/1 f41

(74) Ibid.,ff 40,41

(75) Ibid.,f 22

(76) Ibid.,ff 40 & 41 & passim.

useless and the contractors were given notice to rebuild; but before they built the dam on the West side the Committee decided that Wood and Whitaker would have to be sent to London with Mr. Watson to find out how the "drawing and driving" of piles was done on the new docks there. (77) In 1804 the first stone of the abutments was laid (78), but the Council were still apprehensive about their undertaking, considering again in 1805 whether to proceed with the idea of an iron structure after hearing of the failure of the Sunderland bridge. (79) In May 1807 the new iron bridge was opened to carriages, (80) but if the Council had hoped that the rebuilding would end their repair bills they were soon to be disappointed. Already in September 1807 the durability of the iron work was causing concern, two hundred and four of the radii were broken and more were breaking daily. (81) Rennie was quick to cover his own position, claiming that Wilson "carries forward as an Inventor, does the arch his own way....and then where his work fails he attempts to shift it from himself to me.. whatever happens to his part of the iron work must rest with himself". (82) He was however obviously anxious for

(77) P.A. Townley, "The First Iron Bridge at Boston," Lincolnshire Poacher I no. 4 (Autumn 1953) 18

(78) 9/A/1 f92

(79) BAB 8 March 19th, May 23rd 1805

(80) P. Thompson, op. cit., 253

(81) 9/A/1 f 188. Sept. 19th 1807.

(82) 9/A/1/Letter of Aug. 26th 1807 f 502

for his own reputation and in November 1807 enquired what further changes had occurred in the Bridge and whether Wilson had done anything for "if he will not do anything something must be done by others".(83) The dispute worsened. Wilson, conceiving the letters from the Corporation to be "calculated to involve me in trouble and if possible in ruin", resolved to speak the truth and stated he had been obliged to follow Rennie's plans and reduce the curvature of the bridge despite his own and Walker's recommendations, and that only movement in the abutments built under Rennie's surveillance could have caused the distortion in the iron work.(84) In September 1808 the matter was still unresolved and the Corporation refused to settle the bill from Walkers of Rotherham until responsibility for the structure was finally decided.(85) Wilson too had a balance of £200 outstanding and in May 1813 he issued a writ against the Corporation.(86) Ultimately he won his suit (87), but the bridge meanwhile continued to worsen. In January 1815 the Corporation Surveyor reported that the bridge "is now in great danger of falling"(88), and if he was

(83) 9/A/1 Nov.25th 1807 f504

(84) 9/A/1 Dec.18th 1807 f505

(85) 9/A/1 Sept.14th 1808 f 518

(86) 9/A/1 12.2.1810, 27.5. 1813 ff230, 524.

(87) BAB 2/A/27 Oct.12th 1813, 20th Jan.1814

(88) 9/A/1 f 259

unduly alarmist (89) it was nevertheless apparent that repairs must be put in hand. Shackles and plates were strapped to the ribs of the bridge and the radii replaced (90) and by these means the bridge continued to stand until it was rebuilt in 1902.

Although the cost of the bridge was shared between the Chamber and Erection funds, the Corporation nevertheless found it a heavy strain on their own finances. Rennie's estimate for the bridge had not included the cost of other necessary alterations, and the total bill for work done between 1803 and 1816 exceeded £26,000. In 1803 the Chamberlain was requested to keep a separate Bridge Account (92), parts of which survive, very incomplete and often at odds with the record entered in the annual Chamberlain's Account. This was largely because the Chamber accounts recorded payments actually made, whereas the vouchers and contracts used in the Bridge Accounts often related to work completed or in progress and not yet paid for. However, prior to 1803 the bills were entered as part of the Chamber and Erection Accounts. Thus, Thirkill, and Rennie's bills for obtaining the Act and preliminary consultation in 1800/01 were met

(89) 9/A/1 f260

(90) 9/A/1 ff262,264,273

(91) Lincolnshire Poacher I no.4,19

(92) BAB June 28th 1803. His payments for the Bridge were still entered in his annual Chamber account

by £200 from the Erection Bailiff (93) with £119.16.6 paid to Rennie and £145.19.2 paid to Thirkill by the Chamberlain.(94) Thirkill's subsequent bill of £529.17.0 for further work obtaining the Act was met by £100 from the Erection Bailiff in 1801/2 (95) and £200 from the Chamberlain in 1802/3,(96) but the remaining £229.17.0 was placed to the Bridge Account. In addition, the Chamberlain, in 1801/2 paid Sheath and Watson £28.5.10 (97) for their bill concerning the new bridge, and the Erection Bailiff paid £14.3.5 for boring for foundations.(97a) Already therefore £808.4.11 had been spent on the new bridge before the Bridge Account began.

	Chamberlains	Erection Bailiffs
1800/1	265. 15. 8	14. 3. 5 200. 0. 0
1801/2	28. 5.10	100. 0. 0
1802/3	<u>200. 0. 0</u>	
		808. 4. 11d

After 1803 expenses mounted rapidly, and capital expenditure was met by the Chamberlains. By June 1811 the Bridge Committee calculated the total expenses at £23,564. 0. 2³d (98). This included £3705 paid for the purchase of houses for demolition in order

(93) Erection Bailiff's Account 4/C/1/91 1800/1

(94) BCAB 1800/1

(95) Erection Bailiff's Vouchers 4/C/2 1801/2

(96) BAB 28th June 1802. This is not noted in the Chamberlain's account but it is probably the £200 designated as cash borrowed in BCAB 1802/3

(97) BCAB 1801/2

(97a) Erection Bailiff's Account 1800/01 4/C/1/91

(98) 9/A/1 f218

to improve the avenues to the bridge, although it had originally been decided that since these were only for "enlargement and ornament of the bridge" and were not absolutely necessary, the expense should not be deemed part of the bridge costs. (99) In fact the Chamberlains' Accounts record a total expenditure of £24,972. 17.1½d between 1803 and 1812.

Expenses of the Bridge.

1803	4441.	3.	3	(£334.5.6d of this sum paid by the Erection Bailiff).
1804	2523	7	7	
1805	6389	7	6½	
1806	2136	9	2	
1807	1458	11	6	
1808	1490	0	9	
1809	1130	12	6	
1810	1483	3	8	
1810	21	7	9	("Repairs")
1811	174	5	3	
1811	6	11	4	("Repairs")
1812	12	16	10	
	1305	0	0	- Purchase of Wrangles house
	2400	0	0	- Corporation houses.
	<u>24972.</u>	<u>17.</u>	<u>1½</u>	(100)

With the preliminary expenses this made a total expenditure of £25,781. 2.0½, of which the Chamberlains initially paid £25,132. 13.1½.

Total Cost 1800-1812.

Paid by Erection Bailiff

Legal & other costs:	808.	4.	11	Legal Costs	£300.	0.	0
Bridge Expenses	24972.	17.	1½	Bridge Costs			
				1800	14.	3.	5
				1803	334.	5.	6
	<u>25781.</u>	<u>2.</u>	<u>0½</u>		<u>648.</u>	<u>8.</u>	<u>11</u>

(99) BAB 19th June 1807

(100) BCAB 1803-1812 This also tallies with the Corporation abstract prepared for the Municipal Commissioners, 6/4a except for the omission of £21.7.9 for 1810 in that account, and the inclusion of 1812 in this account.

The further repairs which became necessary between 1814 and 1816 increased the total expenditure by £419.4.1d and other minor expenses continued to occur until 1823 making the final bill for the bridge £26,364.16.7d.(1)

Already before 1803 the Erection Bailiff had been called upon for contributions and once the Bridge Account was started it was apparently decided that he should pay ^{interest on} half the costs, ultimately repaying the principal also.(2) In June 1804 an Order of Hall refers to his "second payment on the bridge account" of £450, (3) his first payment presumably having been that of £334.5.6d in 1803/4. Somewhat inconsistent payments continued annually and in 1807 the Bridge Committee stated unequivocally that "the fair proportion of the Erection lands appears to be one Moiety of £19,124.12.10½ only, as the sum of £3705 may be considered as.... not absolutely necessary".(4) The Council were not however consistent in their decisions. In 1811 the Town Clerk was asked to make out an account of the receipts and payments of the Erection Bailiff and Chamberlains "from the time of the

(1) BCAB 1812 to 1830

(2) I have been unable to trace the original order.

(3) BAB 7 19th June 1804.

(4) BAB 19th June 1807. The £3705 was used to purchase houses

commencement of the erecting the new bridge with a statement of the several sums paid by the Erection Bailiffs towards erecting the bridge, it being the intention of this Hall that the funds arising from the erection lands shall contribute one third part of the actual expenses of erecting the same".(5) At the same time the total cost of the scheme was calculated to be £23,564.0.2³/₄d which included the £3705 for the houses.(6) The original decision to halve the costs was, moreover, applied, and after June 1814 the Erection Bailiff was paying £600 per annum " being the annual amount of interest recommended to be paid on the amount of expenditure on the bridge".(7) At 5% interest, the debt was therefore £12,000, and it was not until 1821 that the Erection Bailiff was required by the Hall to make his first repayments of principal.(8)

This suggests that until 1821 all the payments made by the Erection Bailiff to the Chamberlain were interest on half the cost of the bridge. Between 1814 and 1821 this is easily traced. Before 1814 the payments are less straight forward to account for.

(5) BAB 2/A/27 12th Aug. 1811

(6) 9/A/1 f 218

(7) BAB 2/A/27 27th June 1814

(8) BAB 2/A/27 25th June 1821

ERECTION BAILIFF. PAYMENTS TO CHAMBERLAIN 1803-1813.

1803	334.	5.	7				(9)
1804	450.	0.	0	"2nd payment on account of bridge"			
1805	450.	0.	0	3rd "	"	"	
1806	600.	0.	0	4th "	"	"	
1807	900.	0.	0	6th "	"	"	
1808	800.	0.	0	7th "	"	"	
1809	1100.	0.	0	£600 as 8th.	"	"	(10)
1810	600.	0.	0	9th "	"	"	
1811	1000.	0.	0	10th "	"	"	
1812	400.	0.	0	11th "	"	"	
1813	1400.	0.	0	£400 as 12th	"	"	(11)
							(£1,000 subject to account)
	<u>8034.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>7</u>				

From the Orders of Hall it would appear that of the above sum £6,534.5.7d was paid on the bridge account, £1500 being for other purposes, possibly loans. No account for return of this money appears however in the Erection Bailiff's accounts. At the same time the Erection Bailiff had already paid £200 in 1801 (12) towards the purchase of Wrangle's house which was not discounted from the £3705 purchase price. More disturbing is the fact that both accounts and Orders of Hall are quite explicit that the Erection Bailiff had not, by 1814, repaid any principal, and still owed £12,000. Yet in 1807 he had been directly recommended by the bridge committee to pay £900 of his balance at the year end to be "applied towards the discharge of the Moiety". (13)

(9) BAB 19.6.1804

(10) BAB 13.6.1809

(11) BAB 15.7.1813

(12) BAB 24.5.1802

(13) BAB 19.6.1807

Moreover if it is correct to assume that from his payments to the Chamberlain, £6,534 went towards the Bridge Account between 1803 & 1813, then the interest was overcharged. The interest would have been assessed not on the Chamberlain's Accounts at the year end but probably on the calculations by the Bridge Committee regarding expenditure and debts expected to accumulate during the year. Thus in their accounts the Committee calculated expenditure by the Chamberlains for the

Bridge as follows:-

1803	£4441	} (14)
1804	£6964	
1805	£13,353	
1806	£19,124	

By 1811 it had been decided that £3705 for the houses should be added to the debt and the debt was stated as £23,564. (15) The Erection Bailiff was to meet half these costs and interest at 5% on his debt would thus stand approximately as follows:- (to nearest £)

Total Debt on Finance Committee reckonings.	E. B. debt at half total	Interest owed by EB at 5%	
1803	£4441	£2220	£111
1804	£6964	£3482	£174
1805	£13,353	£6676	£334
1806	19,124	9562	478
1807	19,124	9562	478
1808	19,124	9562	478
1809	19,124	9562	478
1810	19,124	9562	478
1811	23,564	11782	589
1812	23,564	11782	589
1813	23,564	11782	589
	TOTAL:		£4776

(14) BAB June 24th 1806

(15) 9/A/1 f218 Bridge Committee 18th June 1811

On this calculation the Erection Bailiff had thus been overcharged by £1,758, which should have diminished his principal debt. In addition he paid £700 to the Chamberlains in 1801/2 which he did not receive back into his accounts.(16)

The possibility of corruption and deliberate appropriation of Charity funds inevitably arises. Certainly the Chamber funds had often received money from the Erection Bailiffs in the past, for which no repayment was made.(17) The Charity Commissioners severely criticised the Council on this count (18), although in relation to the new bridge they confined their comments to the illegality of using the charity funds at all for this purpose.(19) Nevertheless their final comment on this regard is perhaps most appropriate - "had the accounts been kept so as to afford the means of auditing them"(20) Although audited at the time, the accounts today are at times unintelligible. It will probably never be entirely clear whether the Council had deliberately received money from the Erection Estates for which they later debited it.

(16) Erection Bailiff Accounts 4/C/1/92 and passim.

(17) Chapter 5

(18) Charity Commissioners Report Boston (1837) 8,12,13.

(19) *ibid.*, 12,13

(20) *ibid.*, 13

However the care and accuracy of the accounts in this particular, after 1814, are beyond reproach, probably because it was then entirely clear how much had been spent on the bridge. The figures were now black and white; in the earlier period of the building, the accounting techniques did not meet the fluidity of the financial situation.

From 1814 to 1820 the Erection bailiffs paid interest on their £12,000 debt at 5% p.a.,^{3rd} thereafter repaid £500 p.a. of the principal, the interest reducing in proportion. By these means £14,305.0.0. was paid from the Erection Bailiffs to the Chamberlains between 1814 and 1832, making total interest payments from 1803 to 1832, £15,794, and principal repayments £5,045.

The Chamberlains expenses on the new bridge were therefore almost entirely repaid. However the Chamber fund had itself become severely indebted as a result of financing the bridge improvement in the first instance. For this purpose the Finance Committee in January 1803 "having...investigated the accounts of the Corporation and considered of the best mode of raising a sum of money for erecting the intended bridge" recommended

sales of the Corporation Estates "from which it may be reasonably expected that the sum of £9,000..... may be raised.... the present rentals of which amount to £188.17.6 per annum".(21) In fact, £6,071.15.6¹/₂d was raised from sales of property and old materials between 1802 and 1805.(22) In 1803 the Chamberlain was authorized to borrow £1,000 for six months (23) but far greater sums were needed, and in 1804 it was decided that a tontine should be started.(24) £4,000 was to be raised in £100 shares per life, and interest was to be paid by the Corporation at seven per cent,(25) in contrast to the five per cent paid to them by the Election Bailiff. The Chamberlains immediately became liable therefore to £280 per annum in interest payments and in 1815 this was increased by £700 by a further tontine for £10,000 (26) which had been decided upon in 1813.(27) In the long term the tontines were a disastrous gamble for the Corporation. The total interest was payable until the final survivor died; for the 1805 tontine this was in 1867; for the 1814 tontine payments were still being made in 1888,(28) and the final

(21) BAB 8 January 7th 1803

(22) Appendix X

(23) BAB 8 December 1st 1803

(24) BAB 8 March 9th 1803

(25) BAB 8 April 16th, June 19th 1804; 9/A/8

(26) 9/A/7 1st February 1815

(27) BAB 2/A/27 1st July 1813, 18th March 1814

(28) 9/A/8

survivor died in 1904 aged ninety-two. The total cost to the Corporation of the 1815 tontine was thus £62,300.(29). From 1804 to 1832 the payments on these debts by the Chamberlains thus totalled £8,120 for the 1804 tontine and £13,125 for the 1814 tontine. The Chamber funds clearly therefore made no profit out of the Erection Estate; the interest payments made by the Bailiffs between 1803 and 1832 did not even cover the interest on the tontines, which the Chamberlains had to pay.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reveal an eager, improving spirit in all three Councils, particularly at York and Boston, and in addition to these major schemes, other amenities were provided and encouraged. At Boston a new gaol was provided, not from the County rate as at Nottingham and York, but from the Conciliar funds. Already in 1805 the Corporation had noted, in response to a Quarter Sessions order(31) for improvement, that the gaol was "in such a ruinous state that it is not possible to be effectually repaired".(32) But for the moment rebuilding had to

(29) H. Porter, op.cit., III 77

(31) BAB 8 May 23rd 1805

(32) BAB 8 June 13th 1805

wait. In 1814 a piece of land, 700 to 1,000 sq. yds was advertized for (33), but in April 1815 execution of the plans was postponed until the Corporation "shall be possessed of funds adequate to meet the expenses thereof".(34) However, by 1817 the Gaol Committee had examined what money was applicable to "so desirable a purpose"(35) as a new gaol, and Samuel Stainforth was contracted to build it for £2,305.(36) The final cost however was substantially more. Stainforth himself received more than his contract allowed, and other work and the building of a treadmill in 1822 brought the total expenses, between 1816 and 1822, to £5,237.9.4d.(37)

At York however, extensive improvements were set in hand throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which distinguished the interests of the Borough quite clearly from those of Boston and Nottingham. These were improvements to the leisure and cultural centres in the town which were much less patronized by Boston and Nottingham Corporations, but which, in York, were an important part of the town's

(33) BAB8 October 31st 1814

(34) BAB 8 April 13th 1815

(35) Gaol Committee Minutes 10/1 May 20th 1817

(36) Ibid., July 12th 1817

(37) 6/4c

attraction as a Northern Centre. One of the earliest schemes was the planting of trees along Lord Mayor's Walk in 1718, (38) but the most ambitious and certainly the most costly, was the creation in 1732 of "New Walk", a tree-lined walkway along the Ouse from Davy Tower through Saint George's Close to the confluence of the Ouse and Foss. It was designed "for the public use and entertainment of the citizens" and was, by Mr. ETTY's estimation, not bettered or equalled in Europe. (39) New Walk was continually being improved. In 1738 a draw-bridge was built over the Foss costing the Corporation £114.14.9d (40), and in the following year the Committee appointed to consider ways of improving it, recommended that about £70 be spent setting trees to widen the walk to fifteen feet. (41) The work however cost much more. Already in February 1740 the £70 had been spent but the "Walk is not near finished and.... the same if compleatly finished will be very much for the honour of this city and Entertainment of the gentry resorting thereto"; the work therefore was ordered to continue. (42) The walkway was extended in length, a gateway was put in the wall

(38) YHB41 f209

(39) C. Knight, *op. cit.*, 538

(40) YCAB 1738/9

(41) YHB 43 ff 7, 10

(42) YHB 43 f 35

near Davy tower and a "handsome iron pallisade gate"(43) was erected with a salaried Officer to lock and unlock it.(44) Seats were provided and a "necessary house" and by September 1740 £226.17.1½d had been spent.(45) Labourers charges over the financial year 1740/41 amounted to £84.13.3d; Telford was paid £54.4.0 for trees and supervision, and the total cost of improvements between 1739 and 1745 was £448.18.6d.(46) In 1749 further improvements were put in hand. A fountain was constructed at the Pikeing Well adjoining the Walk for £215 (47) and three years later it was ornamented with a grotto. Again the cost was underestimated for the grotto costing £88.13.0 to build instead of the £50 allowed,(48) but £25 of this sum was deducted, as the cost of Mr.Carr the builder, purchasing his freedom.(49) In 1768 the wooden bridge was replaced with a stone one costing some £200 (50), but upkeep alone of the Walk made a constant call on the Corporation funds for gardeners, plants and trees, and no year went by without some expense on New Walk. Between 1745 and 1759, exclusive of the Pikeing Well, the Walk was costing an average of £15 p.a.(51) By the end of the century this was substantially more;

(43)CKnight, op.cit., 538

(44) eg. YCAB 1740/1 at a salary of £1.0.0 p.a.

(45) YHB 43 f 44

(46) YCAB 1740/1

(47) YHB 43 f 318

(48) YHB 43 ff 389, 394

(49) YCAB 1757-8; YHB 43 f 394; YHB 44 f 18

(50) YCAB passim.

(51) YCAB 1768/9

between 1790 and 1799, despite extensive improvements in 1782 and 1783, the average cost per annum was £25 (52), and in 1824 improvements at New Walk cost £812.7.2d.(53)

It was however of benefit to the City, and the Council recognised the same fact, when they subscribed £50 to the Assembly Rooms in 1732/3.(54) But by 1800 York's social life was changing. The races were decreasingly well patronised,(55) and in their stead different pastimes were being provided. The Corporation played a significant part in their promotion giving financial backing to the Theatre, the Library and the Philosophical Society. In 1821 and 1822 the Corporation subscribed £200 for improving the Avenues to the Theatre (56), but it was in a decayed state with the outer wall about to collapse.(57) It was put in repair however for £8.17.4d,(58) and in 1826 the Corporation paid £74 for a new wardrobe room at the Theatre.(59) In 1834 more extensive improvements were started for an arcade along the front, ornamental lights and decorations, a new stage and central heating. The total cost by December 1835 was £777.12.0d.(60)

(52) YCAB passim.

(53) YCAB 1824/5.

(54) YCAB 1732-3

(55) VCH 267

(56) YCAB 1821 and 1822/3

(57) Finance Committee Minutes E77 February 3rd 1821

(58) YCAB 1823/4.

(59) E77 27.1.1826; YCAB 1825/6.

(60) YCAB 1835/6

This property belonged to the Corporation but a genuine concern for the cultural and social life of the town was apparent in their subscription of £200 in 1827 towards the new hall for the Yorkshire Philosophical Society (61), their annual subscription to the Concerts (62) and their promotion of the new Library for which they paid £3,344..7..6d in building costs (63), believing it to be "very desirable" to forward a measure calculated to promote the advantage and convenience of the public.(64)

The aesthetic quality of their towns was not totally ignored by the city fathers of Boston and Nottingham however. In the earlier eighteenth century when Nottingham was still the resort of gentry. The Corporation subscribed to the planting and making of walkways, arbours and leisure areas. In 1707 the Chamberlains gave £10 towards making a walk to the Leen "to accommodate the water drinkers...."(65). In the following year they gave £10 towards making a new bowling green (66), and during the same period contributed "largely" to the great expense of providing walks and an arbour with many young trees for the "Gentlemen Ladyes and other persons".(67) Often the provisions were not

(61) YCAB 1827/8
 (62) YCAB 1829/30
 (63) Finance Committee Minutes K110 1834/1835
 (64) K110 February 3rd 1834
 (65) NHB 3473 f 15
 (66) NHB 3475 f 11a
 (67) NHB 3475 f 16a

costly; in 1724 the Chamberlains provided twenty willow sets at St. Ann's Well for 1/6d, and some elm trees for £1.9.2d (68). Still towards the close of the century, the Corporation continued to provide trees to beautify various areas. They ordered 1,000 Italian Poplars in 1769 (69), and in 1780 planted 100 Ash trees from Bartholomew Style to the top of the hill going down to St. Ann's Well (70), but the removal of the Elm trees in the market place in 1791 (71) indicates the growing importance of trade and manufacture in the town and its decline as a genteel centre for nobility.

Even at Boston, where aesthetic concerns were least apparent and trees were generally planted for economic and farming purposes (72), the Civic support for the Assembly Rooms, with its card room and ballroom and of the playhouse and theatre (73) indicated some recognition of the necessity for, and value of, leisure pursuits.

The interest and commitment of the three unreformed councils in the sphere of improvement are apparent. Already in the early eighteenth century improvements had been effected by each of the three councils; the Butter Cross Assembly Rooms at Boston; the Mansion House at York; the Exchange at Nottingham, and as the century progressed, the urge

(68) Nottingham Vouchers 1801 E124

(69) NHB 3529 f 11

(70) NHB 3540 f 17; Nottingham vouchers 1813A 54

(71) J. Sutton, Nottingham Date Book 1750-1850 (1852) 191

(72) eg. BCAB 1730/1 70 trees £25.17.6d, 51 trees £19.2.0d

(73) eg. Playhouse BCAB 1784/5 £5.0.1½; 1789/90 £63.15.6½;
Theatre BCAB 1797/8 £13.14.4½; 1799/1800 £2.18.2d;
1800/01. £11.1.1d

to improve increased. At York it was seen more in the streets than in public buildings, at Nottingham it was apparent only in the Shambles and Market, and at Boston it was seen in its most advanced state—the Cooper's Row project.

The momentum built up however, and the nineteenth century saw each conciliar body at a peak of concern for improvement. From the foregoing figures the following table of improvements can be constructed for the early 1800's.:-

Boston:-

1801 to 1823.	The Bridge ($\frac{1}{2}$ costs to be repaid)	26,364.	16.	7
1816	Fish Market	1,233.	14.	8
1817	Old Fish Market	320.	0.	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1816-1822	Gaol	5,237.	9.	4
1820	Market Place Shops	674.	2.	5
1819 to 1823	Assembly Rooms designs	109.	14.	0
	Assembly Rooms building	17,552.	7.	8
1825-1834	Assembly Rooms upkeep	800.	16.	2
1823	Market Place Shops	598.	0.	0
1819 to 1829	Sheep Market	2,219.	17.	2
		<u>55,110.</u>	<u>18.</u>	<u>10$\frac{1}{2}$</u>

After Bridge repayments
 $\frac{1}{2}$ of £26,364.

41,928. 10. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

Nottingham:-

1814-1824	Exchange and Shambles	18,321.	17.	8
1825-1827	Market Place	2,094.	0.	11
1824	North Shambles	1,248.	17.	5
1826-1827	Dunkirk Shambles	1,253.	9.	0
1829-1830	Purchase of Langley Holland Shambles	5,861.	14.	0
		<u>28,779.</u>	<u>19.</u>	<u>0</u>

York:-

1809 to 1822	Ouse Bridge Costs evident in accounts.	6,285.	11.	6
1809-1810	Foss Bridge	3,000.	0.	0
1810	Guildhall	5,500.	0.	0
1824	New Walk	812.	7.	2
1826	Cattle Market	10,359.	12.	6
1826	Thursday Market	426.	16.	3
1827	Hay weigh	291.	7.	3
1829 to 1830	Layertorpe Bridge	1,425.	0.	0
1831	Mansion House	3,981.	0.	0
1835	Theatre	777.	12.	0
1835	Library	3,344.	7.	6
		<u>36,203.</u>	<u>14.</u>	<u>2</u>

The Municipal Commissioners submitted slightly different figures. At Boston and York they underestimated the cost of improvements. Their figure for Boston was only £48,529 largely because of a lower figure for the Assembly Rooms and the total Bridge costs, although they did take the full costs of the bridge into account (74). At York their figure was £28,855 principally through the omission of the Theatre and Library expenses incurred after their visit, the omission of Thursday Market and the Hay weigh, and lower figures for other items.(75) They did however include other costs not included here. Nevertheless they were satisfied with their findings. At Nottingham however the Commissioner was disappointed. He calculated the cost of the Exchange to be higher and estimated total expenditure on improvements between 1814 and 1832 to be £30,178 (76). Yet between 1812 and 1832 he found sales, loans and ordinary receipts amounted to £114,896. £93,996 therefore remained "of which nothing deserving of mention has been applied to the benefit of the town".(77) He did not blame corruption but thriftlessness, yet his calculations illustrate the shortcomings of his own investigations as much as those of the Council. The method of financial report adopted by the

(74) MCR 2158
 (75) MCR 1757
 (76) MCR 2000
 (77) MCR 2005

Municipal Commissioners at Nottingham was quite different from those used at Boston and York. In the latter Boroughs the extraordinary income only was compared with expenditure or improvements; but at Nottingham the total product of extraordinary and ordinary revenues were used for this purpose. By so doing, the Commissioner discounted ordinary expenditure from year to year as insignificant, yet, if some of the annual expenses were of questionable value, others were an important and inevitable part of Borough finance. Notable amongst these was the upkeep of the Corporation Estates. The Commissioners did not generally include Capital Expenditure on the Corporation Estates in their consideration of improvements, since these were not of direct public benefit, yet in all three Boroughs these made a significant demand on the Chamber funds, and at Nottingham between 1823 and 1833, incurred with other minor improvements, further expenditure amounting to £9,546. (78)

More importantly, while in each Report the Corporate debt was noted, as too the fact that the improvements contributed to the contracting of the debts, no mention was made of the consequent interest charges which greatly increased the annual financial commitments of the Council. The annual interest charges on loans, annuities and tontines should be added to the capital costs of the improvements.

(78) see Chapter 10.

More significant perhaps is the failure to indicate just how much of the civic income was required each year in the maintenance and repair of property; civic tenements, staithes and quays, the walls at York, the harbour at Boston, the fields and meadows at Nottingham. Less spectacular than the public improvements which occurred, these regular repairs and maintenance bills nevertheless burdened the Chamber funds relentlessly each year.

The unreformed Corporations examined here were not yet the Municipal Authorities which modern towns require. Yet they increasingly recognised a need for town improvement and took their place in forwarding many schemes closely related to the economic well-being of their towns and themselves. Their capacity to promote town development rested on their financial well-being and based as that was on property, they ignored their own possessions at the risk of the town. Yet the limitations of the system were becoming apparent. Within these limits they showed rather more interest in, and concern for, their Bbroughs than many have suggested.

CHAPTER 10

REPAIRS AND MAINTENANCE

In each of the three Boroughs, the Chamberlains were annually faced with a continual stream of bills, large and small, for the general repair and maintenance of the town and Corporation Estates. The day to day upkeep of public places, staiths, meadows, ditches, streets, buildings and tenements dominate the accounts throughout the period from 1660 to 1835. Some of these developed into major items of expenditure, as did the repair of the Walls at York, and the maintenance of the Staiths, quays and harbour at Boston and York, yet they were responsibilities which, by their constancy, and unexciting nature, might be easily overlooked were they not so apparent in the annual accounts.

The Walls at York required continued and increasing attention, in many years entailing the expenditure of major sums. These were sometimes associated with particular improvements rather than repairs. Thus in 1731 Layerthorpe Postern was widened (1), in 1780 Skeldergate Postern was widened (2), in 1815 the North East corner of Monkbar barbican was removed (3) and in 1826 the barbican was removed from Micklegate bar, Snowden & Buckley contracting for the improvements at £250.(4) More often however, large sums were spent on the walls simply in order to keep them upright. As a result of the Civil War extensive repairs were necessary and in 1665 Duke Albemarle noting the "very defective" state of the walls at York requested immediate repair in light of the "late designs of some discontented persons in the north to make a disturbance".(5) The repairs were carried out (6), and the accounts for 1665/6 record amongst the bills £17.3.7 for work done by Gyles at Bootham bar.(7) Extensive work however continued to be necessary. In 1666 the section from Monk bar to Layerthorpe was repaired; in 1669 Bootham walls were put in order and in 1673 the walls from Walmgate

(1) YHB 42 f 142

(2) CKnight, op. cit., 568

(3) *ibid.*, 569

(4) YHB October 27th 1826

(5) Letters E/85 28th Dec. 1665

(6) " E/85 1st Jan. 1665/6

(7) YCAB 1665/6

to the Red Tower and from North Street to Walmgate.(8)
 In 1721 the Hall agreed that the £21 hitherto spent
 annually on the walls be increased to £40,(9) yet
 only a year later the repair of the walls in Micklegate
 cost £79.17.1½d (10) and in 1723 repair of the bar walls
 cost £87.4.2½d.(11) In the next four years repairs of
 the walls and bars totalled £212.19.8d(12). The annual
 costs of upkeep then began to lessen, but by the middle
 of the eighteenth century the walls were again falling
 into decay. In 1745 £76.3.0 was spent repairing Castlegate
 and Skoldergate posterns and building the wall between
 Castlegate postern Lane and Walmgate; £63 was spent on
 mason's work at Walmgate bar walls; £6.9.6 on Monk Bar
 walls and £12 on old stone from Clementhorpe (13). In the
 following year a piece of the "Rampire Wall" fell down (14),
 but the destructive force now was not armies but the
 citizens who were breaking down the bar walls for stone.(15)
 In 1753 £281.5.11 was spent repairing Micklegate bar (16).
 It is not surprising therefore that in 1798 the Corporation
 investigated its power to demolish the walls.(17) Council
 was approached but opinion ^{was} divided. The Recorder and Edward
 Law interpreted past repairs as implying for the Corporation

(8) C.Knight, op. cit., 487

(9) YHB 42 f 12

(10) YCAB 1722/3

(11) YCAB 1723/4

(12) YCAB 1724 to 1727

(13) YCAB 1745/6

(14) YCAB 1746/7

(15) YHB 43/414 16th March 1753; YHB55 12th June 1781

(16) YCAB 1753/4

(17) YHB 46 f 278

a prescriptive obligation to maintenance which precluded any right to demolish the walls or use the materials. Robert Sinclair however was of the opinion that the walls or bars may at any time be taken down "at the discretion will and pleasure of the Mayor and Commonalty";(18)but the Corporation decided to apply for an Act of Parliament.(19) Statutory sanction was not obtained; nevertheless the Common Hall agreed that Skeldergate Postern should be demolished, and work began.(20) On grounds of loss of his toll the Archbishop of York applied for an injunction and the verdict was found for him.(21) In November 1807 however he died, and the civic authorities renewed their demolition orders with vigour,(22) but a suit filed in the Exchequer in 1811 restrained the Corporation (23) and repairs of the walls and bars were again put in hand. Demolition of barbicans and posterns did occur, but in 1829 the annual meeting of the York footpath Association congratulated the Corporation on their renovation of Micklegate and Monk bars despite the removal of the barbicans.(24) Work at Monk bar in 1825 and 1826, including compensation for property, cost the Council £516.11.6d and in the following

(18) Giles MSS. Y352 D10; YHB 46 ff 367,368

(19) YHB May 28th 1800

(20) YHB Feb. 3rd 1807

(21) G.Benson, An account of the City and County of the City of York (1968) III 88-91

(22) Ibid.

(23) Giles MSS Y352 D10

(24) Giles MSS Y352 D10 27th July 1829

two years the restoration of Micklegate bar cost them £584.13.4.(25) The extent of the necessary repairs was however by now outstripping the general civic funds. The Footpath Association acknowledged this when, in 1829, they mooted a comprehensive plan for restoration of the walls by public subscription (26) which started with repairs from North Street to Skeldergate at a cost of £2,793.(27) It is quite apparent why the Council had favoured demolition; their other schemes of improvement were priorities in the immediate term, but in the long term the walls around York contributed significantly to the town's tourist trade.

Another area of constant and often heavy expense was the maintenance of the staiths and quays which at Boston were a major and recurrent item in the Chamberlains' accounts. Expenses of this nature were also incurred at York⁽²⁸⁾ but they occurred much more frequently at Boston.

(25) YCAB 1825 to 1828

(26) Giles MSS Y352 D10;YHB 50 ff 86 to 89; 210

(27) G.Benson, op.cit., III 90

(28) eg. YCAB 1725/6 Repairing Tophams Staith £39.0.0;
YCAB 1729/30 The Staith £24.0.4½;
YCAB 1742/3 Ouse Bridge Staith and jetty £28.4.0;
F.Drake, op.cit., II 276,277.

Boston Accounts. (29)

1695/6	Work at Butchers Row Quay and elsewhere	36. 0. 0
1727/8	Work at Bowling Green Jetty	29.16. 0
1758/9	Quays	73.14. 9
1759/60	Doughty Quay	70.16. 3
1767/8	Packhouse, Doughty & others	82. 3. 3
1772/3	Doughty	52. 3. 9
1779/80	Work at Packhouse Quay	38. 0. 0
	Work at Doughty Quay	14.19. 7
1780/1	Doughty Quay	50. 0. 9
	Packhouse Quay	17. 6. 6
1782/3	Bowling Green Jetty	42. 5. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1783/4	Doughty Quay	158. 6. 5
	Dock's Jetty	91.10. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1785/6	Floating Jetty	63. 9.10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1802	- Estimate for facing Packhouse Quay with a brick wall.	499.17. 6 (30)

The major bills are easily identified, but from year to year many smaller payments were made. In addition the haven banks and the provision of bouys and beacons amongst the constantly shifting sandbanks of the Witham Estuary called for constant attention. For the latter the Corporation did receive "Beaconage" and tolls, but how far these met the disbursements is not entirely clear from the Chamberlains' accounts. In his annual accounts, each Chamberlain entered the receipts and disbursements for beaconage, but these sums rarely reflect the final state of account, for the Chamberlain often made further payments for the Inspector of the bouys and beacons or the Pilots for placing bouys, amongst his annual

(29) BCAB passim.

(30) 5/A/1/2 October 22nd 1802

salaries, and amongst "incidental expenses" he entered surveys of the deeps which may have been paid for from the beaconage funds. Thus where separate accounts of bouys and beacons funds remain they invariably show a heavier expenditure than the "bouys and beacons" return by the Chamberlains and cannot always be traced in the Chamber accounts.

Bouys and Beacons Accounts. (31)

Chamberlains' Accounts

1790/1.

Income. 181.13. 2

Income 181.13. 2

Expenditure

Expenditure

J. Day Salary 35. 0. 0

"Bouys & Beacons" 137. 8. 7½

Other expenses 120.16. 4

Salaries J. Day 35. 0. 0

Total: £155.16. 4

Total: £172. 8. 7½

Balance + £25.16.10.

Balance + £9. 4. 6½

1800/01.

Income. 174. 9. 0

Income 174. 9. 0

Expenditure

Expenditure

Collector 21.16.2½

"Bouys & Beacons" 183. 1. 7½

Pilots 46.18.0

"Salaries" 46.18.0

Other Exps. 175.11.0

Total: 244. 5. 2½

229.19. 7½

Add Surveys of deep in 'incidents' 25.12. 8

255.12.3½

Balance-£69.16.11½

Balance-£81.3.3½

(31) 7/A/1 1790 to 1805; 7/B/1/3 odd years 1748-1810.

However, using the Buoys and Beacons Accounts it is clear that by 1800 expenditure was generally higher than the beaconage receipts, and it was reported that although in the eight years before 1799 there was a net gain by the Chamberlains of £264, averaging £33 per annum, (32) in the eight years afterwards there was a net deficiency of £277.15.11½, and "the disbursements are likely to be in the future rather greater, while the Receipts are expected to be nearly the same".(33) By 1809 the average loss over the previous three years had risen to £53.17.2 per annum (34), but after 1812 the accounts were kept independently of the Chamber funds by the Corporation as Harbour Trust under the Act of 1812.(35) The net gain or loss to the Corporation whilst maintaining the buoys and beacons was, overall, probably not great, but on balance may have been a loss. Thus the gain reported in the eight years before 1799 was in fact spent on the purchase of a pilot boat for £262.7.1d (36). Yet these were small annual deficiencies of little significance which nevertheless contributed to the annual burden of

(32) 7/A/1 May 16th 1805

(33) 7/A/2 12th May 1808

(34) 7/A/2 April 13th 1809

(35) 52 Geo.III c 105

(36) 7/A/1 August 15th 1799; ECAB 1799/1800

repairs and maintenance.

The maintenance of the haven banks and river was a more costly business, particularly in the early eighteenth century when the banks figured in the accounts almost every year. In 1710 the Council employed "soddmen" to repair the haven banks for £50 (37), and over the next eight years generally paid the boatmen £30 per annum (38) for the same work. Thereafter annual salaries for the repairs of the haven banks cease, presumably because the threat to sue them for not doing their work did not bring about any change, and they were therefore dismissed.(39) However heavy payments for repairs to the banks occur irregularly and small payments in most years. In 1727, sodd work in Fydell's pasture cost £93.10.0; in 1730 extensive work at Holmes Point cost some £200 (40), and from the ten accounts which remain between 1750 and 1763 total expenditure on the banks was £254.16.8d. Much the same trend can be traced through the rest of the century, but by 1800 it was evident that large-scale improvements were required to alter the course of the Witham at Boston.

(37) BCAB 1710/11

(38) BCAB 1710 . 1718

(39) BAB 5 ff 332b, 333 June & October 1719

(40) BCAB 1727; 1730

The Corporation sponsored a survey of the Haven from the Grand Sluice to the outfall (41), which was carried out under John Rennie's instructions by Mr. Murray and Mr. Bower at a total cost of £179.2.1d (42). Rennie's subsequent report however made it clear that real improvements were beyond the scope of the Corporation, for his cheapest estimate was £113,700 for straightening and narrowing the channel of the river. A new cut would have cost £139,700 (43), and the Corporation agreed that such estimates "were of too great a magnitude for the Corporation to take upon themselves to accomplish in almost any degree".(44) They attempted to obtain the concurrence of the Witham Commissioners, and other interested parties, but nothing further occurred until Rennie conducted a second survey in 1811 "in order that application may be made to Parliament to carry such improvements into execution".(45) The Act obtained in 1812 at a cost of some £1831.6.6 (46) for legal and administrative costs provided for the regulation of buoys and beacons and the improvement of the haven and removal of projections by increased tonnage, wharfage and keyage tolls and loans.(47)

(41) BAB June 16th 1800.

(42) 9/A/5/111

(43) BAB October 11th 1800

(44) *ibid.*

(45) BAB April 20th 1811. His survey cost the Corporation £161.2.6 BAB July 6th 1812

(46) BAB March 19th, April 27th 1812, June 18th 1813. Town Clerk £967.15.8 for bill; Feb. 1st, June 18th 1813 £552.3.7 Town Clerk to defeat opposition to Bill.
BCAB 1811/12 £500, 1812/13 £450, 1813/14 £881.6.6.

(47) 52 Geo III c 105 Amended 7 & 8 Geo IV c 79 1827.

£1381.6.6d was received back from the harbour trust in 1812 as repayment for the money advanced by the Chamberlains towards obtaining the Act, but the Corporation proved willing to make loans to enable the Harbour Trust to start their work. In 1814 they lent £2,000 (48), and in 1823 they promised up to £30,000 to carry the scheme into execution.(50) In fact however, the patronage was often reversed, the Harbour Trust lending far more to the Corporation after 1820 than the Chamberlains had lent to them.(51)

Nevertheless the maintenance of the river and harbour was vital to Boston's trade and for most of the period from 1660 to 1835 the Corporation, often in small ways, undertook a responsibility towards their upkeep and improvement.

Equally vital to the welfare of town and corporation was the maintenance of the property which belonged to each Borough Authority. With the highest percentage of their ordinary income accruing from their land and dwellings, none of the Corporations could afford to neglect their revenue producing property, for if its productivity fell, the town benefits, however small must fall proportionately. This economic fact, and the size of

(48) BCAB 1812/13

(49) BCAB 1814/15

(50) BCAB 1823; BAB June 19th 1823

(51) e.g. BCAB 1820 to 1829; 7/A/1/1 Harbour account 1828

their estates inevitably occasioned regular expenditure upon house repairs and farm or land maintenance by planting fencing, or ditching. As with other regular repairs, major investment became necessary from time to time, and in the early nineteenth century each of the three Councils showed a clear awareness of this fact. Between 1829 and 1832 Nottingham undertook extensive improvements of their estate in Hockley, spending £2,472.8.0 on new shops and houses; improvement of a house on Leenside in 1833 cost £315.19.6 and in 1826 they spent well over £2,000 demolishing old property in Carter Gate and York Street and building new houses there and on Gilliver Hill.⁽⁵²⁾ The Municipal Commissioner congratulated the Corporation on their property management which "appears to have been judicious, the income having been for many years gradually increasing".⁽⁵³⁾ Yet he made no mention of the capital expenditure made on the Corporate property, probably because he did not consider it to be of "public" benefit. However from 1823 the Chamberlains entered in their accounts the annual cost of "improvements". This category was accurately used until 1835 and comprised new schemes or major renovations, but not the cost of running repairs. Improvements did not occur in every

(52) NCAD 1829-1833

(53) MCR 2006

year, thus no such entry was made in the accounts for 1828, 1832, 1834 or 1835. Over the remaining nine years from 1823 to 1833 a total of £12,087.16.3d was recorded to have been spent on improvements. This figure included the expense of the Dunkirk and North Shambles, and £14. 17. 0 on timber, and £24.2.0 spent on spouts for the Exchange in 1823 and 1824, but none of the other improvements already mentioned in Chapter 9. Thus a further £9546.10.10 was spent on improvements between 1823 and 1833 in addition to the £28,779.19.0d on 'public' improvements in the Exchange and Shambles.

Chamberlain's total for Improvements 1823-1833	=	£12087.16. 3
North & Dunkirk Shambles:	2502. 6. 5	
Timber for Exchange.	14.17. 0	
Spouts for Exchange.	<u>24. 2. 0</u>	
	2541. 5. 5	
		<u>£9546. 10. 10</u>

This £9546 was spent primarily on improvements of the Corporation estates houses and shops, but included smaller work on the Shambles, such as the gates or glassing over

Heavy expenditure on improvement of estates is evident in Boston and York too. In 1821 a farmhouse with barn,

stable and farm buildings, was built by Boston Corporation in the West Fen at a cost of £545. Between 1820 and 1826 Boston Chamberlains spent £826.5.8d on the fen farms and £269.0.5d on Burnett's farm in 1831/2.(54) But the farms and other tenements figured regularly in a small way in the accounts too; in 1773 £2.5.9d was paid for ditching; in 1776 £22.4.4d for chimneys, in 1779 £11.9.0 for Well's stables, £1.12.9d for Moore's house, £13.18.0 for Musson's farm, £32.19.7½d for Jackson's farm, £1.6.3d for Webster's house, £33.4.2d for Tasker's house and £3.10.6d for Darnill's house. Some of these appeared in the next year's accounts too, together with £11.16.2d for planting trees in the fen, but the 6/4d for shops near the Churchyard, or the 6/10d paid out on a farm are no less common occurrences in the Chamberlains' annual accounts (55), and occurred with equal frequency in the early eighteenth century.(56) Such expenses were a constant and substantial part of every years account, and ample illustration is evident only from the accounts themselves. But how much of this money was spent constructively or usefully, and how much was wasted on continual patching of inadequate structure, it is not possible to determine. Only

(54) BCAB 1820 to 1835

(55) BCAB 1773 to 1781

(56) e.g. BAB 5f 329 farm in Wiberton repaired for £33 f331 stables and brewhouse built, and numerous other orders for miscellaneous repair of houses - passim.

individual examples provide any answer and it is clear that some properties were left to decay until they were almost wholly unproductive. In 1802 the Nottingham Bridgemaasters reported that one of their houses in Listergate was so ruinous that it could not be inhabited;(57) in 1823 a house near Saint Peter's Churchyard belonging to the School Estate at Nottingham was in danger of falling in.(58) It would be unwise to assume that similar situations did not arise among the Chamber Estate properties. At York several houses in Mint Yard were in so dilapidated and ruinous a condition that in 1831 William Bradley the tenant "quitted without notice in consequence of the buildings being positively uninhabitable".(59) The Corporation had however only twenty years previously spent some £2906 building new stables in Mint Yard and a new road (60), yet because of inattention elsewhere it was judiciously decided that in 1833 the only remedy lay in complete demolition and replanning of the area. The new stables were presumably razed too for the new Saint Leonard's Place scheme (61). The Corporation lacked forethought and forward planning, and they paid for it financially. Saint George's buildings at York were, in 1833, found to be in

(57) 3987 f 21

(58) 3987 f 88

(59) K 110 Feb.3rd 1832

(60) YCAH 1811 to 1822

(61) K 110 February 3rd 1832

dilapidation, yet attempts had been made to patch them up, consequently taxes, assessments and repair costs almost equalled the annual rental income (62), and this, despite a decision in 1830 that a viewand inspection of the City Estates and their condition be made.(63) The repairs costing £10 stated to be necessary in 1818, but postponed, were perhaps postponed too long (64), and there are other indications that repairs were avoided at times. In 1816 York Corporation declared that they could not afford to repair the old House of Correction, and thereby lost a prospective tenant, yet Peter Atkinson was subsequently ordered to let the property to the best advantage he could.(65) The suggested sale of York Tavern in 1824 illustrates both the continual expense of property maintenance and the lack of forward planning. This building had been purchased in 1806 for £3603.10.3d (66) and over the fifteen years from 1810 £704.3.6 was spent on repair and improvement there.(67) In 1824 however the York Finance Committee recommended that it be sold being "a species of property entailing very considerable expenses annually upon the Corporation"(68), but their advice was not taken.

(62) K 110 Feb.3rd 1833

(63) K 110 Feb.3rd 1830

(64) E77 24.4.1818, 29.5.1818

(65) E77 8.4.1816, 24.4.1816, 14.6.1816, 28.6.1816, 26.7.1816

(66) YCAD 1806 to 1808

(67) YCAD 1808 to 1825

(68) E77 31.12.1824

Yet repair and maintenance of Corporation estates inevitably placed a constant demand on the Chamber funds. At Nottingham it was reported in 1829 that during the last three years repairs had averaged a cost of £700 per annum, but with the property now in "good repair" the costs were expected to lessen "considerably" for "some time".(69)

The Corporate and public property continually required attention, sometimes in a major way, sometimes simply by the provision of a lock, or a glass window, a post or rail. The Chamber Accounts in all three boroughs are evidence of a constant flow of bills for minor work and repairs which indicate clearly the extent to which borough finance was a matter of insignificant and unnoteworthy, yet essential, maintenance and provision. The following extracts give some indication of the form . which minor expenses could take:

(69) 3987 f 185.

Nottingham 1696/97. (1)

Bill "For scouring ye Ditches and Common Issues"	
"Jan. 25th Rich ^d John George and W ^d Websters	
"Trivett one day each att ye dikes	0. 2.11
March, April May	-----
"June 12. Jno Husse 2 days layin Hamill in	
"Cawsey Poole ditch 20d ale 2d	0. 1.10
"For ale for Maslin & Crésland"	0. 1. 4
"To Bakers men wn. made ye Pingle	
bridge in ale".	<u>8</u>
	4. 4. 5 (1)

Nottingham 1697/98. (2)

Bill for "Worke done for the Chamberlains since	
the 25 of October 1697"	
" by Henry James a paire of bands & stubb for	
Cowlhouses"	0 0 5
Nov. 3rd "by Mr. Wallis 20 planking brags"	0 0 10
-----	-----
May 4th "by your selfe 10 flat hed brags"	0 0 5
"Same day 2 paire of handshakds, 4 staples	
2 duple cotters 2 chains for the correxion house".	0 2 4
-----	-----
Sept. 16th "ffor a clasping thinble a stay &	
brags for est craft (East Croft) Gate	
waxed 4 pound"	0 1 8
	<u>3.14. 7</u>

Boston 1710/11 Account. Several bills. (3)

A rail at the bridge	1. 0
Stone to Butchers quay	4. 0
Stone freight	3. 8. 3
Twenty tons of stone	2.10.0
Labour	2.0
Sodds to Butchers row quay	2.10.0
Sea bouy	1.15.0
Mending leathers	2.2
Gathering stones	3.0
Poles	6.6
Getting timber out of the docks	3.8
Watching when getting timber.	8.0
Getting 10 deals from the river	1.0
Coggles used in Bargate.	<u>3.0</u>

- (1) Notta Chamberlains Vouchers 1798 W no 155
 (2) " " " 1798 X no 127
 (3) BCAB 1710/11

However small, these minor repair jobs, often in large numbers, contributed to the annual cost of repairing and maintaining the borough and public properties. To assess what proportion of the annual income was spent in this way is not easy, even when the accounts contained a sub-division for "repairs". At Boston the Chamberlains first made annual entries in their accounts under the heading "Repairs" in 1801. This category did not include major improvements such as the new bridge and the market, neither did it include the cost of maintaining the bouys and beacons, the sea banks, or payments to the Commissioners for road and pavement repairs. On the other hand it did frequently encompass expenses other than repairs, such as the expenses in 1802 of Election Day £13.0.3; the cost of attending Horncastle £10.10.0 and the payment for tithes £19.5.6d.(70) "Sundry" expenses were often included comprising work, purchase of stamps and postage of letters; election expenses included in 1831 and 1832 totalled £298.9.7d, and in 1803 £400 paid to the volunteers was included.(71) Non repairs of this amount were not however frequently included. The total "repair" costs accounted by the Boston Chamberlains between 1801

(70) BCAB 1802/3

(71) BCAB passim.

and 1834 averaged £472 per annum, (72) but because of the inaccuracies and misnomers, this figure is less reliable than those given by the Chamberlains at Nottingham who, after 1823, entered in their accounts a total sum for repairs, and a total for improvements.

Improvements comprised any new scheme or major refurbishing. Both categories were accurately used except for the cost of repairs and improvements in the market place, the meadows and the Exchange rooms which were entered independently.

The annual cost of repairs as entered by the Chamberlains thus averaged £591 per annum between 1823 and 1834.

Repairs - Nottingham 1823 to 1834.

1823	271.10.10	1826	700. 4. 6	1829	519. 8. 8
1824	129. 9.10	1827	620. 14. 1	1830	951.13. 0
1825	352. 1.10	1828	796. 2. 0	1831	546.15.10
				1832	704.15.6
				1833	815. 4. 2
				1834	<u>687. 0. 9</u>

Total: £7095.1.0

If the total repair and administration costs of maintaining the meadows, market place and exchange rooms are added to this figure, the average rises to £946 per annum. (73)

(72) BCAB 1801-1834. Accounts remain for 33 of these years, and 1825 has been omitted since the Chamberlain omitted to use the "Repairs" category. The total sum of £15105. 2. 0½d was thus divided by 32 to give the average.

(73) NCAB 1823-1834

From the Nottingham figures it is clear that general repairs, as distinct from improvements, were a major item of expenditure for the Chamber funds.

The Chamberlains' accounts at York do not lend themselves to any distinction between the cost of repairs and improvements. Here the Chamberlains from the 1670's entered as one category the cost of all buildings and repairs. This included improvements, road repairs and general repairs. Yet it was not necessarily all inclusive. Thus for example in 1751 the Chamberlains' figure for buildings and repairs was £47.13.10, yet the sum total of all entries in the Account, which may be construed as repair and improvement work, totals £201.1.0½d. A small discrepancy of this nature occurs in most years, but by the nineteenth century the discrepancy could be great, with the cost of improvements like the cattle market entered under the heading "expenses" instead of amongst "building and repairs".(74) The Chamberlains' figures from this subdivision invariably therefore record a sum lower than the actual costs; nevertheless the total outlay in "buildings and repairs" rose markedly during the eighteenth and early

(74)eg. 1770; 1810; See appendix XI XIII

nineteenth centuries.

Annual averages of total outlay on buildings and repairs
as recorded by York Chamberlains.

1750-1759	£167	1810-1819	£1636
1770-1779	£283	1830-1835	£2318
1790-1799	£573		

The Nottingham figures illustrate that taken alone, repair bills constituted a significant annual expense. Considered together with the cost of improvements and the provision of amenities like cleansing, lighting, watching, fire and water services, and the annual salaries of labourers, workmen and working officials like the Surveyors, they constituted a major part of annual expenditure in the unreformed borough. The analyses of expenditure presented in appendix XI have serious limitations, particularly in this branch of expenditure where a single large improvement can distort the percentages drastically. Nevertheless the York figures demonstrate that these aspects of borough life were consistently one of the three heaviest items in the annual expenses, increasing during the period together with the cost of interest and assessment charges. (75) At Boston

(75) Appendix XI

repairs and improvements, excluding salaries, between 1801-1834 accounted for £70,090, loan repayments, interest on bonds annuities and tontines £78,125 out of a total expenditure of £221,411. Together therefore they accounted for over half the total expenditure exclusive of the cost of salaries paid to workmen. At Nottingham repairs and improvements and the expenses of the Exchange Rooms and Market Place, exclusive of salaries, between 1823 and 1835 totalled £30,703, annuity, interest and principal repayments £40,528 out of a total expenditure of £99,362.

Repairs and improvements necessary for the upkeep and development of the borough were a major item of expense to the three borough councils throughout the period 1660-1835. Not easy to quantify accurately, it is nevertheless clear that they presented an annual and steadily increasing demand on borough finance.

CHAPTER 11: FEASTS AND FESTIVITIES

The largest financial demand which the Chamberlains in all three boroughs annually faced was associated less directly with the needs of the local populace and economy than with the nature of civic life itself. The civic body had a certain dignity to uphold; it was for this reason that the Mayor was not only of good social standing, but salaried too, and given added status by provisions varying from the Mansion House at York to the convex light outside his door at Nottingham(1). The need for dignity and respect explains the harsh treatment of Miles Stapleton in 1664 who was fined £500 for striking the Lord Mayor at York,(2) or the dismissal of one of the 24 in 1727 because of his poverty (3), and the insistence that members of the civic body wear special gowns at all elections and on certain festival days around the borough.(4) The civic dignity was considered to play a vital part in obtaining locally and nationally the respect which the Borough Council felt was fundamental to their role. Dignity however could be expensive, and

(1) See Chapters 9 & 8

(2) F. Drake, *op. cit.*, II 13

(3) YHB 48 f 89

(4) eg. York Acc 86/1; Boston Bye Laws 2/C/1 1653 and 1666
Nottingham NHB 3457 f 36

it took many forms, varying from the salaries given to Officers and the liveries given to the Town Cryer or Waits, to the treats and entertainments, presents and feasts referred to frequently in the bundles of vouchers and Chamberlains' Accounts. The feasting, the gaiety, the pomp and splendour were an aspect of civic life however which has aroused the gravest censure, from the Municipal Commissioners who in 1833 found it "impossible to justify" the expenditure of £200 by Nottingham Corporation on the Reform Bill rejoicing (5) to the observation by G. Tate that the authorities of Alnwick were "jolly men diligent in seizing on public events as occasions for indulgence in drinking feasting and uproarious enjoyment....."(6) Yet the customs and the criticisms are still with us today, with complaints in 1971 that "Nottingham Corporation is too busy junketing and spending its money on the scandalous waste of ceremonious occasions" (7), and the discovery in 1974 that Local Government reorganization had increased the cost of hospitality and "making friends" from £10,000 to £15,000 per annum. (8)

The Chamberlains Accounts from 1660 to 1835

(5) MCR 2007

(6) G. Tate, History of Alnwick (1868/9) I 474

(7) Nottingham Evening Post September 6th 1971

(8) ibid., January 14th 1974

are evidence that in all three boroughs feasts and celebrations were an integral part of civic life and expenditure. To give substance to their dignity and standing ^{each} Council held celebrations on important days in the civic calendar, and principal of these were the election days. These feasts however were invariably provided at the expense of the Officers concerned. At Nottingham the Mayors provided a feast, probably like that given by Thomas Sands in 1776 when "a great number of Gentlemen and principal Tradesmen were elegantly entertained at the Banqueting Rooms over the New Change...."(9) to celebrate their entrance into office on Michaelmas Day. The costs were met by the Mayor from his annual salary, as too the expense of providing four sessions dinners to two of which "it would be considered ungentlemanly on his part if he did not invite all the resident clothing of the body corporate".(10) At York also the celebrations on the Mayor's election and swearing (Feb.3rd) days were provided privately by the Mayors, although in 1609 the presence of "manie others of the meaner sorts of people" at the election banquets

(9) Nottingham Journal Oct.19th 1776

(10) J.Blackner, op.cit., 275

making "great disorder", obliged the Council to remove the feast from the Mayor's house to the Council Chamber in order to limit attendance to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, 24, Chamberlains, Common Council and head searchers. At the same time the size of the feasts had put the Lord Mayors to such "great charge and expenses... .. to the great hurt and impairing of diverse of their estates" that the election feast was limited to eight gallons of wine provided by the esquires and four pounds of sugar and "three dozen of bread" provided by the Mayor elect. Nevertheless the Mayors tried to charge the Common Council for some at least of the provisions. In 1698 the Lord Mayor submitted a bill for wine at his election and treating the officers on swearing day, but all except £5 for swearing day, was disallowed.(12) By 1830 however it had been decided that the Corporation dinner on February 3rd should be paid for from the Chamberlains' funds, for in this and the following five years the cost was recorded in the accounts, being allowed at a standard rate of £120 per annum after 1832.(13) Why this decision was taken is not clear, but since 1819 the Mayor had received a salary of only £52.10.0 per annum(14), which could in no way cover the costs of the entertainments

(12) YCAB 1698/9

(13) YCAB 1830-1835

(14) E77 23.1.1816; YCAB passim. £59.10.0 in some years.

which he had to give. At Boston the expense of dinners and entertainments was paid directly from the Chamber funds, but the Mayor's remaining salary was small for he received only £5 for expenses, rising to five guineas from 1760 until 1819, when his allowance of £400 was intended to cover all the entertainment costs previously met by the Chamberlain.⁽¹⁵⁾ As a consequence however the cost of the May day dinner, given after the oaths of Office had been taken, was paid to the new Mayor by the Chamberlains. Until 1721 the allowance for this was £30 per annum, but thereafter it stood at £50 until 1767 when it was raised by a further £10.⁽¹⁶⁾

The dinner held on the first day of each Mayoral year was however only one of the many celebrations held in each borough every year. In addition to these, dinners were given when accounts were passed, or when the Court Leet presentations were made and when the Assize was held. The York Chamberlains and auditors were annually given £3.10.0 between them for their dinner at the passing of their accounts, and the mayor was annually paid £20 for Four Sessions dinners until his salary was increased to £350 in 1735.⁽¹⁷⁾ In 1746 it was decided that the committee

(15) YCAB passim

(16) YCAB passim

(17) E101 ff139,140

who inspect the city books should have dinner at the expense of the Common Council,⁽¹⁸⁾ and in addition, the Chamber funds annually paid for the Highway Sessions dinner at Acomb, the cost of which rose from some £3 to £5 throughout the eighteenth century to £18 and £17 in 1807 and 1808.⁽¹⁹⁾ At Boston too rapid inflation set in during the 1800's. The annual account day dinner had until about 1760 been allowed for at £2 per annum, thereafter it rose to £3 and by 1780 to four guineas but by 1810 the allowance was £10 and by 1830 £20. Boston also held two Leet jury dinners annually and two Admiralty Court dinners which rose similarly in cost, and in addition a lavish Lady Day dinner and Four sessions dinners rose steadily in price between 1710 and 1830 from £14 and £22 to £25 and £80 in 1810 and £100 for the Lady Day dinner in 1830.⁽²⁰⁾ The Chamberlains at Nottingham too generally paid for two dinners and two suppers each year when the Mickletum or Court Leet jury made their presentments and gave up their accounts.⁽²¹⁾ The cost of the dinners varied:

(18) YHB 43 f219

(19) YCAB passim

(20) BCAB passim

(21) The actual frequency varied. In 1738, six jury dinners or suppers were paid for between November and September, but generally four payments were made.

in 1706 they amounted to £6.8.6 and £6.0.0 but in 1716 three dinners were paid for, each costing more than £9.(22) The Corporation was aware of the escalating costs as too of the breach of privilege which was taking place, and in October 1717 ordered that "whereas this Corporacon is much in debt and of late there has been a great deal of money expended yearly att the Mickletum jury dinners, to retrench the same.... for the future the Corporacon doe allow only the Mickletum jury men two shillings apiece each day they walk and the two pinders and woodwards who shall attend them to be allowed only 12 pence apice.... the said jury shall dine att St. Ann's Well as usuall and... neither the Major Aldermen or any other psons but the sd. jury and servants doe dine att the Corporacions charge".(23) The costs dropped considerably. In 1720 four Mickletum bills amounted to £11.10.4, but by 1787 they totalled £23.9.6 (24), and in 1811 it was ordered that the Leet jury should be allowed £42 only per annum to be paid to the foreman of the jury.(25) In most years however the income from fines was sufficient to meet these costs.(26).

(22) NCABE 1706/7 1799 F116; 1719/20 1800H 169

(23) NHB 3481 f4

(24) NCABE 1720/21 1801A 150; 1787/8 1814C IV; Vouchers 1814C

(25) NHB 3570 f 39

(26) Ledger B f123; Ledger C ff 128, 130, 801.

Other dinners which were provided included the one at the breaking of the East Croft Meadow, and the account day dinner which in 1735 cost £3.0.2 for the provision of a 10lb ham, two fowls, a goose, three ducks, a leg of mutton, two custard puddings, two apple pies, bread, rolls and butter, dressing, ale and a bottle of wine.(27) In 1770 the cost of the account day dinner was still only £2.16.6 (28), but in 1787 the dinner at giving up the accounts cost £6.2.4 and a further dinner when calling the books over cost £3.8.2 (29). The increased cost however was a direct result of the changed nature of the refreshment which now contained a significant quantity of wine.

While civic events provided for regular feasts, the general conduct of civic business was no less convivial. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Chamberlains' accounts are punctuated with bills from the Mayor's sergeant or from taverns and wine merchants for food, drink, pipes and tobacco. If a small sub-committee met to examine the accounts or conduct other business their refreshment was part of the normal practice; meetings to nominate Aldermen and other officials were made easier by the lubrication of wines and spirits. Thus at Nottingham a voucher for 1787

(27) NCABE 1735/6 1804 A6

(28) Vouchers 1811A33

(29) Vouchers 1814C Nos.1,8

details the expenses at a meeting to nominate an Alderman as follows:-

Eating	1. 8. 0	Ale and porter	5. 0
wine	18. 0	rum and brandy	8. 0
punch	3. 0	Servants eating and ale	<u>4. 0</u>
			<u>£3. 6. 0 (30)</u>

No doubt with such refreshments the Common council would be well pleased when nominees refused to stand, as did Alderman Shackleton at York in 1695, for they could look forward to another convivial meeting with "wyne and bread" to the value of some £3.12.0 (31). In 1700 wine, tobacco and pipes on the election of Sheriff Cornwall at York cost £2.10.6 (31), and on such occasions there may be "rowles" and sugar provided too. At a time when four bottles of sack and sugar cost only 8 /6d, these must have been happy occasions.(33)

Refreshments were always taken when views were made and small bills on this account occur with great frequency, itemizing a variety of goods and occasions from "pipes and bacy at Bridge" (1666/7)4d, to "Ald.Lamplugh and others viewing city lands at Stamford brigs" 3/6d (1668/9), or

(30) Vouchers 1814 B 53

(31) YCAB 1695/6

(32) YCAB 1700/1

(33) YCAB passim.

"To moneys paid for wallnutts and chaisnutts at the takeing possession of the house in the pavement" 18/0 (1671/2) (35) at York. The cost of views occurs in the Boston accounts too until 1770, but thereafter they generally cease, and had in any case, always been of small amount. At Nottingham they are, as at York, rather more frequent. In 1724 the accounts record the following "spent at Trent Bridge when at view for George Eaton's seller 4/10; ditto at Red Lyon 4/0; spent at Saint Ann's Well at 2 times upon viewing Halls cutting wood 10/6; spent at viewing Mr. Egginton's garden 3/0; spent when near St. Ann's 7/6; spent with Mr. Mayor and others at Flaming Sword 2/4d; spent with Mr. Mayor at Trent Bridge 4/0; ditto about boat 5/0; ditto at Copice (sic) 2/6d; spent with Mr. Mayor and others at Feathers 3/6d." (36) If the business was rather dry, every attempt was made to compensate for it. Wine bills at Nottingham however became increasingly large as the century passed. At both Boston and York it is clear that refreshments at committees and special meetings were usual; very few references suggest any greater indulgence, like the £5.13.6 paid to Mrs. Brearey at York in 1688 "for wyne which was att two houses", or the £3.19.0 paid in 1690

(35) YCAB 1666; 1668; 1671

(36) NCABE 1724/5 1801 E 134

for "sack and sugar at comon Hall", (37) or at Boston the large bill in 1730 for "sundry times eating and drinking" £41.16.9, (38) Such bills are the exception rather than the rule, although payments may have been made under another guise. At Nottingham as the eighteenth Century progressed meetings of the Hall become more frequent and so too preliminary discussions, and all were attended with varying degrees of light refreshment. As Enfield explained in 1833, "when the committee meet, it is generally in the afternoon, and if they have not tea, they have a glass of wine and a biscuit". (39) In 1750 George and Abel Smith supplied sixteen gallons of red Port wine and five dozen and nine bottles of Hock for £4.19.4½; (40) in 1760 at "a meeting of the Gentlemen" punch, four bottles of wine, ale and food were supplied for 8/6d. (41) Bills from victuallers such as Joseph Scott, for 14/6 "preceeding a hall day" in 1771, (42) while small in amount, had become common place. Since Hall days could be as frequent as weekly or more usually every fortnight, it is clear that the annual costs could become substantial. In 1770/1 the

(37) YCAB 1688/9, 1690/1

(38) BCAB 1730/1

(39) T. Cockayne, *op. cit.*, 62

(40) Vouchers 1807 A no. 32

(41) " 1809 A no. 18

(42) " 1811 A no. 52

remaining vouchers record a further five bills for wine and tobacco at pre-Hall meetings, (43) totalling £5.18.1. From the closing years of the eighteenth century until 1835 the number and size of wine bills escalated. So too did the amount of civic business as committees became the norm for all administration. The lack of adequate detail in the Nottingham accounts before 1796 make comparative figures impossible, but in 1800 the Chamberlains paid two bills for wine totalling £29.3.2 and two bills for provisions at committee meetings amounting to £19.12.3. (44) By 1810 the bill from meetings of the Annual Committee totalled £12.12.0 (45); but in 1818 the cost of committee meetings and magistrates meetings at the Police Office Tavern, totalled £244.12.6d $\frac{1}{2}$ (46). The inclusion of the magistrate's committee bills in the civic accounts is worthy of note. It highlights the dual role of the Aldermen and indicates that not only the public failed to distinguish between magistracy and Corporation per se. That they should not have been paid by the civic funds is beyond doubt. Whether they were paid by the Corporation to avoid further charges on the County rate, or to avoid the public outcry which might

(43) Vouchers 1811 A Nos. 62, 70, 27, 28, 39

(44) NCAB 1800/1: Sundry expenses items 28, 34a, 35, 36

(45) NCAB 1810/11; Ledger B f 52

(46) NCAB 1818/19

have accompanied their inclusion in the printed rate accounts is open to question.

However, the bill for 1818 was unusually large in comparison with subsequent accounts and may have been of long standing; but until 1834, substantial costs were annually incurred by Committee Meetings.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Nottinchan. Committee Bills</u>	<u>Committee Expenses at Police Office Tavern include. cleaning room.</u>	<u>Wine bills</u>	<u>Elections.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
1818					244.12. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1819					174.10. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1820	45. 0. 0	155. 5. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$			200. 5. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1821		195. 4. 9			195. 4. 9
1822					
1823	22. 0. 7	37. 4. 1	19.14. 9		78.19. 5
1824	26. 0. 0	23.18. 5	13.16. 6	23.18.5	87.13. 4
1825	59. 7. 7	15. 5. 5	20.10. 0		95. 3. 0
1826	26.16. 0	16.16. 2	17.10. 0		61. 2. 2
1827	61. 3. 9	34. 7. 8	15.19. 0		111.10. 5
1828	64.11. 8		80.11. 6		145. 3. 2
1829	62. 8. 8		73. 0. 0		155. 8. 8
1830			19. 0. 0		
1831					174.16. 1
1832	72.14.11		59. 2. 0		131.16.11
1833	53.15. 3		45. 6. 0		99. 1. 3
1834	40. 9. 1		8.10. 0		48.19. 1

The Municipal Commissioneres estimated that the expense under the head of Dinners and Meetings between 1827 and 1837 was £1352.1s.5d, (47) an average of £270 per annum, but this was for the three

(47) MCR 2007

wstates, Bridge, Chamber and School, as distinct from the Chamber Estate alone. The three estates shared the costs, the Chamberlains paying half and the Bridge and School Wardens a quarter each. Nevertheless, if the bills for refreshments had increased substantially, they still represented only a small proportion of the total income and expenditure. Retrenchment in this sphere alone would have been of little real benefit, and in so far as the Committee bills reflect the increase in committee meetings, discussions and business generally, they indicate growing concern, increased specialization and advances in administration. If meetings were long it would have been unreasonable to forego refreshments. As Enfield stated to the Municipal Commissioners on one occasion in 1831, the Common Hall sat from nine in the morning until eight at night, and instead of adjourning they had a refreshment.(48) The Magistrates meetings connected with the town riots in 1831["]...were perpetually attended by both county and other gentlemen of distinction and classes, clergy and others.....That they had refreshment is true; but it was only such refreshment as no-one would

(48) T. Cockayne, op. cit., 93

have grudged, to restore exhausted strength".(49) The applause which followed indicated the approval of the Corporation supporters, but it was such aspects of civic life which gained for the unreformed boroughs distrust and ill-repute. As the Commissioner himself expressed it "They say, whatever comes under the name of Birch is for feasting".(50) Some at least may have deserved disapprobation. An inventory at Hull made when the Corporation handed over to the new, listed 298 dozen bottles of wine, sherry and port in the cellars.(51)

The civic feasts and refreshments were however only a small part of the total festivity and celebration enjoyed in most mayoral years. Other occasions readily presented themselves when feasts and jobiality seemed at least excusable and often necessary.

At York the Corporation, in order to retain their legal rights, made perambulations of the city boundaries and outlying stays, and also conducted fishing trips down the River Ouse to Wharfs mouth

(49) *ibid.*, 93

(50) *ibid.*, 93

(51) KAMacMahon Private Communication

"to preserve the rights and royalties belonging the city on that account".(52) That such visits were necessary is clear from the Annual Committee recommendation in 1830 that "for various reasons and more especially with a view to prevent disputes as to liability to rates or other charges, it is highly desirable that the true limits and bounds of the city should be ascertained and defined with the utmost accuracy and precision.... a careful perambulation should be made in the course of the present year".(53) At the same time however it was an obvious opportunity for pomp and splendour. The Waits went with the Mayor and party on their fishing day and in 1695 they returned at about 11.0 p.m. to be greeted by the citizens with "lighted torches and links and loud huzzars".(54) They were not occasions solely for the Mayor and his brethren: when the boundary perambulation was made in 1743 the Mayor was, at the city's cost, "desired to provide such a quantity of ale and cakes as he shall judge convenient for the boys and people that attend", (55) which were customarily distributed at certain parts of the journey after the proclamations were made.(56) Nevertheless

(52) YCAB 1702/3

(53) K 110 Feb. 3rd 1830

(54) C. Knight, op. cit., 504

(55) YHB 43 f99

(56) YHB 48 ff 396 to 408 1820

although the local people probably enjoyed the spectacle with the Mayor and Attendants in their liveries, the main cost was for meals for the Mayor and Company. On the 1740 fishing trip they took 25½ gallons of ale; 18 pints of brandy and rum; 17 gallons of port; 84 lbs of beef; a side of lamb; mutton; 8 chickens; 16 pigeons; 2 hams; 4 tongues; oranges and lemons, tobacco and pipes and other small provisions. Eight rowers and a stern man and five horses and men did the hard work, and during the festivities three dozen bottles were lost and 6/8d worth of glasses broken.(57)

After a noticeable decline during the first half of the eighteenth century, the cost of the fishing trips, which were generally Septennial, and the more irregular boundary perambulations increased markedly during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as the following extracts from the accounts indicate:-(58)

(57) YCAB 1740/1

(58) YCAB passim.

York Fishing Trips:York Boundary Perambulations:

1672/3	22.14. 2		
1684/5	12. 5. 8		
1695/6	34.19. 7		
1702/3	38.18. 9		
1712/13	12. 0. 6		
1719/20	17.12. 3	1672/3	16. 0. 0
1726/7	19.15. 7	1693/4	6.13. 5
1740/1	18. 6. 0	1756/7	18. 6. 8 (61)
1768/9	33.13. 6	1771/2	13.17. 6
1778/9	39. 3.11	1778/9	22.16. 0
1786/7	64.15. 4	1787/8	38.14.10
1794/5	70.13. 0	1802/3	37.15. 0
1802/3	96. 3. 0 (59)	1819/20	58.11. 0 (62)
1825	193. 3. 0 (60)	1832/3	110.15. 0 (63)

(59) This figure includes £2.2.0 paid to the waits in 1803/4

(60) The provisions were provided at cost price K 110 29.7.1825

(61) Perambulations took place between these dates. eg. They were "revived" in 1721:

G.Benson, op.cit.,III 50,70.

However I have no record of the expenses from the 1720 or 1721 accounts.

(62) Also E77 31.12.1819

(63) Also K110 Feb.3rd 1833

On other occasions celebrations were made obligatory either by Royal Decree or as a prudent display of loyalty and respect towards the Royalty or Nobility of the Nation. Prominent amongst these were the many thanksgiving days appointed by the Crown in recognition of the victories in the wars of the eighteenth century. At Nottingham these were marked by fairly sober proceedings. The rejoicings for the success of the campaigns in 1706 took the form of attendance at a sermon at St. Mary's Church, followed by dinner and a toast to Her Majesty's Health. The allowance was £5, and so too for the treat held at the Castle in 1707 to celebrate the union with Scotland.(64) At Boston and York the occasions were commemorated with rather more indulgence. At York the thanksgiving for the victory at Ramillies involved a collation at the Guildhall at a cost of £27.9.4, but the celebrations on December 31st 1706 for the late campaign successes included a treat to the Officers of General Earle's regiment, and illuminations in the Pavement, as well as a feast for the Mayor and brethren; the thanksgiving festivities for the peace of Utrecht cost £62.(65) At Boston too the peace of Utrecht occasioned

(64) NHB 3473 ff 8,15

(65) YCAB passim

fine festivities with fireworks, the firing of cannon, drinks at the Proclamation and probably a dinner. The total cost was £69.3.10, but other thanksgiving days were less ostentatious. The bloody victory of Malphquet in 1709 was celebrated with a treat and bonfires, bell-ringing and cannon, but the total cost was only £3.2.0.(66) Neither Boston nor Nottingham celebrated with the exuberance which York showed in 1703 when the Corporation paid £180.13.1 for the celebration of the "success both by sea and land obteynid...against France and Spain".(67) The victories presented themselves with amazing frequency and throughout the war of Spanish succession, the Crown with its Thanksgiving days, seemed bent upon a propaganda campaign of success and at York celebrations of some note were held by the Corporation in most years of warfare.

(66) BCAB 1713/14, 1709/10.

(67) YCAB 1702/3

York Chamberlains' Accounts 1702 to 1765.

1702/3	Success at sea and land against France & Spain	180.13. 1
1704/5	Thanksgiving day Sept.7th (Blenheim)	20.13. 4
1706/7	Thanksgiving for Ramillies 27th June	27. 9. 4
1706	Thanksgiving December 31st	31. 0. 9
1707/8	Thanksgiving ^k May 1st Treaty of Union with Scotland	25. 8. 0
1708/9	November 26th Victory over France	18.14. 5
1713/14	Thanksgiving day for the peace with Spain March 6th.	10. 9.10
1713/14	Thanksgiving day. Peace of Ulrecht?	62. 0. 0
1716/17	Thanksgiving for the failure of Jacobite rebellion	39. 2. 0
1739/40	Regiment procession on war against Spain	10.10. 0
1740/41	Wine at declaration of war against Spain	6.10. 0
1744/45	Wine at declaration of war	13. 1. 2
1746/7	Wine for declaration of war	1. 9. 6
1749/50	Food, wine and fireworks at peace celebrations	24. 8. 6
1756/7	Declaration of war against France	31. 6. 2
1761/2	Money laid out when war proclaimed	34. 8.10

The royal calendar itself presented occasions for celebration which the borough council could not with prudence overlook. At the least, deputations and addresses of loyalty or congratulation were sent on news of conception, birth, marriage and other less personal events; (68) and often celebrations were held as well. (69) The King's birthday presented occasion for annual festivals.

(68) e.g. York YCAB 1736/7 City address to King on Prince of Wales marriage £2.5.6.; Nottingham address to King 1681 NHB3448 f 20; 1683 NHB 3450 f 21

(69) e.g. York YCAB 1762/3 Ale drunk at rejoicing of birth of Prince; YHB38 f133 Ale on birth of Prince 1688

York seemed less concerned to celebrate these in any noticeable way although the Lease Committee, in 1735, did suggest the propriety of taking some "extraordinary notice" of coronation days and the King's Birthdays. (70) But at Nottingham, the King's birthday was accompanied by joyous festivity. Most of the celebration was enjoyed by the Corporation accompanied by the "Gentlemen and principal tradesmen" of the town, but bells were rung and bonfires were held in the streets and everyone "from the highest even to the lowest subject testified every mark of approbation on this joyful occasion".(71) In 1794, owing to the recent war victories the King's Birthday was celebrated with more than the usual eclat; the Mayor ordered a double quantity of coals for the annual fair, the bonfires were uncommonly numerous, twenty-five fat sheep were roasted and over 300 people assembled in the Exchange to drink the King's health.(72) At Boston "treats" were given on the King's Birthday and on other events in the year like the King's accession, and November 5th. The allowance for each of these only rose from £3 in the eighteenth century to £6 in the early nineteenth century, but in 1813 the allowance for the King's Birthday was raised to £20 and for the King's accession, £10.(73)

(70) E 101 ff 139,140

(71) Nottm. Journal June 10th 1786; June 6th 1778

(72) H. Field, The Nottingham Date Book (1884) 193

(73) BCAB passim; BAB 9th April 1813

At Nottingham, the cost of the King's Birthday Celebrations rose markedly.

In October 1731 £5 was voted for this purpose;(74) in 1774 the entertainment cost £11.12.0 (75) but in 1811 Huthwaite and Maltby's bill for wine on the King's Birthday was £93.9.0 (76), and in 1813 fruit, oranges, punch and wine at the King's Birthday cost £215.8.11d.(77) At this juncture however the Corporation became aware of the unnecessary and wanton extravagance which was occurring and in the following year, with the "privity and concurrence" of the Mayor resolved that in future the Mayor should leave the birthday celebrations at 10.0'clock precisely "and that from thenceforth no more liquor be brought into the room". Considerable irregularities had prevailed in the past whereby the company at the Exchange had stayed after the Mayor's departure and presumably continued drinking "which has occasioned an unnecessary and extravagant addition to the expenditure of the day".(78) The festivals continued, but the bills cease to feature in the accounts, and presumably became sufficiently small to be included in the annual wine bills. The incident demonstrates well the unnecessary extravagance which could occur.

It was however not so much the annual events

(74) NHB 3492 October 24th

(75) NCABE 1774/5 1811E V

(76) NCAB 1811/12

(77) NCAB 1812/13

(78) NHB 3573 f80

but rather the extraordinary occasions which placed the heaviest burden on the civic finances. Notable amongst these were the Coronations when the civic celebrations were more or less a declaration of loyalty. The festivities therefore had to be grand and involved the entire populace. On the Coronation of George III in 1760, Nottingham Corporation arranged a cavalcade to tour the town. The Mayor and Corporation were to ride two by two "preceeded by a band of music; the sergeants with their maces, colours etc;" By two o'clock the procession was finished, a "very genteel entertainment" was provided at the Exchange to which a general invitation was given, and at night a general illumination began at nine-o'clock. All families were asked to put out their candles so that more people would be able to see the fireworks which were presumed to be more grand than any yet fired off "on the North side of the Trent".(79) Such events entailed heavy expenses. At Boston the festivities, fireworks and regilding the maces for the occasion of George III's Coronation, cost £101.1.4d.(80) At York, where such occasions were generally more lavishly celebrated than at Nottingham or Boston (81), the King's Proclamation feast of ale for the populace,

(79) Nottingham Courant Sept, 19th 1761 no.305

(80) BCAB 1761/2

(81) see Table opposite page 645

music, fireworks and colours cost £93.6.3d; the
the Coronation celebrations £66.6.3d.(82) Even for
the Coronation in 1820 of the somewhat unpopular George IV
when many citizens at York refused to accept the free ale
or join the processions,(83) grand festivities were
arranged. £40 was spent on ale for the public, music
was arranged and 127 guests sat down to a Coronation
Dinner costing £129.2.0. Altogether the expenses were
£192.11.0, and in the previous year £128.3.4 had been
spent in celebration of the King's Proclamation.(84)
Certainly it was a good excuse for feasting and festivity
but there was a prudent recognition of the need to please
the King and show him due regard. It was for this reason
the Common Hall at York agreed that an advertisement of
the proceedings at George II's proclamation be inserted
in the Gazette and St. James' Evening Post. It emphasized
the generosity of the Corporation in providing entertainment
and the exuberance of civic body and citizens alike for
the new Monarch. "...The Lord Mayor Recorder and Aldermen
attended by the whole body of the City in their gowns,
together with the clergy and principal Gentry...with
Drums, Trumpets, City Musick and colours flying.....
procalined his Majesty...under the discharge of the Citys

(82) YCAB 1760/1, 1761/2

(83)CKnight, op cit., 598

(84) YCAB 1820/1; 1821/2

Gunns and huzzas of several thousand people and afterwards the Lord Mayor returned to the Guildhall where the Whole City (ie.Council) and Gentlemen attending in procession were entertained at the City's expence and the populace with hogsheads of ale at the bonfires and the evening concluded with the most hearty expressions of loyalty to their present Majesty that could be uttered or contrived". (85)

In the same way visits of royalty or nobility to the borough occasioned heavy extraordinary expenses on the civic funds. In 1612 £150 had to be borrowed by the Corporation to pay for the overnight stay of King James 1 in Nottingham(86) and in 1666 York Corporation borrowed £300 "for the present occasions of the citty".(87) These referred to the seven week visit of James, Duke of York, on whose entertainment and accommodation the Chamberlains' account records an expenditure of £319.3.4d, probably over half the total "necessary" expenditure in that year.(88) Yet such visits demanded correct procedures, as Kendall, the King's Secretary clearly warned the Corporation at York when

(85) YHB 42 f96

(86) NHB 3387 f 86

(87) YCAB 1665/6; YHB 38 f18

(88) YCAB 1665/6 No total is given in the book for "necessary expenditure" and the Chamberlains's roll is illegible through damp.

Richard III visited in 1483 "I advise you, as honourably as your wisdoms can imagine, to receive him and the Queen at their coming as well with pageants and such good speches as can goodly be devised, as in hanging the streits through wich the King's grace shall come with clothes of arras, tapistre work and other".(89) Indeed, when York failed to show due deference to James, Duke of York on his visit in 1679, they received strong censure and rebuke from the King. Sunderland wrote to inform them that since "... you did nott receive his Royall Highnesse upon his late cominge to that city with that respect which was due to him and in the manner heretofore accustomed his Maty Comands me to signify to youe that as was much surprized by this yor pceedings soe he cannott butt expresse to you his dissatisfaction att itt and therefore his Maty bidde me lett you know that it is his express pleasure that whensoever his Royall Highness shall come againe to Yorke youe doe nott faile to attend & receive him in the like manner as he was received there some years ago & as his Maty has reason to expect his Brother should be by all good subjects in yor station".(90)

The Corporation tried to make good their relationships with the crown in the celebrations which

(89) YHB 2-4 f98

(90) YHB 38 f162^b

followed the obtaining of a new Charter in 1685. Charles II died before the Charter was perfected, but care was taken to report the event to the London Gazette, noting that "nothing was omitted that might on this occasion express the duty and loyalty of the inhabitants of this city".(91) Three years later, on the birth of James' son, the Corporation spent £181.2.0 celebrating the event and sending a deputation of the Mayor and four citizens to London.(92) Good relationships were expensive.

York might be considered unfortunate in the attraction which it offered to royalty and nobility as a northern centre and a town well situated for overnight stays en route to Scarborough! Neither Boston nor Nottingham found their finances encumbered with the costs of entertaining such people as often as York, although such occasions were by no means unknown. In 1695 the King was escorted through Nottingham, presented with a purse and 100 guineas, and entertained at a banquet to the value of £40.(93) York did not receive a visit from a reigning monarch between 1660 and 1835 but visits from other members of the royal family were frequent and costly. In 1746 the Duke of Cumberland

(91) Knight, *op.cit.*, 493

(92) YCAB 1688-9

(93) NHB 3463 f6a. The guineas cost 30/- each.

stopped in York on his way to London, enjoyed a meal with the Mayor and Brethren at a cost of some £42 and received the Freedom of the Borough in a gold box costing £130.10.6d.(94) In 1761 Edward, Duke of York passed through the City on his way to and from Scarborough. The occasion was lavish for he stayed overnight. An "elegant entertainment" was held in the Mansion House and a ball at the Assembly Rooms which cost £120.10.2d. The journey to Scarborough to escort him cost £17.3.5½, and his freedom was presented in a gold box worth £104.2.6d.(95) In 1787 Frederick, Duke of York visited the City and received his freedom in the usual manner; two years later he returned with his brother to be given a grand entertainment and banquet while George, Prince of Wales, received his freedom. Some £535 was spent on this occasion and in addition, necessaries at the Mansion House came to the unusually high figure of £184.12.3d. In 1822 a dinner given to the Duke of Sussex cost York Corporation £341.12.3d, it is perhaps not surprising that the gold box containing his freedom was purchased at the relatively cheap price of £52.10.0.(96) The money for the occasion

(94) YCAB 1746/7; 1747/8

(95) YCAB 1789/90; 1790/1

(96) YCAB 1822/3

came from one of the repayments from the Cuse Bridge Commissioners, for without extraordinary revenues the civic funds could not have met the demand.(97).

The visits of royalty and nobility were not wholly without reward however. Edward, Duke of York arrived in 1766 during race week and his attendance at the races "occasioned a more numerous and brilliant appearance of nobility than ever was known".(98)

Hargrove too observed that the presence of the Prince of Wales in 1789 "contributed much to the advantage of the citizens, for during the short time they stayed York was crowded with nobility" and the Prince donated 200 guineas to the debtors in the gaol, and other sums to the relief of other prisoners.(99)

Patronage could be useful in many ways, and it was for this reason that all three boroughs, in pursuit of a happy relationship with local gentry and politicians, entertained on occasions so lavishly, and presented freedoms or commissioned portraits and gifts with such frequency. To edge their way into the favour of those whose influence may prove beneficial to the city, the Councils' showered

(97) E77 27.9.1822

(98) F. Drake, op. cit., I 359

(99) C. B. Knight, op. cit., 547

the influential members of society with gifts. At York the Archbishops were courted with care and deliberation, welcomed with silver gifts, usually in the early eighteenth century, two decanters to the value of £25, or in 1808, a silver cup costing £39.13.0.(100) In all three boroughs the Judges were entertained with wine and food before the Assizes (1), and gifts of wine to local nobility were standard procedure, especially in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In 1694 Nottingham sent "3 gallands of Canary 3 gallands of Red Port Wine....and 3 gallands of Whitwine" to the Earl of Rutland (2), in 1696 they sent £14 worth of wine to the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Kingston, Mr. Pierrepont and Mr.Slater (3); in 1664 Boston sent Claret, sturgeon, hams and loaves of sugar to Earl Lindsey.(4) Such gifts were often given to obtain

(100) eg. YCAB 1725/6; YCAB 1808/9

(1) eg. York YCAB 1661/2 8½ galls canary, food and gold sent to the Judges £11.6.2d.
 eg. Nottingham NCABE 1706/7 1799 F116 Mr.Mayor for a sheep & calfe for ye judges £2.10.0
 eg. Nottingham 1716/17 1800E; 1724/5 1801/E/134
 "for judges presents at summer assizes" £2.10.0d

(2) NHB 3451 f27

(3) Vouchers 1696/7 1798 W Oct.9th 1696

(4)P.Thompson, op.cit., 309

goodwill, but presents were also given in appreciation of services rendered. Thus in the early eighteenth century, Nottingham Corporation gave ale and wine to their M.P's before the start of the Parliamentary session.(5) At York a gold box was given to the Lord High Steward in 1682 for drawing a patent,(6) in 1732 Lord Burlington was given an honorary Freedom "this house being sensible of the favours which the Right Honorable Richard Earl of Burlington has done for this city", and a silver soup tureen was given to Alderman Hotham for his "important assistance in obtaining the Act of 55th Geo III for rebuilding Ouse Bridge".(7) At Boston the council in 1799 gave an entertainment to the Spalding troop of Yeomanry Cavalry for their "spirited behaviour" when called on to quell a riot, and also to the Boston Independent Armed Association on the same occasion "as a mark of the corporation's esteem for the spirited manner in which they enrolled themselves in the defence of King and Country".(8)

(5) 1702 William Pierrepont & Geo. Creasy were waited on before leaving for London and given the "usual presents" of 9 gallons of wine each. NHB3470f6
In 1704 the Chamberlains were ordered hereafter to send $\frac{1}{2}$ hogshead of ale to each M.P. NHB 3471 f12

(6) YCAB 1682/3 £11.15.0

(7) YHB 42 f158 Sept.12 1732; E77 21.1.1822

(8) BAB7 June 10 1799

Very often appreciation for the work of Recorders and M.P's or the patronage of nobility would be recorded in portraits erected in the Common Hall. Boston Corporation in 1813 gave thanks to Joseph Banks their Recorder for his services and commissioned a portrait for the Council room;(10) York in 1737 commissioned a portrait of Sir John Lister Kaye, Tory M.P. since 1734 and then Lord Mayor.(11) This was followed in 1799 and 1822 with portraits of Sir Wm. Milner M.P. and Lord Dundas.(12) At Nottingham in 1831 portraits of Lord Holland, Recorder and Sir Thomas Denman, once Deputy Recorder and later Lord Chief Justice of England, were purchased as much by way of compliment and appreciation for past work as for future patronage (13), and certainly this was the case with the marble statue and portrait of George Coldham, Town Clerk, requisitioned on his untimely death at Brighton in 1815.(14) Such marks of esteem and respect were appropriate to the expectations of the time but, the Municipal Commissioners criticized the expense as unjustified at a time of heavy burdens of County rate taxation upon the local people.(15)

(10) BAB 8 April 9th 1813 £105

(11) YCAB 1738/9 £51.2.0.

(12) YCAB 1799/1800 £157.10.0. & framing £23.5.10.;
YCAB 1822 £210, framing & finishing £41.9.6.

(13) NCAB 1831/2 £120; NHB 3592 f20

(14) NHB 3574 ff95,96; Vouchers 1837 I 228, 1843 I 20211.

(15) MCR . 2007

Festivities and celebrations, wine, food and gifts were an expensive aspect of borough life. Many of the annual feasts rose substantially in cost over the years, and new ones had become chargeable to civic funds as the Boston Accounts illustrate. Associated probably with the steep increase in prices the Mayor's allowance at Boston for the annual feasts was increased from £173.15.0 to £400 in 1813 to cover the dinners for May Day, Lady Day, Sessions, Audit, Licence Day, Leet and Admiralty Courts, the venison treat, the King's Birthday and the King's Accession.(15a)

Boston dinners	1717	1741	1760 ^a	1780	1800	1820	1830
May Day	30. 0.0	50.0.0	50. 0.0	60.0.0	60. 0.0	100.0.0	
Lady Day	14. 0.0	20.0.0	20. 0.0	25.0.0	25.0. 0	50.0.0	100.0.0
Sessions	24. 1.0	48.1.6	48. 0.0	48.0.0	60.0.0	100.0.0	discontinued
Account Day		2.0.0	3. 0.0	4.4.0	(10.0.0)*	20.0.0	20.0.0
Admiralty Court	1.10.0	3.0.0	3. 0.0	4.4.0	10.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0
Court Leet	4. 7.0	6.0.0	6. 0.0	8.8.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	20.0.0
Venison Feast				21.0.0	41.0.0	50.0.0	
Licensing Day					10.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0

The cost of extraordinary functions had similarly escalated, particularly in the nineteenth century, yet the percentage of total expenditure which such costs represented had decreased as total turnover and expenditure in other areas increased. The Boston

(15a) BRBS April 9th 1813

figures again illustrate this best, for here more annual dinners were held and they were itemized in the accounts as allowances to the Mayor for specific occasions. At York after 1735, and at Nottingham, such dinners were paid for by the Mayor from his annual salary, at his discretion, without predetermined allowances being made for each occasion.

BOSTON (16)	1700	1717	1741	1760	1780	1800	1820	1830
Annual civic dinners	50. 4.2	79.17.6	131. 1.6	132. 2.0	213.14.0	229. 3.0	42.16.0	185. 5.0
Annual treats on special days	22.14.7	18. 5.0	15. 0.0	21.14.0	30. 0.11	27. 0.0		
Ringers, musicians gunners etc	7.18.6	10. 1.0	11. 2.0	13. 8.8 ⁴	4.17.11	9.15.11	5.10.6	5. 0.6
Views & Commtees. expenses	11.4	4.10.10	2.17.6	2. 1.0				
Special Celebrations			0.16.6	37.15.6			36.11.4	34.19.6
Mayor's allowance for annual dinner and treats							400. 0.0	
TOTAL:	81. 8.7	112.13.10	160.17.6	207.11.2 ⁴	248.12.10	265.18.11	484.17.10	225. 5.0
% of total expenditure	22.6	12.3	30.0	17.7	11.4	11.3	4.58	4.96
Total Expenditure	415. 9.8	1093.7.6 ⁴	531.18.3	1173.18.9	2164.6.10 ⁴	2352.0.6	10547.16.1 ¹	4543.8.3

(16) Appendix Xla. The figures are as those for feasts and celebrations excluding purchase of china and plate.

Yet whatever the cost of these dinners and celebrations, they could not easily have been discontinued, for they were very much a reflection of the attitudes and expectations of the day. On the one hand they were an outward show of the civic dignity, the wealth and significance of the members of the Corporation and its exclusive character as a corpus of men set above the rest of the town, often by their social status as well as their membership of the Council, to rule the populace. In such a position they relied upon respect and deference from citizens who, for much of the period, still recognized the Corporation as their betters. By 1833 this had ceased to be true as the self-elective system began to exclude from the Corporation "a great number of men equal to themselves in intelligence rank and prosperity"(17), and many of the townspeople at large developed grievances against the élite group of councillors. Nevertheless there remained, as today, a feeling amongst the civic bodies that outward show and dignity was important to their role. So too the dignity of others demanded the deference of the civic body. Visitors must be received

(17)T.Cockayne, op. cit., 151

with the honour and entertainment which befitted their status. At the same time it was prudent to court the favour of noble and parliamentary circles with gifts and honours, but above all people expected certain entertainments and celebrations as part of their way of life. It was for this reason that at Boston and Nottingham tenants were still provided with the customary glass of wine when paying their rents each half year; the Corporation as much as the landlords, observed the tradition. At Boston the wine bill for rent days rose from £4.15.0 in 1780/1 to £7.3.9 in 1781/2 which prompted an order in 1782 that "wine and Biscuits shall be provided only for the Tenants at the Rent days and that an officer do attend to give each Tenant who chuses it one Glass of wine and a piece of Biscuit only".(18) By 1790 the annual allowance was only one guinea but by 1810 it had doubled and in 1820 it was agreed that the allowance for wine to the Tenants should be increased to three guineas each for the Chamberlain and Erection bailiff.(19)

(18) Rental 1788 4/B/1/81

(19) BMB 2/A/27 20th June 1820; Rental 1824 A/B/1/125
eg. Nottingham NCABE 1733/4 1803D 113 "Expenses at
Receiving Rents at Old Hall" 4/0;
NCABE 1735/6 1804A197 "For ale at collection rents 5/0;"
NCABE 1748/9 1806D176 Bottle wine when Mr. Radley pd
his rent 2/0

Perhaps more important to the local townspeople were the celebrations and festival days. On Thanksgiving and other festival days the populace expected celebrations. These were the occasions when the local people were most involved with civic celebrations, but on all special occasions there were processions to enjoy. Every occasion of local or national importance called for one. Generally the Corporation officials in their gowns and liveries would lead the procession followed by trumpeters, drummers, waits, colourmen and sometimes the firemen who would later "play" their engines. The ringers would be employed to ring the bells and guns and cannons were fired. At Nottingham in 1704 the Ringers of St. Mary's were paid for 2 dayes Ringing for ye good nus wee lately rec^d". (20) Such occasions must have been a profusion of colour and a joyful cacophony of music producing mirth and festivity for all. May Day at Boston in 1784 was probably typical of many similar occasions with a formal procession "preceeded by an

(20) Vouchers Sept. 5th 1704 1799 D-E No. 92 Presumably
for Blenheim

excellent band of music, the Charity children in their new cloathing, the Mace bearers etc; were... several constitutional toasts were given, under a discharge of the Town Cannon, many excellent songs etc were sung, and the Evening concluded with ringing of Bells firing of ordnance and everything conducive to promote Hirth, Festivity and Harmony".(21) Sometimes the public were further entertained. At York on Lord Mayor's swearing day, wine bread and sugar was annually distributed at Pavement Cross;(22) on other occasions bonfires were lit in the streets and as the eighteenth century progressed the Councils began increasingly to provide for the public entertainment with fireworks and illuminations. By the nineteenth century the public's festivities were well established at Nottingham and York. On George III's Jubilee in 1810 York gave £50 to a public illumination, and on the proclamation and coronation of his son in 1820, distributed £17 worth of burnt wine and bread and £40 worth of ale in the wards.(23) On the somewhat premature celebration of peace with France in 1814 Nottingham Corporation paid £159.10.5d.(24) for

(21) Nottingham Journal May 8th 1874

(22) YCAB passim.

(23) YCAB 1809/10; 1820/1; 1821/2

(24) NCAB 1813/14

BOSTON

NOTTINGHAM

YORK

Date	Nature of Events.	TOTAL.	Nature of Events.	TOTAL.	Nature of Events.	TOTAL.
Peace of 1802 Amiens	Non Apparent		Subscription to Benevolent Fund	10.10. 0	None apparent.	
1809 George III Jubilee	Public "Jubilee" 10.10.0 Civic	10.10. 0	Treat to Military Subs. to Fever Hospital	10. 0. 0 105.0. 0	Public Illuminations	50. 0. 0
1814 Peace with France	Subscription to poor relief *	105. 0. 0	Public Illuminations	159.10.5	None apparent.	
1815 Waterloo	Waterloo subscription	105. 0. 0	Treat to Regiment on their return.		Transparencies Subs. to public Rejoicing.	24.10.0 50. 0. 0
1820 George IV Proclamation	Public Civic	28. 1. 0	Music	1. 4. 0	Wines-Colourmen Dragoons & Band Fetchinr Archbishop Dinner Preparations	19.10.0 5. 5. 0 12.10 110.15.6 2. 0. 0
1820 Geo. IV 1820 Coronation	Public "treat" Civic	56.14. 1	Soldiers Fireworks Dinner	5. 5. 0 5. 0. 0	Ale Procession Band Dinner	40. 0. 0 7. 9. 0 6. 0. 0 139. 2. 0
William IV Proclamation 1830	Public Civic	34.19. 6	Trumpeters	5. 5. 0	Dinner	123. 0. 6
William IV Coronation 1830	Public Non apparent		Constables Prisoners Almshouses Public breakfast Wine	3. 3. 0 5. 5. 0 17. 0. 0 46.12. 0 50. 6. 6	Non apparent	
TOTAL	Civic Non apparent	340. 4. 7	Subscription to public rejoicing Non apparent	207.10. 0	Non apparent	578. 4.10
				696. 5.11		

illuminations and fireworks; York in 1815 gave a subscription of £50 and paid £24.10.0 for transparencies.(25) But perhaps most significant at Nottingham was the subscription of £207.10.0 from the Chamber funds to the general rejoicing on the passing of the Reform Bill(26) in 1832. Little could have pleased the local people more, nor perhaps the Whig Corporation, but it is significant that the Council forewent any private celebration in favour of their subscription to the public festivities. The local populace had been intimately concerned with the progress of the bill, its rejection by the House of Lords in October 1831 had been followed by serious riots and the destruction of Colwick Hall and Nottingham Castle, belonging to the Duke of Newcastle. Failure by the Corporation to recognize the ultimate success in 1832, and to concur in exuberant public rejoicing, may indeed have been considered a severe slight by the inflammatory local populace, and it is hard to agree with the Municipal Commissioners that such an outlay "towards rejoicing on the passing of a political measure" was "impossible to justify".(27) As the editorial of the Nottingham Journal explained,

(25) YCAB 1814/15

(26) NCAB 1831/2; NHB 3591 f65.

(27) MCR 2007

the country was in "a feverish state of suspense", and if the bill was passed in June "Whitsun week will then be devoted to rejoicing after which, the people may possibly recover their senses".(28)

Festivities of this kind were very much the order of the day, and a correspondent noted with "great satisfaction" that "the Corporation voted a donation of 150 guineas to the fund... for enabling the people of Nottingham to join in the general rejoicing".(29)

Yet, as the editor also declared "there are many more pleasing and effectual methods of manifesting gladness than an illumination, to which several serious objections might be urged in the present state of political feeling", (30) and in fact all three Corporations had increasingly come to realise that economy in entertainment or alternative forms of celebration were more appropriate in their increasingly difficult financial situation. Contributions to benevolent funds in lieu of festivities were not unusual in the nineteenth century. Nottingham, not altogether

(28) Nottingham Journal May 19th, June 2nd 1832.

(29) ibid., June 9th 1832

(30) ibid., June 2nd 1832

inappropriately "unanimously resolved" to subscribe one hundred guineas to the fund for the erection of a fever hospital in lieu of any other use of the Corporation funds, for the celebration of George III's Jubilee.(31) Similarly in 1802 they gave ten guineas to a benevolent fund instead of providing a general illumination for the peace of Amiens.(32) This may have happened at Boston too where no payment appears to have been made for celebration of the peace in France in 1814 or 1815, but subscriptions were made to poor relief and on behalf of Waterloo. Benevolent subscriptions were quite common however in all three Boroughs in the nineteenth century.(33) Retrenchment or abolition of feasts also occurred, notably at Boston, although at York in 1798 all the treats given by the Aldermen, Sheriffs and Chamberlains were abolished for two years (34), and in 1812, in order to reduce the annual expenses etc; the highway sessions dinner, the audit, leases and general purposes committee dinners were abolished, making a saving of some £53 p.a.(35) Attempts were made at Nottingham to reduce costs, with the decision in 1814 to end the celebration of King's

(31) NHB 3569 ff 7,8.

(32) NHB 3561 f 56.

(33) See Chapter 12

(34) YHB46 Dec.10th 1798, Oct.24th 1800

(35) Acc. 86/12

Birthdays at 10.p.m.(36) but the Hall apparently did not consider their financial position to be so bad as to warrant the abolition of all public feasts as they had done in 1688.(37) At Boston however, the Hall eventually resorted to this in 1830. Already in 1685 the sessions dinner was strictly limited to the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Town Clerk, Coroner and two Ministers on penalty of 5/0 from the Mayor for each extra person invited.(38) In 1764 the treats on May 9th and November 5th were abolished (39) but shortly afterwards fifteen guineas was voted for entertaining the ladies with tea,(40) the Mayor was granted £20 per annum extra towards the expenses of entertainment,(41) he was desired to "procure an improvement in the music" at the May Day dinner by spending up to 10 guineas(42), and in 1818 the allowance for the May Day and Lady Day dinners was increased by £50 each.(43) In 1828 however financial problems associated with an annual deficit of £150 and an expected decrease in income, spurred the Finance Committee to suggest the abolition of the Venison dinner, the Court Leet, Admiralty, Licence and Audit Day dinners.(44)

(36) NHB 3537 f80

(37) NHB 3455 f 71 July 2nd 1688

(38) BAB3 f117

(39) BAB6 f28 1767

(40) BAB6 f76 1770

(41) BAB6 f285 1778

(42) BAB7 f15 1782

(43) BAB2/A/27 April 6th 1818

(44) 2/D/5 Nov.20th 1828

In March the following year they recommended dispensing with the four sessions dinners and reducing the allowance for the Lady Day dinner by £50 on the understanding that this in future would be a private and not a public dinner.(45) By 1830 the Venison feast, the Sessions dinners and the May Day dinner had been discontinued saving some £250 per annum, and the annual treats no longer feature in the accounts.(46) But by 1831 the Common Hall had become so concerned about their insolvency that all dinners and ^{as} treats were discontinued, too the use of the guns, musicians and bellringers.(47) At the last minute Boston had succeeded in reducing drastically its expenditure in the sphere of annual entertainments and celebrations. This was by no means unprecedented. Leeds Corporation had by the middle of the eighteenth century laid aside the pomp and show of festival days, and may have ceased entirely to pay for civic dinners and treats.(48)

The dinners, treats and celebrations none-the-less accounted for a substantial part of civic expenditure in the three boroughs of Boston, Nottingham and York for much of the period from 1660 to 1835. In our eyes, and

(45) 2/D/5 March 1829

(46) BCAB passim; Table 639.

(47) 2/D/5 1831

(48) S. and B. Webb, The Manor and the Borough (1963) 418, 420

The decision in 1756 not to pay for any treat from the "Corporation Stock" would need verification from the annual accounts. The phrase may refer to annual funds or the "nest egg" which many Corporations built up. eg. York's "Treasury".

those of the Commissioners, they are evidence of a sadly confused sense of values; The often excessive expenditure on this aspect of civic life cannot, without reservation, be justified; but dinners and treats were a part of the civic dignity; the public dinners held so often on festival days, to which tradesmen and local notables were invited, the processions and fireworks displays, were as much a public relations exercise as wanton civic gluttony.

They were however only one manifestation of the civic dignity; the Office holders themselves were another. Chief amongst these was the Mayor, a local dignitary whose position as chief magistrate and head of the Council demanded from him a life style of wealth and elegance. He was the public relations officer of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century civic life in so far as he created the public image of the civic body. For this reason the Common Hall at York in 1724 lamented that "The dignity of the City has of late greatly diminished by reason of the Lord Mayor's frequent absence and Retirement into the Country and neglecting to keep but one public day in a week for the entertainment of the citizens...."(49) and resolved that the Lord Mayor

(49) YHB 42 f52

should keep up"the Grandeur and dignity of the City" by giving two public dinner days each week for the "Reception and entertainment" of the citizens.(50) To enable him to maintain such standards the Mayor was, in most boroughs, given a yearly salary. The emolument differed greatly from borough to borough and from time to time. The custom of Leeds to give the Mayor no salary (51), or that of Bristol to pay as much as £2,500 per annum (52), was unusual, but at both York and Nottingham the Mayor's annual salary illustrates well the rising cost of maintaining the standards set in previous centuries. The salary rarely paid the total expense attending the Office, and at York the Lord Mayor was increasingly required to provide goods traditionally provided by the Corporation. Thus in 1831 the finance committee reported that they had not bought any more china "and they strongly recommend that no articles of that description should be purchased in future", (53) and in 1824 they suggested that the Mayor could be "reasonably expected and recommended to use his own bed linen".(54)

(50) YHB42 f54

(51) MCR 1621

(52) S. and B. Webb, The Manor & the Borough (1963)467

(53) K.110 Feb.3rd 1831

(54) E77 9.2.1824

From the fourteenth century until

1735 the Lord Mayor at York received an annual salary of £50 and additional allowances of £7 for a court gown, £20 for four sessions dinners; £10 for his freeman, £3 for postage (£5 by 1735); £3 for Tang-hall gates depasturage, an allowance for the Butter Market (£20 in 1735) and for the maintenance of the Officers £50.(55) In 1735 his total emoluments were thus £165 per annum together with the tolls of the corn and malt markets for a nominal rent. This was quite inadequate to his needs however, and in 1735 the lease committee suggested that in view of the troubles attending the collection of the corn tolls these should be openly let, and in lieu of these and other allowances the Mayor should receive an annual salary of £400 per annum, to enable him "..... the better to support the Honour and credit of this city and avoid the Terror which the said Office is usually attended with...."(56). The Mayor in fact received a salary of £350 plus a court gown, but his salary continued to rise.

York Lord Mayor's Salary

1735	£350	1792	£525	
1766	£400	1810	£840	(57)
1771	£500			

(55) YCAB passim.

(56) E101 ff 139,140.

(57) YCAB passim.

By now however the financial situation had made retrenchment imperative and in 1812 the committee recommended a temporary reduction in the Lord Mayor's salary of £660.(58) In 1816 the general committee further resolved that all sundry bills from the Lord Mayor for breakage, gardeners, knives and similar provisions, should be discontinued,(59) the allowance to the Lord Mayor's Cook and Chaplain were stopped (60) and the Mayor was allowed instead fifty guineas unless the Committee made specific order, and this remained his salary, together with £7 for a court gown, until 1835.(61)

As at Boston therefore, where the Mayor's salary was directly related to the allowances agreed upon for the various annual entertainments, a sharp rise in costs in the early nineteenth century was followed by strong retrenchment, and entertainments and dinners must inevitably have become more frugal as the Mayor became personally liable for the entire costs.

(58) YHB 48 13 April 1812

(59) E77 23.1.1816

(60) E77 31.5.1816

(61) K110; YCAB passim.

At Nottingham the annual salary paid to the Mayor was smaller than at York, but it displayed a similar steep rise in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. In contrast with the policies adopted at York and Boston however, no reduction in his salary was considered and the Municipal Commissioners expressed disapproval at the size of his annual emolument. (62)

Mayor's Salary - Nottingham. (62)a.

1660	£40	1773	£80
1685	£80	1801	£100
1688	£20	1804	£200
1693	£40	1806	£210
By		1826	£262.10.0
1719	£60	1828	£315

The Mayor's salary, however was in the eyes of a contemporary a most necessary part of the civic expenditure. John Blackner in 1815 complained that "A salary of £200 for the chief magistrate of a town which is generally profuse in its other departments of public expenditure and which is so populous and important is insignificant and paltry in the extreme, particularly when it is considered that that money is barely sufficient to defray the expenses of the sessions

(62) MCR 2007

(62a) YCAB passim; MHB 3452 f20; 3455 f71; 3459 f65;
 3452 f20; 3532 f50; 3561 f17;
 3565 f15; 3585 ff 106/107

dinners it is seriously to be wished that the dignity of the Mayor was properly supported for the cost attending a judicious display of the first magisterial dignity would be more than compensated by the awe and admiration which official power would inspire in the prevention of youthful depravity". (63)

If Blackner was unduly convinced of the value of example, he reflects nevertheless an attitude which many adopted at the time.

In addition to the Mayor there was a host of lesser officials who occupied posts primarily as dignitaries rather than as functional officers. Their salaries too increased substantially through the years. The Chamberlains did not in their accounts distinguish between working men and dignitaries; all who received an annual or quarterly salary were classified together under the heading of "salaries". For our purposes however these people fall into two, not mutually exclusive, groups:- those who were workmen employed only for the services they could render the Corporation by labour or "professional" training; and those who held an Office which, while not purely nominal, was nevertheless

(63) J. Blackner, op. cit., 275

primarily a perpetuation of the age long civic dignity and tradition. Into the former group fall the labourers, sweepers, paver, scavenger, clock winder, firemen, surveyor, the pilots and the Vicar at Boston, the lecturers at York, and the Town Clerk. In the latter fall the Mayor, the Sword and Mace Bearers, the Recorder and his deputy, the Cryer, the Beadle, the musicians or waits, the tip-staves, the Judge and Marshall of the Admiralty at Boston who by 1835 held purely nominal posts, or the huntsman at York.(64) Many of these enjoyed a substantial increase in salary, at York in the late 1700's, at Boston in the early 1800's. Thus at York, including the Mayor's large salary, payments to officials rose steadily throughout the eighteenth century from some £200 in the late 1600's and early 1700's to £500 in 1740; £600 in 1770; £800 in 1800 and £1100 in 1810.(65) The percentage of total expenditure which this represented also rose to some 34% by the late 1700's. By 1800 total expenditure was so high that officials salaries bore a much smaller part, and the drastic reduction of the Mayor's salary in 1816

(64) See appendix XIV

(65) For details of figures see appendix XIV

saw the total outlay on official salaries drop to less than £400 per annum, some 7% of total expenditure. A similar trend can be detected at Boston even with the exclusion of the Mayor's "entertainments" allowance. Officials were rarely dispensed with in order to effect economies or even to remove anachronisms. The waits seemed to occupy the most insecure post, being dismissed and re-appointed not infrequently for minor misdemeanours, or to effect the economies (66), but the City huntsman at York was continued until after 1820 (67) and in spite of his purely nominal role, the Marshall of the Admiralty at Boston continued to have his salary increased, "on account of the eats or expenses of the admiralty juries".(68) Liveries too continued to be provided for many officials and although it was agreed at Boston in 1823 that liveries were no longer to be provided for the Officers,(69) York continued to provide new shoes for the Squires once every three years (70) and liveries for the waits every six years.(71) At Nottingham too liveries continued to be provided, and whilst many were functional as a distinctive uniform for example, for the butter weigher at York, for the Town Cryer or pinder, all liveries

(66) eg. York 1652 YHB37 f36^b; eg. Nottm. Oct. 1st 1672 dismissed, Oct. 11th 1704 re-appointed NHB3471 f6

(67) YCAB passim.

(68) BAB 8 Oct. 10th 1808

(69) BAB 2/A/27 April 28th 1823

(70) E77 1.2.1822

(71) Order of Committee of Trade Apl. 13th 1713. YCAB 1718/19;
YHB43. 28.4.1742

were extensively decorated with gold and silver trimmings. The Squires at York received an "accustomed allowance" for trimming their gowns of £3.16.8 in 1663 (72); at Nottingham a receipt of 1684 records the purchase of four knots of blue ribbon, eighteen yards of blue and eighteen yards of crimson ribbon and four silk tassels for the cryer's coat, and in 1703 17¹⁵/₁₆ oz of gold galloon and 19 ⁵/₈ oz of silver galloon (narrow braid) cost £9.13.8.(73) The bills for liveries did not lessen in frequency as the period progressed. Hats and gowns feature regularly in the accounts of all three boroughs, and at Nottingham between 1823 and 1825 £366.17.0 was spent on hats, £325.8.0 on cloth and the making of liveries and £406.16.6 on drapers bills.(74) Individual bills at York could be no less significant. The four accounts for 1800, 1810, 1820 and 1830 contained bills for the Lord Mayor's court gown, the firemen's, tipstaves' and Bellman's liveries which totalled £87.0.9, and the bills presented in 1831/2 for liveries amounted to £90.7.0.(75)

(72) YCAB 1663/4

(73) Vouchers 1683/4 1798R; 1704/5 1799E no25

(74) NCAB 1823/35

(75) YCAB 1800, 1810, 1820, 1830, 1831

Together with the frequent bills for china, silver, knives and forks, maces and other insignia, these receipts are a constant reminder of the importance to the Corporation of keeping a dignified show, whether at table or in the town at large.

Between 1660 and 1835 the demands of dignity, whether in the guise of feasts, entertainments, celebrations or day to day refreshments and salaries, placed a heavy burden on the civic finances. For most of the period, in its various forms it accounted for some 20 - 30% of total expenditure at York, at Boston some 10 to 40%.(Appendix XI)

The Municipal Commissioners were right to suggest that retrenchment could have been effected, yet this aspect of civic life was of fundamental traditional importance to the civic body. It served a variety of purposes, some less obvious than others, and in certain spheres economies could have been effected with little disturbance to anyone other than the conciliar group itself. Yet such economies, in perhaps annual civic feasts, may not have been of such financial benefit as the Commissioners might have supposed. Acutely sensitive to any hint of wastage, carelessness or privilege, they identified any feast or entertainment as dispensable, yet many of the expenses of dignity remain

equally much today as before 1835. It is no justification for them, but it demonstrates perhaps one of the less tangible elements of civic life; the honour and prestige of the civic government. Nevertheless economy in these spheres was to some extent effected immediately prior to 1835, and thus by 1820 and 1830 more stringent measures here would not have radically aided the corporation finances. However, at a time when in the late 1700's, civic dignity at York could absorb 28% to 41% of the civic expenditure and other commitments led to heavy loans, the unreformed Corporation seems to have had a strange set of values. To suggest however that they were totally misplaced is to put a twentieth century interpretation on eighteenth century life. But what we can state is that in some measure they contributed to financial insolvency.

CHAPTER 12. ANNUAL DEBTS

If some of the civic funds were employed for purposes of dubious value, like feasting and entertainment, as much and increasingly more was spent on business which was less spectacular than the improvements, and less enticing than the festivities. For each borough had a number of financial commitments which created an annual demand on the funds before extraordinary expenses could even be considered. Some of these have already been examined; the repair costs, the salaries of workmen and Officials, but beyond these were others of a less obviously beneficial nature associated with rents and dues demanded by others of the Corporation.

Chief amongst these by virtue of their antiquity rather than their amount were the fee farm and other quit rents and out rents requisitioned by the Crown under the original Charter grants in return for the privileges and resources granted to the Civic body. The fee farm rent was still payable by all three Corporations in 1835 for despite the facility afforded by the Act of 1787 enabling the Crown to sell fee farm and other unimprovable rents, none of them chose to purchase the entitlement to collect it. Nottingham Corporation did consider buying it from the Crown and application was made to the Commissioners (2)

(2) NHB 3546 f 18th May 1787

but the price was perhaps too high for the entitlement passed to the Misses Corbett who twice in 1806 and 1808 offered to sell to the Corporation. The Council however declined the offer considering even the lower price of 800 guineas to be excessive.(3)

The decision was probably not ill-considered for the fee farm rent was static and in real terms had become much less of a demand on the civic funds since 1660. Moreover at Nottingham, as initially at York, it was paid by the Sheriffs in return for the right to take tolls, and did not therefore create an obvious burden upon the Chamber funds. Nevertheless since 1804 the Sheriffs at Nottingham had been indemnified from all expenses beyond their receipts (4) and the Chamberlains had met the deficits, so the fee farm was not entirely beyond the general civic cognizance or obligations. However at some £50 per annum it would have taken seventeen years to recoup the capital outlay required for purchase and at a time of inflation the gain was even more dubious.

At Nottingham the fee farm rent was recorded in 1824 as £50.4.0d per annum,(5) but at Boston it was only some £17 per annum.(6) Together with the land tax on this rent and quit rents and other out rents, the annual payment

(3) NHB 3567 f 42

(4) NHB 3563 f 68 This had occurred before^{an} application by the Sheriffs, but it was not to be a precedent. NHB3545 f 21 1786. Now the Sheriffs were automatically indemnified.

(5) Sheriffs' Account 1824/5 1846 I 90 b.ii. Few Sheriffs' accounts remain.

(6) BCAB passim.; See table 673

generally fluctuated between £17 and £24 per annum.

It was by no means a heavy burden therefore and was hardly worth purchasing, but at York the fee farm rents were rather more substantial, totalling with expenses, some £70 to £80 in most years.(7) The fee farm rents had originally been set at £160 but reductions and remissions were obtained during the Tudor period because of York's financial problems.(8) For some time however, as at Nottingham, the Sheriffs were responsible for paying a large part of the rent and during the late seventeenth century the Chamberlains paid only £12 per annum for the fee farm and some £1.14.0d for a free rent. By 1710 however the Chamber funds were paying a full £78.12.0,(9) and it would appear that the Sheriffs were no longer chargeable on this account. Already in 1664 the two Sheriffs, Timothy Squire and George Gledstone, had refused to pay the rents, but the Court of Exchequer in 1667 decreed that Gledstone and Squire were liable (10) and the Recorder expressed his hope that the case would "ever put an end to yor annuall feares of beinge inforced to pay the ffee farme rents to the Kinge and Lord Ffairefax and all succeedinge sheriffs will now be satisfied that it is due for them to pay"(11). Clearly however it did not settle this issue for during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century the fee farm rents were ^{again} paid from the Chamber funds.

(7) YCAB passim.; See table 673

(8) VCH York 123

(9) YCAB 1710/11 and passim.

(10) YC/CH A48 28th May 1667

(11) Letters re.City affairs E/85 31.1.1666/7

In addition to the fee farm, other rents were often owed for properties leased to the Corporation. At York the estate at Tanghall was leased for £24.16.0 per annum from the Prebend of Fridaythorpe; two houses in Minster Yard were held from the Prebendary of Wistow for £6 per annum, and the tithes from the Fawdington estate (purchased by the Corporation in 1721) were leased from the Archbishop of York.(12) It was not however the annual rental which burdened the Corporation in this case for it was at a fixed rate. It was rather the cost of renewing the leases on expiry. Tanghall was held on renewable lease for three lives, but although the Corporation took care to insert a youngster at each renewal, replacements were often required all too frequently. Between 1693 and 1716 three renewals were necessary in only twenty-three years, the total cost to the Corporation being £590.(13) This sum was greatly inflated by the renewal of 1710/11 which cost £450, and the subsequent addition of lives in 1739 and 1740 cost only £105 each.(14) After 1716 the Corporation was rather more successful in its choice of lives. In 1716 George Ambler "aged about fifteen years" was "putt into Doctor Deerings Prebend lease of Tang Hall"(15) He lived for a further thirty-nine years, to be replaced by sixteen year old John Raper.(16)

(12) YCAB passim.

(13) YCAB 1693/4; 1701/2; 1710/11 and passim.

(14) YCAB 1739/40; 1741/2

(15) YHB 41 f 168

(16) YHB 43 f 48

However since the rate remained static, the fines for renewal increased markedly. During the later eighteenth century the charge for renewals stood in the region of £450 (17), in 1812 the renewal fine was £1550 (18), rising to £2000 in 1829 for the addition of one life. (19)

The renewal fines for the leases of Minster Yard houses and Fawdington Tithes were not of the same magnitude as Tang Hall, yet they too rose substantially in cost over the years.

Renewal Fines paid by York Corporation. (20)

Tang Hall			Minster Yard			Fawdington Tithes	
Date	Fine	Exps.	Date	Fine	Exps	Date	Costs
1663/4	- - -	15. 4.0					
1693/4	70. 0. 0	3. 5.6					
1701/2	70. 0. 0	8.13.10					
1710/11	450. 0. 0	1. 1.6					
1716/17	107.10.0		1713/14		21.10.0		
1739	105. 0.0		1721/2		24. 0.0		
1740	105. 0.0	9. 3.4				1730/1	13.18.0($\frac{1}{2}$)
1771/2	445. 0.0		1768/9	City's share	11.13.4	1744/5	20. 6. 6($\frac{1}{2}$)
1776/7	400. 0.0		1778/9	115. 0.0			
1778/9	450. 0.0		1787/8	115. 0.0	4. 2.0	1763/4	} 21. 2. 0($\frac{1}{2}$)
1787/8	450. 0.0		1800/1	130. 0.0	5.10.6	1764/5	
1812	1550. 0.0		1822	140. 0.0		1786/7	56.13. 0
1829	2000. 0.0					1787/8	34. 5. 0

Initially the Chamber offset the heavy lease renewal charges by similar demands upon their own tenants.

(17) eg. YCAB 1771/2; 1776/7; 1778/9; 1787/8.

(18) Acc 86 / 12

(19) MCR 1753

(20) YCAB passim; Acc 86/12; E77 passim.

In 1723 the lease committee ruled that "Upon the granting any leases of prebendal lands no rents shall be increased or advanced but the leasees shall give a premise or sum of money in hand and that the like method shall be observed upon all renewals of such leases".(21) Subsequently in 1724/5 a £60 (22) fine was paid, and in 1728/9 Caleb Greenbury paid a lease entry fine of £100.(23) But as with other properties this practice was abandoned in favour of increased rents, and as with the Minster Yard houses in 1715 leases were renewed at increased rentals.(24)

By the nineteenth century however renewal fines charged by the Prebends had become so large that financial planning was considered expedient by the Finance Committee. Accordingly in 1823 a fund for the renewal of leases and the repair of bridges was initiated with the investment of £2000 in 4% New Government Consols.(25) This fund was at first augmented only slowly by the yearly dividends accruing, but after 1829 it was customary to invest £400 annually from the Chamber funds.(26) In that year the renewal of Tang Hall lease caused the withdrawal of no less than £2208.4.11.(27) The fund was steadily replenished, but in 1834 the Corporation transferred to a more modern scheme; that of insurance. A policy was taken out with the Norwich Ins.Co. for £2000 on the three lives in the Tang Hall lease, at an annual premium of £194.(28)

(21) E101 f85

(22) YCAB 1724/5; E101 ff 109,111

(23) YCAB 1728/9

(24) E101 f62 1715

(25) E77

(26) YCAB passim.

(27) K110

(28) K110 Feb.3.1835

Whatever method the Corporation adopted however they had substantial outgoings to meet for rent and lease costs connected with their prebendal estates. In the twenty-three years from 1693 to 1716 renewal costs and the £24 per annum rent for the Tang Hall Estates involved the Corporation in a total expenditure of £1214; an average of almost £53 per annum.(29) During the entire eighteenth century over £2,550 was paid for renewals and additions to the Tang Hall lease.(30) Annual rents would have accounted for a further £2,480.

The Corporation however still made a good profit on these properties. The rents which they charged their tenants were steadily raised. In 1660 the tenant of Tang Hall paid the Corporation £80 per annum (31). In 1681 he paid £124.14.10,(32) and by 1812 the rent realised £460 per annum rising to £530 in 1829 and £743 in 1833.(33) Thus in the twenty-three year period, from 1693 to 1716, assuming the rent to have stayed at its 1690 figure of £121 per annum,(34) the total produce for the Corporation would have been some £2783. Deducting the rent and lease expenses of £1214 the total profit to the Corporation would have been £1569, or £68 per annum on average.

(29) YCAB passim.

(30) Table 666

(31) Chamber rentals C73-1

(32) Ibid., C77-4

(33) Rentals 1812; 1829; 1833

(34) Rentals 1690

Although however the balance of the account on such leases was substantially to the civic advantage, the extraordinary costs of leasing the estates from the prebends played havoc with the somewhat static corporate income.

The local and national government taxes depleted the annual civic income in a more relentless and insidious manner. Land tax, poor rates, highway assessments, tithes, drainage taxes and associated demands, feature incessantly in the accounts. They were rarely an excessive burden. By their nature they were assessed in proportion to wealth, and tenants were generally, although not exclusively, responsible for paying the assessments made on lands which they rented from the civic authorities. Nevertheless such assessments rose substantially during the eighteenth century. At Boston land tax paid by the Corporation increased from £60.1.6 in 1750 to £93.6.0 in 1780 and it remained at this sort of level for the rest of the period being steady at £90.12.0 per annum from 1825 until 1834. (35) Land tax and drainage together in 1821 amounted to £112. (36)

BOSTON	1700	1710	1719	1730	1741	1750	1760
Land Tax	16.18. 0	44. 6. 0	54.11. 6	41. 1. 0	78.14. 0	60. 1. 6	82. 6. 0
Fee Farm	1. 8. 8	18.19. 0	22.10. 8	19.10. 7	17. 7. 0	23. 3. 9	21.17. 6
Total?	18. 6. 8	63. 5. 0	77. 2. 2	60.11. 7	96. 1. 0	83. 5. 3	104. 3. 6
	1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830
Land Tax	60.13. 6	93. 6. 0	92.18. 2	89. 8. 2	90.10. 2	93.15. 2	90.12. 0
Fee Farm	36. 9.11	20.10. 9	19. 1. 5	1.12. 9	17.17.10*	17. 7. 4	17. 7. 8
Total:	97. 3. 5	113.16. 9	111.19. 7	91. 0.11	108. 8. 0	109. 2. 6	107. 19. 8
	* Estimated as $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total sum which was paid for 4 years.						

(35) BCAB passim; Finance Committee 2/D/5 3.2.1831, 1832, 10.1.1833, April 1834

(36) Finance Committee 2/D/5 26.7.1821

In all three Boroughs some consideration was given to redeeming the Land Tax by purchase. At Boston the appointment of a committee to purchase the tax achieved apparently nothing, for payment of tax continued.(37) At York however, redemption was effected on some properties. Thus in 1824 the Land Tax on the Moats and Stable near Skeldergate Postern was purchased (38) and in 1834 the tax on Mint Yard was redeemed. Previously amounting to £21.16s per annum, the tax on the latter was purchased for £724.7.10½d payable in instalments of £120.14s.7¾d over six years. This was equivalent to some thirty-three years of tax.(39) At Nottingham it was decided that although the Land Tax on the Bridge and School Estates would be redeemed, that on the Chamber Estate would not.(40) The Land Tax was not however at Nottingham a charge of much significance. All tenants paid their own tax and the tax payable on other civic property in 1824 totalled only £12.8s.0d. Poor Church and Highway rates totalled £24.3s.9d (41), but, like the fee farm, these were all paid by the Sheriffs.

Nevertheless the parochial assessments payable on the Exchange totalled a further £17 to £23 during the nineteenth century.(42) Further parochial rates were payable at Nottingham on the profits of the Market Place too. These accounts were kept separately after 1826 and the Municipal Commissioners discovered

(37) Order of Hall Nov.16th 1798 4/C/2/64

(38) E77 October 29th 1824

(39) K110 Feb.3rd 1835

(40) NHB 3558 ff 29-30 April 12th 1799

(41) Sheriffs' Accounts 1824/5 1846 I 90bii. Few Sheriffs' accounts remain and therefore comparative figures cannot be provided.

(42) NCAB passim.

that in 1832 the rates on this account totalled £203.10s.0d, almost 20% of the total Market Place expenditure of £1039.10s.(43) This was the largest single item of expense in the account excepting the subscription to the Chapel Bar improvement. The Commissioners Report however appears to include the £60 paid annually to the overseers of St.Mary's Parish for cleaning the Market Place, but it is clear from the extant vouchers for other years that the legitimate parish rates in fact accounted for some 12% to 15% of the annual outgoings.

Market Place Accounts - Nottingham.(43a)

	1830	1831	1832	1833
Poor Rates	£129.10s	£122.10s	£140.0s	£ 96.5s
Highway Rates	14. 0	14. 0	14.0	14.0
Church Rates	<u>14. 0</u>	<u>- -</u>	<u>5.5s</u>	<u>15.15s.</u>
	<u>157.10s</u>	<u>136.10s</u>	<u>159.5s</u>	<u>126.0</u>

It was however the income on property tax started in 1799 "for granting an aid and contribution for the Prosecution of the War" (44), but repealed in 1802 for the more watertight Act of 1803, which made the most severe demands on the Corporations. In response to this fact the civic body at Nottingham joined the other propertied classes in petitioning Parliament immediately after the war for the repeal of the Property tax which ".....whether justifiable or not when first imposed under the pretext of the necessity and justice of war....."

(43) MCR 1999

(43a) Market Place Accounts 2154; 2155; 2156; 2157

(44) Printed Tax Office Form Sept.1800 NCAB 1821 A145

..... is in itself a burden not to be endured longer than the necessity for imposing it exists, and from the unavoidable injustice in the mode of assessing and collecting, is a grievance insupportable by men conceiving themselves entitled to all the blessings of the British constitution".(45)

Nevertheless in the short period of its imposition the income tax made increasing demands upon the civic funds. In 1799 the taxable income of the Corporation of Nottingham was £400 on which tax was paid at 10%.(46) Over the years however the amount of tax paid substantially increased.

Nottingham. Property Tax paid 1800 to 1816.(47)

Year	£..s..d	Year	£..s..d	Year	£..s..d
1800/01	40..0..0	1806	63.4. 10	1811	61..8..9
1801		1807	110..1..9	1812	126.19.11½
1802		1808	86. 9.11	1813	106.12. 4
1803		1804 } 28.10.11		1814	107. 6. 7½
1804	24.18..4½	1809 }		1815	103.19. 2½
1805	21.12..9½	1809	65.18. 8	1816	35. 9. 9½
		1810	94. 2.11		

At Boston no reference to income tax occurs in the accounts other than the payment in 1800 of £50 on this account.(48) Whether such sums were subsequently paid from the Treasury or from other sources is not therefore clear, but at York, as at Nottingham tax was paid by the Chamberlains, £73.6.8d being paid in 1799/1800 and £103.6.8d in the following year.(49)

(45) NHB 3575 ff 45 to 47 Feb.23rd 1816

(46) NHB 3558 f 27; Accounts 1820 AII, 19

(47) NCAB 1800 to 1816

(48) BCAB 1800/01

(49) YCAB 1799/1800, 1800/1801

BOSTON	Date	Fee Farm & Out Rents	Land Tax	Parish & Other Taxes	Income Tax	Paving & Lighting Assessments	Charity Trusts	Insurance	Interest & Annuities	TOTAL
1700		1. 8. 8	13. 4. 0	4.18. 9			17.12. 1			37. 3. 6
1710		18.19. 0	47.10. 0				6.10. 2			72.19. 2
1717		2. 8. 4½	57. 4. 6	0. 2.11½			10.13. 6			70. 9. 4
1730		19.10. 7	41. 1. 0				5. 0. 0			65.11. 7
1741		17. 7. 0	78.14. 0				5. 0. 0		10. 0. 0	111. 1. 0
1749		18. 5. 5	84. 6. 0				25. 0. 0		24.10. 0	152. 1. 5
1750		23. 3. 9	60. 1. 6				25. 0. 0		24.10. 0	132.15. 3
1751		24. 3. 6	60. 1. 6				25. 3. 9		22.10. 0	131.18. 9
1760		21.17. 6	82. 6. 0				25. 0. 0		32. 0. 0	161. 3. 6
1770		36. 9.11	60.13. 6	3. 6. 6			9. 1. 0		124.15. 0	234. 5.11
1780		20.10. 9	93. 6. 0			22. 5. 3	32. 2. 9½	3.15. 0	761. 3. 0	933. 2. 2½
1790		19. 1. 5	92.18. 2			22.14.10½	24.11. 8	6. 7. 6	903. 0. 0	1068.13.7½
1800		1.12. 9	89. 8. 2	3. 9.10	50. 0. 0	66.19. 4½	28. 4. 8½	7. 5. 0	809. 0. 0	1055.19.10
1810	4 yrs	71.11. 4	90.10. 2	10. 17. 6		65.19. 6	26. 4. 0	8. 2. 6	1207. 1. 0	1480. 6. 0
1819		17. 7. 4	92. 1. 2	11. 8. 6		65. 4. 6	26. 8. 2	9.14. 0	1920. 7.10	2141.11. 6
1820		17. 7. 4	91.15. 2	15. 7.10		65. 4. 6	23. 4. 1½	8. 14. 0	2007. 7. 6	2229. 0. 5½
1821		17. 7. 8	89.10. 6	17.18. 2		65. 4. 6	23. 0. 0		2041. 0. 0	2255. 0.10
1830		17. 7. 8	90.12. 0	11.14. 8		170. 7. 0	27.10. 0	21. 14. 6	1983. 6. 6	2322.12. 4

Notes:

In years where the figures seem disproportionate in some way it is generally a result of payment being withheld for one or more years although on occasions payment may have been made under another guise.

NOTTINGHAM	Date	Interest	Annuity	Insurance	Parish rates	Charity Trusts	Bilbies	Permanent	TOTAL
1823		940.12. 0	734. 4. 9	37. 3. 0	17. 1.10	17. 0. 0	7. 6. 3	83.15. 9	1937. 3. 7
1824		763.14. 7	670.13. 0	39. 0. 0		17. 0. 0	8. 9. 6	91.10. 9	1590. 7.10
1825		580. 2. 0	656.13.0	33.19. 0	27. 7. 7	17. 0. 0	10. 5. 9	93. 3. 0	1418.10. 4
1826		563. 8. 6	650.13.0	34.10. 6		17. 0. 0	4. 8. 6	95.10. 6	1365.11. 0
1827		665. 2. 4	650.13.0	38. 3. 9		17. 0. 0	42. 1. 6	94.15. 1	1507.15. 8
1828		537. 0. 0	650.13.0	35.14. 6		17. 0. 0	8.12. 6	95.19. 6	1344.19. 6
1829		615. 5. 6	627.11. 0	34. 9. 6	22.18. 9	17. 0. 0	4. 2. 6	102. 3. 0	1423.10. 3
1830		814.17. 6	636.13. 9	45. 8. 3	22.15.10	17. 0. 0	43.19. 0	36. 4. 9	1676.19. 1
1831		863.12. 0	644.11. 0	44.19. 3		17. 0. 0	9.14. 0	97.16.11	1677.13. 2
1832		785.10. 0	644.11. 0	44.13. 0		18. 0. 0	10.13. 6	100.19. 6	1604. 7. 0
1833		774.18. 0	493.15. 6	44. 4. 0		18. 0. 0	4.16. 6	99. 3. 3	1434.17. 3
1834		846.13. 6	456.15. 0	44. 4. 0		18. 0. 0	7.13. 0	207.14. 0	1580.19. 6
Total;		8750.15.11	7517.7. 0	476. 8. 9	90. 4. 0	207. 0. 0	162. 2. 6	1258.16.0	

Notes:

Insurance includes small payments for land tax but is primarily insurance premiums on the Exchange and Gaol, the Leather Bottle and Union Inns and post 1830 Langley Charities.

Parish Rates Poor, Church, Lamp and Highway Assessments on the Exchange.

Charity Trusts Lady Grantham's, Tibsons and Robinsons and post 1832 Staples.

Permanent Annuity payable out of Butcher's Close to Rector of St.Nicholas. £4.15.0. Stewards Duty 10/0 or £1.0.0. The rest is cash paid in lieu of Burgesse parts. These were parcels of land granted to the Burgessees by seniority at nominal rent. They became a severe hindrance to the Corporation by preventing economic exploitation of the estates, but from the later eighteenth century the Council made sustained attempts to resume them, making cash grants each year in lieu.

In addition each Council had increasingly taken Insurance Policies on their properties. This was largely a product of the expensive eighteenth century rebuilding which each Borough undertook, and prudent and necessary as such measures were, they involved another annual outgoing for the premiums. To these commitments should be added also the annual dividends due from the many Charity Trusts managed by the Civic Authorities.

YORK	Date	Fee Farm & Other Rents	Land Tax & Parochial Assessments	Income Tax	Charity Trusts	Insurance	Interest	Lease Renewal	Permanent Annuities	Stock for Renewal of Lease	TOTAL
	1661-2	49. 2. 9			61.12. 6						110.15. 5
	1671-2	45. 7. 4	3.14. 0		31.10. 8						80.12. 0
	1680	44.14. 4	9.10. 0		58. 0. 0						112. 4. 4
	1692	71. 0. 0			103. 3. 4						174. 3. 4
	1700	30.16. 8	2. 5. 9		244. 3. 4						277. 5. 9
	1710	108.14. 2	8. 0. 0		137. 8. 4		25. 0. 0	450. 0. 0			729. 2. 6
	1720	105.16. 9			138.18. 0						244.14. 9
	1730	125. 9. 9	11. 4. 1		180. 9. 0		32.10. 0				349.12.10
	1740	122. 8. 0	17.13. 6		197.19. 0		17. 5. 6				355. 6. 0
	1749	112. 3. 11	19.14. 0		188. 9. 0		24. 0. 0				344. 6.11
	1750	104.17. 1	22. 7. 4		190.19.0		24. 0. 0				342. 3. 5
	1751	133.19. 9	17.18.0		189. 6. 9½		24. 0. 0				365. 4. 6½
	1760	99. 4. 8	24.19. 8		191.15. 0		135.14. 0				451.13. 4
	1770	154. 5. 7	18.15. 3½		198. 5. 0		109. 0. 0		19.10. 0		499.15.10½
	1780	107. 5. 3	31. 4. 6		207.15. 0		211.13. 9		22.10. 0		580. 8. 6
	1790	134. 2.11	42.11.10½		201.15. 0		150. 0. 0		22.10. 0		550.19. 9½
	1800	112.13. 1	56.18. 1½	103. 6. 8	286.13. 6		381. 1. 8	130. 0. 0	22.10. 0		1093. 3. 0½
	1810	46.10. 0½	87. 7. 2	86. 3. 8	194.19. 0	5.10. 0	811.13. 9		12. 0. 0		1244. 3. 7½
	1819	113. 0. 8½	86.19. 8		206. 7. 0	6. 0. 0	2411. 7. 5*		34.13. 0 12. 0. 0		2870. 7. 9½
	1820	110. 2. 4	94.13. 8		227. 5. 0	6. 0. 0	1977. 0. 1		12. 0. 0		2427. 1. 1
	1821	113.14. 5½	87.17. 8		225. 7. 0	6. 0. 0	1844. 0. 6		12. 0. 0		2288.19. 7½
	1830	89.12. 7	178. 8. 0		559. 4. 6	6. 0. 0	537. 0. 0	8. 8. 0	10.10. 0	400. 0. 0	1789. 3. 1

* Figures include principle repayments.

The Trust Estates which were administered in this way as separate funds, often with substantial rental income, did not involve the Chamber funds in any annual commitment and clearly were at times a positive benefit to civic finances. But in all three Boroughs smaller charities were held in trust for which as a result of bequests generally in money, but sometimes in

property, the Civic funds were liable annually to charitable donations. The bequests had often long since ceased to exist in real terms, and there was frequently therefore no investment from which the Corporation received the annual dividends. The payments thus came from the ordinary civic funds, and although they were a rightful due for which the civic authorities had, in times past, received endowments, they created a further annual debt which could, as at York, be particularly large. At Boston the Chamberlains paid annually from 1749 to 1835, £5 to the Vicar from Margery's legacy; £5 for coals under Morley's, Bird's and Calthrop's legacies, a further variable small sum for coals for the poor, and £12 from Brown's legacy for four poor widows. At Nottingham the Corporation managed several Charities in addition to the School and Bridge Estates, some of which were given to augment the two major Charities, for example; Gellestrop's for the Bridge Estate and Parkers used to augment the free school library.(50) As a result the Chamberlains were liable to pay £17 per annum during the early nineteenth century for Lady Grantham's, Tibson's and Robinson's Charities, Staple's Charity of £1 per annum being added in 1832.(51) In addition, the Lambley and Bilby Charities produced a rental income which was managed by the Chamberlains and the Corporation received income every fifth year from Sir Thomas White's Charity from which £50 loans were granted for young men setting up in businesses.

(50) CCR 462 to 523; NHB 3571 ff 19 to 20

(51) NCAB *passim*.

York Payments on Charitable Trusts.

Trust	Amount payable p.a.	1671	1692	1710	1730	1750	1770	1790	1810	1820	1830
BOWES	2.10.0	50.0.0	3. 0.0	3. 0. 0	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
WEDDALL	5. 0.0		6. 0.0	6. 0. 0	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
PEACOCK	3. 4.0		3. 9.4		/	/	/	/	/	/	/
VAUX	14. 0.0		15. 0.0	/	/	/	/	/	8.16. 0	/	/
JACKSON	10. 0.0			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
ROGERSON	1.10.0	/	6. 0.0	/	/	/	/	/	nil	/	/
WALTER	6. 0.0		7. 4.0	7. 4. 0	/	/	/	/	5. 8. 0	/	/
FARNELL	1. 5.0		1.10.0	1.10. 0	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
COTTERILL	5. 0.0	8.0.0	6. 0.0	6. 0. 0	/	/	/	/	nil	/	/
BURLEY	6. 0.0	1.2.6	1.10.0	/	/	/	/	nil	/	/	/
BUCK	1. 0.0	/	/	/	/	/	nil	/	nil	/	/
MIDDLETON	69. 0.0		39. 0.0	17. 5.0	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
NORTH	0.10.0	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1.10.0	/
STERNE	10. 0.0			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
THORNILL	6.10.0				13. 0.0	5. 0. 0	/	/	5. 0.0	5. 0.0	5. 0.0
TYREMAN	12. 0.0					/	/	4. 0.0	16. 0.0	8. 0.0	/
RAMSDEN	15. 0.0				20. 0.0	/	/	/	14. 0.0	/	/
PRINCE	4. 0.0					/	/	/	/	/	/
BARKER	6. 0.0					/	/	/	2. 0.0	/	/
WATSON	3. 0.0		6. 0.0			/	/	nil	nil	nil	nil
TURNER	7. 0.0		7. 0.0	3. 9.4		/	/	/	/	/	/
PICKARD	variable							10. 0.0	10. 0.0	16. 0.0	21. 0.0
EDMONDSON	1. 6.0						/	/	/	/	/
WHITEHEAD	1. 0.0						/	/	/	/	/
OWRAM (1)	1.12.0							nil	nil	nil	nil
MUSGRAVE	5. 0.0							10. 0.0	/	20. 0.0	10.0. 0
YATES	4. 0.0							/	/	4. 0.0	/
MYERS	14.16.0										34. 1.4
HARTLEY											27. 2.10
LUNTLY											64. 2.6
WOODHOUSE											15. 1.10
LAURENCE	3% of £40										1. 9. 0
NORFOLK											15. 0. 0
BOWER											10. 7. 1
GIRDLER	1.10.0										7.12.11
TOWNEND											9. 2. 0
LADY HEWLEY											25. 0. 0
SCOTT	4. 0.0					/	/	/	/	/	/
THOMAS WHITE (2)											125. 0. 0
JOHNSON (2)											
LOVELAND (2)				50.0.0	12.10.0						
CRUX PARISH	4.10.0					/					
TOTAL		61.12.6	103. 3.4	137. 8.4	180. 9. 0	190.19.0	198. 5.0	201.15. 0	194.19.0	227. 5.0	559. 4.6

NOTES:

- (1) Payable every other year.
 - (2) Available for loan and therefore not distributed every year.
 - (3) Probably confused by the Accountant.
- Where the correct payment was made this is indicated thus: /

At York the number of Charity Trusts paid each year by the Chamberlains rose from eleven in 1671, costing £31.10s.8d, to thirty-six in 1830, costing £434.4s.6d, exclusive of the receipts and expenditure on another of Sir Thomas White's Charities which York received every twenty-four years. At this time, in 1830 the Corporation received £183.19s6d per annum in dividends on stock invested for charitable purposes; (52) and a small amount in rents; the balance required to make the payments had to be met from the ordinary Chamber Funds.

It has been suggested however that such payments were not always unprofitable to the unreformed Borough. In the first place they were a means of patronage, a point raised by the Municipal Commissioners at Nottingham in relation to the School Estate (53), and evidence of malpractice can be found. Thus at Nottingham the Hall agreed in 1728 that Timothy Watson "in regard of the purchase he lately made of this corpton He having given an advanced price for the same", should have £50 Thomas White money "although he had formerly £50 of the same money". (54) More importantly for this study they could be a means of financial gain rather than loss. The Webb found that at Coventry the Corporation between 1689 and 1835 was "flagrantly dishonest as a charitable trustee" (55), only partially distributing the extensive endowments, and virtually embezzling the Thomas White endowment. Not all the unreformed Councils were equally corrupt

(52) YCAB 1830/31

(53) J. Cockayne, A report of the Evidence given before the Commissioners appointed to enquire into Municipal Corporations (1833) 24, 25

(54) NHB 3487/23b

(55) S. and B. Webb, The Manor and the Borough (1963) 411, 412

By careful searching, satisfactory running accounts, of the Charity trusts and other financial matters can be constructed from the Chamber Accounts at Nottingham, Boston and York, and in most cases, payments due from the trusts were honestly and correctly made.(56) Embelement does not appear in a sustained or deliberate way, although payments were sometimes overlooked and may indeed, at times, have been withheld in order to eke out the civic finances. Lady Grantham's Charity of £10 per annum remained unpaid by Nottingham Corporation on several occasions between 1770 and 1775 and 1796 and 1800,(57) when civic expenditure was unusually high and the Chamber Estate faced heavy legal bills from George Coldham which by 1803/4 had helped to create a debt of £1575.12.10³/₄d(58) Nevertheless the system was defective and when a Trust was under or over spent in any year the accounts for the following year provided no systematic way of correcting or even recalling the error until independent accounts were compiled. With such a system it is perhaps not surprising that at Nottingham, Lady Grantham's Charity was regularly underpaid by £1 per annum, for her bequest provided for £10 per annum to be applied, in £3 grants, to set out apprentices. On the other hand the Council made up the deficiencies in Bilbie's Charity as

(56) Table 676

(57) In 1710/1, 1771/2, 1773/4, 1775/6, 1796/7, 1797/8, 1799/1800

(58) NCAB passim.

regularly as they absorbed the profits, and even after Ledger Accounts were kept the Corporation continued to make good the deficits. Indeed in 1803 the Common Hall agreed to give the company of the Bilbie Almshouses a sixpenny loaf instead of a twopenny one (59), despite the obvious inadequacy of the funds to meet the cost, and the deficit continued to be met by the Chamber Funds. Between 1802 and 1834 this deficit amounted to £338.11.4¹/₂d which had been paid by the Chamberlains.(60)

At the same time, now that accounting procedures were sufficiently sophisticated, the profits of the Lanbley Charity were carefully maintained in the Charity Accounts.(61) Further annual payments still remained due from the Chamberlains however. In addition to the annual premiums due on charity trusts and the assessments payable to parish and central government, each Corporation had also the annual interest on loans and annuities to pay. As the period from 1660 to 1835 progressed the Chamberlains financial commitments in all these spheres became steadily heavier, but by far the largest outgoing of all of these came to be that of the Council's own making; their interest and annuity payments.

(59) NHB 3563 f 18

(60) Ledger A f 173; Bf3; Cff 140,253,262; D f 32;
NCAB 1823 to 1824

(61) NCAB Ledger A; Bf 2; Cff 138, 253

The last twelve accounts prior to 1834 at Nottingham indicate this clearly, but the ten yearly tables constructed for Boston and York perhaps illustrate the position best. Interest payments show the largest rise over the period from 1660 to 1835, but Land Tax, Parish and other Local Government Assessments increased in number and size too during the eighteenth century. (62)

From the analysis of expenditure presented in Appendix it becomes apparent that interest inclusive of principal repayments and taxes at York over the three year period from 1749 to 1751 accounted on average for 11% of total expenditure. But during the three year period from 1819 to 1821 they accounted for 44.6% of total expenditure. Again the figures illustrate clearly that this was caused primarily by a swing in interest and principal payments.

York Abstract from appendix XI.

% of Total Expenditure:-	1749	1750	1751	Total	Ave:
Taxes	9.6	7.2	11.2	28.0	9.3
Interest	<u>1.8</u>	<u>1.4</u>	<u>1.8</u>	<u>5.0</u>	<u>1.7</u>
Total:				<u>33.0</u>	<u>11.0</u>
% of Total Expenditure:-	1819	1820	1821	Total	Ave.
Taxes	3.0	3.7	4.0	10.7	3.6
Interest	<u>36.8</u>	<u>49.0</u>	<u>37.4</u>	<u>123.2</u>	<u>41.0</u>
Total:				<u>133.9</u>	<u>44.6</u>

(62) Appendix XI

If all annual commitments and tenant arrears are included the figures are more variable, but the York accounts show clearly that they absorbed always a substantial percentage of total expenditure generally in the region of 20% to 30% rising to more than 40% during the three year period from 1819.(63)

(63) Appendix XI

CHAPTER 13

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WELFARE OF THE BOROUGH

The concern which the three Borough Councils evinced for the improvement of the economic centres of their towns was only one dimension of their overall interest in all matters pertaining to the commercial and economic wellbeing of their townships and inhabitants. Such interest rarely involved extensive civic funds but all three Councils proved willing to back their opinions and suggestions with cash.

Trade and Communication

Chief amongst their priorities were all matters pertaining to the navigable accessibility of their Boroughs. Both York and Nottingham stood close to the head of navigable stretches of river. Boston faced the problems prevalent in the Wash rivers, of shifting sand banks and constant silting of the harbour and channel. All three Boroughs kept a vigilant and often encouraging eye upon Acts of Parliament relating to river improvements and canal building. Their motives were fairly straight forward, namely to promote all schemes directly associated with their stretch of river, or areas of interest, and to oppose all schemes which might be advantageous to other towns, or disadvantageous to their own. Thus in 1773 the Common Hall at Boston agreed that since the improvements in the navigation between Boston and Sleaford "may be advantageous to the Town of Boston", the Mayor should attend the meeting.(1)

(1) BAB6 f149

Nearer home the Council involved themselves more intimately in proceedings. Often they approached their M.P's for support of Bills before the House of Commons. When in 1775 a meeting of the merchants, traders and Masters of vessels and pilots of the Borough resolved "that it would be for the general interest of this Borough to apply to Parliament for an Act for the better regulation of the pilots belonging to this Port"; the Mayor and Common Hall registered their support of the resolution, appointed a committee to promote and forward the same; asked the Town Clerk to solicit the matter, applied to the M.P's for their help and agreed to "lay down the money necessary for obtaining the Act", the Town Clerk being permitted to draw upon the Chamberlain "such sums as he may want for the said purpose".(2)

The condition of the river and harbour at Boston remained a matter of keen concern to the Corporation and attempts to improve the situation through the medium of local Acts of Parliament were not lacking. In 1757 Kinderley reported that "Boston haven is worse than it was ever known to be, for whereas thirty years ago a ship of 250 tons could get up to Boston town, now even a small sloop of but 40 or 50 tons and which drawn but six feet of water cannot sail to or from the Town but at Spring tide".(3)

(2) BAB 6f212 Chamberlains accounts for that year are missing and no reference occurs in those for 1776/7.

(3) P. Thompson, op. cit., 360, 361

Aware of the problem, the Common Hall in the 1730's, 1740's and 1750's (4) subscribed towards schemes for improving the Witham and finally in 1760 gave a further £130 towards the expenses of an Act of Parliament for restoring the navigation between Boston and Lincoln.(5) A further £100 was given on loan in 1761 (6) and in the following year an Act was obtained to drain the surrounding fen lands and restore the Witham navigation by scouring and partially canalizing the river course between Lincoln and Boston and erecting a Grand Sluice upstream of Boston Bridge to stem the tide.(7) The Common Hall made further generous subscriptions to the fund raising with a loan of £2100 in 1762 (8) and the purchase of further shares over the next thirteen years.(9)

At a time when the Corporation had already heavily indebted itself through such schemes as Coopers Row, these subscriptions represent less of an investment, despite their 5% return, than an interest in promoting schemes for the economic improvement of the area.

The river and outfall however continued to present problems, not least because of the mistaken technology of the Grand Sluice which caused more silting

(4) BAB 5 f 445 £30; BAB 1743 f 504 40 gns; BAB 752 f 549 40gns;
BAB 1753 f 550 £500

(5) BAB 5 f 609

(6) BAB 5 ff 619,629

(7) 2 Geo.III c32 1762.

(8) BAB 5 ff 625,627

(9) 4/A/1/40/3 1765, 7x£100 shares; 1770, 7x£100 shares; 1775, 7x£100 shares

than it prevented. As a consequence the Borough Council continued to seek advice from engineers John Rennie and Mr. Telford (11), commissioned surveys of the haven (12), formed a committee to consider the state of the port (13) and pressed Parliament for sufficient powers which were finally granted in the Acts of 1812, 1827 and 1834. (14) The prime mover in obtaining the Acts was the Borough Council who in January 1812 agreed that "all necessary steps be taken to present a petition to Parliament for a bill" (15) and that a committee draft the heads of the bill. (16) On March 19th the Common Hall advanced £300 to the Town Clerk towards the expenses of conducting the Bill through Parliament (17) and one month later gave him a further £200. (18) The progress of the bill was relatively straight forward, but in the year after it was obtained the Act was challenged by an amending bill placed before Parliament by other parties. The Town Clerk met with them and received from the Corporation £250 (19) towards opposing the amending bill, and the danger soon passed. Under the terms of the Act the Mayor and Burgesses became trustees of an improved toll revenue on the security of which they were empowered to borrow £20,000. (20)

(12) *op. cit.* 238 March 1st 1803 Anthony Bowers survey £108.8.1d.
9/A/5/iii Mr. Murray surveying Haven 1800 £70.14.0.

(13) BAB 8 Feb. 21st 1809

(14) 52 Geo III c105; 7 & 8 Geo IV c79; 4 & 5 William c87
The Act obtained in 1808 proving inadequate, was repeated

(15) 9/A/1 f- 226 7th Jan. 1812

(16) BAB 8 20th Jan. 1812

(17) BAB 8 19th March 1812

(18) BAB 8 27th April 1812

(19) BAB 8 Feb. 1 1813. Rec'd
balance of £302.3.7d June 1813
from Harbour Funds BAB 18th June 1813

(20) 52 Geo. III c105

Subsequently the Harbour account was maintained independently of the Civic Funds, but each made loans to the other. The initial costs of £1381.6.6d in obtaining the Act were paid from the Civic funds, but were repaid by the Harbour Trust in 1812/13,(21) and two years later the civic purse made a further generous loan of £2000.(22) Thereafter however the Harbour Trust itself became a handy creditor of the Corporation, partially answering liquidity problems with formalized loans.

The initiative for, and the immediate costs of the improvements, came nevertheless from the Common Hall itself and although, as Pishey Thompson indicates, much remained in 1835 to be done to improve the outfall,(23) it is clear that the unreformed council made intensive efforts to improve what they recognised to be an inadequate river and harbour. If the 1835 Municipal Corporation's Act brought into the town council "many persons engaged in mercantile pursuits who consequently considered an improved navigation of the greatest importance to the welfare of the town" (24) it is equally clear that even before its reform and reconstitution the Town Council recognized the fundamental importance of a navigable river and harbour to the town's economy. Their failure to completely solve the problems was more a consequence of lack of finance and an unwillingness of other parties to co-operate, than lack of interest.

(21) BCAB 1811/12, 1812/13

(22) BCAB 1814/15

(23)P.Thompson, op.cit., 366

(24) *ibid.*, 361

Other towns and boroughs were closely suspicious of the motives behind applications for local Acts and opposed strongly anything which they construed to be to their own disadvantage. Thus, when Boston presented the bill for the Witham improvement in 1762, Lincoln, Gainsborough, Rotherham and Rochdale opposed it, believing it to be injurious to the Fossdyke navigation, yet Nottingham and Derby, having no less interest in the navigability of this Roman Cut, supported the bill.(25) Similar disagreements arose even at local level when the country interests prevailed over the suggestions made by Boston Corporation regarding the siting of the Grand Sluice.(26) But of greater significance was the failure of the local drainage commissioners and the Corporation to co-operate over the improvement of the river downstream of Boston below Maud Foster sluice. John Rennie advised the commissioners that a considerable saving could be effected in the drainage of the East and West fens by channelling the water through Maud Foster drain instead of making the new Hobhole cut, but such a scheme necessitated an improvement of the Witham estuary first.(27) The Mayor stated the willingness of the Corporation to co-operate with the

(25) Ibid., 361

(26) Ibid., 361

(27) Wheeler, History of the Fens (1868) 153

Commissioners, he also called a meeting of the merchants, ship owners and tradesmen of the Borough to consider Rennie's report (28), but the unwillingness of the drainage commissioners to participate in a scheme which they feared might, to their disadvantage, not be completely carried out brought a halt to the proceedings.(29) Rennie had submitted two estimates for the work of constructing the river channel between Maud Foster and Clayhole; work which was finally begun in 1828 and was completed in the 1840's and 1850's. His estimates were £113,700 and £139,700. Such sums were well beyond the means of the Civic purse, and the unanimous agreement of the Common Hall that "the estimates appear of too great a magnitude for the corporation to take upon themselves to accomplish in almost any degree" (30) inevitably meant that the work proceeded piecemeal and imperfectly.

Certainly however the Common Hall proved willing to promote the economic welfare of the town in this way and when necessity arose, made good their interest with financial backing.

At Nottingham a similar spirit prevailed, although it was evinced in a more negative way, and the Civic Body early indicated that others must share the financial burden associated

(28) BAB Oct.11th 1800

(29) Wheeler, op. cit., 153; BAB October 11th 1800

(30) BAB 11th October 1800

with protectin the town's economic interests. Their concern rested chiefly with retaining the town's monopoly as the effective head of the navigable Trent.

As early as 1675 Derby made threat to Nottingham's favoured state by their application to Parliament for power to render the Trent navigable upstream of the Nottingham Trent Bridge. The Corporation at Nottingham swiftly appointed a deputation to wait upon their Recorder, the Lord Marquis of Dorchester, to use his influence against the application, and put £10 aside for the retention of counsel. (31) The bill did not succeed, but it was destined to become a protracted struggle. The advantages to Derby were too great to allow discouragement, but Nottingham would -- brook no interference with its lucrative monopoly of the route to the sea. In 1698 they gave a clear warning to the Derby men : "Bee itt remembred that itt is this day agreed and concluded that all the boates and vesells comeing from Sawley and Wilne in Derby be stopped att the Trent Bridges from passinge the River Trent, the said River of Trent beeinge navigable noe

(31) NHB 3444 f 9.

further than the Trent Bridges. And itt is further ordered that the arches of the said Bridges shalbe chaned and stopped up to prevent the passinge of the said Boates. And that what charges of Law and suites shall happen to be brought and expended in and aboute the said stoppage.... shalbe borne att the charges of this Corporaton".(32) By 1699 however the matter was theoretically settled by the passing of an Act to secure the navigability of the Trent in the counties of Leicester, Derby and Stafford.(33) In practice the navigation above the Trent bridge continued to be poor and the Council at Nottingham continued to oppose further schemes, subscribing £50 in 1714 to oppose a bill for improvement and extended powers as prejudicial to the "county in general and this Town in particular".(34)

Undeterred however both Derby and Nottingham continued to fight staunchly over the navigability of the river Derwent. The presentment of a bill by Derby in 1695 for making the Derwent navigable provoked the Common Hall at Nottingham to draw up a petition opposing it (35) and agree that "Whereas there

(32) MHB 3465 f 30

(33) 10 & 11 Wm.III c 20

(34) MHB 3479 f 5a

(35) MHB 3463 f 9 Dec.16th 1695

has beene severall proceedings in the Honble House of Comons touching the making the river Darwent, from the River Trent up to Darby Navigable, which if itt take effect will be very prjudiciall to this Towne; and whereas the same cannot be sett aside without great care and charges in Feeing Councill etc; The Tradesmen and other Inhitants have proposed to Contribute a Third part of what shall be Laid out in obstructing the sd Proceedings: Itt is this day ordered by the Majority of votes of this House that if the sd Tradesmen and Inhitants will disburse one halfe of the sd Charge, this Corporaton will disburse the Other Halfe".(36)

Within the next few years the Chamberlains made payments to maintain the opposition. In 1697 and 1698 Benjamin Green received £17.12⁰⁰ "what remains due to him upon accompt of his charges at opposing ye making the River Derwent Navigable"(37). In the following year the Chamberlains paid out £50 "for to bee employed in preventing the makeing Derwent Navigable", (38) further petitions were drawn up (39) and the Council reiterated their opposition.(40) To support the opposition financially the Mayor and Aldermen were sent through their Wards collecting subscriptions to put

(36) NHB 3463 f 11 Jan.20th 1695/6

(37) Nottingham Vouchers 1798X

(38) Nottingham Vouchers 1798Y 36

(39) Nottingham Vouchers 1798Y 39

(40) NHB 3466 f8 Nov.1698; 3470 f12 Nov.1702

with the £40 voted from the Civic Purse (41) and meanwhile the two M.P's were written to to "use their utmost endeavour to oppose the Bill", the Earl of Chesterfield was waited upon and Stanhope, the Deputy Recorder, to use their influence against the passing of the Bill,(42) the House of Lords was petitioned (43) and counsell was again retained.(44) By 1704/5 counsell's fees amounted to £83 which the Common Hall paid (45), but neither town would relent. In 1717 the battle still raged. The Civic Body at Nottingham agreed to contribute £100 towards opposing the Bill recently brought before the House of Commons for making the Derwent navigable "by reason it is apprehended if itt should passe the same will be of very ill consequence to this Town and Corporacon".(46) Two years later however Derby succeeded after many prerogations since 1714 in obtaining their long sought Act.(47)

The belief that the economic welfare of the Borough could best be served by retaining the navigable river head and forcing all through traffic from further afield to travel by road into the town continued to predominate amongst the town councillors. For similar reasons the Corporation in 1742 gave the

(41) NHB 3470 f 12 Nov.1702

(42) NHB October 27th 1702 3470 ff 7,10

(43) NHB 3470 f 14 Dec.7th 1702

(44) NHB 3470 f 17 Jan.11th 1702/3.

(45) Nottingham Vouchers 1799 N 22

(46) NHB 3480 f 11

(47) 6 Geo II

tradesmen of the town £50 towards opposing the Bill before Parliament from Newark, and successfully prevented them from making navigable the branch of the Trent which flowed through the Town.(48)

Towards the end of the eighteenth century however it appears to have become clear to the Corporation that improvement of waterway facilities to Nottingham could be of benefit to their own borough as well as to other townships, and instead of hindering their own economic progress in the process of ruining everyone else, the Common Hall began to encourage quite extensive navigations schemes. In August 1782 the Common Hall subscribed 20 grs. towards the expenses of surveying the Trent (49) and in December of the same year subscribed £200 grs. to the intended improvement of the river.(50) When the subsequent Act of Parliament created a Trent Navigation Company the Corporation purchased eight £50 shares.(51) They continued nevertheless to take only an assisting role. When in 1788 Mr.Gray put forward his proposals for a canal from the Trent into the town and improving the flood road (52) the Hall gave their reserved decision "that it will not be proper to engage in

(48) MIB 3501 f 23

(49) MIB 3541 f 25

(50) MIB 3542 f 11

(51) MIB 3452 f 11; NCAB Ledger A f 12

(52) MIB 3547 f 12

an affair of such magnitude as Principals, but will be willing to lend their assistance to any plan that will appear to them to be of public utility."(53) Their subsequent participation in the Nottingham canal scheme followed these principles, for although the first public meeting was called in 1790 by the Town Clerk, the matter was, as the Corporation pointed out to the Erewash Canal Company, "adopted by a general town meeting and under the management of a committee".(54) The Corporation for their part purchased twelve shares at £150 each, three of which ^{they} sold in 1800 and the remainder in 1809.(55) In subsequent canal acts affecting the Borough the Corporation showed a healthy concern to safeguard their interests, but also a readiness to facilitate new schemes, recognising at last the fundamental importance of improved communications to trade. In 1794 the Common Hall petitioned Parliament in favour of the Hull Docks bill,(56) and in 1810 they supported the Bill for a link between the Union and Grand Junction Canals with profuse recognition of the service it would provide in opening "a communication between the counties of Leicester, Northampton Nottingham, York, Lincoln, Derby and Rutland and the Metropolis with the Western Counties by navigation, and also a shorter and

(53) NHB 3547 f 20

(54) NHB 3549 f 54; 3550 f 33

(55) NCAB Ledger A f 13; Ledger B f 92

(56) NHB 3553 f 36

easier communication betwen the populous and manufacturing towns and places in the before mentioned counties and in the counties of Oxford and Warwick and will otherwise be of great public utility".(57)

Their support did not however extend beyond the verbal, and whereas the Common Hall was quick to recognise and support financially the protective policies of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, it was slow to show cognizance of more progressive policies. By the close of the eighteenth century, the improvements in the Trent navigation and the development of the canal system had made Nottingham a Midland link by waterway to the Humber and Liverpool and the completion of the Grand Union Canal in 1814 made it possible by using the Soar Navigation and the Grand Junction Canal to reach London. The Navigable Waterways thus gave Nottingham excellent connections with London, Liverpool, Hull, Bristol, Birmingham, the Black Country and Cheshire, South Yorkshire, the West Riding, Lancashire, "a facility to the commerce of this town which places it almost without a rival in the inland counties".(58) The City Council came close to losing these advantages. They

(57) MIB 3569 f 42

(58) J. Blackmer, op. cit., 14

were slow to recognise the economic potential of improved navigations. Ultimately they did not indeed oppose the new measures, but they were ready to leave them to the mercies of individual enthusiasm, acting only as a background force and being only in a limited way, prepared to back them financially.

Much the same attitude was evident at York. The Corporation in 1698 and 1699 made strong opposition to the Bill for making the rivers Aire and Calder navigable. Several visits were made to London, and the Chamber Accounts for 1698 and 1699 record the expenditure of £166.15.10d on this matter.(59) In the same vein the Common Hall agreed, in February 1739/40, to Petition against the improvement of the Don in the belief that it would be "injurious to the navigation of the river Ouse", (60) and paid one third of the costs, the rest being met by the Trustees for improving the Ouse.(61) They made opposition also to the Swale Navigation Bill in 1742, asking their M.P's to "have a watchfull eye in that respect to give all the opposition in their power to the Bill"(62), and opposed the supplication for a bridge at Selby with a grant of £140 towards a promised £200 in 1790 (63),

(59) YCAB 1698/9, 1699/1700; YHB 39 ff 112a, 113.

(60) YHB 43 f. 30, 8.2.1739/40

(61) YCAB 1740/1 £19.11.3d

(62) YHB 43 f. 87, 6.12.1742

(63) YCAB 1790/1; K100 May 7th 1789

and a further £119,5.0d in 1803.(64) At the same time however they began also to recognise the need for positive measures to improve the rapidly declining state of the river Ouse. In 1699 the Corporation commissioned surveys of the Ouse (65) and petitioned Parliament for an Improvement Act, but when the session ended the Bill was dropped.(66) During the next century the accounts give evidence of frequent attempts by the City Council to scour and cleanse the river (67) and in 1725 the Common Hall made proposals to regularize the administration of the navigation (68) and successfully piloted a Bill through Parliament using their MP Edward Thompson.(69) The Act appointed Trustees drawn from the Corporation and, in legal terms, administration now became independent. With the establishment of the Foss Navigation Co. in 1793 the Common Hall again transferred any legal responsibility for improvement but they took up shares in the company,(70)and some twenty years later agreed to take up £500 worth of Shares in the Leeds and Selby Canal.(71)

The three Councils reflected the same attitudes and interests in the many other Parliamentary measures which affected the economic and trading welfare of their Boroughs, and which were increasingly sought in the eighteenth century by

(64) YCAB 1803/4

(65) YCAB 1699/1700 "To the gentleman that went to view the river Ouse" £37,2.0; YCAB 1700/01 Views of the Ouse £9.14.10.

(66) F. Drake, op. cit., II 150

(67) Analysis of expenditure Appendix XI

(68) YHB 42 f 61.

(69) 1727, 13 Geo I c33

(70) YCAB 1795/6, 1796/7 £500, 1801/2, 1802/3, 1828/9

(71) YCAB 1774/5 £11.15.10 paid to Sam Klam being proportional call for £500 subscribed by the Corporation towards the expenses of the intended Leeds and Selby canal.

individual and group interests. Perhaps chief amongst these were the many local Acts granted for turnpike roads. To these the three Councils generally assented and subscribed through shares, but rarely were they the chief force behind the measures, and they again proved quick to oppose any Bill which threatened their town's interests. Thus in the 1740's 1750's and 1760's the Common Hall at York trod a tightrope between acceptance^{of} and objection to various turnpike bills. In 1740 they resolved to oppose the York to Doncaster turnpike (72), five years later they decided that they would not join Leeds in its application for a turnpike, but otherwise would agree to the Bill, (73) in 1749 they supported the application to turnpike the road from Burton Stone to North Allerton but agreed to oppose the York to Boroughbrudge road unless their opposition prevented the Burton Stone bill from passing. Whatever happened, their chief concern was that there be no toll gate within four miles of the City. (74) In 1750 however they asked the city MP's to support the turnpike bill from York to Scarborough (75), and five years later they asked them to promote the bill for the repair of the road from Burnley to Otley (76) but in 1764/5 they subscribed £50 to the opposition against the Boverley road bill because of the turnpike at Grimston. (77)

(72) YHB 43 ff 48,51.

(73) YHB 43 f 161

(74) YHB 43 ff 324,329,404

(75) YHB 43 f 375.

(76) YHB 43 f 470

(77) YCAB 1764/5.

Yet in the following year they invested £500 in the Kexby turnpike along the same route.(78) Thus they continued to variously support or oppose the road development schemes in accordance with the interests of their own Borough. Perhaps because of the notorious state of the fen roads Boston Corporation proved generally more willing to accede to subscriptions. As early as 1739 the Common Hall donated £150 from the treasury towards the Act for repairing the highway from Boston to Bolingbroke.(79) Between 1755 and 1769, at a time when turnpike Acts affecting some 200 miles of Lincolnshire road were passed,(80) the Hall loaned or donated £4310 towards such schemes,(81) and in 1771 the Chamberlains were still receiving intotest at 4½% per annum from the Boston Donnington; Spilsby; Bridge End; Bourne and Sleaford turnpike trustees on investments totalling £2800.(82) The civic attitude was clearly indicated in 1810 when the Hall voted 500 guineas to the scheme for a bridge over the Fossdyke wash because "it would tend greatly to the advantage of the neighbouring country and this town".(83)

(78) YCAB 1765/6

(79) BAB 5 f 477

(80) D-Grigg, The Agricultural Revolution in South Lines.(1966) 41.

(81) BAB 5 ff. 565, 566, 572, 581, 612
BCAB 1758/9, 1760/1, 1766/7, 1767/8, 1768/9

(82) BCAB 1771/2

(83) BAB 8 August 17th, Sept. 27th, December 3rd 1810.

At Nottingham the civic body was generally willing to encourage and support turnpike schemes, but as ever, it was careful to define the limits of its own sense of duty and to share the burden with other interested parties. In 1758 it was "agreed unanimously" that £20 be given towards the expenses of obtaining an act to improve the road from Grantham to Nottingham and from thence to Derby.(84) In 1780 the Chamber gave £20 towards repairing the Mansfield Road (85) and in 1828 "in consideration of the public benefit which will be derived from the widening of Milton Street by the Commissioners of the Turnpike Road.... the corporation agree to grant and give up (without requiring or receiving any compensation for the same) that part of the estate belonging to the corporation which is necessary for the projected improvement".(86) Even in 1805 the Corporation agreed that although it was not liable to repair the rails by the footpath along the Derby Turnpike road "if a subscription be entered into for that purpose the corporation will contribute".(87) But when it came to major expenses the Hall was quick to indicate the extent of its liability. Over the matter of the flood road the annual committee, in 1795, advised the propriety of the Hall giving its assent to a Bill for repairing

(84) NHB 3518 f 16

(85) Nottingham vouchers 1812 E No.131

(86) NHB 3587 f 99

(87) NHB 3564 f 75

the Flood Road and contributing "liberally to any fund which may be necessary" "For their Honour if not for their Interest".(88) but they hastened also to suggest that since "it is neither within the province or power of the corporation" to supply the total fund the money should be raised by a new toll and £100 per annum from the Bridge Estate.(89) In the following year the Corporation authorized £600 towards getting the Bill passed and sent the Town Clerk to Parliament to solicit the Bill.(90)

In relation to enclosure bills the three Councils were no less concerned to guard their own rights, privileges and well being, but in these cases,^{as} proprietors, they could not shirk, and in financial terms the obtaining of enclosure and drainage Acts placed a heavy burden on the corporate purses at Boston and York, where the civic bodies were substantial landowners in the commonable and fen lands. No less time was given to consideration of the enclosure bills than to any other local bills, but once obtained the assessed costs and expenses of hedging and fencing had to be met, and in the later eighteenth century and early nineteenth century these represented a large capital outlay which, although ultimately beneficial to rental income, especially in the fen lands,(91) would take time to produce results.

(88) NHB 3554 ff 24 to 28

(89) NHB 3554 ff 29 to 33; 36 to 38; 46 to 47.

(90) NHB 3555 ff 36,37,40,41

(91) A.Young, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln (1799) 77 - 92

At Boston between 1771 and 1808 the Corporation paid £1913.5.11 in expenses for obtaining or opposing enclosure acts. Between 1813 and 1818 these costs amounted to £6363.8.7 exclusive of the expenditure, ^{on} repairs to the fen farms which included large amounts for dividing, fencing, drainage and other matters.

BOSTON Enclosure and Drainage. (92)

1771/2	Boston West fen expenses		15. 5. 0	
	Holland Fen	"	41. 3. 4	
1772/3	Holland Fen		248.13. 2	
1773/4	Holland Fen		1256. 9.11	
1799/1800	Horncastle Enclosure Expenses		39.14. 8	
1800/1	Horncastle fen drainage		13. 0. 0	
1802/3	Horncastle fen drainage		10.10. 0	
1806/7	Opposition to Wrangle fen end		100. 0. 0	
1808/9	Wrangle Common		49.11.6	
1807/8	Wrangle fen. solicitor's balce.		<u>138.17. 6</u>	
			1913. 5.11	
1813/14	East fen enclosure	1601. 1. 0		
1814/15	" " "	2242.17. 6		
1818/19	" " "	576. 6.10		
1818/19	Skirbeck enclosure	<u>29.17. 4</u>	<u>6363. 8. 7</u>	
			8276. 14. 6	

YORK enclosures. (93)

1764	Clifton Moor. Corporation share		46. 0. 0	
1769 to				
1776	Bishopsoil " "		107.13.6	
1772	Expenses of enclosure		29. 4. 4	
1775-1776	Holgate Corporation's share		27.16. 5	
	cost of fences		20.12.10	
1779	Walling fen. Corporation's share		15. 5. 0	
1795 to 1804.	Carlton Kniott & Sandhulton			
	Corporations' shares		124. 2. 2	
	" expenses		19.10. 4	
1786	Holgate. taxes on expenses		<u>3. 6. 3</u>	<u>393.10.10</u>
1818-19	Heworth moor expenses		24. 3. 9	
1818-19.	Heworth Moor Corporation's share		45.14. 0	
1821/22	Fawdington common		69.17.0	
	" gates, fences, ditches etc;		584.15. 2	
1823	Hicklegate Ward. Corporation's share		161. 3. 0	
	" " balance on purchase of land allotted.		<u>52.10. 0</u>	<u>1331.13. 9</u>

(92) BCAB passim.

(93) YCAB passim.

Concern for the economic welfare of their towns was frequently however expressed in a much more direct and individual way. Petitions to Parliament on economic matters, both national and local, were common. Sometimes the petitions may have reflected the personal interests of the petitioners as with those sent from Nottingham Council against the window tax, (94) the tax on receipts (95) income tax (97) the stamp duty act (96) or the subscription by Boston Corporation of £30 towards extending the small debt act for the Borough (98). At other times however it is clear that their concern lay very much with their tradesmen and citizens. Having called and taken the chair at a public meeting at York in 1815, the Mayor lent civic status to the resolution which was sent to the House of Commons against the Corn Laws as "unnecessary and injurious to the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country". (99) Sensible of the distress of the labourers within their town the Common Hall at Nottingham too petitioned against the Corn Laws which they apprehended would be "producture of distress to the labouring poor enhance the price of labour, and excite a general spirit of dissatisfaction by occasioning a common sense of suffering". (100) But amongst the agrarian interests of Lincolnshire the Corporation at Boston gave their 'high approval' to the petition from

(94) MHB 3476 f 9 Jan. 16th 1709/10

(95) MHB 3543 f 7 Nov. 5th 1783

(96) MHB 3543 f 18 May 28th 1784

(97) MHB 3575 ff 45-47

(98) BAB 8, 23rd Feb. 1807

(99) York Courant March 13th 1815

(100) MHB 3573 ff 74, 75, 76

gentlemen and farmers near Boston "interested in the growth and sale of corn for regulating the prices of corn".(1)

Petitions of this nature, to enhance trade or ameliorate distress were common place. In 1762 Nottingham petitioned Parliament for re-dress against the high price of corn in the Northern counties (2), in 1824 the Hall at Boston agreed to call a public meeting to petition Parliament to take off the Duty payable on coals carried coastwise.(3)

Each of the three corporations realised also that they themselves could help the local economy by financial encouragement.

At both York and Nottingham the Borough Councils early recognized the value of the annual horse races as events which brought persons of wealth and influence to their towns. Both, as a consequence, subscribed annually to the cost of the races, and when times worsened, the Chamber at York began to make up the deficiency in order to ensure that the races did not cease to run.

Already in 1690 the Corporation at Nottingham agreed to make a donation to a piece of plate for the horse race (4) and by 1700 was making an annual donation of £5 (5) to which the Innkeepers added a further proportion.(6) That this Civic generosity was inspired by economic motives was left in no doubt

(1) BAB 8 April 28th 1814

(2) NHB 3522 f 11

(3) 5/A/3/12

(4) NHB 3547 f 41

(5) Nottm.vouchers 1697/8 1798w; NHB 3466 f 15
NHB 3467 f 16

(6) NHB 3472 f 19 July 11th 1706

when in 1766 the Common Hall required the Major to withhold authorization of payment unless the timing of the races was altered to the second week of July instead of the first, "the same being in the first week being (sic) found by experience to be disadvantageous to several of the tradesmen of this town".(7) Their annual donation was not increased however until in 1774 it was raised to five guineas and in 1834 to ten guineas.(8)

At York the Common Hall was acutely aware of the need to provide entertainments if the town's status as a resort was to be maintained. In 1739 the Hall suggested that the Civic funds should contribute to the musical entertainment during the winter "as it brings company to the city".(9) That the suggestion was not acted upon until some ninety years later when the Chamberlains began to subscribe five guineas a year to the concerts (10) remains a fact, but subscriptions were made to other entertainments like the Assembly Rooms (11) and Theatre (12) and most particularly to the horse races and the city hunt. In 1709 when the horse races were first set up on Clifton Ings the Corporation began an annual donation of fifteen pounds which continued (13) until after their removal to the Knavesmire in 1731.(14) But already in 1742 the proprietors had begun to

(7) NHB 3525 f. 26

(8) NCAB 1774/5, 1834/5.

(9) YHB 43 f. 8, 22.9.1739

(10) YCAB 1829/30 to 1831/2.

(11) YCAB £50 1732/3; YHB 43 ff 455, 456 £50 26.9.1754

(12) YCAB 1825/6, 1831/2

(13) YCAB 1709 to 1751

(14) G. Benson, op. cit., III 77.

experience a deficiency which the Chamberlains' met with a further grant of £24.3. 6 (15). Ten years later the total deficiency was £73.1.0 to which the Corporation gave a total grant of £60, and from then until 1826 the Chamberlains' annually gave a proportion of the total loss which, during the last fifty years, generally amounted to some sixty or seventy pounds from the Civic purse. From 1826 to 1829 the Corporation gave £150 per annum, raising their donation by a further £50 per annum from 1830 to 1835.

YORK: Payments for the encouragement of the horse races.(16)
 1709 - 1751 £15 per annum plus £17.17.0 in 1740/1 for Plate and £14.3.6. in 1742/3 towards the deficiency.

	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-0
1750	15. 0. 0	15. 0. 0	60. 0. 0	45. 0. 6	43.14.6	38. 5. 0	21. 4. 6	70. 5.4½	95. 8. 6	57. 7. 0
1760	50.13. 6	42.17. 6	39. 0. 0	33. 2. 3	57.18.9	28.12. 6	26.11.6	32.11. 3	21.13. 6	51.14. 6
1770	39.15. 0	41.10. 3	42.17. 6	64. 0. 9		48.17. 0	44. 2. 8	49.11.8	51. 7. 6	69.10. 0
1780	44.11. 0		65.10. 6	67.15. 0		66. 9. 0	73.15. 0	61.14. 0	68.16. 7	65. 0. 9
1790	67. 9. 6	82.15. 6	73. 5. 9	74. 7. 0	70.13. 0	73.14. 9	77. 9. 8	77. 7. 9	87.10. 9	80. 9. 0
1800	74. 6. 3	78.19. 0	76. 5. 6	77. 8. 6	71.12. 0		66.13. 0	68.13. 6	67.14. 0	66.10. 6
1810	65.17. 0	66.10. 6	70.10. 6	59. 4.6	67. 9. 0	73.16. 0	83.10. 6	93.12. 0	200. 0. 0	96. 0. 6
1820	93.10. 6	95. 7. 0	90. 0. 0	113. 0. 0	106.18. 0	69. 0. 6	150. 0. 0	150. 0. 0	150. 0. 0	150. 0. 0
1830	200. 0. 0	200. 0. 0	200. 0. 0	200. 0. 0	200. 0. 0	200. 0. 0				

At the same time the Corporation was a patron of the city hunt. From at least 1720 they employed a

(15) YCAB 1742/3

(16) YCAB.

huntsman at a salary of £10 per annum which rose to £20 by 1780 and £25 by 1819,(17) and in addition, they on occasions met other expenses, as in 1769 when they paid £50 to provide a new kennel for the city hounds "instead of that in Hungate".(18)

These functions gave a significant boost to the local economy as the report in the Nottingham Journal indicated:-

Races will begin next Tuesday "when a very great meeting is expected as lodgings are already engaged for a number of the nobility and gentry of the first rank in the kingdom and there is great likelihood of fine sport as such a number of horses are already arrived to enter...."(19)

Very often however the Borough Councils were faced with more serious problems of depressed trade. Each at various times made concessions to trades in order to boost their profitability. At York certain trades were exonerated from the obligation of taking up their freedoms by payment of a small acknowledgement, as in 1776 when twentysix labourers were allowed to trade "not being free" on payment of one shilling.(20) Sometimes tolls would be relaxed as at Nottingham where in 1776 "for the encouragement" of the cheese fair all waggons bringing cheese were free of toll,(21)

(17) YCAB passim.

(18) YCAB 1769/70

(19) Nottm. Journal August 2nd 1777

(20) YCAB 1776/7

(21) Nottm. Journal Feb. 21st 1767

or at Boston where the Harbour Committee in 1816 "from the present general depressed state of the shipping interest" agreed to a temporary reduction in the tonnage duties on all vessels registered as belonging to the port.(22)

It was concern for social and economic welfare which motivated such actions and this was certainly the case in the attempts to establish work places for the poor and the provision of stock. This was a policy in keeping with the Elizabethan Poor Law Act which both Nottingham and York Corporations early adopted, but which at Boston, seems only to have occurred in the early nineteenth century.

From the 1660's the Common Hall at Nottingham endeavoured to provide for the poor by creating employment for them. In 1661 enough flax was purchased to keep forty poor people at work (23), and in 1663 a further £50 was laid out to put the poor to work.(24) Still in 1675 the poor required relief, and the Chamberlains were required to purchase a truss of flax from Hull (25) for them to spin, but it was soon decided that good instruction was also necessary, and in 1693 several meetings were held with one Abraham Grooby

(22) 7/F/3 19th Nov.1816

(23) NHB 3434 f15 Dec.3rd 1661.

(24) NHB 3435 f14a

(25) NHB 3444 f9

in order to make an agreement with him for instruction.(26)

"Whereasthe Maior and Burgesses have a desire and their intencion is that the Poore people may be sett on worke and imployed in the spinning of wool whereby they may be enabled to yett a Livelyhood by an honest labor & industry....They.....shall and will pay and allow unto Abraham Groobey... six pounds for one year towards the Rent of a convenient house for him to dwell and teach the spinners in and that the said Maior and Burgesses shall at their coste and charges find & pvide forty wheelles...and....pay... Groobey £20 for one year in recompence & satisfaction of the losse & damage he shall or may sustayne and ... lend to him £50 for one year (without interest) towards stocking and setting up the spinners".(27)

The Corporation continued to pay the rent for the "schoole and dwelling house" until at least 1697 (28) but in August of that year it was decided that the £20 salary and £6 rent be suspended, that Grooby should return the materials and wheels to the Corporation and whatever remained of the £50 loan "itt to be left to the corporacon what they shall think fitt to allow him for this ensueing halfe yeare".(29)

(26) Nottm. Vouchers 1693/4 Expenses of the Meetings 11/8d 1798 Va

(27) Indenture 1693 Dec. 9th. 4694

(28) NCAB passim.

(29) INHB 3464 f 20.

It appears that Grooby had lost favour, and the spinning school presumably went into abeyance until 1710 when the Corporation again agreed to donate £10 per annum to the spinning school "to comence when the school is settled".(30) The Civic Body had clearly now decided to contribute to such schemes rather than to initiate and control them and their attitude is made clear by their decision in 1701 to follow "the great encouragement. given by..... Parliamt". and apply for an Act for setting the poor on work and erecting workhouses.(31). Henceforth employment of the poor became a well defined parish responsibility to which the Common Hall showed full concurrence by granting to the Parishes land at nominal rent on which to build their workhouses (32) and employ the poor.(33)

At York too the Corporation undertook to provide employment and instruction for the poor by the establishment of cloth manufactory In 1682 in consideration for "the necessity of the poore and of the many complaints of their wanderinge and begginge in and about the city", the Common Hall decided that a committee should be set up to advise and find out "of such wayes and meanes as they or any sixe of them shall think fitt, That the poore of this city may be imployed in workinge and to consult the best way for raisinge a stock to that purpose....."(34) Subsequently it was

(30) NHB 3476 f 11, Feb.15th 1709/10.
 (31) NHB 3468 ff 9,10, Feb.13th, March 21st 1700/1
 (32) NHB 3484 f 26; 3485 ff 7a,8a,11,13, 1726
 (33) eg. 1741 NHB 3501 f 15; 1819 NHB 3579 ff 21,22
 (34) E/68 pp.2-8, 3.2.1682

agreed that a linen manufacture be established "to sett the poore on worke" for which £100 would be borrowed from the common chamber for the purchase of materials. Saint Anthony's Hall was to be used "for a working schoole for boys and girls to spin in att present", and Robert Newham was employed "to keep them in obedience" whilst his mother taught them to spin. One room in Saint Anthony's hall was to be used to employ people dressing hemp and the poor in the house of correction were to reel yarn.(35)

The Chamberlains' accounts for 1692 record the payment of £6 to Mr. Prockter as a year's salary for "teaching several poor" (36) but the absence of more specific references to the spinning school leaves some doubt as to its continued success. However in 1698 the corporation entered into another agreement with Richard Snowe of Masham sergemaker, for the establishment of a woollen manufactory "for the unemployed poor". They agreed to lend him £200 for seven years without interest to provide a dwelling house £5 "for the purchase of wheels and Other instruments" and to grant him the freedom of the city without charge three years after the setting up of the manufactory and in the meantime, the right to trade in the city.(37)

(35) E/68 pp 2-8 21.2.1682,27.2.1682,24.3.1683,26.7.1683

(36) YCAB 1692/3

(37) YC/DA G58

In its first year the Chamberlains paid out £48.17..4d for plumbing, painting and other work and fees associated with setting up the manufactory, in addition to the agreed loan and £5 for materials.(38) Thereafter until 1706 they continued to pay £7 per annum rent, together with the annual assessments and any other money necessary for repairs.(39) By 1708 Mr.Snow had repaid his loan (40) and from then until 1713 the civic body gave £30 per annum to the undertakers of the woollen manufactory "towards the encouragement & better carrying on the same"(41). They further encouraged it by granting freedoms to the master workers and weavers gratis (42) but by 1717 the woollen manufactory had become "The dye house", being let in that year to Mr.Mason, a dyer.(43)

The experiment had apparently failed and as at Nottingham the civic body decided to place chief responsibility where it traditionally lay: in the parish. In 1729 a committee elected to consider the erection of workhouses in the city advised application to Parliament (44) and Alderman Clarke and Jaskarn were paid £100 towards travelling to London and 'obteyning' an Act of Parliament for erecting a workhouse "for better employing ye poor of this city".(45) The Act was not

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- (38) YCAB 1698/9
 - (39) YCAB 1698 to 1705
 - (40) YCAB 1708/9
 - (41) YCAB 1709 to 1713
 - (42) YCAB 1709-10
 - (43) YC/DA 9.10.1717
 - (44) YHB 42 ff 119,122,127
 - (45) YHB 42 f 129; YCAB 1729/30

however obtained and in 1737 the Recorder was again asked to draw up a bill to "oblige all the several parishes of this city to unite in purchasing and building a workhouse or workhouses and raising stock to employ the poor...."(46) Faced with the refusal of the many parishes to co-operate however, the Corporation ultimately abandoned the idea of a workhouse (47), but undaunted by such reactions, proceeded with their experiments in establishing manufacturies. In 1737 Brooke Hawson from Manchester was granted his freedom in return for establishing a workhouse manufactory for cotton.(48) By January 1740 he was bankrupt and Richard Clough agreed to take over on the "usual" terms of employing 200 to 500 poor people, the parishes paying 5d a person and the Corporation paying £100 for his moving expenses.(49) The venture was no longer lasting however than previous ones, for by 1741 the scheme had failed (50) and future civic efforts of this nature were restricted to three annual payments of £10 between 1765 and 1767 as a subscription "to promote industry" in the city.(51)

The Common Hall at Boston embarked upon a similar scheme for the provision of work in the early nineteenth century when they agreed to provide goods and wages for a worsted manufactory at the gaol. In 1819 they met a

(46) YHB 42 f 221^b

(47) YHB 42 f 238

(48) YHB 42 f 221

(49) YHB 43 f 19

(50) YHB 43 f 62^b

(51) YCAB 1765, 1766, 1767

bill for £194 and in the following year paid out a further £46.15.0 for wool. As at Nottingham and York however, the experiment was short-lived and in November 1823 orders were given for the sale of the spinning machinery in the gaol.(52)

Relief of distress was often offered in a more direct form however. At both Nottingham and York the Chamberlains made frequent and often substantial payments to the parochial system.

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the Mayor's sergeant at mace, his common sergeant and the Mayor himself at Nottingham, all gave at their own discretion or by order of the Mayor, to needy cases, and presented their bills at regular intervals to the Chamberlains. Very often these comprised payments to travellers and vagrants passing through the Town, and there was little disguise of the fact that they were at times made only to hurry them into the next parish. Thus in 1696-7 twopence was given to a soldier "to get him out of Towne".(53) Nevertheless payments were no less frequently made for genuine, if temporary, relief and support. In 1682 Christopher Reynolds, Setgeant at Mace, submitted a bill of 6s..6d for "moneys given for men's lodgings etc" by Mr.Mayor's order;(54) and between May and June of that year he gave "by order to a man and wife 6d, to two men 6d, to a boy 6d, to one man 4d".(55)

(52)BAB 2/A/27 Nov.16th 1819, Oct.12th 1820, 3rd Nov.1823.

(53) Nottm.Vouchers 1696-7 1798W

(54) Ibid., 1682-3 1798Q

(55) Ibid., 1682-3 1798Q

In the latter month of that year the constable's bill for lodgings and relief, amounted to 16s. 2d.(56) and in 1693 and 1694 Richard Parsby claimed 17s.4d for money distributed to lame people and others in need "for ye month past".(56) The previous citations are only individual examples, but they are typical of numerous such payments regularly recorded amongst the vouchers. Such relief remained indeed a feature of the eighteenth century accounts. A voucher for 1721 records the payment of 6d to a poor man(58); in 1750/1 the Mayor gave £2.16.10 to poor travellers between December and June (59), and in 1761 between June and Michaelmas he paid £2.8.9d (60) to poor people. In 1790/1 William Machin, Mayor's Sergeant, submitted many bills itemizing payments in the nature of poor relief which amounted to £25.17.7d.(61) In addition the Chamberlains, until the closing years of the eighteenth century, regularly paid for bread for the prisoners in the gaol:- (62)

1698-9	March to August,	£5.10..9	
1720-1	Sept. to Sept.	12..5..6	
	Sept. to August	9..1.10½	
1730-1	one year	9..9..0	
1740-1	one year	13..0..9	
1750-1	one year	7..9..6	
1760-1	one year	3..7..0	
1770-1	one year	3.14..6	
1780-1	one year	15..1..0	
1787-8	one year	25.18..3	(62)

-
- (56) Ibid., 1682-3 1798Q
(57) Ibid., 1693-4 1798Va
(58) Ibid., 1721/2 No.107
(59) Ibid., 1750/1 1807A
(60) Ibid., 1760/1 1809A No.90
(61) Ibid., 1790/1 1815A Nos.10,11,12,15
(62) NCAB and Vouchers passim.

At York too the Corporation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made payments to poor relief which were frequent and substantial, and it is clear that the Corporation was augmenting parish relief in a significant degree, yet without in any way superceding the parish system.

From the late 1680's through to the end of the century the Corporation maintained a poor stock to which the Chamberlains made both loans and outright payments in order to supplement relief given in the parishes and provide present relief to those excluded from the parish lists.(63)

Payments to the poor stock 1680 to 1700.(64)

1680/1	£80 (loan)	1692/3	£56
1682/3	£30	1693/4	£20
1686/7	£50	1694/5	£30
1688/9	£30	1697/8	£25 + £43.9.3½d

In times of severe distress, sizeable sums were put aside to be distributed amongst the poor, £35 being given by the Corporation in 1693/4 and £36.10.0 at Christmas 1694.(65)

At the same time the Corporation began to make payments to the "poor box" towards the support of an ever increasing burden of poor folk. In 1709/10 the Chamberlains recorded them as "being very numerous and in great necessity"(66) and by the 1720's there were some 500 paupers a year.(67)

(63) YMB 38 ff 31, 37, 39, 47, 74

(64) YCAB 1680 to 1720.

(65) YCAB 1693/4, 1694/5

(66) YCAB 1709-10

(67) VCH 226

These payments were made in most years at fluctuating level until 1720 but thereafter they appear to have ceased, being replaced for the period 1756 to 1769 by payments to the "poor box for poor travellers".

Payments to the poor box 1694 to 1720.(68)

1694	£3..0..0	1707	£4..0..0
1695	11..0..0	1708	3..0..0
1697	3.10..0	1709	4..0..0
1698	6..0..0	1712	2..0..0
1701	10..0..0	1713	2..0..0
1702	17.10..0	1714	8..0..0
1703	5..0..0	1715	2..0..0
1704	3..0..0	1716	10..0..0
1706	4..0..0	1717	3..0..0
		1720	2..0..0

Payments to the poor box for poor travellers
1756 to 1769.(69)

1756	£1..0..0	1764	4..0..0
1757	4..0..0	1765	3.15..0
1759	1..0..0	1766	2..0..0
1760	4..0..0	1767	4.10..0
1762	7.10..0	1768	6..0..0
1763	16..0..0	1769	4..0..0

In addition to these regular donations the Corporation made extra small payments for relief and medical treatment in a similar manner to Nottingham. In 1687/8 the Chamberlains paid £2 for cures for the poor (70), in the following year they paid £3 for clothes for John Topham from Cambridge "being in need"(71) and for some years made payments of 1s..6d a week for the maintenance of Jane Bucklow and one shilling for Ellen Lee in the House of correction. (71)

(68) YCAB 1694 to 1720
 (69) YCAB 1756 to 1769
 (70) YCAB 1687/8
 (71) YCAB 1688/9

In 1702/3 £2.10..0 was paid "to severall poor people to keep them from becoming a charge to the city", and a fiddle was purchased for a blind boy.(72) A surgeon too was employed by the civic authorities until the early 1800's.(74) Such municipal benevolence seems to have been motivated by genuine concern for the plight of the poor and needy and a sincere sense of moral responsibility, for in December 1740 the Commons "taking into consideration the severity and calamity of the season" offered what appear to have been personal donations for distribution amongst the poor and indigent. The Lord Mayor, Recorder, City Counsel and Aldermen each gave a guinea, the two Sheriffs 10/6d.(75)

The Boston accounts do not give evidence of similar annual donations nor of frequent small payments for relief. Since the Erection bailiff annually accounted for payments for bread to the Churchwardens of several parishes, and also for coals to the Mayor, it may have been considered that this was adequate involvement in the day to day problem of poverty. Occasional ad hoc payments for relief do however occur in the accounts, whether it be the two guineas given to the Grecians in 1736/7 (77), the £30 given to the victims of the fire at Spalding in 1715 (78), or the subscription to the local poor of £21 in 1756/7 (79) and ten guineas in 1763.(80)

- (72) YCAB 1700/1, 1701/2
 (73) YCAB 1702/3
 (74) YCAB passim.1660-1835
 (75) YHB 43 f 49
 (77) BCAB 1736/7
 (78) BAB 1715 f 311
 (79) BCAB 1756/7
 (80) BAB 1763 f 627

- (76) Erection Bailiff's accounts passim.
 eg. 4/C/1/70 1775/76
 Poor of Bennington 10..0
 Poor of Fishtoft 10..0
 C/ of Skirbeck 16..4
 Mayor = coals 4.12..0
 Churchwardens 8..0..0

As distress became more acute however, and as war produced an increasing number of casualties, the Corporation began, in the early nineteenth century, to make more substantial and more frequent donations towards relief both locally and further afield.

Boston Subscriptions for Relief.(81)

1800/01. Widows of those killed at Copenhagen	10.10..0
Dec.3rd 1805. Relief of widows and orphans of war victims at sea.	25..0..0
1810/11 Sufferers by high tide	60..0..0
1812/13 Aid of the Russian sufferers	105..0..0
Jan.25th 1814. Subscriptions to poor relief 'during the inclement season'.	105..0..0
Aug.21st 1820. Coals for the poor to be bought at summer prices and sold in winter.	221..1..7
May 1st 1822. Relief for distressed Irish	100..0..0
May 1826 Relief of distressed manufacturers	100..0..0
1830/31 Crop loss	30..0..0

From their petition to the House of Lords it was evident that the Corporation was well aware of the privations suffered amongst the lower classes when harvests were poor and food stocks low.(82)

At Nottingham and York too, a similar transformation began to take place as the councils made large donations at times of greater distress in lieu of the smaller ad hoc payments of relief which were phased out. As at Boston they were concurrent with the beginnings of

(81) BCAB passim. BAB 3.12.1805; 2/A/27 21.8.1820;
4/B/4/14 25.1.1814; 5/A/1/4 18.5.1826;
BAB 1.5.1822

(82) 2/B/2

severe cyclical distress and unemployment which became marked in both towns towards the end of the eighteenth century, and they took cognisance too of the casualties of the American and French wars. All three Councils rallied to the call for aid to war victims and their relatives, and to the economic distress and misfortune of their own ^{and} far flung towns. They responded with cash grants or the more practical solution of purchasing stocks of coal and corn to be distributed free or sold at prime cost at a later date when scarcity had created high prices on the open market. At York a committee was formed in 1795 to see what could be done about the high price of corn.(83)

York Subscriptions for Relief.(84)

1770/1	Sufferers by fire in Antigua	50..0..0
1771/2	The poor sufferers in the North by the late inundation.	50..0..0
1775/6	Relief to the widows & orphans of those who fell in the American War of Independence	50..0..0
1777/8	Sufferers by fire at Aldbourne, Wilts.	20..0..0
1788/9	Bread & coals for the poor this present season.	50..0..0
1796/7	Purchase of corn for the poor last year.	285,16..6
1800/01	Purchase of corn for the poor (loan)	300..0..0
1806/7	Relief of wounded seamen & their widows	50..0..0
1806/7	Eight P.O.W's in France	26..5..0
1831/2	Relief of the poor	100.0.. 0

(83) YHB 46 ff 107,113,122,138-9

(84) YCAB Passim.

At Nottingham the Corporation early proved eager to ease supply problems when in 1701 they paid for the defence of Alderman William Trigge after he seized a dealer's store of corn and distributed it to the poor.(85) In 1757 they voted £20 to £25 for the purchase of coals to be sold at a low price to poor housekeepers (86), and from 1787 to 1790 they annually imported Irish butter and sold it at cut price.(87) In the early nineteenth century £32 was paid for the loss on two cargoes of potatoes sold to the poor (88), and £22 spent on coal for the poor.(89) At the same time direct monetary donations were made to relief funds.

Nottingham Subscriptions for Relief.(90)

1783	Poor Relief	50..0..0
1795	" "	30..0..0
1795	Relief of sufferers by flood at Nottm.	20..0..0
July 1795.	Poor relief	100..0..0
1797	" "	25..0..0
1800/01	Winter soup huts	50..0..0
1803	Relief of war sufferers	105..0..0
1812	Poor Relief	105..0..0
1812	Potatoes for the poor	32..0..0
1814	Relief of suffering Germans	31.10..0
1812	Nottm.P.O.W's in France	10.10..0
1814	Relief of soldiers & Sailors widows in the town.	50..0..0
1814	Coal to the poor	22..0..0
1816	Poor Relief	105..0..0
1819	Framework Knitters	30..0..0
1826	Relief for the unemployed	100..0..0
1830	"	100..0..0
1835	Relief of bobbin net workers	10..0..0

(85) NHB3468 f 15

(86) NHB 3516 f 22

(87) NHB 1786/7 f 33; 1787/8 f 8; 1787/8 f 19;
NHB 3548 f 32; 3549 f 54

(88) NCAB 1811-12

(89) NCAB 1813-14

(90) NCAB passim.

If the donations suggested a kindly benevolence on the part of the Corporation they nevertheless remained a stringent law enforcing body and their somewhat meagre response to the plea from the framework knitters Committee in 1819 (91) is an indication of the occasional dichotomy of their role as benefactors and governors. For whilst they were willing to be more generous than the Duke of Newcastle, who restricted his assistance to advising the knitters to 'bear up' manfully and make the best of whatever you consider an indifferent lot" (92), they had far more readily put aside the sum of £2,000 to be disposed of without account to secure the conviction of framebreakers (93) who, from a social point of view, were expressing in the only way they knew how, their profound economic distress.

Civic charity was nevertheless a reality, and if it was a somewhat haphazard one, it certainly never ceased entirely. It extended beyond the public to the personal servants of the Corporation too, but in none of the three Boroughs was this an automatic benefit of service.

(91) Annual Committee Minutes 3987 f 18

(92) J.L.& B Hammond, The Skilled Labourer 1760 to 1832 (1919) 251

(93) NHB 3571 ff31,32

Aged Aldermen were sometimes pensioned off, but more frequently the Common Hall can be seen to be alleviating the distress of widows and long serving workers like the Town Crier. At York when the Bellman fell into rent arrears he was forgiven his debts "in regard of his poverty".(94) At Nottingham Thomas Barwick, Town Crier, and "an old servant" of the Corporation who was now in "reduced circumstances" was in 1826 granted a gratuity of £5 per annum (95), but despite his age of 72 years it was not until 1833 that he finally retired from his post whereupon "incompetent from age and infirmity to discharge his office" the Common Hall agreed to grant him 8/- a week for life.(96) At Boston too the widow of Christopher Moore, the late Crier, was in 1819 in receipt of £35 per annum "during the pleasure of the Hall"(97) her husband having held the Office of Crier since at least 1780.(98) Her gratuity continued until at least 1832 but had by then been reduced to £20 per annum. Pensions however were by this time specifically listed at the end of the salaries list and to the payment to Elizabeth Moore had been added gratuities to the succeeding Crier, Joseph Appleby, the late gaoler William Vaux and the widow of the late beadle, which together amounted to £89 per annum.

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- (94) E101 f 127 1731
 - (95) NHB 3585 ff 50,51
 - (96) NHB 3592 ff 118,119
 - (97) BCAB Rental Book 1819/20 4/B/1/115
 - (98) BCAB 1780/1
 - (99) BCAB Rental Book 1832/3 4/B/1/140

Gratuities to Aldermen and common councilmen

and their widows were recognized by all three Councils to be needful at times, but the social class of such people often rendered such benefits unnecessary, and it does not appear in any of the three Boroughs that such benefits were an established principle nor that they were prolific, excessive or injudicious. Rather do they appear to have been a sympathetic response after faithful service to those visited by misfortune and reduced in circumstance. At Boston the Common Hall in 1768 made provision for all widows of Aldermen and Common Councilmen to receive gratuities if they did not possess £200 in effects or £15 per annum, (100) but the Chamberlains' Accounts suggest that such payments were rarely, if ever, made and the Municipal Commissioners made note of the fact that the pensions were only those paid to former Officers and their widows.(1)

Gratuities to Councillors and their families

occur rather more frequently at Nottingham than at either York or Boston, but investigation reveals that grants were made only in cases of hardship, and were not an automatic perquisite of office or service. In 1775, Alderman Cooper 'having served several offices in this Corporation with Reputation and having been reduced in his circumstances by misfortunes' was granted £25 per annum.(2)

(100) BAB 1768 f 45

(1) MCR 2160

(2) NHB 3534 f 16.

In 1808 Samuel Statham, a hosier who had served as Chamberlain in 1776 and School Warden from 1789 until 1806, the year before his retirement was, in spite of his bankruptcy whilst holding over £400 worth of the School Funds, granted £20 per annum being a "decayed member of this coporation" (3) and clearly in dire difficulties. More unfortunate were the circumstances of Alderman Isaac Woolley and Thomas Smith, Senior Councillor, whose failed businesses left both in such greatly reduced circumstances that the Hall voted to each a gift of £100. (4) Grants to widows of serving Corporation Members were also more frequent than at Boston and York (5), but the granting of gratuities was very much a development of the nineteenth century and may indicate the way in which distress affected all classes of people at this time.

(3) NHB 3568 f 23

(4) NHB 3586 ff 110,112; NHB 3589 ff 44,45,60,61.

(5) eg. Widow Davidson and Widow Green May 30th 1804 NHB3563 f 54;
Widow Hickling April 11th 1827 NHB 3586 ff 46,47

Gratuities Nottingham.(6)

1800/01.

Wo.Green	£15.15..0
Bellman	5. 5..0
	<u>21. 0..0</u>

1804/5

Wo.Green	£20..0..0
Wo.Davison	20. 0..0
Wo.Machin	5. 0..0
Wm.Wells	10. 0..0
Town Cryer	5. 5..0
	<u>60. 5..0</u>

1810/11

Benj. Sands	15. 0..0
Robt.Cox	10. 0..0
Wo.Whitlock	20. 0..0
Wo.Davison	20. 0..0
W.Machin	5. 0..0
Wm.Wells	10. 0..0
Sam Statham	20. 0..0
	<u>100. 0..0</u>

1815/16

Wo.Whitlock	£20. 0..0
Wo.Davison	20. 0..0
Benj. Sands	15. 0..0
	<u>55. 0..0</u>

1821/2

Wo.Goddard	6.10..0
Wo.Whitlock	10. 0..0
Wo.Davison	20. 0..0
Benj. Sands	15. 0..0
Wm.Howitt	20. 0..0
	<u>71.10..0</u>

1824/5

Wm.Goddard	6.10..0
Wo.Davison	20. 0..0
Benj. Sands	15. 0..0
Wm.Howitt	20. 0..0
Wo.Hickling	15. 0..0
	<u>76.10..0</u>

1830/1

Benj. Sands	15. 0..0
Wm.Howitt	20. 0..0
Wo.Hickling	15. 0..0
Ald.Ashwell	20. 0..0
Jos.Heath	5. 0..0
Wo.Wright	13. 0..0
Wo.Goddard	6.10..0
T.Cryer	5. 0..0
Tho.Barwick	5. 0..0
	<u>104.10..0</u>

(6) Nottm.Chamber Rentals 2302,2305,
2310a,2315,2321,2324,2331..

Certainly there is nothing in the records to suggest indiscriminate gratuities. As the Town Clerk of Nottingham stated at the Municipal Enquiry, the pensioners "principally consist of old persons and decayed servants", and payments amounted in 1832 to a total of £150..6..0.(7) Such payments were however in certain instances ill regarded by some members of the public, and it was not without accuracy that the Municipal Commissioner observed that the allowance of annuities to decayed members of the corporate body and their widows "however benevolent the motives from which it may proceed", was not a "proper application.....of a fund properly applicable to public purposes alone".(8)

An increasingly regular and sizeable expense which could be construed to be both a proper application of public funds and an enlightened one, arose from the increasing number of donations made by each of the three Councils to local churches, schools, hospitals and other institutions.

Monetary gifts to the parish churches were in all three boroughs an irregular, but not altogether infrequent, feature of the accounts throughout the period from 1660-1835.

(7) J. Cockayne, op. cit., 34, 123

(8) MCR 2007

The Councils could invariably be relied upon to help out in times of need, and on occasions, the sums involved could be large. Thus for example in 1731/2 the Common Hall at York subscribed £100 to the new floor at the Minster and almost one hundred years later in 1829/30 gave £500 to the major restoration which was taking place.(9) At Boston small payments to church repairs are a regular feature in the Chamberlains' Accounts (10), but here too, large donations were made when repairs were extensive. In 1771 a committee was appointed for repairing the Chancel of the Church and given authority to spend up to £40 on John Ashley's estimate.(11) Fiftythree years later the Chamberlains paid ^{the} £130 cost of repairing the window at the east end of the chancel.(12) Much the same attitude is evident at Nottingham where for example in 1672, the Chamber funds provided for two new bell frames at Saint Peter's Church, made a donation towards the leading of the new Church of Saint Nicholas in 1675, and the finishing of its steeple in 1678.(13) The Corporation gave support also to its civic church of Saint Mary the Virgin (14), and made a yearly gift to the Ministers of the three town Churches.(15)

(9) YCAB 1731/2, 1829/30

(10) Appendix XI Abstract of Expenditure 10 yearly accounts.

(11) BAB f 96 April 16th 1771

(12) 2/D/6 Sept. 10th 1824

(13) NHB 3440 f 20; 3443 f 24

(14) eg. NHB 3446 f 17

(15) NCAB passim.; NHB 3501 f 7

Possibly more significant in social terms were the annual donations which each of the Borough Councils began to make towards the encouragement and maintenance of schools and hospitals. It would be erroneous to suggest that such annual donations were of large amount, but they were regular small payments, which indicate that the councils recognised an elementary responsibility in these spheres. They indicate too the way in which the civic income was whittled away by small payments here and there.

Annual Donations:

<u>Boston 1832. (16)</u>		<u>Nottingham 1830/31. (17)</u>	
County Hospital	10..0..0	Lancaster School	5..5..0
Blue Coat School	21..0..0	General Hosnital	5..5..0
Dispensary	31.10..0	Nottm. Dispensary	10.10..0
National School	20..0..0	Charity School	
Lincoln Asylum	<u>10..0..0</u>	Barker Gate	<u>3..3..0</u>
	<u>92.10..0</u>		<u>24..3..0</u>
<u>York 1830/31. (18)</u>			
Bluecoat School	<u>15..0..0</u>		

Boston Corporation clearly made the greatest financial effort in terms of annual donations, but in all three Boroughs there was a willingness also to make substantial ad hoc payments to these bodies. Thus at Boston in 1804/5 the Chamberlains gave £150 principal to the Blue Coat School⁽¹⁹⁾ and in 1815 gave £133.6.8d to the National School.⁽²⁰⁾

(16) Rentals. passim.
 (17) NCAB 1830/31
 (18) YCAB 1830/1
 (19) BCAB 1804/5
 (20) BAB May 8th 1815

At Nottingham in 1835 the town council subscribed £100 to the new school in Canal Street (21) and also donated the land for it valued at £200.(22) At York payments for repair work at the schools frequently figure in the accounts and here too in 1835 the Old Corporation made a final fling of generosity with a grant of £100 to the Yorkshire School for the Indigent Blind.(23). Similar generosity is evident in the founding of the local hospitals.

A concern for the social and economic wellbeing of both township and inhabitants is amply illustrated by the records of all three Corporations. This concern could be sporadic in terms of any one activity; in financial terms it never represented a significant percentage of annual expenditure; but it was a reality which featured in some small way in the accounts of the Chamberlains in almost every year between 1660 and 1835.

(21)NCAB 1835

(22) NHB 3594 f 90

(23) YCAB 1835

Observations on Civic Expenditure 1660-1835.

Chapter 14.

From the foregoing evidence it is clear that the civic funds were spent on a wide variety of different items and functions, some of a regular nature, others highly irregular, some sizeable and some, in financial terms, insignificant as individual items. In order to obtain an overall view of civic expenditure it is therefore necessary to attempt to categorize the various types of expenditure so that comparisons can be drawn and some degree of statistical analysis or tabular presentation be attempted. The records and the information do not however lend themselves well to such manipulation. At times the records are incomplete or lacking in detail, in all cases the categorization used by the Chamberlains is inaccurately carried out. Thus under 'salaries' may be placed annual payments or charity trusts, pensions and gratuities and annual donations to public institutions. The mere existence of the category of 'miscellaneous' or 'necessary' expenses inevitably created in each year's account a bank of payments in need of sorting and categorizing.

Categorization presents problems of its own for it is subjective. In view of the inadequacy of the accounts as they stand for purposes of comparison and analysis of types of expenditure it has nevertheless been considered valid,

indeed necessary, to manipulate the expenditure accounts freely into new groupings. This created a degree of standardisation in the financial records of all three Boroughs.

It was however an enormous task. Where the expenditure accounts lacked detail, other financial records had to be used, the vouchers had to be searched and many hundreds of payments then had to be sorted and re-ordered. To have dealt with all the accounts in this way would have been impossible and thus selection had to take place. No system of selection seemed totally suitable and ultimately it was decided to break down the accounts at ten yearly intervals. The obvious drawback to this was that years of peculiarly high expenditure in specific areas, for example, improvements or legal costs, would render comparison between accounts difficult and falsify generalizations on percentage expenditure. However, since such expenses would become immediately apparent, comparison within the other categories of the account could remain realistic. At the same time the span of years covered would facilitate comparison between different periods from 1660 to 1835 particularly in regular heads of expenditure as distinct from extraordinary expenses. In order to create a more realistic mean average it was in addition decided to examine

three consecutive years at the periods 1749, 1750, 1751 and 1819, 1820, 1821.(1)

Recategorization and tabulation of the accounts on this decennial basis proved possible at both Boston and York but not at Nottingham. For the latter Borough there remain only account summaries for most of the period from 1660 to 1835. The audited accounts thus lack detail, draft account books survive only for some years and these too do not always specify the nature of individual items of expenditure, and the runs of vouchers are rarely complete. Thus insufficient data is available for tabulation. For Nottingham therefore a table of expenditure has been created for the last ten complete years of the old corporation's existence when, under the supervision of Mr, Staveley, accounting was more meticulous.

The resultant accounts, when considered in conjunction with all the other evidence arising from the Borough records, render significant information relating to the questions raised at the beginning of this section, namely how the three Corporations of Boston, Nottingham and York spent their incomes.

(1) Appendices XI a, b, c

From the Summaries of Account in Appendix XI

it is clear that throughout the period 1660-1835 there were three major areas of expenditure which together regularly accounted for more than 80% of the total civic expenditure per annum. These three main areas concerned the support of civic dignity, the provision of labour and materials for general repair and improvement, and the annual commitments which arose from charity trusts, rates and taxes, loan and interest payments. Only twice in this analysis of decennial accounts did these comprise less than 80% of expenditure at York, and on both occasions this was the product of a marked upsurge in legal costs in those years. At Boston there were two such occasions, one similarly a result of increased legal charges, the other occasioned by inadequate information in the accounts which leaves large sums unaccountable, (2) within this analysed framework.

(2) Appendix XI a

Within these categories fell the single largest item of annual expenditure faced by all three civic authorities, namely the payment of wages and salaries to persons holding annual or life appointments from the Council. Within these appendices presented herewith these payments have been divided into the two categories A and B, distinguishing between salaries paid to Officials and those paid to workmen, but to the Chamberlain they together represented the single largest expense of his accounting year.

Salaries paid to civic officials were, in all three boroughs, the heaviest annual charge, and they rose sharply in cost over the century and a half from 1660.

Salaries paid to Civic Officials:

YORK (3)

1661	1671	1680	1692	1700	1710	1720	1730	1740
£209	216	213	234	240	244	245	258	546
1750	1760	1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830
£532	557	640	761	734	804	1127	391	440

BOSTON(3)

1700	1710	1717	1730	1741	1750	1760
£129	100	124	160	180	183	212
1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830
£200	201	355	291	349	984	412

NOTTINGHAM.(4)

1688	1697	1713	1719	1730	1740	1755	
£ 45	74	94	112	117	113	101	
1760	1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1821	1830
£ 97	120	140	145	144	281	278	410

(3) Appendix XIV

to nearest £

(4) Abstracted from the Chamber Rentals 1688 to 1830, 2220 to 2331. These record presumed payments and therefore may not tally with the actual payments recorded in the audited accounts and appendix XI

A clear upward trend in salaries occurred at Boston and York in the 1730's and 1740's arising chiefly from an increase in the allowances made to the Mayor, but at Nottingham this was less marked, a steady augmentation of the Mayor's salary taking place throughout the eighteenth century. A further break occurs in all three Boroughs in the 1770's or 1780's and again during the first or second decades of the nineteenth century as salaries generally were increased, presumably to take account of mounting inflation during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. At both York and Boston the total cost of salaries for civic Officials was by this time hovering around the £1,000 mark and a massive retrenchment was effected by a cut back in the salaries of the two Mayors' bringing the total salary, by 1830, ^{to} some £400, much the same as at Nottingham.

These salaries constituted the major part of expenditure under the head of 'civic dignity', albeit that some of the officials held posts fundamental to the borough's administration. Yet large as was the increase in expenditure on salaries and civic dignity in general, expenditure here did not increase enormously, relative to the total civic expenditure.

For much of the earlier part of our period from 1660 to 1835, dignity was not the most expensive category within the accounts at York and Boston. During the middle years of the eighteenth century however the pomp and circumstance of civic life, the feasts and celebrations came to dominate the

accounts and soaked up the largest percentage of civic money within the categories here presented. On the whole it accounted for some 30% to 40% of civic expenditure. At a time when official salaries were increasing most markedly and expenditure in money terms on dignity was rocketing, the expenses here became however less significant within the total civic account. In other words, expenditure on other items was rising ever faster. Thus at its highest monetary figure in 1810 the cost of maintaining dignity, paying official salaries and feasting, at York represented 21% of total civic expenditure, a drop of anything up to 20% on the previous five decennial figures, similarly at Boston at its highest figure in 1820, this category of expense represented only 10% of total civic expenditure. In both cases the recipient of the extra expenditure was general work, repairs and improvements.

On an overall view of expenditure therefore it is clear that a lot of money was spent on salaries of officials, the Mayor, the Town Clerk, the Waits, the Macebearer and others. A further large sum was spent on the other trappings of civic dignity; feasts, public and private celebrations, hospitality and the civic appearance. Yet these remained only one of the three main areas of expense, and although at the time when civic spending was highest, retrenchment here would clearly have eased the financial problems, in relative terms it was not necessarily the most effective place to economize.

Another major area of expenditure which becomes apparent from the accounts is that of providing for the upkeep and improvement of the borough. It includes payment of salaries to workmen appointed annually or for life like the Scavenger, Town Husband, or Surveyor. As indicated by Chapters 8 and 9 many of the expenses under this head were sporadic and of very high amount. An analysis at ten yearly intervals is of little value for investigating payments of this nature which can only be properly ascertained by following the items through the accounts over a series of years. However what the analysis does indicate is that throughout the period 1660 to 1835 the cost of workmen, repairs and improvements in the accounts here always constituted a significant proportion of total expenditure. At York in the fifteen accounts examined between 1730 and 1830 such expenses only once accounted for less than 20% of total expenditure and rarely fell much below 25%. At Boston the percentage which such expenses bore to total expenditure was generally higher, often accounting for more than 30% in the samples used, and in the nineteenth century, accounting for 40% in all except the 1830 account. As total expenditure increased the monetary figure represented by such percentages reached several thousand pounds.

Annual dues for rents, rates, charitable trusts, interest and loans, together constituted the third major area of civic expenditure. Here again on a ten yearly analysis, the figures become somewhat random and meaningless, except as an indication that this was another main area of civic expenditure which, from 1750 onwards, saw a marked, if haphazard, upward trend as a percentage of total expenditure. That this was largely attributable to interest payable on the constantly increasing loans taken by the civic authorities in a bid to remain solvent, has been indicated elsewhere.(5)

If the accounts of the three Corporations are to be more than a list of separate figures, then generalizations must be made, but the importance of examining civic expenditure in its individual items has been indicated by the foregoing chapters, and the summaries re-emphasize this. Particular items stand out from the summaries with random incidence indicating the occurrence of heavy expenses from time to time on items which may figure with little or no significance from year to year, or in the years selected for the analysis. Noticeable amongst these in the York summaries were the costs associated with Enclosure Acts which became particularly marked in the summaries for 1819, 1821 and 1830. Their non-appearance in the analysis for Boston indicate however the shortcomings of the decennial analysis, for as indicated in Chapter 13, they became a costly item of expenditure for their Chamberlains too.

(5) See below Chapter 5.

A further item of importance which emerges from the analyses was the expense to which each of the councils was put in providing themselves with legal advice and services. The Boston summaries suggest that legal charges were of random occurrence in the earlier part of the period 1700 to 1835, becoming a more regular but small charge from the 1790's onwards. The York summaries indicate substantial charges occurring in the analyses from 1660 to 1700, the continuation of legal expenses as a regular but fluctuating charge on the Chamber purse until the latter years of the eighteenth century and then a decline until the nineteenth century when their amount within the summaries fluctuated enormously and was at times very high.

In fact legal costs were both a regular and an extraordinary charge to the Chamberlains of all three boroughs. As an extraordinary expense we do not expect to find them emerging from the summaries other than by coincidence, but that they could become a very heavy burden from time to time is amply illustrated from more detailed examination of the accounts of the three boroughs. As extraordinary expenses they arose, primarily, from litigation; from cases pursued against civil offenders who threatened the civic rights and privileges, or from the charges associated with maintaining or defending the civic constitution. Among the former, the upholding of the Borough Tolls and Stallage Rights involved all three councils in repeated court cases at different times, which involved extensive and

lengthy services at a high cost.(6) At Nottingham in two years from 1735 to 1737 the Town Clerk submitted bills for suits about tolls amounting to £634.7.5d(7). At the end of the century similar cases cost £518.17.5.(8), a further £229.10.0 was paid in 1809 (9) for the defendant's costs in a corn toll cause, whilst between 1826 and 1834 the civic vindication of their right to Market Stallage cost them £1041.16.0(10) At Boston similar legal cases over the civic right to tolls and stallage cost the Corporation in excess of £2,562 between 1829 and 1832.(11) At York many actions were taken against unfree traders at heavy cost to the civic purse: £450.14.11d plus ten guineas to the Clerk for searching the City records in 1776; a further £20.17.4 in 1779 and £870.17.9 in 1821 and 1822 in the suit against William Wellbank. For the latter, however, they did recover from him £446.10.0 in costs.(12) Actions taken by Boston Corporation to compel the butchers to sell meat in the butchery in 1751 and again in 1757 cost in both cases well in excess of £200.(13)

Legal help and advice in matters relating to the civic constitution were similarly irregular, but costly. All three boroughs suffered under the Stuart extension of Crown control over local government, having to answer quo

(6) Chapter 6
 (7) NCAB
 (8) NCAB
 (9) NCAB
 (10) 4048 VII

(11) BCAB
 (12) BCAB 1751/2 £231.11.9
 BCAB 1757/8 £270. 9.7½d 12/1; 12/3
 (13) YCAB

warrantos in defence of their old charters or supplicate for new ones. At York a quo warranto threatened in 1661, and in the following year the concil membership was remodelled by the crown commissioners.(14) This prompted the city to supplicate for a new charter which was granted in 1665,(15) but within twenty years the charter was again under threat, quo warranto proceedings being taken against the civic body in March 1684.(16) Judgement was given against the corporation who petitioned for a new charter which was finally granted in July 1685. The cost of both charters was heavy. John Hill's bill in 1665 amounted to £177.9.11, which he explained, "though great yet it is much less then any new charter of any cittye considerable hath cost", £100 having been saved on the fees of the King's secretary and Lord Chancellor, who being appraised of the "disability of the place were satisfied with small fees".(17) The City Council was not overpleased with the provisions of the Charter,(18) but they got better value for money then than in 1685. Between 1682 and 1687 over £477 was spent on journeys to London, and other bills appertaining to the Charter renewal (19), yet the charter was never acted upon or accepted,(20) and in 1688 in one of his last-ditch attempts at reconciliation, James issued York with a writ of restitution,

(14) VCH York 174
 (15) MCR 1738
 (16) VCH York 175; J. Reresby, Memoirs 303, 320, 321, 329, 330
 (17) £40/47
 (18) £40/47
 (19) — YCAB 1682, 1683, 1684, 1686
 (20) MCR 1738

re-establishing the 1665 charter.(21) This sort of expenditure, occasional, unusual and heavy, put severe strains on the civic purse, but was quite unavoidable. Both Boston and Nottingham experienced similar problems with the Stuart Kings. The accounts at Boston do not survive for this period, but the surviving Nottingham records suggest that, as at York, heavy costs were incurred in retaining the borough constitution. Here however proceedings were made more complex by the disagreements within the civic membership itself. In 1664 the Common Hall agreed to petition Charles II for renewal of the Charter without the restrictive covenants on the elections of Recorder, Steward and a Town Clerk, and Sir Clifford Clifton was asked to solicit the business.(22) In anticipation of heavy expenses the Hall arranged to borrow money to renew the Charter, and a committee was despatched to London to curry the Royal favour.(23) What the total cost was we do not know, but presents and rewards given to James, Duke of York, and other rewards during 1664 and 1665 cost £32.12.5d.(24) Perhaps this bribery proved successful, for nothing further occurred respecting the new Charter until 1682 when the Mayor, Gervas Wylde, a staunch royalist, put a motion before the council for the surrender of the charter. The votes were evenly split, fourteen for and fourteen against, and without scruple Wylde used his casting vote

(21) MCR 1738; J. Rereby, Memoirs 521
 (22) NHB 3435 f 25
 (23) NHB 3435 f 24, 32
 (24) NCAB 1664/6

in favour of surrender.(25) The surrender was strongly disapproved of by the Burgesses at large, partly through fears for their own positions, and partly because the final surrender was carried out unlawfully by Wylde and three or four others. Consequently four caveats were entered with the Lord Chancellor and Attorney General.(26) and when, on Mayor making day 1682 the new Charter had still not arrived, the non-surrender group proceeded to swear in their Mayor on the terms of the old Charter. Meanwhile Wylde set about creating a new conciliar body according to the new Charter when it arrived later that day.(27) A period of chaotic disagreement ensued, but the new council took power until in 1688 James II removed the entire corporation, replacing them with his own nominees.(28) The councillors appointed by mandate found themselves in an unenviable position but justified the legality of their position on the fact that the surrender of the Charter in 1682 was illegal and that the subsequent new Charter of 1682 and the conciliar members appointed under its authority which they were now replacing, were equally illegal. The Deputy Recorder, Nathan Wrighte suggested that the best way to secure the business was by writ of quo warranto.(29)

(25) NHB 3449 f 16

(26) MCR 1988 - 1990; D.Gray, Nottingham through 500 Years. (1960) 98;

(27) MCR 1988 - 1990
D.Gray, op. cit., 98 - 107.

(28) 4692 b; NHB 3455 ff 26, 32

(29) D.Gray, op. cit., 105, 106

paving the way for forfeiture and the substitution of a new Charter, drawn up by Wrighte, and naming the present Aldermen and Councillors as the true governors. Accordingly on May 18th 1688 the Council agreed by unanimous assent, that the town seal be affixed to the warrant "that impowers John Cooke one of the Clerks of the Crown Office, to appeare for the Corporation in King's Bench as our Attorney".(30) George Langford, the Mayor, wrote to the corporation's solicitor Mr. Tomlinson on August 25th 1688 asking him to "get a very learned and honest counsell to advise us ask him to keep secreisy and pay him what you think best, a ginney at least and 2 if you see course".(31) for advice on the new charter which it was hoped would be obtained. The Charter was received on September 1st 1688 but the quo warranto proceedings had still not reached King's bench and legally therefore James II's Charter was worthless. Matters became acute after the accession of William of Orange, when opposition in Nottingham to the Council, which in effect was the product of James' mandates of 1688, became stronger. Aldermen and Councillors removed by the mandate began applying for writs of mandamus.(32) Aware of public feeling the civic body in 1690 sent a

(30) NHB 3455 f. 59; 4692 c/2/b

deputation to London to regain the old Charter,(33) resolving in 1691 that "the Public seal shall be affixed to an Instrument to desire and enable our said Burgesses of Parliament to procure for us the settling of this Corporation upon its old foundation".(34) The Charter was received from William and Mary on October 19th 1692 (35) and it restored the government as it stood on 29th September 1682 before Charles II's new Charter was received.

As at York and Boston therefore (36) Nottingham underwent lengthy and repetitive dealings in respect of its charters in the twenty-eight years following the restoration of the monarchy. The cost of the supplications and defences were a heavy burden to the civic purse and could be met only by loans and entreaties for cut-price services. The total cost of obtaining the Charter in 1682 cannot be discerned, but in respect of the Charter of 1688 the Corporation paid Nathan Wright £50 in May of that year promising a further £50 "the next week by our carryer...and if this will dot doe our business as thro' yor mediation and the representation of the poor and necessitous conditions of our corporation we hope it may, we shall take

take care to furnish you with more as soon as possibly -
we can Tho' to deal plainly with you we have borrow'd
this £120 and £20 more the King's mandates cost us".(37)
In addition to this Christopher Hall was in 1686 voted
£100 for his extraordinary care and pains over three
years or more in "soliciting ye greate affairs of this
Corporation and also his trouble aboute ye new Charter".(38)

In relation to the 1692 Charter we have
a closer indication of the costs of supplicating on
relatively straight forward grounds for a new grant.
There remains among the Chamberlains bills at Nottingham
for the period 1690 to 1693 a list of expenses for the
Nottingham Charter submitted by Robie Sherwin, the Nottm.
Lawyer, which came to £385.7.5 exclusive of the reward
of £550 (39) and a further £30 the following year.(40)
The earlier wranglings with the Stuart Monarchs are
likely to have been immensely more costly, and indeed
compared with the cost of a new Charter to York in 1829/
1830 of £722.12.0 plus £11.15.10 for the petition, the
cost was still in proportion to income, a very heavy
financial burden to the civic body.(41)

(37) 4692 c/4

(38) NHB 3454 f 9

(39) Vouchers 1690-3 1798 U b

(40) Vouchers 1693/4 1798 Va March 27th 1693

(41) YCAB 1829/30

Other legal questions relating to the civic constitution arose from internal challenges and disaffection. At York the Corporation was put to some considerable expense in seeking writs mandamus for re-election of officers in place of persons who proved unwilling or unable to stand. The spate of proceedings in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were probably occasioned by the civic policy of securing exonerated fines by nominating for office candidates known to be unlikely to serve in office.(42) But once election had taken place a writ of mandamus had to be secured before a further election could occur. Thus these early accounts contain many references to the costs of applying to King's Bench.(43)

1694/5	writ mandamus to elect a new sheriff.	£35. 5. 0
1698/9	Obtaining a mandamus	37. 2. 5
1700/01	" "	37. 2. 5
1701/2	" " to elect a sheriff	23. 1. 6
1702/3	" " " " "	37.11. 3
1707	Action v Bywater & Benson refusing to serve as Sheriffs(44)	67. 4. 0

However such proceedings occur throughout the period 1660 to 1835 (45) causing, as John Lister Kaye was informed, "great inconvenience and expense to the City".(46)

At Nottingham the Burgesses themselves took

(42) Chapter 5
(43) Accounts passim.
(44) YHB 41 f. 20
(45) YHB 43 3.2.1747/8, 21.9.1748, 21st June 1790, 5.11.1792,
3rd Feb.1793; E34 f. 163, 169-71, 177-82; K/30; E77 1.2.1822
(46) E 34 f. 163; 177-82

suit against the Common Council over their prolonged failure to elect six junior Councillors, when in 1749 they secured a mandamus instructing the council to proceed to such an election.(48) Initially the Common Hall secured favourable judgement but when a second mandamus was served the Hall granted the Mayor up to £400 to defend the two suits which was to be borrowed from J.Wainwright.(49) The return to the mandamus was judged to be "good and sufficient in law",(50) but in 1768 the battle began again. Already betwen 1748 and 1750 the Town Clerk's bill 'relating to the suit about the junior council" amounted to £102.7.6.(57) and altogether out of the £400 authorized and borrowed £348.15.0 had been spent.(52) When the matter was finally settled on September 3rd 1751 a further £146.1.10 (53) had to be paid making a total of £494.16.10. In 1768,1769 and 1770 Robert Seagrave's bills relating to this matter totalled £115.16.11 (54) and the burgesses did not allow the matter to rest until 1776 when judgement was finally found for the election of junior councillors.(55) A similar event occurred at Boston in 1802 when a disputed common council election resulted in proceedings against the issue of a

(48) NHB 3508 f 31
(49) NHB 3510 f 18
(50) NHB 3511 f 32
(51) 4717
(52) General Statements of Accounts 1523 1750/51
(53) Ibid.
(54) Vouchers 1770/1771 1811A 211 ii, & iii; NHB3527 f 32
(55) NHB 3535 ff 12;13

mandamus which cost the Corporation £571.2.4.(56). Challenges to the civic authority and constitution became yet more marked in the early years of the nineteenth century, causing Nottingham Corporation immense expense. Defence of the petitions presented by D.Parker Coke representing as improper the action of the Corporation and Officials at the recent elections in 1803 cost £1,801.18.5½ (57) defending the Mayor in King's Bench in 1803 cost £155.16.1 (58) in 1808/9 defence of a quo warranto relating to the election of Aldermen cost £3,104.12.6d (59) and defence of a further quo warranto in 1809 cost £1198.3.6 (60) yet in each case judgement was given in the Corporation's favour. As with the toll cases therefore it is evident that the inviolability of the civic authority was under severe attack at Nottingham. It does however appear that the degree of challenge to its authority which the Nottingham Council faced was much greater than at either York or Boston, a factor associated probably with the size and nature of its population, for although it was a close

(56) BAB 16.3.1802, 30.3.1802, 8.6.1802, 25.10.1802, 11.4.1803
 (57) Ledger A f 177
 (58) Ledger A f 177
 (59) Ledger B ff 16,21
 (60) NHB 3568 ff 80-81

and partisan civic body, so too were Boston and York.

Other legal charges arose inevitably from the day to day business of civic life. At times major legal cases developed, as for example the suit brought by Thomas Wilson against the Corporation for non payment of his bill for work on Boston bridge, which cost the Boston Chamberlains £716.2.3. and the Election bailiff £501.8.9d (61); or the actions brought by bond creditors against the Corporation in 1834/5 which cost the common purse £337.12.7 (62). Actions relating to trespass were common as for example when Nathaniel Wilson^{was} prosecuted by York Corporation for encroaching on the street (63), or when this Corporation fell into disagreement with Sir Lionel Pilkington over the extent of his fishing rights in the River Ouse.(64)

In addition to these extraordinary costs there were however regular legal charges which had to be met. These were the costs of lease transactions, the enrollment of freedoms, the drawing up of contracts and numerous other functions performed by the Town Clerk for which the bills became increasingly large as the volume of

(61) BCAB 1813/14; BAB 20.1.1814, 27.6.1814.

(62) BCAB 1834/5

(63) YHB 43 f 337

(64) YHB 42 f 87; YHB 43 f 115; YCAB 1742/3

business expanded throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is this aspect of legal business which becomes increasingly apparent in the decennial accounts at Boston from 1790, and which is noticeable in the summary of the Nottingham accounts for the ten years from 1825. At York, as at Nottingham, the general bills for legal business increased steadily in the early 1800's.

NOTTINGHAM.

TOWN CLERK'S GENERAL BILLS TO THE CHAMBER ESTATE 1796 to 1815.

	£	s	d		£	s	d		£	s	d		£	s	d
1796	40.	4.	6	1801	89.	13.	0	1806	149.	0.	6	1811	201.	2.	10
1797	64.	19.	8	1802	139.	3.	8	1807	224.	14.	8	1812	211.	12.	6
1798	62.	19.	10	1803	80.	4.	8	1808	159.	4.	5	1813	371.	18.	5
1799	66.	10.	10	1804	130.	0.	6	1809	257.	17.	6	1814	386.	0.	6
1800	82.	15.	5	1805	124.	18.	4	1810	234.	18.	8	1815	443.	3.	0

YORK.

GENERAL LEGAL BILLS, TOWNEND and BAYLDON, 1812 to 1815.

BAYLDON and DAVIES, 1828 to 1835.

	£	s	d		£	s	d
1812/1813	360.	18.	0	1827/1828	200.	0.	0
1814 to 1816	158.	3.	7	1829	257.	11.	6
1817/1818	133.	4.	9	1830	250.	19.	6
1819	124.	8.	9	1831	264.	13.	7
1820	17.	14.	0	1832	572.	3.	6
1821	11.	2.	8	1833	280.	5.	5
1822/3	38.	8.	10	1834	295.	16.	9
1824	32.	1.	3	1835	253.	0.	7
1825	128.	17.	1				
1826/1827	340.	3.	0				

(65) Ledgers A & B Excluding bills for specific business

(66) YCAB 1812 to 1835 Richard Townend T/C 1806 to 1827;

Robt. Davies Town Clerk 1827 to 1848.

Excluding major items of expense eg the New Charter but inclusive of more minor suits. The date represents the year to which the bill pertained and not necessarily the year of payment.

As the chief legal adviser to the Corporation the Town Clerk was placed in the peculiar position of having a potential vested interest in promoting litigation between the Civic body and others, for it involved big business. At the same time professional integrity demanded codes of conduct, which had to be seen to operate, ^{and} which in practical terms were at least at times observed, as Enfield illustrated when he advised the Corporation at Nottingham to reduce the Market Stallage rate in view of "the desirableness of avoiding law suits with the Corporation," (67).

If abuse of the monopoly occurred it is more likely to have been in the size of the bills presented to the civic authority. It is however almost impossible to judge their reasonableness without reference to a wider cross section of solicitors' bills. Certainly the business concerned was often complex and, as most legal business, always time consuming. There can be no doubt that the legal side of civic business increased greatly from the mid-eighteenth century onwards as record and account keeping became more precise, as surveys, contracts and tenders became a frequent aspect of daily civic dealings as committees multiplied and minute taking expanded accordingly. But where doubt was felt it is again clear that steps could be, and were taken. The Corporation at Nottingham asked a Derby lawyer by the name of William Lockett to examine

(67) 4048 v11 23

George Coldham's bill of expenses in two cases pertaining to conciliar elections.(68) The bills amounted to £4302.16.10 and it is not therefore surprising that the Corporation was alarmed. As Lockett pointed out, "it cannot be a matter of surprise that gentlemen, not having ascertained the amount of the money expended, the time occupied and the professional labour employedshould be alarmed at the appearance of the total sum". He concluded that though poorly accounted, the fees were just for the clear profit on the four years work could not exceed £1600 and he recommended an additional award of two hundred guineas to Enfield.(69)

During the last ten complete years of the old Corporation's existence at Nottingham the payments to the Town Clerk for legal business averaged £443 per annum.(70) but his official salary was still only £3.13.4 per annum. At Boston over the same period general law bills exclusive of election costs, averaged £207, extraordinary legal costs £428, and in addition the Town Clerk received a salary of £60 plus £30 for attending the Justices.(71) At York over the same period general law bills averaged £274, but here too a fairly nominal salary of £20 per annum was paid. Clearly therefore, extraordinary legal charges proved a heavy fluctuating expense throughout the

(68) NIB 3572 ff 11-13

(69) NIB 3572 ff 53 - 58

(70) Appendix XI

(71) BCAB 1824 to 1835; Pamphlets and papers relating to Boston, Boston Public Library 2946

period 1660 to 1835 whilst general legal charges became a regular and increasing item in the expenditure accounts of all three Boroughs. // Other items occurring within the account summaries generally speak for themselves. The "Expenses" category at Nottingham was very random in its content comprising payments for useful and necessary items such as stationary, printing, postage, surveys and costs of general elections, as well as payments for wine. It was therefore very much a miscellaneous category, and as the summary indicates it could account for a sizeable percentage of the annual outgoings. Apart from this however the remaining categories in all three summaries tend to be either generally small in amount and percentage or haphazard in occurrence.

Perhaps what arises most clearly from the summaries and the foregoing chapters relating to civic expenditure is the high degree to which civic expenditure was concerned with items necessary and even beneficial to the maintenance of the borough at large and its administration. Feasts and celebrations are perhaps the least justifiable of borough expenses even though they can be seen to play a part in administration and authority. Yet the summaries suggest that at Boston they rarely much exceeded 10% of

total expenditure before 1770 and thereafter generally accounted for much less. At York they rarely amounted to 5% throughout the period of the decennial summaries. Salaries to civic officials were a further large annual outgoing which has met with frequent criticism, yet here again they were not without utility. If expensive the civic dignity was seen to be important to its authority, yet here too a compromise which effected economies within the salaries bill occurred at York in the early nineteenth century whilst economies in feasting were taken at Boston.

On the whole therefore it would appear that civic spending in the three boroughs of Boston, Nottingham and York was primarily concerned with maintenance, repair and improvement of civic and public properties, both buildings, streets and walkways; with official salaries and the trappings of civic dignity; with administration and legal business, rents, dues and arrears and with the raising of credit to finance their ventures and to meet the ever growing gap between regular income and total expenditure. The level of expenditure of all three corporations increasingly exceeded their normal or regular income during this period 1660 to 1835 and the question which inevitably arises is, why? The foregoing chapters and the summaries suggest that

that it was not totally a result of misplaced values, of excessive spending on civic dignity, on wine and civic salaries. To retrench sufficiently would have necessitated far greater cuts in the many other more public spirited and administrative spheres of civic life. The obvious conclusion therefore is that the managerial capabilities of these three unreformed boroughs were totally inadequate to the task facing them and that their administration was hopelessly inadequate to the demands of planned and controlled spending. As a consequence they inevitably graduated towards bankruptcy.

The evidence suggests however that at all times each civic body had an awareness of the need to control expenditure and limit the hazards arising from the tenure of inexperienced and annually serving financial officers. Thus in each borough orders of Hall were made to limit the sum which the Chamberlains and the Mayor could spend without specific sanction of the Hall, (72) and bills were from time to time called into question prior to payment being made. At York in 1743 J. Kerton's bill for the repair of the sterling at Ouse Bridge was referred for examination whereupon £5.7.5d was recommended to be deducted although in fact

(72) e.g. Boston BAB 4 f. 53 1677; BAB 21st Aug. 1747;
Nottingham NHB 3555 f. 31-32 Feb. 2nd 1796;
York YHB 43 f. 209 9th May 1746

the Chamberlains ultimately withheld payment of £5.4.4d.(73)

In the same year a bill submitted by the then Chamberlain for work executed was similarly investigated at the instigation of the Common Hall who wished to "satisfy themselves how the work is executed and of the truth and justice of the measuration and prices charged...." and only half of the bill of some £174.7.10 was paid.(74) Similarly at Boston in 1770 the Hall debated whether to pay Mr.Holland's bill of £47.5.8 for bricks "the same not being of the sort contracted for but on the contrary the greater part of them not being fit for any use"; not surprisingly the issue passed in the negative.(75) Attempts to dupe the supposed unwatchfulness of the corporate rather than the individual employer were apparently not unknown, but the authorities proved more vigilant than was expected for in 1739 the Hall at Boston recorded that "complaint having been made that several master workmen receive double pay by charging for their attendance for the same days work to the Chamberlains and Erection Bailiff, resolved that it be an instruction to the said officers for the future".(76) At York in 1727 the advice of the Guild searchers that repair work on the Walls was

(73) YHB 43 ff 94, 122, 126
 (74) YHB 43 ff 106, 116 7.9.1743, 18.9.1743.
 (75) BAB 6 f. 83^b 20.9.1770
 (76) BAB 5 f 478

substandard being "unsofishant in sevrall places and not wrought workman lick ... so that it is not poseball that the work in sum plaíses can stand", was taken up by the Common Hall and £5 was withheld from the bill until the work was seen to be "well done".(77) At Nottingham many of the early bills were inspected and authorized by the Mayor before being passed to the Chamberlain for payment. (78)

In addition to checks and safeguards of this nature reasonable care seems to have been exercised over the annual audit. Mistakes in the addition of individual bills and in the totalling of the final accounts do in fact appear and throw some doubt on the practical thoroughness of the audits which may have been not a little compromised by the refreshments provided, or the venue of the audit which at Nottingham took place within the convivial surroundings of the Feathers Inn.(79) No doubt at times errors were simply overlooked because they were to the corporation's favour (80) but flagrant errors of significant amount do not appear. Certainly evidence of regular annual audit is apparent in the accounts of all three boroughs for

(77) YCAB 1727/8 f. 15b

(78) eg. Vouchers 1798P Mar.8th 1680 £14.4.2,
Sept.29th 1681 6/8d, Oct.19th 1681 £4.14.6,
1798R July 27th 1685 £5

(79) NCABE 1802B 117 Spent with Mr.Mayor & Aldermen when viewing the books at the Feathers 7/2d

(80) eg. Nottm.Vouchers 1798 Q.June 1682 Chris.Reynolds bill stated total was 6/7d; actual total 7/7d

most of the period although there was some laxity at Nottingham in the presenting of balance sheets in the 1620's which invoked the criticism of the investigating finance committee.(81) At York Audit Committees were appointed (82) and in 1700 the auditors made objection to five items in the Chamberlains' account totalling £110.7.2d.(83)

At Boston the general audit day was, in 1653, settled to be the first Tuesday after Whitsun, the Mayor, Bailiffs and Chamberlains being required on penalty of fine to present their accounts that day for audit,(84) and accordingly when Mr. Nettleton failed to produce his accounts for passing on the appointed day in 1719 he was fined £5.(85) His tardiness is surprising for he was owed £157.12.2d by the Chamber purse.(86)

In other aspects of fiscal management the records of all three boroughs reveal a growing awareness of the need for closer control. Increasing accuracy was observed in account keeping. At Boston a significant step forward was taken in 1746 when Election Bailiffs and Chamberlains were henceforward ordered to "distinguish in their accounts the charge of every particular work done

(81) NHB 3585 ff 74 to 79
(82) eg. YHB 43 ff 2, 189,410,444,471
(83) YCAB 1699/1700
(84) 2/C/1 5.9.1653
(85) BAB 5 338b
(86) BAB 5 341b

by them".(87) As a consequence the accounts were more carefully laid out under various heads of expenditure. At Nottingham too a noticeable advance in account keeping was effected after 1796 when Edward Staveley was appointed Corporation Surveyor.(88) He was required to keep ledger accounts of all bills between the Corporation and their workmen (89) and became in effect an accountant for the Corporation. Despite criticism of his account keeping in 1826 when it was found that many accounts were behind hand and the balance sheet not current it is clear that a significant improvement had been effected, the accounts being both more detailed and more organized after this date.

In terms of management Staveley's appointment was probably more important in so far as it represented the incorporation of a professional outsider into the inner business of the Corporation. This had already occurred in 1765 when William Smith a non-burgess was appointed Town Husband (90) but Staveley became of more fundamental importance than the Chamberlain. As surveyor he was Clerk of Works and Manager of all the Corporation Estates, superintendent of all work done upon them, and receiver of rents,(91) but he

(87) BAB 23.12.1746
(88) NHB 3555 ff 44-45
(89) NHB 3556 ff 10,11
(90) NHB 3524 f 36
(91) NHB 3555 ff 44-45

came to be the hub of civic finance, all bills supposedly requiring his authorization (92) before payment via the Chamberlain. Staveley maintained the accounts and received the money which he paid directly to the bank, consequently achieving in the words of the Town Clerk Mr Enfield "an accuracy which hardly could have been acquired had the accounts been kept by persons who were only annual officers".(93)

In all three corporations the increasing professionalism of the Town Husband had important consequences as his advice was used in all matters relating to values, job tenders and work supervision and regulations. They examined bills for work submitted to the Corporation, sub-contracting and dealing with payments as middle men between the Corporation and the workmen. Thus at York in 1744 it was ordered that in future the City Husband examine all the works done and endorse the bills together with one or two wardens of the ward.(94) He was to inform the paver of roads in need of repair and check upon his workmanship (95) and to advertise and receive tenders for repair of the roads beyond the bars.(96) In 1816 he was ordered to estimate all repairs before orders for work were given and receive the

(92) NHB 3585 ff 74 to 79

(93) T.Cockayne, op.cit., 13,14

(94) YHB43 f 130

(95) YHB43 f 140 10.12.1744

(96) E77 9.2.1816, 23.2.1816

contracts (97) and it is clear that by this time he was responsible for a large sector of civic finance being required to do even minor jobs like obtaining a warming pan.(98)

A further indication of the growing control over expenditure which the three Civic Authorities deemed necessary is evident from the development of finance committees which increasingly attempted to co-ordinate total spending, and evolve rudimentary policy planning. Forward thinking had not been totally lacking in the past ^{is} as evident from the lease given on the Cross Keys at York in 1723 which was to run only from year to year in case the area might be required for the proposed Mansion House,(99) but planning in any real sense could not be said to have occurred for most of the period from 1660 to 1835. However towards the latter part of the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century each borough attempted to co-ordinate work from year to year and oversee the many aspects of civic involvement particularly in expenditure, by the appointment of standing committees. Their aims were varied and they met with equally varied success.

At York the appointment of committees to enquire into problems was of long standing. A committee for

(97) E77 23.1.1816, 9.2.1816

(98) E77 30.1.1816

(99) E101/89

trade "and to find means to lessen city's expenses or improve its income" was appointed in 1712.(100) It was however only short term and having given its recommendations which amounted primarily to cuts in salaries and allowances, the committee was disbanded. The experiment was repeated in 1758 when a committee for debts was established to "enquire what sum of money will be wanted to pay off and discharge the city debts ...and how....the same can be raised...."(1) Its report was not entered at the next Hall meeting as required but there were eleven admissions to the freedom at £25 each, an exemption at £150 and authorization for a £400 loan plus an agreement to sell the wood at Laxton and materials of some houses entered in the minutes.(2) It would seem therefore that its work was duly done and again the committee ceased to function. Multifarious ad hoc committees of this sort were established at York during the eighteenth century (3) but the nineteenth century witnessed the establishment of a committee for the management of the entire revenue and expenditure of the corporation. Standing for three years at a time, Committees of this nature controlled civic finance at York from 1812 until 1835¹. They came into being through dire necessity, the financial position of the Corporation being extremely unhealthy.

(100) YHB 41 ff 108,109,124

(1) YHB 44 f 67

(2) YHB 44 ff 68,69

(3) e.g. Mansion House Committee YHB 46 ff 91,92 Jan 23rd 1795;
 Committee for trade and income YHB 46 f 300 15.2.1799;
 Committee for T/Clerk's bills and accounts YHB 44 Dec.16th 1778

In 1812 the Corporation at York owed £11,710 including £3,700 in tradesmen's bills (4) and the finance committee appointed recommended a temporary reduction of £600 in the Mayor's salary, the sale of some of the estate and the raising of £4,500 by annuity to liquidate the most urgent debts.(5) The taking of further loans inevitably worsened the position in the long term and in 1816 the committee was re-appointed with the express purpose to "examine, audit and liquidate all outstanding accounts".(6) At that time the civic debts totalled £12,444.7.4d of which £1,375.17.10 was owed on tradesmen's bills, £2,730 on bonds given to tradesmen, and £8,339.6.6. on loans, annuities and other bonds.(7) The annuities could not be liquidated except by death, leaving the effective debt at £11,515.17.10d. By monthly meetings and meticulous oversight of all civic spending the committees succeeded in steadily reducing the debt. Expenditure was pared to the minimum, non-vital repairs were postponed, improvements were avoided where possible and the official building and repair costs recorded by the Chamberlains dropped dramatically.

Building & Repair Costs - York.(8)

(4) YHB April 13th 1812
(5) YHB April 13th 1812
(6) K100 Feb.3rd 1827

(7) E77 23.1.1816
(8) Appendix XII

With the money saved the debts were steadily repaid until by February 1822 only £1510 remained owing on bond. However as the Committee itself pointed out, whilst the annuity payments remained so high it would be "absolutely necessary to continue to act on the economical system pursued".(9)

By the end of the financial year only £150 remained owing on bond, but the economical system proved to be at times impossible to observe. During the year the Duke of Sussex visited the city and the expenses of dividing and enclosing Fawdington Common had to be paid. Extraordinary expenses could not always be avoided and the year ended with a deficit of £666.14.10½ on the annual balance sheet.(10) By January 1825 however the corporation was completely out of debt save for the annuities and a minor law bill, and the committee could not avoid gloating over their success. They recommended strongly the need for continued control and direction of finance by a committee and expressed their belief that " by pursuing this plan it will be impossible with common prudence and caution that the Corporation should ever again be involved in difficulties so disgraceful as those from which your Committee have extricated it...."(11)

The sentiment sounds reasonable but it was made

(9) E77 Feb.1st 1822
(10) E77 Jan.31st 1823
(11) E77 27.1.1825

without reckoning for the expense of improvements which the Corporation could not possibly hope to have met from current income. Stringent economy could not continue forever, for repairs could only be postponed and improvements were an ever pressing need and public demand. Yet to undertake costly schemes of work inevitably involved further loans. Thus in February 1829 £658 was owed for fitting up the new Cattle Fair and £1,050 on contracts for building the City Arms there. In addition £700 was owed to the bankers with other small dues still to be met. The Committee consequently recommended new bonds for £3500.(12) The debts increased as further capital expenditure was incurred on Layerthorpe Postern and Bridge, Middleton Hospital, Bar repairs, improvement of the Mansion House and other repairs and legal work. By 1832 £10,500 had been raised on bonds at 4% interest (13) but the massive improvements undertaken in Saint Leonard's Place, the Theatre and Library improvements and other bills necessitated yet further loans which by December 1835 totalled £21,500.(14) The debt was incurred in spite of, indeed even because of, the many meetings, the longlaid plans and careful account balancing of the finance committee. This was not financial ineptitude; it was a combination of several factors; the vast

(12) K110 Feb.3rd 1829
(13) K110 Feb.3rd 1832
(14) K110 Dec.24 1835

expenditure on public schemes which could not be met from ordinary income, unexpected falls in revenue which left the finance committee in straightened and unexpected circumstances from time to time as when freedom monies dropped drastically in 1833/4 from an average of £880 per annum to £86 (15) and perhaps a recklessness in their last years in office when public improvement schemes presented no problems to an authority which could pass the buck of debt. The committees proved that the old corporation at York was administratively capable of getting out of debt; they also demonstrated that this could be done only by harsh retrenchment and a total cutback on high capital expenditure, on public works as well as mayoral salaries. The annual ordinary income was not much in excess of the annual running costs.

Similar controlling committees were established at Nottingham and Boston too. At Nottingham the Annual Committee was first appointed in November 1792 "to replace all past and prospective ad hoc committees" except the school committee.(16) It operated until 1835 and undertook to advise on financial matters; on leases, legal considerations subscriptions, sales of land and other business arising from day to day. It made little attempt however to ascertain overall income and expenditure or plan the years' accounts as did the

(15) K110 Feb.3rd 1834

(16) NHB 3552 ff 9-10

the finance committee at York, In April 1825 it made a report as a Finance Committee on the Chamber accounts from 1814 to 1823 (17), and followed this with a detailed examination of the corporation accounts for 1823-1824. The report however was concerned principally with procedures of accounting, while observations on the state of account and future planning were restricted to a statement of the civic indebtedness of £13,600 exclusive of Annuities chargeable of some £700 and a suggestion that land sales would "materially alter the state of this Account".(18) The Committee did however recommend that Mr. Staveley draw up a clear statement of the debts, rentals and other funds so that the Hall "may be made acquainted with the precise situation in which they stand and regulate their proceedings and expences accordingly".(18a) The reports in ensuing years followed similar lines, making criticism as necessary of faulty practices and poor account keeping, and drawing a simple balance of income, expenditure and indebtedness for the preceeding year, but little planning was undertaken, financial considerations still being settled chiefly as they arose. However the statement of account was informative in the simplest sense and the committee made some attempt to explain

(17) 3987 ff. 98, 106 to 108, 113 to 115

(18) 3987 ff. 113 to 115

(18a) 3987 ff. 113 to 115

fluctuations in the annual balance. As at York the deficits arose generally in years of unusually heavy expenditure or improvements, and thus in 1829 when "not any improvements were undertaken" a balance of £206.15.11 was held by the Chamberkains. Again as at York the ordinary income was barely sufficient to meet expenditure. In this year £118 was received in extraordinary income from land sold, but without this sum the committee noted that "This is the first year that has come under the knowledge of the committee in which income has exceeded the expenditure, which it has done by £25.11.3d.(19)

At Boston there was a proliferation of individual committee during the late eighteenth century, but there seems to have developed a general finance and improvement committee from about 1802 which dealt with the gaol improvements and which was ordered in that year to consider the method of rental employed by the Chamberlains and Erection Bailiff and recommend a better lay out.(20) The committee dealt with all manner of financial business but its chief concern was to examine the accounts and ascertain what funds were available for particular improvements or how such money could be raised.(21) However they did begin to make more general observations on the state of the civic purse, contingencies which were likely to occur and indebtedness. Thus in 1817 the committee suggested

(19) 3987 f 185

(20) e.g. 2/D/15 17.6.1817; BAB 2/A/ 27 Aug.21st 1820

(21) BAB 8 Aug.19th 1802

that parts of the estate be sold in order to raise a fund which could be available to meet any calls made upon bonds and other contingencies.(22) In 1821 the committee assessed the average surplus in the Chamber funds to be £769 per annum and constructed a table of annual dues. £8810 was in debt on bond and tontine and annuity payments cost £1593 per annum for £20,550 raised. As occurred annually at York, the Committee made an assessment of likely expenses for the year and to avoid an overdraft on the account at the year end advised the raising of £3000 by various loans.(23) The committee was reconvened as necessity arose and in November 1828 reported, in similar vein to York and Nottingham, that the average annual expenditure exceeded the receipts by £150 per annum. Forseeing a likelihood of a further decrease in income the committee proposed retrenchment in annual feasts and the sale of Boston West tythes to meet the deficiency.(24) Four months later further economies were seen to be inescapable and the sessions dinners were dispensed with and the Mayor's salary cut by £50 on the understanding that in consequence the Lady Day dinner would now be a private and not a public function.(25) By such measures and the raising of further loans the annual account remained in credit but the problem did not lessen. In 1831 the committee ascertained that in the current year expenditure would exceed

(22) 2/D/5 June 17th 1817

(23) 2/D/5 July 26th 1821

(24) 2/D/5 November 20th 1828

(25) 2/D/5 March 1829

income by £652.9.0d. Again the problem was solved temporarily by the discontinuation of £330 of allowances to the Mayor but now further measures had to be taken too, the cleaning of the fish market was stopped as too small allowances for feast days, and the salaries of the Chief Officials, the Clerks to the Magistrates, the Town Clerk and the Coroner and Surveyors were reduced.(26) In the following two years the problem eased but in April 1834 there was again a deficit of £335.5.4 "occasioned by the very heavy sum charged for extraordinary expenses". In addition £2450 had to be borrowed on bond to meet improvement costs.(27) As at York and Nottingham therefore the ordinary income could only with great care and retrenchment meet the expenditure, and when heavy capital costs occurred they could be met by no other means than borrowing.

By 1835 the three Corporations were heavily in debt on bonds and annuities. In addition their yearly balance was precarious. At York and Boston the oversight of the Finance committees provided for the raising of credit before expenditure occurred and careful handling of the income and expenditure ensured a credit balance at the year end for most of the later period of the old Corporations' existence. At Nottingham where the Finance committee did not deliberate

(26) 2/D/5 Feb.3rd 1831

(27) 2/D/5 Feb.1832, Jan.10th 1833, April 1834

in this manner deficits were apparent on the yearly accounts for thirty-one of the thirty-eight years from 1797 to 1834 inclusive. They were handed on a running balance system to the succeeding Chamberlain whose first and probably most demoralizing task was to record under his expenses the debt of the previous year.

It is apparent that although financial management was more forward thinking and more meticulously planned at Boston and York, all three civic authorities made definite attempts to meet the problem of their growing insolvency. They did not coast along to their reform in 1835 oblivious of their problems and uncaring of the consequences. On the contrary they proved willing and able to meet their problems in some measure. Their biggest problem they did not fully come to terms with: their commitments exceeded their income. To have retrenched adequately would have involved severe cutbacks on all public spending as well as feasting and salaries. Each Corporation seemed unwilling or unable to do this, indeed they constantly expanded their commitments by the major improvement schemes undertaken after the middle of the eighteenth century. It was these schemes which primarily landed them in debt. To have omitted to carry them out would have involved still greater

censure from the Municipal Commissioners and from history. That they continued with them is some evidence of their concern for matters beyond the inner council and their acceptance of a responsibility to their townships. In simple terms they exceeded their financial means. The answer to that problem however was in no measure so simple as the municipal commissioners and many other have suggested.

CONCLUSION

The General Report of the Municipal Commissioners in 1835 and the generalizations made by the Webbs in their work on Municipal Corporation have together created the impression that, prior to their reform in 1836, the municipal boroughs in England and Wales were, in varying degrees, corrupt and inept, managing large sums of money badly and to the advantage of no-one in particular other than their own members, both burgesses at large and office holders of the governing body.

To attempt to reverse that conclusion has not been the aim of this work. Rather has it been to enquire into the nature of civic finance, to discover whence the income came and whither it went; to ascertain whether accounting and managerial competency developed in any appreciable measure over the century and a half to 1835; whether the councils showed any cognisance of the general requirements of their rapidly changing townships; whether they made any progress in meeting those needs, and to determine to what extent their increasing financial insolvency was of their own making.

It is difficult to draw general conclusions from a study of only three municipalities, yet on the other hand, the

three boroughs display very similar patterns. Although there was no consultation or communication between their governing bodies, and they were geographically far apart, given eighteenth century conditions of travel, nevertheless on significant matters of policy, practice and problems, their experiences rarely differed radically. Similar developments in financial methods, areas of expenditure and problems of solvency can be traced in each borough. Since their only common denominator as eighteenth century urban centres lay in the fact that they were trading towns of fairly ancient foundation with an interest in river navigation, one is tempted to conclude that the financial history of other boroughs must have been similar. Evidence of flagrant incompetence and corruption in certain boroughs precludes any suggestion that the evidence arising from Boston, Nottingham and York, could be interpreted as a national pattern. At Leicester during the election of 1826, the Corporation expended £10,000 to secure the success of a parliamentary candidate (1); at New Radnor the revenue of the corporation was collected by an agent of the patron and paid to his account without any interference or control on the part of the civic authorities.(2) Even within the three boroughs in question, individual examples of mismanagement can be cited. Thus, at Boston, three Aldermen supported the selection of

(1) MCR 45

(2) MCR 46,47.

a new Town Clerk on condition of receiving a yearly allowance out of the profits of the office.(3) Nevertheless, for the three boroughs examined here, certain developments and conclusions do present themselves, which may well provide a more accurate interpretation of the practices and policies of the municipal borough between 1660 and 1835 than has hitherto been available.

By 1835 reform of these three boroughs was probably the best measure which could have been adopted, but the reasons lie less with their abilities and activities than with their standing in the public eye. Closeness had in each town created a civic body lacking in public confidence, less because of what it did or did not do than because it offended the growing spirit of democracy and popularly elected bodies. Their secrecy and their elitism gave rise to notions of favoured individuals dispensing large amounts of cash dishonestly or unfairly.

Daniel Parker Coke's picture of a civic authority levying tolls and rates to supply their own extravagance (4) was quickly seized on by townspeople who rightly resented impositions placed upon them by persons over whose election they had no control. Popular election was essential if public confidence in the local

(3) MCR 38

(4) NHB 3572 ff 19 to 21

authority was to be restored. The fact that enormous changes in the membership of the governing body did not occur in 1836 is evidence that it was the system rather than the individuals who were under attack.(5) Reform was also necessary for the opportunity which it gave to widen the base of local government by the admission of persons of calibre and local standing, who by previous regulations, had been exempt through not being freemen. The reform was no less important for the enquiries and investigations which preceded it and which gave rise to provisions for levying rates to meet civic needs. Ultimately this was to be one of the act's most important provisions although this may not have appeared so in 1835.

Reform then was necessary, but not necessarily to remove ineptitude, corruption and ignorance.

The financial administration of unreformed municipalities has received little attention in historical research. It is evident from this work that the basis of municipal income lay in lands and property. Over the period to 1835 this was probably the most secure form of income which they possessed, moving naturally with economic trends. They required however a goodly percentage of re-investment if they were to produce the best returns, and as economic crisis struck, the rental income declined at a time when civic expenditure

(5) York, Old Corporation predominantly Whig, 1836, returned 21 Whigs and 15 Tories. Nottingham, many prominent members of the Old Council were returned to the new.e.g.Thos.Wakefield, Henry Wood,William Hurst, Alfred Fellows,Thos.Oldknow, Wm.Staveley appointed Surveyor and Henry Enfield Town Clerk. Boston, Old Corporation and new totally Whig, and a Tory majority was not achieved until 1841.

did not necessarily follow suit. Returns from toll charges were a long-standing and initially significant source of revenue, but evasion and challenge to the charges were decreasing their value, and by 1835 the costs of the litigation involved in the retention of these dues rendered them of dubious value. These two revenues formed the basis of regular civic income. Augmentation of the funds arose from less regular sources; at York, the freedom and exoneration fines provided an annual, but haphazard, income. All three boroughs received various fines, but essentially the rental income formed the inelastic core of civic income. If extraordinary costs arose they had to be met by extraordinary levies; by loans or by sales.

The civic expenditure is more difficult to chart for it is more varied. Salaries were the single largest regular item, both for officials and workmen, but there were other regularly recurring items too, Rates, taxes, rents, charity trust payments became an increasingly heavy burden as the period progressed. The cost of maintaining the private revenue-producing property of the Corporation and the various public buildings and amenities, rose steadily as each authority gradually undertook greater responsibility for repair and maintenance of highways, walkways, buildings, lighting and cleansing and water provision. In the sphere of public buildings

and amenities, civic spending rose significantly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as an improving spirit affected all three Corporations. They undertook the construction of Town Halls, of Markets, Assembly Rooms, new streets, pavements bridges and leisure areas. Their attitude is commendable, but their revenue was ill-suited to such measures, for insufficient money was available to meet the massive capital investment which began to arise, and their static revenues could not cope with sudden or extraordinary expenses. Inevitably to finance such measures the authorities had to turn to their extraordinary sources of revenue, primarily to loans. By so doing they immediately added a new annual commitment to their expense account which, increasingly, they could not meet. Other incidental or unexpected expenses arose with surprising frequency - visits of nobility, treat and feast days, legal battles - and these expenses too had to be met through extraordinary levies of revenue.

From the middle of the eighteenth century the three Corporations embarked on schemes of improvements which they could not pay for from their ordinary revenues, and increasingly they burdened themselves with loans. Without the loans the work could not have been done, but with them the authorities seem to have stepped into a spiral of indebtedness from which they could not escape.

Other factors contributed to their insolvency. The legal bills of the early nineteenth century were exceptionally heavy as the challenges to the authority of each borough council multiplied. The traditions of civic life of feasting, of obsolete and sinecure offices, contributed to the heavy costs of annual running. Essentially however the root of the increasing bankruptcy seems to have lain with the obsolete and static form of income, the public works which each council increasingly undertook, and the resort to loans.

Accounting and managerial capabilities without doubt advanced over the century and a half before 1835 and by the nineteenth century the three borough councils here examined had adopted procedures which contradict many of the generalizations in the Municipal Commissioners' General Report which refers to unreasonable charges for tolls and enfranchisement, mismanagement of the corporate property by inadequate lease terms and sales, carelessness and extravagance in the administration of the funds, sinecures, lack of public tender and neglect of the public weal.(6) Tenders for work contracts became common in each borough and the lowest was generally accepted; leases and jobs of work were advertised, often through local newspapers, which brought workmen from neighbouring counties as well as local areas. Regulations

(6) MCR 44 to 49

and specifications for work became common, so too the bye-laws for building within the borough generally. Bills and payments came under the scrutiny of professional Town Surveyors; accounting procedures were regularised, and committees were appointed to deal with matters in greater depth than was possible within meetings of the Common Hall.

The Municipal Commissioners themselves made some acknowledgment of the generally satisfactory nature of things in their reports on the three boroughs. For if the reports show a singular lack of praise or commendation, in none of them did the Commissioners identify glaring evils or gross maladministration. At both Boston and York, the Commissioners set out clearly, if somewhat bluntly the income and expenditure of the councils, making note of heavy expenditure upon improvements. The York report by Dwarris and Rumball was fair but blandly unpraising.⁽⁷⁾ At Boston favourable report was made on lease administration and a clear indication was given of the responsibility of improvement schemes for the incurring of large debts. Although bribery occurred at Parliamentary elections it was apparently at the charge of the candidates, and alleged maladministration of trust estates clearly remained a point of disagreement at the enquiry.⁽⁸⁾ The report by A.E. Cockburn on Nottingham however, was more critical and perhaps less impartial. Although he considered general management of the civic property to be judicious and fair, he considered the expenditure of the Corporation to be both thriftless and lavish.⁽⁹⁾ Nevertheless, the civic records themselves

(7) MCR 1735 to 1758.

(8) MCR 2158, 2162, 2167

(9) MCR 2006; See above. Chapter 9

suggest that by 1835 enormous advances had taken place in the financial organisation of each of the three Corporations of Boston, Nottingham and York. From the limited requirements of 1660 they had moved with the demands of their rapidly developing towns of the industrial period. They had made efforts to meet the needs of their urban centres and the requirements of an increasingly discerning and demanding populace. It is difficult from the evidence arising in these three boroughs to speak of corruption, and increasingly incompetence was being overcome.

The dealings of the three Corporations in financial and related matters cannot be whitewashed. There is evidence of mismanagement in accounting; there is ample evidence that they never succeeded in answering the requirements of their townships in economic, social and environmental spheres. To suggest that the unreformed councils were the complex bureaucracies with watertight regulations and codes of management which fulfil the role of a town authority today would be absurd. But the evidence in the records of these three unreformed boroughs, without doubt, suggest that each of them underwent tremendous development between 1660 and 1835. By the time of their demise they had become recognisably modern in some of their concepts of municipal responsibility; they had conquered the worst of their managerial ineptitude in financial matters, but on a permanent basis they could not reconcile the problems of financial obsolescence and inadequacy of revenue with the demands placed upon them to provide amenities and improvements for their expanding and developing towns.

Appendix IA

Analysis of Civic Income - Boston 1700 to 1835

The earliest Civic accounts remaining at Boston date from 1696 and the tables have accordingly been constructed from the year 1700. For most of the period the majority of the civic income came from rents which were itemized by the Chamberlain in his accounts as arising from buildings and farms, the sheep pens, the April and July Fairs, the Boston Fair and the Butchers' Stalls. In the following table these have been grouped together as rents. Another increasingly valuable source of ordinary income accrued from Beaconage, until 1812 when it was taken by the Corporation as Harbour Trustees.

The "Treasury" appears to have been a savings account maintained by the Corporation into which the Chamberlains, for much of the period, paid any remaining credit balance at the year end, and from which cash was forthcoming in time of need.

During the first decade or so of the eighteenth century the Chamberlains often failed to indicate the nature of all sources of income, which has occasioned the entry of large sums of money as "undesigned" in the following table.

Notes:-

The analysis which follows has been constructed as accurately as possible from the information in the Chamber Accounts and supplementary documents. The notes, arranged chronologically, provide further specific information to elucidate significant or unclear entries in the table.

1722 Loans:-

In this year and 1728, 1733, 1734, 1736 entries have been made as loans although there is no conclusive evidence of their source.

1746/7 Rent:-

The rental minus arrears.

1744/5 Miscellaneous:-

From Mr. Vent, Collector of Butchers' Rents to repay Mrs. Brown.

1759/60 Investment Returns:-

Dividends on Turnpike Roads.

1771/2 :-

Two Chamber accounts were drawn up in this financial year, one comprising only loans and expenditure on account of new buildings. Both accounts have been combined for the purpose of this table.

1772/3 Erection Bailiff :- Payment by Order of Hall.

1801/2 Erection Bailiff :-

Payment for Bridge. These payments of interest and principal are made annually from 1801 to 1834.

1812/13 Donations/Levies :-

Harbour Committee towards the Corporation's costs in obtaining the Harbour Act.

1820 Miscellaneous :-

and 1821, 1823, 1825 includes large sums from the Harbour Trust.

APPENDIX IA

Boston

	1700-01	1701-02	1702-03	1703-04	1704-05	1705-06	1706-07	1707-08	1708-09	1709-10
Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs	371. 2.9		434.17.8	447.11.6	300. 0.7	394.10.6	448.18.10	421.17.0	517.15.5	565.19.4
Fines for leases										
Beaconage			23. 1.0	36.18.0	22. 0.0		25. 0.0	34. 4.0	22. 3.0	
Freedoms	23.10.0		0.13.4	42.10.0	45. 0.0	5.10.0	2.13.4	0.13.4	21.13.4	1.13.4
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines			15. 0.0							
Arrears							1.10.0	8.12.6	5.12.6	
From Treasury										145. 3.2
Erection Bailiff Late Chamberlain's Balance								60. 9.3		
Extraordinary income										
Sales			12. 3.10		2. 0.0			3.10.0	0. 4.0	2. 9.0
Loans/Annuities										
Charities paid in Donations and Levies										
Investment returns Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous	4. 0.0		1. 0.0			5. 4.0			29.10.8	2. 0.0
Undesignated	12. 2.0		41. 0.0	25. 6.24	35. 0.0	2. 0.0	6.10.0		0.17.6	
Sum Total in Account Accurate Total as per Account Entries	410.14.9		527.15.10	552. 5.84	494. 0.7	407. 4.6	484.12.2	529. 6.1	597.16.5	717. 4.10

Boston

	1710-11	1711-12	1712-13	1713-14	1714-15	1715-16	1716-17	1717-18	1718-19	1719-20
Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs	549. 6.4	563.19.94	721. 7.4	709. 8.0	712. 3.4			725.17.6	733.19.2	752. 0.1
Fines for leases										
Beaconage	14. 0.0									
Freedoms	13. 6.8	24. 4.0	10.16.8	91. 6.8	10. 0.0			2. 0.0	2. 1.4	138. 6.8
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines										
Arrears				29.12.2						
From Treasury	20. 0.0									
Erection Bailiff Late Chamberlain's Balance										
Extraordinary income										
Sales			1. 0.0							
Loans/Annuities										
Charities paid in Donations and Levies		15. 0.0								
Investment returns Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous	23.17.6				0.10.0					
Undesignated		0. 4.8								6.10.0
Sum Total in Account Accurate Total as per Account Entries	620.10.6	603. 8.4	736.12.0	830. 6.10	722.13.0			727.17.6	736. 0.6	896.16.9

Boston

	1720-21	1721-22	1722-23	1723-24	1724-25	1725-26	1726-27	1727-28	1728-29	1729-30
Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs	793.11.8	848. 6.11	804. 1.8	824. 7.8	800.12.8	797. 7.8		784. 8.4	763. 6.2	753. 2.0
Fines for leases										
Beaconage										
Freedoms	2. 6.8	54. 6.8	0.16.8	0.16.8	0.13.4	1. 0.0		2.10.0	0.16.8	
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines										
Arrears										
From Treasury										
Erection Bailiff Late Chamberlain's Balance										
Extraordinary income										
Sales	1.12.0		0.19.6						28.19.2	
Loans/Annuities			40. 0.0						75. 0.0	
Charities paid in										
Donations and Levies										
Investment returns										
Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous			1. 0.0							
Undesignated									1. 0.0	
Sum Total in Account Accurate Total as per Account Entries	797.10.4	902.13.7	846.17.10	825. 4.4	801. 6.0	798. 7.8		786.17.4	869. 2.0	753. 2.0
	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

Boston

	1730-31	1731-32	1732-33	1733-34	1734-35	1735-36	1736-37	1737-38	1738-39	1739-40
Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs		803.13.2	799.17.8	815.14.2	802. 8 8	788' 8.8	795.14.2	781.16.2	781. 5.6	785. 8.0
Fines for leases										
Beaconage										
Freedoms		1.18.0	0. 6.8	7. 0.0	0.16.8	0. 3.4	1. 6.8	21. 8.6		2.16.3
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines										
Arrears			200. 6.3							
From Treasury								9. 0.0		
Erection Bailiff Late Chamberlain's Balance			15. 2.8							
Extraordinary income										
Sales		2. 5.0				2. 3.7		3.16.11	0.18.0	0. 4.6
Loans/Annuities				60. 0.0	53.10.0		30. 0.0			
Charities paid in										
Donations and Levies		10. 0.0				1.16.0				
Investment returns					30. 0.0	15. 0.0			15. 0.0	10. 0.0
Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous		1. 6.8			4.15.0					0.11.0
Undesignated		1.15.0		0.10.0					2.10.0	
Sum Total in Account Accurate Total as per Account Entries		825.12.10	995.13.3	883. 4.2	891.10.4	807.11.7	827. 0.10	816. 1.7	799.13.6	799. 0.2
		"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

Boston

	1740-41	1741-42	1742-43	1743-44	1744-45	1745-46	1746-47	1747-48	1748-49	1749-50
Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs		778. 6.8	750. 4.0	751.13.8	800.13.5	771.11.10	617.14.8	783. 4.7½	731.10.8	738.11.8
Fines for leases										
Beaconage							49.18.1		49. 4.2½	38.10.0
Freedoms		2.10.0	0. 6.8	21.16.8	81.17.8	22.13.4	41. 0.0	3. 6.8	1. 0.0	42. 3.4
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines										10. 0.0
Arrears										
From Treasury										
Erection Bailiff Late Chamberlain's Balance										
Extraordinary income										
Sales			0.12.0		2. 2.0	4. 8.0		0. 9.0		0. 5.2
Loans/Annuities										
Charities paid in										
Donations and Levies										
Investment returns		10. 0.0	12. 5.10							
Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous				0. 4.2	40.11.8					5. 6.6
Undesignated		1. 7.0							20. 5.4	
Sum Total in Account		792. 3.8	763. 8.6	773.14.6	925. 4.9	798.13.2	708.12.9	784.17.3½	950. 5.2½	834.16.8
Accurate Total as per Account Entries		"	"	"	"	"	"	785. 7.3½	"	"

Boston

	1750-51	1751-52	1752-53	1753-54	1754-55	1755-56	1756-57	1757-58	1758-59	1759-60
Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs	795.1.11½	789.15.2					757.15.2	745. 3.0	756. 5.2	751. 5.2
Fines for leases										
Beaconage	50. 7.8½	56. 8.2					93. 6.1	108. 7.8	93.15.3	91.12.10
Freedoms	61. 6.8	21. 6.8					22. 3.4	11. 0.0	21.10.0	41. 6.8
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines										3. 0.0
Arrears	24.13.2	21.12.1								
From Treasury										
Erection Bailiff Late Chamberlain's Balance									8. 9.3½	1.15.11
Extraordinary income										
Sales							1.12.11	140. 2.8	261.18.2	24. 0.0
Loans/Annuities									400. 0.0	100. 0.0
Charities paid in										
Donations and Levies		1.11.6								
Investment returns							1. 0.0	4. 2.0	10.15.0	32.17.6
Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous										
Undesignated									4.14.7	
Sum Total in Account	980.14.5½	892.13.7			1215.17.8½		875.17.6	1008.15.4	1557. 7.5½	1052.18.1
Accurate Total as per Account Entries	"	"			"		"	"	"	"

Boston

	1760-61	1761-62	1762-63	1763-64	1764-65	1765-66	1766-67	1767-68	1768-69	1769-70
Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs	701. 3.0	819. 8.0	793.17.5 $\frac{1}{2}$	966. 5.6			781. 1.2	715. 9.3	834.12.2	870. 2.1
Fines for leases										
Beaconage	85. 2.8		84. 5.1 $\frac{1}{2}$				108. 5.4	108. 6.8	111. 1.10	139. 5.9
Freedoms	65. 3.4	0.13.4	20. 3.4	22.16.8			22.13.4	6. 0.0	41. 5.8	61.10.6
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines										
Arrears				8.12.6			6. 0.0			
From Treasury							23. 8.3			
Erection Bailiff	10. 3.7		36. 8.0 $\frac{1}{2}$					61. 2.9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Late Chamberlain's Balance								56.13.7	40. 4.9	265. 2.5
Extraordinary income										
Sales		2.19.4	17. 9.4	2. 2.0			100. 0.0	246.13.6	0.14.0	
Loans/Annuities							150. 0.0			
Charities paid in							10.10.0			
Donations and Levies	25. 0.0		130. 0.0							30. 0.0
Investment returns	60. 2.0	76. 0.0	98.10.0				130. 1.9	158.16.3	192.12.6	184. 5.0
Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous										
Undesignated										
Sum Total in Account	946.14.7	899. 0.8	1180.13.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	999.16.8			1331.19.10	1353. 2.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1220.11.11	1550. 5.9
Accurate Total as per Account Entries	"	"	"	"			"	"	"	"

Boston

	1770-71	1771-72	1772-73	1773-74	1774-75	1775-76	1776-77	1777-78	1778-79	1779-80
Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs	818. 0.6	881.17.10	877.18.9	1113.17.7 $\frac{1}{2}$			1252.17.9 $\frac{1}{2}$			1238.19.2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Fines for leases										
Beaconage	121.11.7	127. 4.6	135. 2.2	147. 2.6			172.19.8			155.17.6
Freedoms	41. 6.8	1.16.8	4.10.0	21. 6.8			53. 3.4			61. 3.4
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines		1.17.6		0.13.4						
Arrears	2.10.0	9.10.0		2.13.1						21. 0.0
From Treasury										120. 0.0
Erection Bailiff			300. 0.0							
Late Chamberlain's Balance		310.10.5	743.10.6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1008.12.8			774.11.11			
Extraordinary income										
Sales			10.10.0	41. 4.0			219.10.0			
Loans/Annuities		2380. 0.0	3050. 0.0	1650. 0.0						
Charities paid in										
Donations and Levies		33. 5.0					206.10.7			0.10.0
Investment returns	200. 6.3	203.10.0	128.10.0	295.15.0			132. 0.0			303.12.10
Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous		0.14.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	83.17.10	4.15.0						
Undesignated							100. 0.0			9.10.9
Sum Total in Account	1183.15.0	3950. 6.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	5333.19.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	4285.12.10 $\frac{1}{2}$			2911.13.3 $\frac{1}{2}$			1210.13.7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Accurate Total as per Account Entries	"	"	"	"			"	"	"	"

Boston

1780-81 1781-82 1782-83 1783-84 1784-85 1785-86 1786-87 1787-88 1788-89 1789-90

Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs	1236.19.11	1256. 5.9	1269.12.0	1238. 8.4	1285.17.0	1265. 8.10	1287. 1.7	1239.13.11	1245. 0.0	1245. 0.7
Fines for leases										
Beaconage	121. 3.8	125.19.4	124.15.6	122. 7.5	140.13.1	131. 8.8	126. 2.8	105. 0.0	191. 4.4	185.15.4
Freedoms	73. 6.8	133. 6.8	0.13.4	95. 6.9	41. 3.4	60. 3.4	21. 3.4	101. 0.0	61. 6.8	63. 0.0
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines				0.10.0	2. 8.0					
Arrears	14. 7.6	4. 5.0		33. 5.0	9. 5.0	10. 0.0				
From Treasury		200. 0.0	200. 0.0	92. 1.0	160. 0.0	85.19.4	200. 0.0			
Erection Bailiff - Late Chamberlain's Balance				150. 0.0				55.13.6		541. 0.3
Extraordinary income										
Sales		0. 7.0		16.10.6				107. 0.0		215. 0.0
Loans/Annuities	500. 0.0	100. 0.0		500. 0.0	80. 0.0	400. 0.0	2962.10.0	1850. 0.0		400. 0.0
Charities paid in										
Donations and Levies							336. 0.0			
Investment returns	196.13.10	286.13.8	340. 0.5	440. 2.5	203.17.3	224. 0.0	203.10.0	241. 0.0	241. 0.0	224. 0.0
Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous	0.13.4			60. 5.9			6.12.1			
Undesignated										
Sum Total in Account Accurate Total as per Account Entries	2143. 4.11	2086.17.5	1935. 1.3	2748.17.1	1928. 3.8	2177. 0.2	5142.19.8	3699. 7.5	2279.11.9	2332.15.11
	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	3699. 7.5	"	"

Boston

1790-91 1791-92 1792-93 1793-94 1794-95 1795-96 1796-97 1797-98 1798-99 1799-1800

Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs	1344. 0.1	1342.14.10		1318.19.10	1412. 1.1	1472. 8.8	1643.17.8	1653.19.4		1749.17.9
Fines for leases										
Beaconage	181.13.2	168. 0.0		226.12.2	186.14.5	192. 2.2	203. 1.0	202.12.9		146. 9.0
Freedoms	111.13.4	44. 4.2		2.10.0	88. 8.4	43.13.8	154. 0.0	0.10.0		43.16.8
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines										
Arrears	35.16.3	1.10.0		13.15.0	8.13.9			15. 0.0		
From Treasury										
Erection Bailiff Late Chamberlain's Balance	70.13.10	91. 9.11		500. 0.0		269. 6.2	324.17.6	774.10.9		389. 9.4
Extraordinary income										
Sales		400. 0.0								
Loans/Annuities					2000. 0.0	500. 0.0	600. 0.0			
Charities paid in										
Donations and Levies										
Investment returns	324. 0.0	420.10.0		194.10.0	199. 0.0	194.10.0	196.15.0	319.10.0		232. 0.0
Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous							10. 0.0			
Undesignated										
Sum Total in Account Accurate Total as per Account Entries	2067.16.9	2468. 8.11		2256. 7.0	3894.17.7	2671. 0.2	3388.17.3	2966. 2.11		2561.12.9
	"	"		"	"	"	"	"		"

Boston

	1800-01	1801-02	1802-03	1803-04	1804-05	1805-06	1806-07	1807-08	1808-09	1809-10
Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs	1783.13.6	1974.14.04	1975.10.10	1975.16.0	1943. 6.9	3151.16.24	2220.17.84	2061. 2.04	2215. 9.11	2333. 4.04
Fines for leases							1000. 0.0			
Beaconage	174. 9.0	186.15.0	373. 2.3	232. 2.7	219. 2.1	207.15.7	262.15.3	254.13.24	210. 3.10	250. 9.0
Freedoms	110. 6.10	54. 0.8	368. 3.4	55.13.4	4. 4.6	4. 2.6	7. 3.4	178. 6.8	50.13.4	0. 6.8
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines	1. 0.0									
Arrears								42.10.0		93.11.6
From Treasury	400. 0.0									
Erection Bailiff		700. 0.0		334. 5.6	450. 0.0	450. 0.0	600. 0.0	900. 0.0	800. 0.0	660. 0.0
Late Chamberlain's Balance	18.15.24	274.9.114	96.4.114	2162.17.14	275. 4.24	3703. 8.34	1281.16.64	938. 9.14	969.19.114	314.13.84
Extraordinary income										
Sales	34. 0.0		381. 0.0	2196. 1.9	2084.5.104	1410. 7.11	656. 4.5	1068. 2.6	318.18.9	812.19.6
Loans/Annuities			2200. 0.0	2070. 0.0	4000. 0.0	1000. 0.0				1000. 0.0
Charities paid in										
Donations and Levies		10. 0.0		5. 5.0			326.16.3			111.17.6
Investment returns	125. 0.0	214. 0.0	94.10.0	303.10.0	170. 0.0	313. 2.11	278.11.11	85. 1.0	117.16.3	459.17.3
Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous					8.16.0	16.16.0	129.16.0			
Undesignated										
Sum Total in Account	2647. 4.64	3407.19.8	5488.11.44	8335.11.34	9154.19.5	10257.9.4	6764. 1.5	5528. 4.54	4683. 2.14	6036.19.8
Accurate Total as per Account Entries	"	"	"	9335	"	10257.9.44	"	5528. 4.64	"	"

Boston

	1810-11	1811-12	1812-13	1813-14	1814-15	1815-16	1816-17	1817-18	1818-19	1819-20
Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs	2522. 8.24	2895.13.6	2236. 1.3	2378. 8.7	2305.16.5	2584. 4.10	2485. 5.34	2573.16.104	4467.19.6	4016.14.6
Fines for leases										
Beaconage	441.13.0	483.19.3	319.12.8							
Freedoms	55.16.8	136. 0.0	4.13.4	51. 0.0	50. 6.8	1. 0.0	2. 0.0	8.13.4	136. 6.8	279.16.8
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines	2. 0.0	2. 0.0	0. 5.0	1. 0.0		1. 0.0		3. 0.0	100. 0.0	
Arrears			37. 0.0	7.10.0	137. 8.0	847. 2.9	239. 7.0	454.14.9	584.19.0	153. 5.0
From Treasury										
Erection Bailiff	600. 0.0	1000. 0.0	400. 0.0	1400. 0.0	600. 0.0	600. 0.0	600. 0.0	600. 0.0	600. 0.0	600. 0.0
Late Chamberlain's Balance	1718.11.104	2230.19.34	1350. 6.94	1126. 7.1	4247. 9.5	6120. 9.11	5608.10.24	1309.17.64	771.13.5	3936.18.7
Extraordinary income										
Sales	1071. 0.3	23.11.0	708.15.1	450. 0.0	647.12.6	73. 0.0	30. 6.0			255. 5.0
Loans/Annuities	300. 0.0	2100. 0.0		4545. 0.0	7100. 0.0			920. 0.0	1000. 0.0	3840. 0.0
Charities paid in										
Donations and Levies	10.10.0		1381. 6.6	753.19.6				47. 1.3	3794.11.5	
Investment returns	303. 6.0	336.10.0		324. 0.0	305. 0.0	345. 1.0	224. 2.5	361.11.6	411.10.11	376.12.7
Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous		87. 2.8	3. 9.4	66. 9.4	67. 8.10	3. 9.4			31.10.0	
Undesignated										
Sum Total in Account	7025.5.114	9295.15.84	6441.9.114	11103.14.6	15461.1.10	10575.7.10	9189.10.11	6278.15.3	1189.10.11	13458.12.4
Accurate Total as per Account Entries	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

Boston

	1820-21	1821-22	1822-23	1823-24	1824-25	1825-26	1826-27	1827-28	1828-29	1829-30
Ordinary income										
Rents and Fairs	4323.18.1	3254. 6.3	3257.10.0	3969.12.6	3380.14.4	3732.17.6	3320.15.1	3116.17.9	3203.15.0	2940. 5.1
Fines for leases										
Beaconage										
Freedoms	51. 3.4	0.10.0	51. 0.0	1. 6.8	0.16.8	200. 0.0	138. 6.8	101. 3.4	151. 0.0	110.10.0
Exonerations										
Court/Misc. Fines	29. 9.0						0.10.0			51.12.0
Arrears	425.15.0	808.12.0	605.19.0	466. 7.6	570. 0.6	805. 1.3	416. 2.0	531. 2.5	915. 6.6	633.12.6
From Treasury										
Erection Bailiff	600. 0.0	1145. 0.0	1100. 0.0	1100. 0.0	950. 0.0	900. 0.0	880. 0.0	893. 1.2	840. 0.0	515. 3.6
Late Chamberlain's Balance	1836. 9.1	477.10.0	2031.19.8	209.13.7	313. 6.5	517.19.0	342.13.8	187.10.8	618. 3.10	1334. 5.9
Extraordinary income										
Sales	660. 0.0	111. 7.5	385.17.3		35.10.6	33.19.0			75.11.7	
Loans/Annuities	2200. 0.0	2000. 0.0	500. 0.0		2100. 0.0	200. 0.0	1250. 0.0	1600. 0.0	100. 0.0	2900. 0.0
Charities paid in										
Donations and Levies	50. 0.0									
Investment returns	348.15.0	741.11.9	424. 7.6	3759.17.3	182.17.6	127. 4.6	163. 4.6	184.14.4	168. 6.5	190. 6.9
Returns on Charities										
Miscellaneous	500. 0.0	500. 0.0	109. 4.8	1509. 8.6		500. 0.0				
Undesignated										
Sum Total in Account	11025. 6.2	9038.17.6	8465.18.1	10743.6.0	7433. 5.11	7017.17.11	6511.11.11	6714. 9.8	6072. 3.4	8675.15.7
Accurate Total as per Account Entries	"	9038.17.5	"	"	"	7017. 1.3	"	6614. 9.8	"	"

Boston

	1830-31	1831-32	1832-33	1833-34	1834-35
Ordinary income					
Rents and Fairs	3190. 9.6	2614. 3.6	1878. 6.6		2292.10.0
Fines for leases					
Beaconage					
Freedoms	61. 5.0	0. 6.8	2. 6.8		0.10.0
Exonerations					
Court/Misc. Fines					
Arrears	455. 5.6	541.17.6	505.17.6		785.10.0
From Treasury					
Erection Bailiff	1130. 0.0	500. 0.0	350. 0.0		350. 0.0
Late Chamberlain's Balance	1203. 7.5	2142. 9.2	367. 0.5		571.15.1
Extraordinary income					
Sales	16. 0.6				
Loans/Annuities	500. 0.0	2100. 0.0	4290. 0.0		1050. 0.0
Charities paid in					
Donations and Levies		5. 4.5			
Investment returns	129. 9.6	494. 2.0	136. 4.6		143.17.0
Returns on Charities					
Miscellaneous		75.14.7			
Undesignated					
Sum Total in Account	6685.17.5	8474.17.10	7529.15.7		5194. 2.1
Accurate Total as per Account Entries	"	"	"		"

APPENDIX IB

Analysis of Income - Nottingham Corporation 1660 to 1835

The Chamberlains' accounts at Nottingham are extremely varied in the degree of information which they contain. For the earlier years, final accounts remain only in summary form, and the information which they provide on sources of income is limited. For odd years these can be amplified by the Chamberlains' account books of expenditure, a random selection of which have survived, these are, however, working copies, they are unaudited and frequently not complete.

An advantage however lies in the fact that the Chamberlains at Nottingham appear to have rarely confused their account groupings in the same manner as the Chamberlains at York did. Thus, entries under "Burgess nobles" were indeed monies for purchased freedoms. They did however use, as at York, the convenience of the category of "accidental" or "casual" receipts which cannot always be broken down more specifically; until the more detailed accounts of the period after 1785.

The "Agistment of the East Croft" comprised the monies received for stint on this meadow area. Until 1810 only the profit from this income was entered on the account but thereafter the full amount received was recorded in the Chamber income, and balanced by an entry of the expenses involved in its administration and maintenance.

Frequently only part, or none at all, of the late Chamberlain's balance appears in the early accounts. Memoranda in the accounts indicate that sometimes this was because the money was used to pay outstanding bills (e.g. 1689/90) or that the money was received but not put into the account. This suggests that in the early years at least, there may have been, as at York and Boston, a "savings" account or "little black box" where money was stored for hard times.

Notes:-

The analysis which follows has been constructed as accurately as possible with the information available from the existing Chamber accounts. The notes, arranged chronologically, provide further specific information to elucidate significant or unclear entries in the table.

1666/7:- There was a deficit in the account in this year of £209.15s.2d towards which the Schoolwardens and Bridgemasters paid their late balances, totalling £121. This money did not go through the Chamber income, being paid direct to the Chamberlain to make good his loss. The remainder owing to him was paid in 1673.

1667 to 1695/6' Chamberlain's balance:-

There was a credit balance at the end of each of these years, but an income from the late Chamberlain was never recorded in the accounts, except in 1668/9 when it was over £80 less than the previous year's balance. It is unclear where this money went. It is unlikely that the money was retained by the Chamberlains. Thus, for example, the credit balance for 1675/6 was not recorded in the succeeding account yet Mr. William Caulton and Mr. Harold Smith paid "ye rest of ye money, they was charged withall" on Sept. 24th 1677.

1674/5 Chamberlain's balance:-

The full sum from 1673/4 was £57.17s.11d and a memo. in the account for that year states that the Chamberlains had "discharged themselves of the some of £57.17s.11d" on September 23rd 1675. It is not clear therefore from whence the sum of £7.0s.8d has come.

1679/80 Miscellaneous:- For the next 20 years this comprises "rents and debts in arrears and accidental receipts". These cannot be itemized because there is no further information in the accounts.

1681/2 Rents:-

This rental entry is questionable. The actual sum entered by the Chamberlain was £111, which is extremely low, and from the total given seems likely to have been an error.

1682/3 Rents:-

Rental figure arrived at by valculation - no entry having been made by the Chamberlain.

1692/3 Schoolwarden's balance:-

Includes debts and accidental receipts.

1693/4 Bridgemaster's balance:-

includes arrears.

1698/9:-

Sheet badly worn making many sums unclear.

1723/4 Charities returns:-

From this date on the rental income accruing to Bilbie's hospital is entered in this category.

Fines for Leases:-

These are now rare - no accounts remain for the period 1700 to 1723.

1725/6 Arrears:-

Arising from Bridge rents.

Miscellaneous:-

over-rent of sheep pens.

1733/4 Arrears:-

These are in fact advance rents received.

1734/5 Charity returns:-

£10 Lady Grantham money unpaid.

1736/7 Charity returns:-

5 x £10 bonds of Coventry money and £1 of Lady Grantham money. These two Charities make up most of the entries under 'Charities' from this date onwards.

1741/2 Chamberlain's balance:-

£46.6s.4d "as settled by Hall". The actual balance was £62.13s.9d.

1745/6 Charity returns:-

Balance of Coventry money £30.13s.11d., £4 Lady Grantham unpaid.

1746/7 Charity returns:-

£90 Coventry bonds repaid.

1749/50 Donations:-

£38.4s.0d by "subscriptions to the pavement".

1751/2 Miscellaneous:-

Salary unpaid.

1753/4 Miscellaneous:-

£20 not paid to the parsons.

1757/8 Charity returns:-

£100 for 2 bonds of Coventry money repaid and
£1 Lady Grantham.

1765/6 Donations:-

£12.1s.6d towards paving Houndgate.

Miscellaneous:-

£10 fees and salaries allowed for and not paid.

1771/2 Miscellaneous:-

£30.9s.10d being a "list of outstanding debts craved by former Chamberlains and delivered into the accountant's hands to be collected". This represents monies owing, not cash, and whether the Chamberlain succeeded in collecting these dues we do not know, although he accounted for expenses of £41.1s.4d in this year for "cravings".

1777/8 Fines for Leases:-

£326.9s.5d was entered by the Chamberlain as "casual" receipts with no further explanation given. The existence of two leases signed in the early months of 1778 suggest that this may have been largely consideration money for these, the fines being recorded as £240 and £60. (Ref.5132,5133). For this reason £300 of this sum has been entered as "fines for leases".

1778/9 Miscellaneous:-

£78 fees and salaries unpaid.

1785/6 to

1792/3 Rent:-

From 1792/3 includes the rent for the new butchers shop in the county shambles. Between 1769 and 1791 the Chamberlain entered these with casual receipts and lack of information renders it impossible to

distinguish them from other sums in this category. The total sum has therefore been entered as "undesignated" in the analysis for these years. In 1785 and 1786 however, the Chamberlains distinguished in their casual receipts the amount of rent accruing from the butchers stalls and these sums have therefore been included as rent in the analysis at these two dates.

1789/90 Loans:-

£1,000 entered as casual receipts in the Chamberlain's account has been entered as a loan in the analysis, being probably the loan made in March 1790 by Smiths the bankers.

1793/4 Bridgemaster's balance:-

£670 - This was in effect repayment by the Bridgemasters of a loan from the Chamberlains who had paid the cost of altering the Flood road to the Nottingham Canal proprietors.

Charity returns:-

£80, rental of Lambley estate. This was not previously accounted for in this way having been entered in the Chamber account only as a balance or deficit. It is now included within the Chamber account by the Chamberlain until 1811, after which date an independent account was subjoined to the Chamber account.

Miscellaneous:-

£80.7s.4d fees and salaries not paid.

1794/5 Investment returns:-

dividends from Water Work Co.

1796/7 Arrears:-

Includes £20 advance rents.

1796 to 1799 Charity returns:-

£10 per annum Lady Grantham not distributed.

1801/02 Investment returns:-

Interest on Flood Road shares £12.10s.0d, interest from Canal Company on loans and cash for land taken.

Fines:- Grantham Canal Co., for damage to Nether Trent Close, £5. 5s. 0d.

1806/7 Arisment of East Croft for 1803, 1804, 1805.

Fines:- of Mickletun jury for 1804, 5, 6, (Previously taken by the Mayor).

Investment returns:- Canal Co. dividend £108; Flood Road interest £23.15s.0d, 1805; £9.10s.0d, 1806; Canal Co. interest on land £7.

1809/10 Assisment of East Croft:- for 1807, 1808, 1809.

Profit only previously entered. From the date the Chamberlains entered the full income, accounting in expenditure for the associated outlays.

1810/11 Charity returns:-

From this date the Chamberlain no longer quoted the full income and expenditure of Bilbie's Charity in his accounts, but recorded only the profit or loss.

1811/12 Donations:-

Nottingham Canal Co., share towards Greyfriar gate bridge £67.10s.0d. Surveyors of the highways of St. Marys £180 for work done by Smith and Parrott and for carting.

1812/13 Miscellaneous:-

Cash from late Chamberlains for mistakes and miscalculations and unclaimed Burgess parts.

1819/20 Miscellaneous:-

£150 from Bridgemasters "on account".

1820/1 Freedoms:-

includes Burgess noble payments for 1819-20.

1822/3 Investment returns:-

4 years interest on Flood Road shares and dividend on 10 gas light shares.

1823/4 Miscellaneous:-

School Warden's share of committee expenses £80.8s.5d;
Staveley's balance of his ledger account £107.8s.10d.

1825/6 Miscellaneous:-

dividend on Ashwell's bankruptcy £111.0s.2d.

1826/7 Donations/Levies:-

£246.10s.3d from Messrs James for dilapidations on their leasehold held from the Corporation.

1827/8 Donations/Levies:-

£575 from Market Place accounts.

1828/9 Donations/Levies:-

£602.10s.0d from Market Place account.

1831/2 Donations/Levies:-

£157.10s.0d from Market Place account.

1831/2 Investment returns:-

Balance of interest on bonds for Mansfield road
land 1828 to 1831 £225.5s.0d. interest on money
and dividends on shares.

1832/3 Donations/Levies:-

£52.10s.0d from Market Place account; £60 for
leasehold dilapidation.

1833/4 Donations/Levies:-

£52.10s.0d from Market Place account.

1834/5 Donations/Levies:-

£552.10s.0d from Market Place account.

APPENDIX IB

Analysis of Civic Income 1660 to 1835

NOTTINGHAM	1660-1	1661-2	1662-3	1663-4	1664-5	1665-6	1666-7	1667-8	1668-9	1669-70
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	403.17.2	411.18.0	428. 4.6	300.13.8	339.12.4		393. 9.2	389.18.2	387.10.10	392.17.6
FINES FOR LEASES	45. 0.0	372.15.0		106. 0.0	12. 2.0		37.10.0	133. 3.4	40. 3.10	55.14.0
FREEDOMS	38.13.4	10. 0.0	13. 0.0	6. 0.0	5. 6.8.		5. 6.8	5. 0.0	7.13.4	2.13.4
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT	18. 3.7	9.10.7	19. 3.4	16.15.0	20. 1.8		23. 0.8	20.15.1	20. 2.6	24. 3.9
COURT/MISC. FINES			1.11.0	0. 8.8	4.17.4			0.10.0	3. 0.0	1.16.8
ARREARS LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	29.10.0	157.17.5	1. 8.0	29. 4.0			3.17.2	2.11.8		2. 3.0
	40. 0.0	22. 7.4			8.18.11				16.11.9	
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	2.11.6		37. 5.0	35.12.0	0. 7.4		1. 0.0	19.19.0	51. 1.10	0.13.2
LOANS & ANNUITIES										
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS										
UNDESIGNATED	4. 4.11	16. 7.4						23. 2.7		5. 8.0
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	582. 1.4	1000.15.8	500.11.10	494.13.4	391. 6.3		464. 3.8	594.19.10	526. 4.1	485. 9.5
	581.10.6	"	"	"	"		"	"	"	"

NOTTINGHAM	1670-1	1671-2	1672-3	1673-4	1674-5	1675-6	1676-7	1677-8	1678-9	1679-80
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	387. 8.1		387. 6.5	374. 8.3	377. 5.1	380.17.11	382.10.1	451. 0.7	466. 5.1	419.17.0
FINES FOR LEASES	21.10.0		2. 0.0	157.13.1	23. 0.0	99.10.0	20. 0.0	66. 0.0		40. 0.0
FREEDOMS	12.13.4		8. 0.0	4. 6.8	3. 0.0	1.13.4	5. 6.8.	19.10.0	2.13.4	0.18.4
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT	22. 2.7		13.17.0	18. 2.4	22.14.0	21. 6.1	18. 6.3	19. 2.2	23.11.5	21. 9.4
COURT/MISC. FINES	4. 2.6		1.14.6	0.13.1	4. 4.0		3.14.0	3. 9.2	4. 9.10	4. 2.6
ARREARS LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	7. 0.0			36. 3.0						
					7. 0.8					
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES			0. 2.6	2. 4.0	0.10.6		14. 8.5	0.17.6		2.10.0
LOANS & ANNUITIES										
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS										0. 3.0
UNDESIGNATED	30. 6.10		28. 0.0		0.18.6	7. 5.7	31.16.5	0. 0.7		3. 9.8
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	485. 3.4		441. 0.5	593.10.5	480.17.9	510.12.11	476. 1.10	560.10.0	490.19.8	492.19.10
	"		"	"	"	"	"	"	"	482. 9.10

NOTTINGHAM	1680-1	1681-2	1682-3	1683-4	1684-5	1685-6	1686-7	1687-8	1688-9	1689-90
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	447.18.9	411.13.7	415.10.3	411. 4.9.	404.14.5	411. 3.5	413. 1.11		411.17.11	411.17.11
FINES FOR LEASES		13. 6.8	3. 0.0	11. 0.0	192.10.0	19. 0.0	33. 5.0		123. 0.0	74.19.0
FREEDOMS	2. 1.4	1. 6.8	1. 1.0	12.17.8		2. 0.0	78. 6.8		6. 0.0	2. 0.0
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT	18.13.6	19.14.0	17.13.6	22. 9.0	23. 4.0	18. 5.2	21.13.0		20. 4.0	18.10.3
COURT/MISC. FINES	4.10.0	4. 5.10		5. 1.6	7. 1.6	5. 8.0	5.11.0		6.13.0	5.10.4
ARREARS									9.11.2	4.13.4
LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE										98. 5.3
LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE										20.19.2
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE						1. 7.6	5. 0.0			
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES		20. 9.0					0. 9.0		0.10.0	0. 5.0
LOANS & ANNUITIES										
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS	0.11.6		1.10.0	22.19.6						
UNDESIGNATED									6. 6.0	4. 6.8
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	473.15.1	451.15.9	438.14.9	485.12.5	627. 9.11	457. 4.1	557. 7.7		584. 2.1	641. 6.11
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	470.15.9	"	"	"	"	557. 6.7		"	"

NOTTINGHAM	1690-1	1691-2	1692-3	1693-4	1694-5	1695-6	1696-7	1697-8	1698-9	1699-1700
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS			463.16.11	461.13.11	458. 9.3		452. 9.5	441. 3.3	442.14.11	442. 6.7
FINES FOR LEASES			48. 0.0	127.10.0	65. 7.8		84.10.0	156. 0.0	30. 0.0	175. 0.0
FREEDOMS			20.13.4	59. 6.8	84. 6.8		4. 0.0	24. 0.0	5. 6.8	19. 6.8
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT			16. 0.0	14. 2.0	16. 5.0		20.16.8	16. 2.6	20.16.0	18. 6.1
COURT/MISC. FINES			4.18.8	7. 4.10	5. 7.8		12. 0.0	7. 6.6	7.19.0	0. 2.4
ARREARS			0. 3.0		1. 1.0			0.14.3	11. 6.0	0. 5.1
LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE			20.10.0							
LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE			30. 0.0	64.13.11						
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE							38.15.2	3.14.5	82.11.0	0. 7.6
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES			0.10.10				61.11.10	2.14.0		
LOANS & ANNUITIES										
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS										
UNDESIGNATED				0. 4.0			43.12.0	18.11.0		
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT			604.12.9	734.15.4	630.17.3		717.15.1	670. 5.11	600.10.2	661.14.2
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES			"	"	"		"	"	"	655.14.3

NOTTINGHAM	1720-1	1721-2	1722-3	1723-4	1724-5	1725-6	1726-7	1727-8	1728-9	1729-30
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS				419. 0.5	427.12.9	456.16.9	502.17.3	589. 5.6	599.10.3	601.14.3
FINES FOR LEASES										10. 0.0
FREEDOMS				53.13.4	22.13.4	21.18.4	20. 6.8	7. 0.0	31.13.4	79. 0.0
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT				18.13.6	8. 8.3	13.11.6	13.15.9½	18. 7.9	20. 5.2	13. 7.6½
COURT/MISC. FINES				27. 9.10			3. 0.0	2. 3.0		
ARREARS						11.10.0				
LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE							8.11.5			
LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE				29. 3.0	24. 4.1					
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE				8. 5.4	11.13.0	28. 2.10				79.13.0
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES				12.10.0	103. 0.0	2. 6.2	5. 0.0	15.16.0	132. 0.0	3. 8.0
LOANS & ANNUITIES								130. 0.0		
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS				4.10.0		5. 5.0				
RETURNS ON CHARITIES				10. 4.0	10. 4.0	9.19.0	9.19.0	9.19.0	9.19.0	10.19.0
MISCELLANEOUS					3. 0.0	20. 1.9½	4. 4.0			4.13.4
UNDESIGNATED									7.12.0	
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES				583. 9.5	610.15.5	569.11.4½	567.14.1½	772.11.3	800.19.9	802.15.1½

NOTTINGHAM	1730-1	1731-2	1732-3	1733-4	1734-5	1735-6	1736-7	1737-8	1738-9	1739-40
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	617.10.3	599.13.3	600.15.3	616.13.1	699. 2.9	695.10.11	727. 5.3	748. 3.9	762. 2.1	767. 6.1
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	21.13.4	49.12.8	106.18.8	24. 6.8	6.13.4	16. 5.4	5. 6.8	26. 6.8	65. 0.0	65.18.8
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT	22.19.7	16.10.0	17.13.1	10.16.3	3.19.5	16.13.9	13. 2.4	11.18.8	9.13.1	6.19.11
COURT/MISC. FINES	0. 3.4.		1. 0.0		0. 1.6.					
ARREARS	1.13.0	19. 5.0		23. 1.6		1.15.0	14. 7.6			
LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE	10.18.0	14. 8.10			17. 8.0	28. 0.0		37.18.3	30. 8.10	32. 5.7
LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE			80.19.6		79. 8.7				55. 6.6.	87.15.8
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	55.16.11½				36.15.10	126.10.7	54.11.10		4.11.6	152. 1.3
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	7.17.0	15. 0.0	487.16.4	43. 0.0		307.12.0	145.17.8		100. 0.0	327. 2.0
LOANS & ANNUITIES										
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	9.19.0	9.19.0	10.19.0	10.19.0	19.19.0	10.19.0	60.19.0	10.19.0	60.19.0	22.19.0
MISCELLANEOUS			5. 0.0							
UNDESIGNATED					2. 2.0	2. 2.0		4. 3.0	6. 5.2	1.16.0
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	748.10.5½	725. 8.9	1310. 1.10	728.16.6	865.10.5	1205. 8.7	1021.10.3	838. 9.4	1094. 6.2.	1464. 6.2.

NOTTINGHAM	1740-41	1741-2	1742-3	1743-4	1744-5	1745-6	1746-7	1747-8	1748-9	1749-50
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	772.10.1	767. 6.7	774.10.7	772.14.7	777. 4.1	776.12.7	776.16.3	798.16.11	786. 9.10	764.11.10
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	36. 0.0	97. 0.0	21. 6.8	69. 0.0	98. 3.4	63.13.4	59.13.4	76. 6.8	5. 0.0	5.13.4
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT	16.11.7	14.16.9	13.13.8	13. 1.11	16.13.2	19.14.11	7.18.3	19. 8.7	23.16.6½	21.11.0
COURT/MISC. FINES									2. 7.0	
ARREARS LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE	3.11.6	1. 9.0	3. 7.6	0.15.0		36.10.0			0. 1.6	
LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE			10.17.0			31. 0.10	6. 5.7	30. 4.3	34.11.4	29. 3.5
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE						29.14.4		58. 2.6	1.15.10	68. 4.3
	142. 9.8	46. 6.4	27.19.7	56. 4.0	56.10.1	122. 7.5½	85. 6.5	195. 3.1	229.12.0	44. 7.8
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	0.15.0	50. 0.0	20. 0.0	1. 8.3			100. 0.0			50. 0.0
LOANS & ANNUITIES							100. 0.0			
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										38. 4.0
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	10.19.0	11.19.0	13. 1.0	13. 1.0	19. 1.0	46.14.11	106. 1.0	13. 1.0	26. 5.4	13. 1.0
MISCELLANEOUS	10.0									
UNDESIGNATED	2.17.2		2.13.0	21.17.0	281. 9.2			5. 5.9		5. 1.6
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT ACCURATE TOTAL AS PEP ACCOUNT ENTRIES	986. 4.0	988.17.8	867. 9.0	948. 1.9	1249. 0.0	1126. 8.4½	1243. 3.8	1196. 8.9	1110. 0.2½	1039.18.0
	"	"	"	"	"	"	1242. 0.10	"	"	"

NOTTINGHAM	1750-1	1751-2	1752-3	1753-4	1754-5	1755-6	1756-7	1757-8	1758-9	1759-60
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	772.14.7	773.12.3	779.12.11	781. 6.1.	793. 8.5	810. 3.9	841.14.1	840.15.5	854.10.3	855.10.8
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	37. 0.0	6. 6.8	51.13.4	6. 6.8	9.13.4	42. 0.0	9.13.4	7. 6.8	42.13.4	10. 4.0
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT	14. 1.8	12.15.0	12.10.3	15. 8.1	16. 3.9½	10. 9.9	18.19.10	12. 5.4	19.13.6	21. 1.0
COURT/MISC. FINES										
ARREARS LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE	1. 7.6									
LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE	9. 9.2½		36.18.4	45.12.8	45.14.0	55. 2.2	42.12.0	46. 2.11	44.11.7	45.14.6
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	126. 6.0½	97. 7.7	88.16.4½	76.13.8	81.13.0	6. 9.1	52. 8.7	101.12.4½	53.14.0	130.18.3
		206.18.11½	119.10.2					98. 4.7½	127. 1.5½	209.19.4½
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES				43. 0.0	0. 3.0				248. 0.0	
LOANS & ANNUITIES	400. 0.0									200. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	40. 5.4½	13. 1.0	23. 1.0	26. 1.0	19. 1.0	13. 1.0	13. 1.0	113. 1.0	36.14.4	12. 1.0
MISCELLANEOUS	13.13.0	18. 0.0		20. 0.0						5. 5.0
UNDESIGNATED	11. 4.8	8. 8.0	4.16.6	8. 3.4	5.13.6	19.19.6	41. 8.10	12.10.6	14.13.1	14. 8.6
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT ACCURATE TOTAL AS PEP ACCOUNT ENTRIES	1426. 2.0½	1136. 9.5½	1116.18.10	1022.11.6	971.10.0½	957. 5.3	1019.17.8	1231.18.10	1441.11.6½	1509. 2.3½
	1426. 2.0½	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	1509. 2.3½

NOTTINGHAM	1760-1	1761-2	1762-3	1763-4	1764-5	1765-6	1766-7	1767-8	1768-9	1769-70
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	858.15.8	875.18.2	905.19.8	914. 0.2	917.11.8	934.18.8	936. 7.2	924.12.5	935. 7.8	928.17.8
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	55.15.0	25. 0.0	26. 6.8	51. 6.8	16. 0.0	40. 0.0	60. 6.8	39.13.4	10.13.4	58. 6.8
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT	17. 7.7	12. 6.6	10. 2.1	9.16.6	17.18.34	13. 4.1	14.10.2	0.15.8	15. 8.114	10.14.10
COURT/MISC. FINES										
ARREARS								6.19.2	0.15.0	
LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE	41. 9.11	60. 4.5	58. 0.10	41. 3.6		83. 0.9	73. 1.9	93. 2.9	97.15.9	66.17.5
LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE	124. 7.4	98. 8.1	89.18.10		41. 9.6				93.5.104	47.18.10
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	104. 0.24	111. 6.3		154.12.1	339.19.54	51. 3.9		65.16.8	4. 0.74	96. 7.84
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES				10. 0.0			96. 1.8		27. 5.8	
LOANS & ANNUITIES		300. 0.0				200. 0.0	100. 0.0	100. 0.0	60. 0.0	
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES						12. 1.6				
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	11.11.0	13. 1.0	12. 1.0	12.11.0	14. 6.0	13. 6.0	14. 6.0	14. 6.0	43.10.0	13. 6.0
MISCELLANEOUS		29. 9.2	0.10.0			10. 0.0				0.10.0
UNDESIGNATED	20.15.0	18.15.10	13. 0.0	0. 6.8	16. 3.4			2.19.4	2.10.7	15. 8.10
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	1234. 1.84	1544. 9.5	1115.19.1	1193.16.7	1363. 8.3	1357.14.9	1294.13.5	1248. 5.4	1290.13.54	1238. 7.114

NOTTINGHAM	1770-1	1771-2	1772-3	1773-4	1774-5	1775-6	1776-7	1777-8	1778-9	1779-80
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	928. 4.0	937. 2.9	948. 5.0	939.18.0	931.14.6	950. 7.6	974. 8.6	977.14.6	980. 1.0	949. 2.0
FINES FOR LEASES		200. 0.0						300. 0.0		
FREEDOMS	14. 0.0	11. 6.8	27. 0.0	63. 0.0	24.13.4	20.13.4	27. 6.8	11. 6.8	70. 6.8	87. 0.0
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT	17.13.1	8. 4.84	9.19.4	11. 3.10	7. 1.1	10.17.10	11. 9.0	6. 6.1	7. 3.0	11.18.2
COURT/MISC. FINES										
ARREARS				0.15.3			2. 9.4			
LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE	85. 6.6	77. 0.5	19. 9.10	2. 2.6	64.13.6	76.16.11	66. 1.4	59. 2.9	68. 9.1	
LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE	93.12.8		41. 1.84	31 17.114	145. 0.94	102.18.11	116. 4.4	168.13.1	139.15.10	126.11.11
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	208.11.0	8.15.11	10. 1.84	133.18.14	196.15.84	8. 7.54	139.11.44	19.14.14	251.17.3	3. 2.3
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES				6.13.5						
LOANS & ANNUITIES			300. 0.0			200. 0.0				300. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	23. 6.0	23. 6.0	14. 6.0	108.12.44	23. 6.0	23. 6.0	13. 6.0	13. 6.0	17. 3.7	14. 6.0
MISCELLANEOUS		30. 9.10		0.14.0		1. 9.6			78. 0.0	
UNDESIGNATED	62. 0.6	17.16.0	40. 1.8		10. 3.11	22. 8.14	10.14.8	26. 9.5	16.13.6	95.10.4
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	1432.13.9	1314. 2.34	1410.16.3	1298.15.54	1403.8.104	1417. 5.64	1361.11.24	1582.12.74	1629. 9.11	1587.10.8

NOTTINGHAM	1780-1	1781-2	1782-3	1783-4	1784-5	1785-6	1786-7	1787-8	1788-9	1789-90
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	942. 0.0	926. 8.6	910.19.6	915.12.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	953.12.5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1207.15.10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1202.18.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1122.18.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1146.13.9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1159.13.3 $\frac{1}{2}$
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	104.15.0	37.16.8	26. 1.8	89. 8.4	61. 3.4	104.10.0	57.16.8	122.18.4	66.18.4	142. 6.8
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT	9. 8.4	13.13.6	10. 2.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.17.10	1.13.5	16. 9.7	12.17.0	11. 0.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7.19.7	9.16.5
COURT/MISC. FINES						5. 5.0	21. 1.0			
ARREARS										10. 1.6
LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE	93. 5.4	110.10.5	97.16.2	83. 6.4	104. 1.4	120. 9.10	100. 7.8	111.19.0	121. 6.8	124.19.4
LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE		32. 6.3	189. 3.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	52.13.0		136. 3.4	51.18.11	150. 9.10	40. 0.0	
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	9. 3.6	129. 7.10	124. 9.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	60.18.0	72.19.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	110.13.7 $\frac{1}{2}$	326.12.10	434. 3.10	165. 5.0	151.12.11
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES							391. 0.0			
LOANS & ANNUITIES										1000. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	14. 6.0	13. 6.0	14. 6.0	13. 8.0	13. 8.0	13. 8.0	13. 8.0	12. 8.0	13. 8.0	13. 8.0
MISCELLANEOUS										
UNDESIGNATED	95. 8.8 $\frac{1}{2}$	82.10.8	87. 5.2	128.16.1	141.15.11	32. 5.0	0.12.0	129.16.5	95.14.0	349. 6.9
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	1268.6.10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1345.19.10	1460. 7.7	1347. 0.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1348.13.6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1747. 0.3	2178.12.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2095.14.7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1657. 5.4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2961. 4.10 $\frac{1}{2}$
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PEP ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

NOTTINGHAM	1790-1	1791-2	1792-3	1793-4	1794-5	1795-6	1796-7	1797-8	1798-9	1799-1800
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	1169. 0.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1153.13.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1244. 9.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1360.19.9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1240. 4.5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1291. 3.0	1225. 2.7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1314.4.11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1207.10.10	1320.18.7
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	16.13.4	116. 0.0	43.15.0	53.13.4	15.13.4	61. 0.0	12. 6.8	26. 1.8.	30. 0.0	49. 6.8
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT	10.17.4	5. 4.10	8.19.2	10.12.1	10. 2.3	7.18.5	15. 4.2	4.10.11		2.17.9
COURT/MISC. FINES										
ARREARS			25.19.0	25. 5.8	7.11.9	63. 1.8	31.17.0	56. 9.8	69. 4.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	18. 6.2
LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE	113.16.10	146. 0.4							9. 2.4	
LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE				670. 0.0						
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	149.19.1	5.16.4	18. 2.4 $\frac{1}{2}$	27.18.9 $\frac{1}{2}$	160. 1.7 $\frac{1}{2}$	90. 4.9	260. 5.11	52. 5.1		
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES			262. 2.0	747. 1.10 $\frac{1}{2}$		500. 0.0		1414. 0.0		470. 2.6
LOANS & ANNUITIES			1300. 0.0	1300. 0.0						261. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS						30. 0.0			6.10.0	
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	13. 8.0	21. 8.0	13. 8.0	96. 0.0	96. 0.0	96. 0.0	106. 0.0	106. 0.0	106. 0.0	124. 8.0
MISCELLANEOUS		0. 8.9.	18. 9.3	97. 3.4	11. 8.0	15.14.0	6. 2.4	9.11.5	0.13.4	21.10.0
UNDESIGNATED	97. 5.3	1331.13.2	29.15.4	26. 0.0	21.13.5					
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	1567. 0.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2780. 4.8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2964.19.5	4114.14.10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1592.14.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2125. 1.10	1656.18.8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2982.13.8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1429. 0.6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2268.10.6
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PEP ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	1429. 0.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	"

NOTTINGHAM	1800-1	1801-2	1802-3	1803-4	1804-5	1805-6	1806-7	1807-8	1808-9	1809-10
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	1413. 0.10	1382. 2.3	1450. 7.6.	1455.15.5	1684. 7.6	1784. 5.9	1745.12.0	1755.11.9	1839.12.10	2259.14.10
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	26. 6.8	275. 0.0	114. 0.0	90.13.4	153. 6.8	11. 0.0	77. 3.4	36.16.8	8. 6.8	10. 0.0
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT	5.12.2	9. 3.5					31.11.0	11. 0.6		37. 0.4
COURT/MISC. FINES		5. 5.0					74. 9.6	51.10.0	70.10.6	50. 1.6
ARREARS LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	87. 4.6	62.19.10	64. 9.5½	64.11.3	85.11.1½	74. 0.5	161. 7.3½	39. 6.6	248. 4.0	148. 6.3
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	31.10.0	2.15.0			684. 4.0	977. 0.6	388.19.3	714.19.6	1888. 8.8	2961.13.0
LOANS & ANNUITIES	230. 0.0				1500. 0.0		100.12.0	800. 0.0		600. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS	74. 7.11	214.10.1½	35.12.8	86. 8.0½	61. 8.1	61. 5.11	148. 5.0	128. 0.0	10. 0.0	4.14.0
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	96. 0.0	96. 0.0	96. 0.0	96. 0.0	144.14.9	116. 0.0	116. 0.0	116. 0.0	116. 0.0	166. 0.0
MISCELLANEOUS			3. 8.7		1. 6.3		3.11.3		14.10.6	
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	1964. 2.1	2119. 3.6	2064. 3.1	1793. 8.0½	4314.18.4½	3023.12.7	2847.11.5½	3653. 4.11	4195.13.2	6237. 9.11

NOTTINGHAM	1810-1	1811-2	1812-3	1813-4	1814-5	1815-6	1816-7	1817-8	1818-9	1819-20
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	2394.13.6	2499.17.6½	2499.19.7	2413.10.1	2360.17.10	2470.17.3½	2472. 0.11	2426.14.4	2498.15.3½	2563.18.4
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	170.10.0	8. 6.8	91.16.8	137. 6.8	70.13.4	262.13.4	69. 6.8	36.16.8	63. 0.0	42. 0.0
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT	16. 2.7	11.12.3	18. 1.4	27.15.6	29.10.6	21. 0.6	17. 1.6	33. 2.0	38.14.6	20.17.6
COURT/MISC. FINES	68. 9.6	32.14.6		161. 5.0	151.17.0		69. 0.0		166.16.6	48.11.0
ARREARS LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	154.15.3½	173.13.1½	251.11.8½	150. 1.9½	55.11.8½	81. 6.7	147.13.7½	186.11.3	114. 6.6	55.18.0
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	628. 0.0	120. 0.0		693.18.10	24. 2.11	106. 8.9	1352. 2.0	92.19.3	79. 5.0	274.14.1
LOANS & ANNUITIES				4500. 6.8	3750. 0.0	4210. 0.0	2140. 0.0	2560. 0.0	2490. 0.0	1766. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES		247.10.0		185.19.11						
INVESTMENT RETURNS		37.16.0	7.16.0	10. 0.0	25.16.4½				40. 0.0	
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	80. 0.0		5.18.6							
MISCELLANEOUS	0.11.3	2. 0.0	69.16.6	0.13.1½	1.17.8½	10. 0.0	17. 7.7½	13.18.8½	5.5. 0	160.15.6
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	3513. 2.1½	3133.10.1	2945. 0.3½	8280.17.7	6470. 7.4½	7162. 6.5½	6284.12.4	5360. 2.2½	5426. 2.9½	4232.14.5

NOTTINGHAM	1820-1	1821-2	1822-3	1823-4	1824-5	1825-6	1826-7	1827-8	1828-9	1829-30
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	2708.18.5	2766.19.9	2806.13.10	2826.10.9	2865.10.24	3174.10.84	3341. 9.24	3493.18.11	3684.19.10	3580.18.11
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	179. 0.0	25. 6.8	20.13.4	115. 0.0	23. 0.0	9. 6.8	16. 6.8	11.13.4	18. 6.8	22. 0.0
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT.	21. 2.6	22.12.6	25. 1.6	20.19.6	17.14.6	30.11.6	30.10.0	13. 9.6	8.19.0	19. 0.6
COURT/MISC. FINES	41.16.6	43. 1.3	104. 9.0	51. 0.0	120. 4.0	61.12.6	58. 0.0	50.18.6	51.19.6	50. 7.0
ARREARS LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE	105.14.7	422.16.0	268. 8.8	824.11.1	55. 9.0	21.19.6	30.16.0	47.10.9	32.11.4	47.15.8
LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE	234. 0.0									
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE							1655. 5.34			206.15.11
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	583.16.2	2423. 6.0	993. 2.6	6052. 4.0	3639. 4.2	4483.16.0	2887.12.0	349. 0.0	118. 0.0	1835.10.0
LOANS & ANNUITIES	2400. 0.0	2510. 0.0	200. 0.0	910. 0.0				1200. 0.0	2500. 0.0	6750. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES						5.19.0	254.10.3	575. 0.0	602.10.0	
INVESTMENT RETURNS			65. 0.0	10. 0.0	37. 0.0	25. 0.0	39.18.0	62.10.0	59. 6.0	50. 0.0
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	14.11.6		4. 2.9							
MISCELLANEOUS	7.18.0	67. 3.0	12. 0.0	187.17.3		111. 0.2	24. 4.6	10.13.0	0. 5.6	0.10.0
UNDESIGNATED						5.19.0				
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	6296.17.9	8281. 5.2	4499.11.7	10998.2.7	6758. 1.10	7929.15.04	8338.11.11	6414.14.0	7076.17.10	12562.18.0

NOTTINGHAM	1830-1	1831-2	1832-3	1833-4	1834-5	1835-6				
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	4002.19.3	4240. 1.7	4233.10.9	4240.14.6	4238.15.4	1346.19.2				
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	14.13.4	18. 0.0	7. 6.8	4. 0.0	8. 0.0					
EXONERATIONS AGISTMENT OF THE EASTCROFT.	26.15.6	19. 0.6	22. 0.0	8.16.6	15.14.6					
COURT/MISC. FINES	43. 0.0	45. 0.0	53. 4.6	40. 1.0	54.18.0	26.18.6				
ARREARS LATE SCHOOL WARDEN'S BALANCE	20. 1.1	80.12.6	36.16.2	71.17.11	32. 9.0					
LATE BRIDGEMASTER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	364. 6.1			1397. 8.5						
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	1210.17.0	1808. 4.0	1290.12.5	122.17.6	728.15.0	1027. 3.9				
LOANS & ANNUITIES	1480. 0.0		442.11.0		2020. 0.0					
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES		157.10.0	112.10.0	52. 0.0	552.10.0	91. 0.9				
INVESTMENT RETURNS	7.10.0	332.15.0	63. 0.6	25. 0.0	140.14.9	332. 4.5				
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS	0. 9.0	0.10.0								
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	7170.11.7	6701.13.7	6261.12.0	5962.15.10	7791.16.7	2824. 6.7				

Appendix IC

Analysis of Civic Income. YORK 1660 to 1835

There remain at York two sets of Chamber Accounts: the draft Account books listing income and expenditure as the Chamberlain dealt with it during his year of office (CAB), and the account rolls, constituting the final account in summarized form, of the year's dealings, balanced and audited using the vouchers which the Chamberlain retained during his year of service. The audited rolls are almost complete for the period from 1660 to 1835, with only a few years missing, although some, particularly for the early nineteenth century, have become unclear or quite illegible through the action of damp.

The rolls were made up under standard headings which changed only slightly throughout the one hundred and seventy five years.

After a detailed inventory of Chamber plate and charitable bequests held in trust by the Mayor and Aldermen, the Account proper began with the entry "Treasures in the Coffers". This consisted principally of money received from the late Chamberlain as the balance of his account. Occasionally however it included also any balance received from the City Steward, and at odd times, miscellaneous items in the nature of exoneration fines from the Chamberlains or "2 bank notes worth £26 to be retained ---- to prove commission of bankrupt". Only with the use of the Account books can the exact constituent parts of this sum be determined. By 1690 "Treasures in the Coffers" was only occasionally filled in, the Chamberlains' balance being included with rents or casual receipts. From 1777 there was a revival in the use of this heading, but by 1829 it had again dropped out of use.

The next item in both the rolls and account books was the rental income. This comprised money handed to the Chamberlain by the City Steward or Receiver who acted as the rent collector. The Receiver maintained his own accounts, few of which survive. In these he debited himself for the income received from rents, arrears, fines for leases and other minor receipts and credited himself with the rents owing to him, assessments paid on the city lands, his salary and the amount of money which he had passed to the Chamberlain through the year. The balance was then paid by him to the Chamberlain at some stage during that, or a succeeding, financial year.

The rent received by the Chamberlain therefore fluctuated according to the number of extra expenses for which the Receiver might be called to pay, and according also to the promptness with which the Receiver passed over the balance of his account. Moreover, the details from the Account books illustrate that for many years during the first half of the eighteenth century, the Chamberlain accounted within his rental income for many other items in addition to rents. In 1705 he included £194.13s.4d received for taxed costs in a law suit, for £160 paid by Sterne as a Charitable bequest, and £30.7s.9d for the late Chamberlain's balance. In 1707 the rental income was recorded on the rolls as £518.6s.8d, but the Account books reveal that this sum included £53.6s.8d for the Chamberlain's exoneration money. This intermingling of items is found on numerous occasions at this period and it is only with the use of the more detailed account books that the entries can be clarified. Where, therefore, the account books exist and are of a reliable nature, they have been used to break down the entries on the Chamber roll. The resulting figures have been used to create the detailed analysis of income which follows. It has not in all instances been possible to break down the entries on the rolls. In some cases the account books do not remain, in others they have been inadequately filled in and since they were not audited until later in the period many do not tally with the final audited chamber roll. In many cases this

may only be a result of the exclusion of late transactions, for example the omission of the balance from the Receiver at the close of the year, and in such cases the books can still be successfully utilized.

The next item accounted by the Chamberlain consisted of fines received from the Sessions and Wardmote Courts. This entry is generally straightforward but in the analysis which follows it has been extended to include all miscellaneous fines and hall rents. Again on occasions the roll entry has been augmented by the use of the Account books to identify the fines which have been entered by the Chamberlain as "casual receipts".

The "casual receipts" as entered by the Chamberlain constituted undoubtedly the most amorphous of all his sections. Since divisions existed for most other forms of income it would be natural to assume that casual receipts consisted only of income of an extraordinary and uncommon nature, such as proceeds from sales, loans or charitable bequests. On the contrary however, not only do the above mentioned sometimes occur within the Chamberlains' accounts as 'rents', but those items for which there was already a specific subdivision within the Chamberlain's account, regularly occur within the orbit of 'casual receipts'. Thus exoneration fines, payments for the freedom, and chamber balances were regularly entered as casual receipts. For any meaningful analysis of civic income to be made it is therefore essential that the Chamberlain's "casual receipts" category be broken down as much as possible and some re-grouping effected. Where the Chamber account book remains this can be to a large extent achieved, but where no further details remain the existence of unidentifiable casual receipts inevitably and irrevocably distort the accounts as presented in the table below. (viz. 1669/70; 1670/1; 1673 to 1675).

In addition to the above entries the Chamberlain used categories for exoneration fines received and for freedom monies taken. The former consisted invariably of the fines received from

The Chamberlains (£6.13s.4d each) and usually the additional fines received for exoneration from other Civic Offices. However where these fines were paid in instalments they were often entered as "casual receipts" and indeed, during the earlier period, it is not unusual to find these entire payments within this category. Where possible these and the partial payments have been extracted and placed in the exonerations section in the table.

The entries for Freedom monies remained generally rather more distinct in the Chamberlains' account, being entered as casual receipts only when payment was made in part. These payments have been included with freedoms in the table below, together with fines paid by unfree labourers and others for permission to trade, except for the period from 1752 to 1717 when they have been included with fines.

Thus, the following table attempts to rearrange the items of civic income into compartments which are more watertight and which lend themselves better to analysis of the nature and amounts of civic income at York itself and in comparison with the other boroughs in this study. The analysis inevitably falls short of infallibility being hampered by the incompleteness and inaccuracies of the Chamber account books and subjectivity in its presentation. Nevertheless it is clear from the foregoing notes that they give a much more accurate and detailed view of civic income over the period 1660 to 1835 than the audited Chamber rolls, and are necessary for any real indication of the financial dealings of the Corporation. Most of the categories appearing in the table are self explanatory. In addition to those discussed above there appear several others. Fines for leases appear infrequently, since such payments were generally absorbed in the Receivers' Accounts. "Investment Returns" record returns on money invested or loaned, together with the principal repayments. The very large sums appearing in this category between 1815 and 1822 arose, chiefly, from interest and principal on Civic money held by the Ouse Bridge Trustees. The annual premium

received on the civic money held by the Grimston Turnpike trust has not been included here, but has been entered instead with rental income, since after 1790 the premiums received are not recorded separately by the Chamberlain and cannot therefore be ascertained with certainty to have been paid each year.

"Returns on Charities" denotes similar interest and rents arising from the trust monies held by the Corporation.

The distinction between "undesignated" income and "miscellaneous" income has been considered important, the former arising from insufficient information in the accounts. The latter comprises, generally, an accumulation of small sums of little note, those of more significance being noted with other special features by date in the list preceeding the table. Where no entries occur in the table under particular dates this indicates that no account remains, or that it is badly damaged.

The totals at the bottom of the tables indicate the sum total stated by the Chamberlain in his audited account and the sum total of entries recorded in the tables presented here as taken from the Chamberlains books and rolls. Where these do not tally the error has, at times, been found to lie in the Chamberlain's account itself; at other times it has arisen from faults in transcription or in categorization. Every attempt has been made to remove errors of the latter varieties, but despite a great deal of re-checking some have still proved elusive. Each account requires the sifting and categorizing of hundreds of entries in the Chamber account books, and, reluctantly, it has been considered that where such errors are of small amount they must now be left to stand, being clearly indicated in the totals.

Notes:-

1663/4 Exonerations:- The figure may be inaccurate, for part of the payment in the CAB from Metcalfe Robinson for Aldermanic exemption has been lost. He paid the full sum in this year, but two entries are missing from the account totalling together £71. One is for the remainder of Robinson's exemption, and the other for the balance of a sale.

- 1665/6 Exonerations:- The Chamberlain's money is not included, and receives no mention in the CAB. Although it is unlikely that it remained unpaid.
- 1666/7 Chamberlain's balance:- The remaining £300 of the late Chamberlain's balance was used to repay the loan of 1665/6.
- 1672 to 1677 For these years no CAB remain and thus the "casual receipts" in the roll cannot be broken down. In consequence, the entry here under exonerations is incomplete, representing only the Chamberlains' fines and the "undesigned" category is large. This occurs also in 1669/70; 1670/1.
- 1681/2 Charities:- Rents for Ald. Watson's gift £6.8s.0d and Hill and Dawson's gifts £10.12s.1d.
- 1683/4 Miscellaneous:- £60 from Jas. Waller "for his Attorney's place" on Ouse Bridge; and £14.6s.4d "from Mr. Kitchingham".
- 1687/8 Miscellaneous:- £15.16s.5½d "in the Lord Mayor's hands"
- 1688/9 Rents:- From the Receiver's Accounts it is apparent that he handed to the Chamberlain £671.9s.1d. In addition the late Chamberlain's balance was £66.19s.9½d, so £351.9s.1½d remains unaccounted. It may have been used for old debts or to complete the purchase of Mint Yard.
- 1691/2 Miscellaneous:- £90 being Mr. Thompson's fine paid by Mr. Watson.
- 1692/3 Miscellaneous:- £88.6s.0d for barrels of "powther" sold.
- 1693/4 Miscellaneous:- £66 for gun powder.
- 1697/8 Returns on Charities:- Watson's and Turner's gifts are no longer entered, the money presumably being transferred direct from lessee to charitable purpose.

- 1699/1700 Undesignated:- £70 "of Mr Towne's".
- 1703/4 Miscellaneous:- Balance of Ald.Pecket's "public account" £132.12s.1d. Pecket was Lord Mayor in 1702.
- 1705/6 Levies:- £194.13s.4d, costs of a suit
- 1706/7 Miscellaneous:- Balance of Ald.Redman's account £1.4s.2½d (late Lord Mayor)
- 1707/8 Miscellaneous:- £100 paid by J.Thompson and Mr.Calvert "for suffering Ambrose Beckwith to escape out of custody of Conyers Bellwood".
- 1708/9 Investment Returns:- £200 lent to Snow for the manufactory of which £50 was given to the Blue Coat Boys.
Donations:- £70, a free gift to the City from Geo.Piukering.
- 1713/14 Donations:- £57 from Benson, $\frac{1}{3}$ for City and $\frac{2}{3}$ for Blue coat Schools in lottery tickets.
- 1714/15 Investment returns:- 1 year 9 months return on class lottery for city and schools. After this date the city's portion only was received.
- 1720/1 Investment returns:- Lottery returns since 1717
- 1722/3 Rent:- £66.3s.7d for fishing in the OUse, £40 for the Butter Standard, £1 rent for the poor of St.Anthony's; 6s.8d for the repair of Horse fair Causey.
- 1726/7 Investment returns:- £12.10s.0d interest in total received, but £9.10s.0d thereof was allowed for wine and £3 only therefore was entered in the account.
- 1727/8 Rents:- Calculated from CAB. The Chamberlain accounted twice for the £40 rent of the Butter market.

- 1729/30 Donations:- £5.3s.4d from Sun Fire Insurance towards clothing the firemen.
- 1730/1 Rents:- £51.5s.0d more was received from the Steward but not accounted for because it was used to pay J. Robinson "in full for purchase of his land at Fawdington + interest".
- 1734/5 Total:- The accountant omitted £2.15s.0d in his income account and added it to his balance. This sum has been included here.
- 1738/9 Exonerations:- Chamberlains' fines for 1736, 1737, 1738 with £13.6s.8d p.a. Abated = £120 plus other exonerations and with £5 deducted for one of the Chamberlains "who is sd. to dye insolvent".
- 1743/4 Levies:- £30 costs of a suit.
- 1747/8 Chamberlain's balance:- Actual balance was £8.10s.6d, but he was given a reduction of £5 "for his trouble collecting rents after Wilson's death".
- 1749/50 Miscellaneous:- Money found in Mary Hesle's lodging when she was committed to gaol for theft £73.8s.6d
- 1751/2 Miscellaneous:- £25 part payments of £25 by two men, probably for freedoms or charity bonds.
- 1752/3 to 1777/8 Fines:-
All fines to trade were placed by the Chamberlain with Hall rents and are therefore included with fines in this table.
- 1760/61 Miscellaneous:- £150 from Lund on his being elected one of the Attornies of the Sheriff's court on Ouse Bridge.

- 1767/8 Interest:- on money held in Grimston tolls £12.10s.0d
 ½ year and £19.11s.6d a part year. Hereafter £25 per annum
- 1768/9 Chamberlains' balance:- Part from late Chamberlain,
 rest (£23.4s.8d) from Chamberlain for 1762/3.
- 1771/2 Donations:- £5.5s.0d Lord Stafford to the races;
 £200 each for office of Pwothonotory and Wool weigher.
- 1773/4 Donations:- £15.15s.0d, Duke of Leeds three years to
 York place for races; £2.14s.6d Bootham Ward subscription.
- 1776/7 Levies:- Costs of suit from unfree traders.
- 1777/8 Freedoms:- From this date, fines to trade received in
 considerable amounts in many years, and now entered with
 Freedoms.
Donations:- £20 towards re-erecting the Butter Standard
 from St.Martin cum Gregory parish. £5.5s.0d each from
 Duke of Leeds and Earl Strafford to the races.
- 1778/9 Donations:- £5.5s.0d now generally given each year to the
 races, and after 1781 £10.10s.0d.
- 1786/7 Donations:- £50 Mrs.Corney towards the repair of Thursday
 Market Cross.
- 1790/1 Miscellaneous:- £34.2s.6d sales of convicts' goods
- 1800/01 Investment returns:- £212.13s.6d from corn committee being
 part of £300 advanced to them by the corporation.
- 1807/8 Miscellaneous:- 9 shillings overcharged in last account.

- 1810/11 Investment returns:- £81 interest on Ouse Bridge tolls. Received with principal repayments - all years now until 1822/3.
- 1811/12 Miscellaneous:- £33.6s.8d subscription to York volunteers. Chamberlain's balance:- £17.17s.0d short because of "Pontefract notes".
- 1815/16 Donations:- £80 to Thursday Market Cross.
- 1817/18 Levies:- Ouse Bridge commissioners, compensation for damage to a house £200.
- 1818/19 Donations:- subscriptions to the races from the wards £107. Further compensation £200.
- 1822/3 Levies:- Taxed costs in law suit £446.10s.0d.
- 1823/4 Miscellaneous:- £35.7s.0d. A convict's money
- 1825/6 Miscellaneous:- £1,000 "Money in the funds" (ie in the black box?)
- 1826/7 Chamberlain's balance:- Two £26 Bank notes to be retained to prove commission of bankruptcy.
- 1828/9 Charities:- £183.19s.6d Money in the funds invested for charitable purposes and dividends on stock invested for
- 1829/30 Miscellaneous:- Dividends on Townend's debt
- 1830/31 Miscellaneous "
- 1831/2 Miscellaneous:- Stipends accumulated during the rebuilding of Middleton's hospital.
- 1833/4 Investment:- Principal and interest on Garraby Turnpike £525.

APPENDIX IC

Analysis of Civic Income 1660 to 1835

YORK	1660-1	1661-2	1662-3	1663-4	1664-5	1665-6	1666-7	1667-8	1668-9	1669-70
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	355. 7.10	315.13.4		450.19.5	370. 2.2.	447.10.7	443.14.11		461. 6.10	480. 8.6.
FINES FOR LEASES		3. 6.8								
FREEDOMS	77. 6.8	98.19.6		76.16.8	133.13.4		84. 1.4		77. 3.4	81. 6.8
EXONERATIONS	53. 6.8	53. 6.8		266.13.4	68. 6.8	173. 6.8	163. 6.8		153. 6.8	46.13.4
COURT/MISC. FINES	2. 6.6	3. 0.0		7.16.4	48.18.5		15.16.0		8. 3.2	12.11.3
ARREARS		83. 0.0		6. 0.0	27. 3.4					
IN COFFERS	155.13.1			157.10.6						
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE						43. 0.0			160.16.3	
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE					235. 8.0	158. 3.1	5.11.0		86.10.0	87.15.5
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES		10. 0.0		71. 0.0	32. 0.0		1. 7.0			
LOANS & ANNUITIES		150. 0.0				300. 0.0	100. 0.0			
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES					1. 1.8	4.15.6				
INVESTMENT RETURNS				4. 0.0	2. 5.0		1. 0.0		7.16.0	
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS		8. 9.8		7.10.0	11.15.8				0.13.4	
UNDESIGNATED	7. 5.0				6. 0.0	42. 1.0	406. 8.10			209. 1.11
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	651. 5.9	725.15.10		1048. 6.3	930.14.3	n/e	1221. 5.9		955.15.7	917.17.1
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"		"	"	1173.16.10	"		"	"

YORK	1670-1	1671-2	1672-3	1673-4	1674-5	1675-6	1676-7	1677-8	1678-9	1679-80
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	421.18.1	445. 6.6	400. 0.0	410. 0.0	420. 0.0	300. 0.0		648. 3.84	447. 0.0	425. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES										5. 0.0
FREEDOMS	80. 3.4	112.10.0	57. 0.0	179. 8.0	77. 6.8	85.16.8		81. 0.0	83.13.4	113. 0.0
EXONERATIONS	53. 6.8	203. 6.8	278. 6.8	53. 6.8	53. 6.8	53. 6.8		53. 6.8	258. 6.0	313. 6.8
COURT/MISC. FINES	4. 8.3	3. 6.11	7. 0.0	5.13.1		27.17.6		13. 1.7	9. 8.0	7. 3.5
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS				313. 5.4	564. 2.11	291. 0.10		138.16.04	91.19.4	
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE			101.17.2							131. 5.4
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	190.17.5	230. 4.6	260. 2.10							86.11.24
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES			2. 0.0							
LOANS & ANNUITIES										
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES			41. 0.0							
INVESTMENT RETURNS		5. 0.0	4.10.0							
RETURNS ON CHARITIES		5. 0.0								3.10.0
MISCELLANEOUS										7. 0.0
UNDESIGNATED	450.14.10		7. 0.0	303.16.8	15.12.5	312. 7.6		152. 3.4	280. 3.7	
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	1201. 8.7	1004.14.7	1160.16.8	1270. 9.9	1130.14.8	1077. 9.2		1493.11.4	1170.11.3	1091.16.7
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"	"	"	"	"		"	"	"

YORK	1680-1	1681-2	1682-3	1683-4	1684-5	1685-6	1686-7	1687-8	1688-9	1689-90
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	500. 0.0	500. 0.0	600. 0.0	701.10.0	650. 0.0			620. 0.0	370. 0.0	600. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	82.13.4	134. 6.8	125. 0.0	85. 13.4	179. 0.0			197. 0.0	71.10.0	116. 0.0
EXONERATIONS	248. 6.8	53. 6.8	153. 6.8	153. 6.8	377. 6.8			268. 6.8	53. 6.8	53. 6.8
COURT/MISC. FINES	20. 0.4	12.18.4	8.13.1	19. 9.2	3.17.4			5. 6.0	1. 1.0	1. 6.10
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS		110.12.3								64. 9.8
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE	80.12.5		64.15.1	63. 0.3	1. 4.11			28.19.1	14. 5.0	
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	124. 1.8		186. 9.9	193. 9.10	80. 4.1			62.17.4	16.19.9	
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	20. 0.0							72. 0.0		
LOANS & ANNUITIES					150. 0.0					
CHARITIES PAID IN									500. 0.0	
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS	154. 4.0		86.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0					
RETURNS ON CHARITIES		17. 0.1								
MISCELLANEOUS				74. 6.4	60. 0.0			21.14.9		
UNDESIGNATED		341. 3.4								350. 0.0
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	1229.18.6	1169. 7.9	1224.14.7	1292. 5.8	1503. 3.0	1119.10.6		1276. 4.3	1027. 2.5	1185. 3.2
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	1169. 7.4	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

YORK	1690-1	1691-2	1692-3	1693-4	1694-5	1695-6	1696-7	1697-8	1698-9	1699-1700
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	420.18.6	755.10.11	392. 7.9	582. 2.2	651.18.2	514. 9.4	435. 0.0	590. 0.0		550. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	121.13.4	94.13.4	115. 0.0	125. 0.0	91. 0.0	91. 0.0	21. 0.0	91. 0.0		60.13.4
EXONERATIONS	53. 6.8	53. 6.8	310. 6.8	53. 6.8	113. 6.8	163. 6.8	111.16.8	253. 6.8	506.10.8	53. 6.8
COURT/MISC. FINES	1. 6.10	1. 2.3		4.10.10	1.12.8	8. 1.6	1. 2.0	3.12.0		
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE										
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES										
LOANS & ANNUITIES						150. 0.0				
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	11. 0.0		17. 0.0	17. 0.0		11. 0.0	11. 0.0	17. 0.0		
MISCELLANEOUS		90. 0.0	88. 6.0	66. 0.0						
UNDESIGNATED	370. 0.0			66. 0.0		0.13.4				70. 0.0
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	978. 5.4	994.13.2	923. 0.5	913.19.8	857.17.6	938.10.10	579.18.8	954.18.8		734. 0.0
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

YORK	1700-1	1701-2	1702-3	1703-4	1704-5	1705-6	1706-7	1707-8	1708-9	1709-10
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	386. 0.0	560. 0.0		412. 0.0	461.16.11	360.15.5	419.19.11	465. 0.0	350.10.11	397.13.6
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	163.13.4	37.13.1		29. 6.0	212. 0.0	149. 0.0	298. 0.0	78. 0.0	160. 0.0	142. 0.0
EXONERATIONS	717. 6.8	180. 0.0	506.13.4	143. 6.8	153. 6.8	213. 6.8	373. 6.8	143. 6.8	233. 6.8	213. 6.8
COURT/MISC. FINES				3. 1.8	2. 6.3	0. 8.8	2. 1.2	0.12.8	5. 8.10	0.11.6
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE						30. 7.9				
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES										
LOANS & ANNUITIES										
CHARITIES PAID IN						160. 0.0				
DONATIONS & LEVIES						194.13.4			70. 0.0	
INVESTMENT RETURNS									200. 0.0	
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS				132.12.1			1. 4.24	100. 0.0		
UNDESIGNATED		192. 0.0								
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	1267. 0.0	969.16.0		720. 6.5	829. 9.10	1108.11.10	1094.15.11	786.19.4	1017. 6.5	753.11.8
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	969.13.1		"	"	"	1094.12.04	"	1019. 6.5	"

YORK	1710-1	1711-2	1712-3	1713-4	1714-5	1715-6	1716-7	1717-8	1718-9	1719-20
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	337.19.9		572.11.10	446. 0.0	370. 0.0			410. 0.0	401. 6.8	501. 6.8
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	68. 0.0		48.13.4	332.13.4	296. 0.0			223. 0.0	101. 0.0	369. 0.0
EXONERATIONS	193. 6.8			53. 6.8	103. 6.8			53. 6.8	223. 6.8	158. 6.8
COURT/MISC. FINES	3. 9.4		2. 9.2	2. 9.0	5.15.6			10.11.0	2.18.10	4.12.0
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE									20.16.2	9. 3.54
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	20. 0.0			30. 0.0						
LOANS & ANNUITIES										
CHARITIES PAID IN	500. 0.0									
DONATIONS & LEVIES	30. 0.0			57. 0.0						
INVESTMENT RETURNS						109.16.0		30. 8.0		6. 8.7
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS	3.11.10									
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	n/e		623.14.4	921. 9.0	884.18.2			727. 5.8	749. 8.4	1048.17.44
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	1156. 7.7		"	"	"			"	"	"

YORK	1720-1	1721-2	1722-3	1723-4	1724-5	1725-6	1726-7	1727-8	1728-9	1729-30
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	456. 6.8		414. 6.8	668.5.114	375.13.44	683. 4.3	686. 9.0	759.10.6	690. 5.6	608.19.10
FINES FOR LEASES					80. 0.0				50. 0.0	
FREEDOMS	468. 0.0		397. 6.8	186. 1.0	203. 1.0	227. 6.8	309. 6.8	306.10.0	271. 0.0	337. 0.0
EXONERATIONS	243.18.8		123. 6.8	53. 6.8	123. 6.8	123. 6.8	223. 6.8	403. 6.8	253. 6.8	353. 6.8
COURT/MISC. FINES	6.18.0		16.18.11	47.10.0	3. 3.0	21.10.0	4. 6.4	2. 2.0	22. 9.5	11.12.6
ARREARS			21.16.11		30. 0.0					
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE			20. 0.0				435.17.44			
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	243. 7.2			152.15.10	179. 4.7	60. 0.0	43.16.11	93. 3.04	7. 9.14	3.19.6
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES										
LOANS & ANNUITIES										
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										5. 3.4
INVESTMENT RETURNS	19. 5.0				10. 0.0	12. 0.0	3. 0.0			
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS					22.19.14	12. 0.0	7. 7.6			
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	1432.15.6		993.15.10	1107.19.54	1027. 8.7	1139. 7.7	1713.10.54	1564.12.24	1294.10.84	1320. 7.10
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"		"	"	"	"	"	"	"	1320. 1.10

YORK	1730-1	1731-2	1732-3	1733-4	1734-5	1735-6	1736-7	1737-8	1738-9	1739-40
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	708. 0.2	609.10.4	705.14.8	852.10.0	725.15.0	650. 0.0	1110. 0.0	1040. 0.0	1050. 0.0	1155. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	124. 6.8	362. 0.0	166.13.4	397. 8.0	316.13.4	297.15.8	327. 9.0	270. 3.0	168. 3.8	177. 4.2
EXONERATIONS	123. 6.8	193. 6.8	123. 6.8	123. 6.8	123. 6.8	133. 6.8	70. 0.0		385. 0.0	110. 0.0
COURT/MISC. FINES	4. 6.0	0.14.6	2.15.9	3. 5.4	3.13.6	0. 5.0	4.16.0	14. 2.7	5. 9.6	5. 7.8
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	70. 0.74	55.10.0	47.16.10	2. 6.54	12.13.54	113.11.7	53.15.10	6. 0.114	12. 4.84	26. 7.04
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	120. 0.0									
LOANS & ANNUITIES			200. 0.0	300. 0.0						
CHARITIES PAID IN		250. 0.0								
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS	41. 4.0	0.14.4			3. 6.2	3. 9.04	1. 1.0		2.17.2	3.18.6
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	1191. 4.14	1471.15.10	1241. 7.34	1678.16.54	1185. 8.14	1198.7.114	1567. 2.2	1330.6.104	1623.15.04	1477.17.44
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"	"	"	"	"	1567. 1.10	1330. 6.64	"	"

YORK	1740-1	1741-2	1742-3	1743-4	1744-5	1745-6	1746-7	1747-8	1748-9	1749-50
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	1000. 0.0	1090. 0.0	1100. 0.0	1100. 0.0	1060. 0.0	1150. 0.0	944.12.6	1060. 0.0	990. 0.0	1050. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	471.18.0	276.19.8	393.16.0	137. 0.0	173.12.0	213.10.0	186. 3.4	480. 2.4	239.16.8	212.11.0
EXONERATIONS	120. 0.0	110. 0.0	40. 0.0	40. 0.0	240. 0.0	40. 0.0	40. 0.0	40. 0.0	140. 0.0	240. 0.0
COURT/MISC. FINES	4.14.3	3.16.14	10.11.2	3.17.6	0. 6.8	6.12.0	2.18.10	10. 5.10	2. 6.10	1.13.0
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										86.12.6
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	2.10.4	6. 4.6	4.4.11	15.19.11	76.13.2	128. 5.0	2.9.10	3.10.6	2.4.11	
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES					45. 5.4		53.10.0		6.13.6	
LOANS & ANNUITIES	100. 0.0									
CHARITIES PAID IN										32. 0.0
DONATIONS & LEVIES			8. 6.0	30. 0.0						
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS	0. 1.0		2. 2.0		5.17.2		0. 4.7	0.13.10		74. 4.6
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	1699. 3.7	1490. 1.9	1559. 0.2	1376.17.5	1601.19.4	1543. 7.0	1229.18.7	1594.12.6	1291.1.11	1697. 1.8
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	1487. 1.1	"	1326.17.5	"	"	"	"	"	"

YORK	1750-1	1751-2	1752-3	1753-4	1754-5	1755-6	1756-7	1757-8	1758-9	1759-60
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	1010. 0.0	1190. 0.0	1140. 0.0	910. 0.0	1480. 0.0	1100. 0.0	1151. 0.0	1155. 0.0	1100. 0.0	1100. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	419. 0.0	86.17.8	194. 6.8	547.13.4	135. 6.8	469.13.4	401. 0.0	402. 0.0	806. 6.8	
EXONERATIONS	50. 0.0	40. 0.0	40. 0.0	110. 0.0	40. 0.0	40. 0.0	120. 0.0	110. 0.0	40. 0.0	40. 0.0
COURT/MISC. FINES	8. 8.2	4.16.2	2.18.0	2.17.6	7.15.4	5. 1.6	5.12.8	11. 6.4	19.11.0	1.13.4
ARREARS	13. 0.0									
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	333. 8.4	63.15.7	62.18.3	56.12.8	56.10.2	11. 0.2	6. 1.3	59. 1.7	47.10.8	64.10.2
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	2. 4.0									81. 4.0
LOANS & ANNUITIES										300. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES										
INVESTMENT RETURNS				70. 0.0						
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS		25. 0.0								
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	1936. 0.6	1410. 9.5	1440.2.11	1697. 3.6	1719. 2.2	1625.15.0	1683.13.11	1737.7.11	2013. 8.4	
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

YORK	1760-1	1761-2	1762-3	1763-4	1764-5	1765-6	1766-7	1767-8	1768-9	1769-70
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	1260. 0.0	1100. 0.0		1250. 0.0	1200.0.0	1200. 0.0	1200. 0.0	1350. 0.0	1325. 0.0	1225. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	514. 6.8	470. 0.0		137. 0.0	322. 6.8	267.13.4	305. 0.0	324.13.4	558. 6.8	237.13.4
EXONERATIONS	40. 0.0	140. 0.0		110. 0.0	40. 0.0	110. 0.0	240. 0.0	110. 0.0	310. 0.0	240. 0.0
COURT/MISC. FINES	4. 7.0	1. 8.2		2. 8.0	1.11.4	5. 2.9	4.14.10	1. 9.4	7. 8.6	6.13.6
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	138. 6.44	78. 5.04		7. 3.2	34.17.1		308. 6.64	330.11.64	74. 1.0	57. 6.9
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	88.17.6				10.10.0	200. 0.0	73. 0.74	55. 0.0		
LOANS & ANNUITIES				200. 0.0	370. 0.0	250. 0.0	250. 0.0		650. 0.0	700. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN				20. 0.0						
DONATIONS & LEVIES		24.17.4						10.10.0		
INVESTMENT RETURNS	12.10.0				300. 0.0			32. 1.6		
RETURNS ON CHARITIES									10. 0.0	4. 0.0
MISCELLANEOUS	150. 4.0			3. 1.6	5. 5.9					
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	2208.11.6	1814.10.64		1729.12.8	2284.10.10	2032.16.1	2381. 2.0	2214. 5.84	2934.16.2	2470.13.7
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"		"	"	"	"	"	"	"

YORK	1770-1	1771-2	1772-3	1773-4	1774-5	1775-6	1776-7	1777-8	1778-9	1779-80
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	1475. 0.0	1425. 0.0	1600. 0.0	1545. 0.0	1415. 0.0	1590. 0.0	1072.10.0	1400. 0.0	2175. 0.0	1375. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS		209. 6.8	203. 0.0	269. 6.8	658. 6.8	299. 0.0	2490.13.4	766. 1.0	472.10.0	685.13.4
EXONERATIONS		210. 0.0	40. 0.0	110. 0.0	40. 0.0	40. 0.0	40. 0.0	40. 0.0	110. 0.0	140. 0.0
COURT/MISC. FINES		8.18.8	10. 8.10	5. 4.0	8.13.8	16.10.4	2. 5.11	5.19.4	1. 4.0	1. 9.2
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE		140. 7.74	85. 6.8	7.14.11			25. 9.4	42.11.10	34. 5.4	6.15.5
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES						9. 0.0				
LOANS & ANNUITIES						150. 0.0				
CHARITIES PAID IN									240. 0.0	
DONATIONS & LEVIES		405. 5.0		18. 9.6			11. 2.6	30.10.0	5. 5.0	15.15.0
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES		4. 0.0	5. 0.0							
MISCELLANEOUS										4. 0.0
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT		12402.17.114	1043.15.6	1055.15.14	2122. 0.4	2104.10.4	3642. 1.1	2285. 2.2	3038. 4.4	2228.12.11
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES		"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

YORK	1780-1	1781-2	1782-3	1783-4	1784-5	1785-6	1786-7	1787-8	1788-9	1789-90
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	1425. 0.0	1676. 0.0	1685. 0.0	1510. 0.0	1590. 0.0	1700. 0.0	1735. 8.7	1553. 0.0	1181. 0.0	2200. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES										105. 0.0
FREEDOMS	502. 6.8	484. 0.0	314. 6.8	362.16.8	464. 0.0	226.13.4	555.10.0	474.13.4	574. 6.8	867.12.0
EXONERATIONS	240. 0.0	390. 0.0	40. 0.0	190. 0.0	396.13.4	40. 0.0	180. 0.0	110. 0.0	380. 0.0	180. 0.0
COURT/MISC. FINES	9.16.4	16. 1.6	0.11.4	14. 7.6	2. 6.6	2. 6.8	0.16.8	0. 6.74	11. 0.8	2.17.2
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	105. 0.34	49. 1.7	16.12.9		237. 2.54	25. 0.5	36.14.3	78. 1.1	50. 1.54	427. 2.2
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES				0. 5.0						
LOANS & ANNUITIES				600. 0.0		248.13.4			625. 0.0	
CHARITIES PAID IN										100. 0.0
DONATIONS & LEVIES	5. 5.0	36.15.0		10.10.0	10.10.0	5. 5.0	55. 5.0		10.10.0	
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES										
MISCELLANEOUS							2. 0.0			
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	2287. 8.34	2652. 2.4	2057.10.9	2687.19.2	2700.12.34	2247.18.9	2565.14.6	2216. 1.04	2831.18.94	3882.11.4
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"	2056.10.9	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

YORK	1790-1	1791-2	1792-3	1793-4	1794-5	1795-6	1796-7	1797-8	1798-9	1799-1800
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	1615. 0.0	1845. 0.0	1730. 0.0	1650. 0.0	1750. 0.0	1880. 0.0	2000. 0.0	1950. 0.0	1900. 0.0	2000. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES					500. 0.0					
FREEDOMS	368.11.8	396.16.8	221.13.8	538. 6.8	581.14.0	246.15.0	492.10.0	320.11.8	273. 8.4	125. 5.0
EXONERATIONS	280. 0.0	180. 0.0	110. 0.0	180. 0.0	180. 0.0	40. 0.0	180. 0.0	180. 0.0	210. 0.0	110. 0.0
COURT/MISC. FINES	0.19.10	4.17.7	4.17.04	0. 7.10	3. 3.4	2. 7.6	0. 4.6	4. 4.10	1.13.4	0. 1.8
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	0.17.0	4.14.24	1.16.14	0.13.24	17.14.14	89.8.114	71.16.0	46. 7.24	92. 5.4	77.14.6
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES								776. 0.0	30. 0.0	
LOANS & ANNUITIES				500. 0.0	1205. 0.0	725. 0.0	900. 0.0			950. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES							98.14.0		10.10.0	
INVESTMENT RETURNS										
RETURNS ON CHARITIES							64. 2.6	78.18.6	78.18.6	78.18.6
MISCELLANEOUS	34. 2.6		13. 0.0							
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	2299.11.0	2431. 8.54	2081. 7.84	2869. 7.84	4237.12.34	2983.11.5	3707. 7.0	3356. 2.24	2596.15.8	3341.19.8
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"	"	"	"	2983.11.54	"	"	"	"

YORK	1800-1	1801-2	1802-3	1803-4	1804-5	1805-6	1806-7	1807-8	1808-9	1809-10
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	1950. 0.0	1950. 0.0	2200. 0.0	2000. 0.0	2001.14.0	1450. 0.0	2150. 0.0	2400. 0.0	2600. 0.0	2650. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	670. 6.8	442. 0.0	281. 0.0	415. 6.8	332. 5.0	502.13.4	651.12.4	763. 6.8	630.11.0	526.11.8
EXONERATIONS	40. 0.0	110. 0.0	190. 0.0	180. 0.0	533. 6.8	40. 0.0	550. 0.0	295. 0.0	40. 0.0	445. 0.0
COURT/MISC. FINES	0.16.10		0. 0.4	0. 0.8	3.14.0	0. 9.11			0. 8.10	
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	158. 6.4	25. 4.3	3. 7.34	149.17.94	176. 4.7	45. 8.94	33.10.10	296.12.14	782.14.11	38. 2.14
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES				200. 0.0		279. 0.0	150. 0.0	1166. 0.0	2505. 0.0	26. 5.0
LOANS & ANNUITIES		100. 0.0	400. 0.0				1710. 0.0	2770. 0.0	200. 0.0	200. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES						49.15.0				
INVESTMENT RETURNS	212.13.6					14.11.10				
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	78.18.6	78.18.6	78.18.6	78.18.6	78.18.6		78.18.6			
MISCELLANEOUS							0. 9.0			0.10.0
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	3111.1.10	2706. 2.9	3153. 6.14	3024. 3.74	3124. 8.9	2388.18.10	5324. 8.84	7691. 7.94	6758.14.9	3886. 8.94
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

YORK	1810-1	1811-2	1812-3	1813-4	1814-5	1815-6	1816-7	1817-8	1818-9	1819-20
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	2790. 0.0	2900. 0.0	2800. 0.0	3100. 0.0	3735. 0.0	3050. 0.0	3500. 0.0	3300. 0.0	3600. 0.0	3300. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	404. 6.8	634. 7.2	891.11.8	455. 0.0	618.13.4	90. 0.0	756.16.8	215.10.0	705.10.0	730. 5.0
EXONERATIONS	145. 0.0	340. 0.0	340. 0.0	145. 0.0	40. 0.0	40. 0.0	250. 0.0	445. 0.0	190. 0.0	145. 0.0
COURT/MISC. FINES	0.10.0				0. 1.0					
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	11.11.10	180.6.104	165.13.11	538.17.7	134.1.104	850.13.9	507.18.24	361.10.3	358. 5.6	545.10.10
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	637.10.0	1405. 0.0	1721. 7.6	6476.15.0					715.13.2	318.19.34
LOANS & ANNUITIES	2291. 5.0	75. 0.0	3513.0.0		1395. 0.0	400. 0.0	300. 0.0	800. 0.0	400. 0.0	960. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN										
DONATIONS & LEVIES		33. 6.8				80. 0.0		200. 0.0	307. 0.0	
INVESTMENT RETURNS	81. 0.0	40.10.0	81. 0.0	120. 10.0		742. 8.10	921. 0.0	890. 1.6	801. 7.0	805.13.0
RETURNS ON CHARITIES								78.18.6		
MISCELLANEOUS										0.10.0
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	6361. 3.62	5609.10.84	9512.13.1	10830.2.7	5922.16.24	5253. 2.7	6295.14.104	6291. 0.3	7077.15.8	6805.18.14
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"	"	"	5922.16.24	"	"	"	"	"

YORK	1820-1	1821-2	1822-3	1823-4	1824-5	1825-6	1826-7	1827-8	1828-9	1829-30
ORDINARY INCOME										
RENTS	3850. 0.0	3150. 0.0	3250. 0.0	2800. 0.0	3000. 0.0	3250. 0.0	3302. 4.11	4590. 0.0	4000. 0.0	3950. 0.0
FINES FOR LEASES										
FREEDOMS	851.11.8	1213. 5.0	945. 3.0	596. 5. 0	1212. 18.4	855.14.4	662.10.10	590.13.4	464. 5.0	650. 5.0
EXONERATIONS	550. 0.0	135. 0.0	40. 0.0	145. 0.0	40. 0.0	135. 0.0	295. 0.0	145. 0.0	145. 0.0	138. 6.8
COURT/MISC. FINES				20. 0.0						
ARREARS										
IN COFFERS										
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE										
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	135.14.1	47. 1.9	657. 5.3	211.16.34	150.11.5	421.11.14	870.19.10	20.16.44	278. 7.11	605.13.9
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME										
SALES	20.19.8			103. 3.8	130. 0.0		1894.18.1	438. 8.0	121. 0.0	
LOANS & ANNUITIES		200. 0.0							700. 0.0	5500. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN							40.13.4			
DONATIONS & LEVIES			446.10.0		40. 0.0	10. 0.0	30. 0.0	24.19.0	20. 0.0	20. 0.0
INVESTMENT RETURNS	205.16.0	865.11.0	3594.19.6			14.15.2		542.10.0	165. 0.0	43.16.8
RETURNS ON CHARITIES				125. 0.0					183.19.6	806. 4.6
MISCELLANEOUS			1. 5.14	35. 7.0		1001. 9.3	5. 4.0	0.12.6	13.19.0	28.10.1
UNDESIGNATED										
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	5614. 1.5	5620.17.9	8935.2.104	4036.13.14	4573. 9.9	5698.9.104	7101.11.0	6452.19.24	6091.11.5	11742.16.8
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	5610.17.9	"	4036.11.14	"	5688.9.104	"	"	"	"

YORK	1830-1	1831-2	1832-3	1833-4	1834-5
ORDINARY INCOME					
RENTS	4250. 0.0	4550. 0.0	4246.14.3	4141.19.4	3981. 2.5
FINES FOR LEASES					
FREEDOMS	940. 0.0	399.11.8	644. 0.0	86. 0.0	527.10.0
EXONERATIONS	160. 0.0		150. 0.0		105. 0.0
COURT/MISC. FINES					
ARREARS	116. 0.0				
IN COFFERS					
LATE RECEIVER'S BALANCE					
LATE CHAMBERLAIN'S BALANCE	330.16.8	377. 2.2	256. 2.7	219. 8.1	399. 1.0
EXTRAORDINARY INCOME					
SALES			100. 0.0	2443. 8.8	545.10.0
LOANS & ANNUITIES		5000. 0.0		3000. 0.0	3000. 0.0
CHARITIES PAID IN	100. 0.0				
DONATIONS & LEVIES	10. 0.0				
INVESTMENT RETURNS			525. 0.0		
RETURNS ON CHARITIES	256. 4.6	253. 1.10	304. 6.10	203. 1.10	261. 7.4
MISCELLANEOUS	30. 2.1	12. 16.7	144. 2.11	9.17.8	15.10.10
UNDESIGNATED					
SUM TOTAL - IN ACCOUNT	6193. 3.3	10992.17.3	6370. 6.7	10103.15.7	8835. 1.7
ACCURATE TOTAL AS PER ACCOUNT ENTRIES	"	"	"	"	"

YORK RECEIVER Appendix II

It has been suggested by K.J.Allison and P.M.Tillott (1) that the Receiver of rents, or City Steward, at York retained the balance of his accounts at the year end, thus acting as a farmer of the civic estates rather than as a salaried Officer.

Such a system would have been grossly prejudicial to the Corporation financially and this assumption brings into question the managerial astuteness of the Corporation at York. It seems however that Allison and Tillott are mistaken in their deductions.

Since there are very few Receivers' Accounts surviving, the question is not solved easily. There are several accounts covering the period 1660 to 1694/5, many of which are barely legible, and others for the periods 1790 to 1798 and the 1820's and 1830's, but the latter do not constitute a sequence.

However, the very existence of these accounts, and the evidence of audit of them at the year's end (2) demonstrates, without doubt, that at the beginning and end of the period the Receiver acted strictly as a salaried officer. The rental monies received by the City Steward/Receiver were forwarded to the Chamberlains at intervals throughout the year. In addition, the Receiver himself had statutory obligations to fulfil, namely the payment of assessment dues on the City's lands, his own

(1) VCH 231

(2) eg. Roll C73.1

salary (1660 to 1690 - £10 per annum), (1790 to 1798 - £52.10.0d per annum) and other occasional and miscellaneous small payments; thus, in 1661/2 he paid £1 for the repair of the crane, and ten shillings for the exchange of Parliamentary money.(3) In addition he accounted for any cash payments received for arrears owing, and entered as an expenditure the full sum of rents which were, in the year of the account, not paid. His account was not therefore a straightforward transfer of rental income into the Chamber account. At the year end, and for the purposes of audit, the account was balanced, and the money remaining entered as 'owing to the Chamberlains'. That these sums were ultimately paid to the Chamberlains in the period 1660 to 1695 seems fairly clear. The transfer cannot always be traced, owing to the absence of miscellaneous chamber account books or rolls, and Receivers' rolls. The problem is further confused by the fact that the Chamberlain might account for the receipt of the sum owing from the Receiver before it was actually paid. The Chamberlain thus handed to his successor a balance which included an invisible sum still owing:- In 1670/1 the Receiver accounted for £360 handed to the Chamberlain through the year, but he still held a balance of £61.18s.1d (4). In the Chamber account for that year the Chamberlain entered his rental income as £421.18s.1d.(5)

(3) YRR C73.2

(4) YRR C75.3

(5) YCR C22.10

(i.e. £360 + £61.18s.1d) and in consequence, when he handed his balance to the succeeding Officer as "Treasure in the Coffers" there was a total of £230.4s.6d of which £61.18s.1d was 'still in Mr. Drewry's hands' (6) (Drewry was Receiver). This money owing from Drewry was in fact paid in that year, but it demonstrates the difficulties inherent in tracing the various payments. However, for this period it is quite evident that the Receivers' balance was customarily paid into the Chamber account. As the table below indicates, the Receivers' balances were, in most years, ultimately paid, and entries in the Chamber Accounts record many such receipts from the Receivers over and above their payments through the year. Thus, in 1686/7 £8.5s.2d in the Receiver's hand was received by the Chamberlains on March 23rd 1686; in the following year £28.19s.1d was paid over by "Receiver Wyvell" and in 1680/1 Mr. Wyvell handed over £80.12s.5d as the "balance of his account"⁽⁷⁾. A check was apparently maintained on the state of such accounts for in 1673/4 the Chamberlains recorded a payment of £10 from Mr. Drewry "being an arrear of an old account".

(6) YCAB 1671/2 Vol.26

(7) The sum of the balance owing from the Receiver can only be ascertained in those years for which his roll of account is still extant and legible.

Transfer of Receivers' balances into the Chamber Account 1660 to 1695

Date	Receiver's balance as per his rolls of account (7)	Evidence from Chamber accounts of receipts of balance by Chamberlains (8)
1660/1	£25.7s.10d	1660/1 with rest of rental
1661-1663		Chamber accounts missing
1663-4	£40.19s.5d	£1663-4 with rest of rental
1664-5	£72.11s.4d	Transfer unclear, but 1664-5 £27.3s.4d received in arrears, which were normally recorded only in the Receivers' account if they were general arrears. 1665-6 received "in part of account for City rents" £48. = in total £75.3s.4d a figure probably close enough to be identified with the balance owing in 1664-5.
1666-7	£43.14s.11d	1666-7 with rest of rental
1667-8	£160.16s.3d	1668-9 as a "treasure in the coffer" of "Mr.Drewry
1668-9	£81.6s.10d	1668-9 with rest of rental
1670-1	£61.18s.1d £45.6s.6d	1671-2 as a "treasure in coffer" £61.18s.1d "arrears miscalculated" Receipt by Chamberlain unclear
1672-3	£101.17s.2d	1672-3 Treasure in Coffers" - Old Chamberlains balance of £260.2s.10d and £101.17s.2d still in Drewry's hands.. Unclear whether Drewry actually paid or still owed it.
1673-4	£64.2s.10d	1674-5 as Treasure in coffer £564.2s.11d received but late Chamberlain's balance only £500.0s.1d
1674-5	£166.19s.10d	1675-6 "received of Wyvill £14 .3s.8d"
1677-8	£32.14s.4jd	?
1681-2	£64.15s.1d	1682-3 as a "Treasure in Coffers"
1687-8	£14.5s.0d	1688-9 received

The Receiver was at this period almost certainly a salaried Officer and not a farmer, his only perquisite being a salary of £10 per annum.

By 1690 however there are indications of a different system, the surplus money being retained by him as a floating balance. In the Receiver's Account of 1691/2 there is an entry of "money received for last year". This figure does not exactly tally with the Receiver's balance for 1690/1, but it is close enough to be identified with it, and suggests that under the new steward, Roland Watson, appointed in 1690, a new system was adopted, the Receiver's Account being altered to a running balance.

The Receiver's Accounts for the 1790's were certainly maintained under this system;(9) but it is impossible to accept Allison and Tillott's allegation that "in the late period, when, like Peter Atkinson the elder (appointed 1786) the Receivers were farmers, rather than collectors, the difference (between the rents collected and the amount paid to the Chamberlains) was probably considered their emolument"(10) Although there was a running balance maintained, it is quite evident that Peter Atkinson was not allowed to retain this as a perquisite. His accounts were audited and the balance accurately transferred from year to year.(11) and, on his resignation in 1833, it was ordered "That the general Committee be authorised (sic) to ascertain the balance due to the Corporation from Mr. Atkinson and upon the amount.....being paid... ..(to) deliver up to him his bond....."(12) His balance was

(9)viz; E78a

(10) V.C.H. 231

(11) Accounts E78a. 1790-1798

(12) YHB 50 f. 318 15th Jan. 1833.

duly paid over in that year, the Chamber account recording from "Atkinson City Steward the balce of unpaid stipends accumulated in his hands during rebuilding Middletons £124.7s.8d"(13) and from "Peter Atkinson and the General Committee" (which, after 1833 was responsible for the rental collection(£4,246.14s.3d which included £645.2s.6d from Mr. Atkinson's sureties for monies owing by him on account of rents.(14)

It seems likely that in the intervening period between 1690 and 1790, for which there are no Receivers accounts extant, the procedure did not change - it was, after all, identical in 1690 and 1790.

Allison and Tillott maintain that this was not so. "Though a salaried Officer he throughout the eighteenth century conducted the office more as if he were a farmer". From 1704 the Receiver ceased to present any accounts, and even after 1713, when the city's affairs were reformed, no more was done than to record that the steward's accounts should have been received, but were not. Such an entry was made until the end of the century".(15) The sums accounted for by the Chamberlains were therefore "rarely the whole income from rents". the Chamberlain, after 1725, delivering to the Chamberlains not what he had collected, but what they needed.

(13) YCAB 1832/3 casual income

(14) YCAB 1832/3 rents received. His balance was acknowledged by the Finance Committee who, in 1833 recorded that Atkinson's accounts had been carefully examined and the balance paid. K110 Feb. 3rd

(15) VCH 230 For example: YHB 40 f. 163; YHB 41 f. 14

Thus, when the Corporate income from sources other than rents was high, the income from rents was low, and when the income from elsewhere was low, the rental was appreciably greater, but "generally the difference between the rents collected and the amount paid to the Chamberlains cannot have been large." (16)

On the latter point, they are probably over generous, for from Peter Atkinson's accounts of 1790 to 1798 (17) it appears that the average balance in the Receivers' Accounts was in the region of £300 +. The sum he had paid to the Chamberlains was between £1600 and £2,000 per annum and his balance represented therefore about one sixth of the yearly rental received by the Chamberlain. But in their previous point they are quite correct - the Receiver was not called upon to provide so much money during the year if other receipts were high.

However, their major assumption is most difficult to accept. From a theoretical point of view it seems most unlikely that the Corporation would have allowed a salaried Officer to retain an annual sum out of the rents which he collected - this would have shown a carelessness most inconsistent with the general attitude of the Corporation. The Council was exercising an increasingly tight control over financial affairs throughout

(16) VCH 231

(17) YHB 41 ff 108, 124. et seqq.

the eighteenth century, and as early as 1713, appointed a special committee to enquire into the situation of trade and the corporate finances.(18)

Allison's assertion rests essentially on the entry in the Hall Books, that the Receivers' Accounts should have been received, but were not. This is indeed regularly stated every February 3rd at the Hall Meeting (19) when the Chamberlains' rolls were "called over", and the Lord Mayor's accounts submitted. It is important to realise however, that ~~this meeting~~ did not constitute an audit: a Committee appointed on February 3rd met subsequently on "Collip Monday"(20) for this purpose. There is no indication in the Hall Books of the results of these yearly audits with regard to the Lord Mayor's Chamberlains' or Stewards' accounts, and there is no certainty therefore, that the Receivers' accounts were not ultimately surrendered for audit. In many years indeed, there are few entries succeeding the February 3rd Meeting, it being not uncommon for there to be an absence of Minutes until as late as April or May, and even June.(21) In addition, recording was often scanty. In 1715 an entry required that Samuel Clarke and Alexander Harrison "doe inquire into the Business mentioned in Mr.Chris. Bayles Letter" but no further explanation was given.(22) It

(18) E 78a

(19) YHB 41 ff 147,44,48,80

(20) Presumably = Collop= a slice of meat - therefore; meat Monday?

(21) eg. YHB 43 ff 174,1788

(22) YHB 41 f 157b

would be a mistake to assume that the absence of further minutes regarding the Receivers' Accounts was evidence of their not being presented.

Nevertheless, it does appear unlikely that the Receiver presented his accounts annually for audit, but it seems quite certain that a running account of some sort was required. In 1709 Alexander Harrison was required to keep an account for the use of the Lord Mayor, and not for the purposes of the audit committee. In April of that year, it was "ordered that Mr. Harrison the City Receiver do yearly deliver to the Lord Mayor..... A true rental or copy of his account to be kept in his Lordships custody to be by him perus'd or examined into so often as need required".(23) But in September 1715 Harrison was required "to make up his whole account with the City against Wednesday 7 night next att nine in the morning and that the same be very fairly drawn in all particulars... ..and audited by the auditors of the late Lord Mayors Accounts".(24) Thus, although he was probably not required to present an account for audit every February, he was apparently required to account from time to time. There is no proof that Harrison complied with these requests, but there is ample proof that Receivers were required to render accounts at the end of their service, and to ensure that they were not tempted to embezzle the funds or refuse to surrender their

(23) YHB 41 f. 48

(24) YHB 41. f 157

final balance to the Corporation each Receiver, before undertaking the office, was required to enter into a bond of security. In the early eighteenth century this bond stood in the penalty of £2,000, and in 1724 Thomas Harrison was elected City Steward or Receiver...." .. for so long as he shall behave himself well in that office, and no longer Provided he gives a Bond to the Mayor and Commonalty of this City in the usual sum of £2,000 with two sufficient sureties..."(25). By the time of Peter Atkinson's appointment in 1786, the requirement was for a bond of £3,000.(26)

The Corporation had therefore ample security for the due settlement of the Receivers' accounts, and it is evident that they demanded an audit and full settlement before his bond was returned. On Alexander Harrison's death in 1723 it was "ordered that the Executors of Mr. Alexander Harrison, late Steward or Treasurer for this city shall make up his accounts...relating to the several employments enjoyed by him in his lifetime for this City, on the ninth day of October next....."(27) Within seventeen days the Committee reported that "they have audited the said Accounts and there remains in the widdow his Executrix hands three hundred and fifty pounds six shillings and elevenpence, and that there are arrears of Rents unrecovered in the year 1722 the sum of three hundred twenty sevenpounds two've shillings and two pence,

(25) YHB 42 f. 50

(26) YHB 45 f. 238

(27) YHB 42 f. 37a

and for the year 1723 the sum of four hundred twentytwo pounds eight shillings and ninepence and that they do approve of his sd.widdows continuing in the Receipt of the Rents during this Mayoralty".(28)

In August 1724 an order was passed for the auditing of Mrs.Harrison's accounts on October 12th.(29) Her accounts were duly audited on that day and it was reported that she was indebted to the Mayor and Commonalty in the sum of £64.9s.11¹/₂d together with 16s.2d for the maintenance of the Master of the House of Correction and £5.5s.2d. on account of Sir.Henry Thompson's hospital.(30) On October 21st a release was ordered to Mrs.Harrison, "her accounts having been approved of", on condition that she first pay the balance and surrender all the books and vouchers which she held on that account.(30) Unfortunately there is no evidence that this was paid, but in the absence of further references, it may fairly be assumed that it was. What is certain is, that in cases of refusal to comply with the Hall's demand for a due audit and balancing of the Receivers' accounts, extensive care was taken to ensure that the offender did not escape. In 1725, it was declared that Thomas Harrison, Steward (appointed April 1724) and probably the son

(28) YHB 42 f 37b

(29) YHB 42 f 51

(30) YHB 42 f 53

(31) YHB 42 f 55

of the widow and Alexander Harrison, "doth not answer his Lordship's bills altho' he has a considerable ballance in his hands. It is therefore....ordered that in case he shall not duely account.....and pay the ballance.....then he.... shall stand ipso facto superceded".(32) Harrison did not comply with this demand and his two sureties were in May 1726 ordered to pay the money owing from him to the Corporation.(33) In September it was declared that there was £441.19s.2d owing from Harrison, but in consequence of some mistakes, the sureties were only willing to pay £435.17s.4½d. The Council promptly declared that if Cox and Elstob, the two sureties, did not make payment, legal action would be proceeded with.(34) In the accounts for that year due payment of £435.17s.4½d was recorded from Cox and Elstob, and a further £200 from Harrison, who had, apparently, been induced to surrender any further money he held; and there the matter rested. It is plain that the Corporation required their Receivers not only to render accounts at some stage in their career, if only at its close, but also to repay the balance owing from them.

In 1787 the Corporation was indeed obliged to take legal action for non compliance with its orders. A Committee was appointed to audit the Receivers' accounts on 21st March 1747, (35)

(32) YHB 42 f 69b

(33) YHB 42 f 76

(34) YHB 42, ff 78a, 81a.

(35) YHB 42 f 278

but in consequence of these accounts not being rendered, William Oastler was appointed Steward in place of the two previous stewards, Jacques Priestly and Henry Driffield. John Raper, the Town Clerk, was required to call upon Henry Driffield to request him to make up his accounts for the money he had received and disbursed, and pay the balance to the cashier.(36) This he apparently refused to do, for in July 1748, an action was brought upon his bond for not making up his accounts.(37) In December however, "the Bill now depending in Chancery against Mr. Henry Driffield....." was to be dismissed, and Driffield and Oastler were both to act as Receivers, rendering an account for the following Monday prior to their dismissal.(38) Driffield still refused to account, and in February 1749 a further action was ordered to be brought on his bond.(39) This action was proceeded with but the Corporation was not entirely successful, for in November John Raper was asked not to oppose Driffield's account which had been presented to the Prothonotary but to accept the balance therein appearing due to the corporation in order to conclude the suit.(40) In consequence £86.12s.6d was secured from Driffield. (41)

(36) YHB 43 f. 281 May 27th 1748.

(37) YHB 43 f. 284

(38) YHB 43 f. 295

(39) YHB 43 f. 308

(40) YHB 43 f. 319

(41) YCAB 1749/50

It appears therefore, quite conclusively, that accounts were required to be kept by the City Receivers and that their running balances were required to be settled with the Corporation on the Receivers' cessation of office. In 1746 a Committee was appointed to examine the accounts produced by the executors of Robert Wilton, late Receiver, and although these accounts were not immediately produced, it is apparent from the pursual of Driffield that they must have been presented ultimately. Some Receivers indeed caused no bother; in 1786/7 Leonard Terry's executors paid his balance of £353.16s.10d most promptly. (42) Despite the unsatisfactory nature of negative proof it nevertheless must be accepted that in record keeping it is the unusual occurrence which receives most careful mention. If the accounts were duly produced, there was, after all, little need to record the fact, and if they had been received by a Committee which did not keep its own minutes, then due entry of a record in the Hall book at a subsequent Meeting was likely to be overlooked. While business ran according to rule and custom, little record was apparently deemed necessary.

This fact, and the evidence quoted above seems to amply disprove the suggestion that the Receiver at York was a farmer. He was, on the contrary, a closely watched salaried Official and Corporate management over him was tight and discerning.

(42) YCAB 1786/7

BOSTON

DOCK'S PASTURE 4 acres

Tenant	Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Fine	Ref:
Israel Jackson	1696	10	10s		4/B/4/3
Hry Whatton	1716	10	£7.15s		4/B/4/6
Jos Fydell	1726	10	7.15s		"
Rich.Calthrop	1746	10	7.		4/B/4/13
" "	1756	10	7		4/B/4/6
J.Calthrop	1766	10	10		"
" "	1776	10	12		"

12 acres BROADFIELD LANE

Tenant	Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Fine	Ref:
J.Allen	1688	10	£ 16		4/B/4/3
Gideon Ferran	1698	10	16		"
Tho.Basker	1708	10	17		"
Tho.Falkner	1718	10	22		"
Tho.Righton	1728	10	19		4/B/4/6
Wm.Thompson	1745	10	19.10s		"
"	1755	10	21		"
Tim Grey	1765	10	25		"

AUGUSTINE FRIARS 10 acres of PASTURE

Tenant	Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Fine	Ref:
T.Pinchbeck	1648	4	£6.13.4		4/B/4/B
"	1652	10	6.13.4	£30	
"	1672	10	6	£40	
Frances "	1682	10	6	£40	
Jerimoth Briggs	1695	10	12		4/B/4/12
Tho Palmer	1705	10	19		4/B/3/108
Richardson Risor	1714/15	10	17		
Hen.Adams	1726	10	18.5.0		
"	1736	10	18		4/B/4/6
"	1746	10	18.5.0		4/B/3/108
"	1756	10	18.5.0		4/B/4/6
"	1766	10	25.10.0		
"	1776	10	30		
Jos.Newman	1784	10	22		
J.Tuxford	1794	10	36		
Thos.Fydell	1804	10	50		
Edw.Wilford	1814	10	70		
John Green	1823	10	45		
By 1830 abated to			41		rental

MESSUAGE and LAND FISHTOFT

Tenant	Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Fine	Ref:
Jn.Kelsey	1748	21	£44		4/B/4/6
(27 acres in Fishtoft Skirbeck and Boston & 19 acres in Skirbeck					
J.Kelsey & a messuage which "by his lease he agreed to build"					
				50	4/B/4/6
Ann Kelsey	1800	10	60		4/B/4/13
" "	1810	10	98		4/B/3/70
" "	1820	10	98		"
-1819 rental £74					
Jn.Kelsey	1830	10	84		"
1830 rental £64					

WYBERTON 16 acres PASTURE

Tenant	Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Fine	Ref:
Wm.Fydell	1696	10	19		4/B/4/11
Wm.Robinson	1727	10	19		
Fran.Taylor	1747	10	18		
Wm.Cartwright	1767	10	27		
Hen.Clarke	1800	10	52		4/B/4/13
Gee & Clarke	1810	10	69		
Tho.Green	1820	10	74		
Jos.Andrews	1837	10	57		

PASTURE ROBIN HOOD WALK

Tenant	Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Fine	Ref:
M.Paske	1674	10	£3		4/B/4/3
Jas Sneath	1684	10	3	£15	"
Eliz.Whitehead	1699	10	4.10s		"
Richd.Baxter	1709	10	4		"
Wm.Blaydwin	1720	10	6		4/B/4/6
J.Belgrave	1730	10	5		"
Wm.Sesgrave	1740	10	5		"
B.Graham	1750	10	5		"
L.Plummer	1760	10	5		"
Her.Wake	1770	10	9		"
" "	1780	10	9		"
Tho.Morrison	1790	10	9		"
Abra.Sheath	1800	10	24		4/B/4/13
Jos.Wheatcroft	1810	10	34		
" "	1820	10	26		
Edw.Thornton	1830	1	18		rentals
" "	1831	1	18		"

DOCK'S PASTURE 16 acres

Tenant	Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Fine	Ref:
Henry Brewer	1716	10	£18		4/B/3/4
Ald.R.Bell	1736	10	17		4/B/4/6
Rich.Fydell	1743	21	17		"
" "	1762	10	20		"
" "	1774	10	22		"
Thos.Fydell	1794	10	33		4/B/4/14
Jn.Marshall	1804	10	70		"
Longstaff (Grantham)	1809	5	70		4/B/4/13
Walt.Davis	1814	10	90		(applies for abatement - result unknown)
W.Coupland	1823	yr to yr	£0		rental
Groom	1824	10	80		"

A TOPSTEAD with 6 acres of Land and 34 acres of PASTURE

Tenant	Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Fine	Ref: <u>in WYBEPTON</u>
Danl.Cabourne	1680		£110	£15.4s	4/B/3/3
Eliz.Umpleford	1690		110	"	4/B/4/2
" Ampleford(sic) & Ann Caborne	1700		150	"	4/B/3/3
Sam.Palmer	1711			42	"
Sam Palmer	1721			56	4/B/4/3
Thos.Brampton	1730			51	4/B/3/6
" " & Tho. Staveley	1742			51	"
"	1755			51.10s	"
Rev.J.Shaw /not executed, given to Mr.Buror.					

BOSTON

Movement of individual property rents showing steep decline after 1820. Mainly Agricultural.

Place	Lease Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Ref:	Place	Lease Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Ref:
<u>Close Skirbeck</u>	1814	10	£26	4/B/3/68	<u>Pasture near West Street Toll Bar 3 acres 2r. 22p</u>				
	1824	10	20			1819	10	£20	rentals
<u>Message Market Place</u>						1824	10	16	
	1820	10	36	4/B/3/68					
	1830	10	30		<u>Pasture in Enclosed Fen 7 acres 1r. 13p</u>				
<u>Ground Skirbeck</u>	1814	10	£28	4/B/3/72		1814	10	£21	4/B/3/79
	<u>6 acres 1r 10p</u>	1824	10		26		1824	10	
<u>Pasture Wyberton</u>						1834	10	15	
<u>18 acres. 0.16p</u>	1814	10	£100	4/B/3/91					
	1826	10	75						
	1837	10	65						
<u>Tollfield Skirbeck</u>	1800	10	£32						
	<u>6 acres 1r. 4p</u>	1810	10	32					
		1820	10	36					
		1830	1 yr	18	4/B/4/13 & rentals				
		1831	10	20					

Town properties at same period show, frequently, no decline or often a rising value:-

Place	Lease Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Ref:
<u>Granary opposite the Patkhuse Quay</u>	1820	9	30	rentals
	1830	9	40	
<u>Woolhouse near Theatre</u>				
	1791		12	rentals
	1801	10	24	4/B/4/13
	1819	10	35	
	1821	10	35	
	1831	10	40	
<u>Message in Market Place</u>				
<u>Corporation Row</u>				
	1815	7	40	4/B/3/84
	1824	10	40	
	1834	10	40	

NOTTINGHAM

SAINT ANN'S HALL HOUSE

Tenant	Property or notes.	Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Fine	Refs
J.Rickards		1699	21	£1	£55	5025
R.Richardson	in trust for the late tenant's children	1720	5	£1		5065
D.Blee		1725		£8		rental
" "		1726		£9		"
S.Blee	(endorsed with agreem't to pay £1 more because of repairs done by Corporation)	1736	21	£9		5088
" "		1740		£10		5088
Caleb Parr	(effective lease date uncertain)	1753	21	£10		5113
J.Morley		1780		£10		rental
J.Attenburrow		1797	yrly	£10		NHB 3568f59-61
T.Skinner	To pay all Attenburrows arrears	1812		£21		"
J.Bradley		1820/21		£21		
Jos.Pickard		1826-35		£18		

THE DOLPHIN CHAPEL BAR W/OUT

F.Richards	"late Hall's"	1755/6		£6		
Wo.Hornbuckle		1762		£6		
Wakefield		1771		£6		
Jackson	"a tenement nr Chapel Bar"	1776		£9.10s		
Hall		1797	yr to yr	£9.10s		
Wm.Butler		1805		£25		
Tho.James		1807		£32.10s		
" "		1809	yrly			NHB 3568f59-61
J.Hoyles		1812		£35		
Tho.Birch		1833		£35		

LAND & TENEMENTS ST.MARY'S CHURCHYARD

J.Mallyn	land	1687/8	31	10s	£3	5021
S.Roberts	several messuages	1719	21	10s	£20	5068
R.Roberts	" "	1740	21	£2.10s		5102
Wm.Roberts	" "	1740	21	£2.10s		5103

HOCKLEY - A messuage

J.Morley	land to build	1714	£31	4s.0d		5063
J.James	messuage, stable, barn, gardens	1745	£21	£2.10s		5108
" "	" "	1766	£41	£4		rentals
" "	" "	1827/8	yrly?	£15		"
" "	" "	1832	?	£22		"

The Leather Bottle Inn, Hockley (probably a new property in 1713/14)

J.Brentnall	a new built house & garden	1713/14		5s.0d		"
Ald.T.Trigge	" "	1734/5		5s.0d		"
R.Salter	Ald.Trigge's house "The Bottle"	1758/9		£20		"
Mr.Preston	" "	1762/3		£20		"
" "	" "	1772/3		£21		"
Mr.Cheadle	From the changes in tenure & rental which occur from this date until 1835, it seems likely that this property cont'd on a yr to yr lease. Not all the changes have been noted here.	1783/4		£22.15s		"
J.Moore's Wo.		1737/8		£19.13s		"
Tho.Oliver		1805/6		£40		"
" "		1808/9		£55		"
S.James		1835		£55		"

THE FLAMING SWORD, SMITHY ROW

	in tenure of Ald. Pennell	1727		£12		rental
J.Sherwin		1728		£9		
S.Egginton		1733		£15		"
Burden & Smith		1746		£15		"
Pennell	Tenant Dodson	1753		£15		
C.Horner	ground where stood the Flaming sword & 2 messes & ground	1791		£26		"

NOTTINGHAM

Tenant	Property	Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Fine	Refs
<u>THE UNICORN'S HEAD, SMITTY HOW (formerly the Peacock)</u>						
Ald. Pennell	The Peacock	1726	21	£4.10s		NHB 3485f12a
Representatives of S. Fzington to pay Chamberlains £50 for arrears of rent of Unicorn head, formerly The Peacock, in tenure of Nicholson with Lady day £744, & thereafter to hold it until 1740 at £3.10s p.a.		1744				NHB 3504f17
Smith & Burden		1744		£3.10s		rentals
J. Dodds		1750		£8		-
W. Goodburn		1767		£9.10s		
" "		1771		£11		
James		1774		£11		
W. Machin		1778		£11		
S. Kilbourn		1805		£20		-
" "	The Nags Head (1810 rebuilt by order of Hall)	1808	yrly	£30		NHB 3568f59-61
" "	Police Office Tavern	1814		£30		
R. Birch		1818		£31.10s		-
-		1835		£31.10s		-
<u>The NEAR COPPICE, WESTERN PART</u>						
J. Sherwin		1691	21	£14.5s	£35	7444
J. Sherwin		1697/8		£14.5s		rental
" "		1712	21	£14.5s	£35	5048
" "		1734	21	£24	-	5080
J & S "	covenant to plant	1755	21	£40	-	5051/5
J. Sherwin		1776	21	£40	£240	5132
T. James		1797		£80		rental
T. James		1805	yrly	£105		"
various	6 leases of small parts	1810/11		£312.11s.7d		
"	"	1814		£208.16s.10d		-
"	"	1816/17		£112.14s.6d		
"	"	1825/6		£142.12s.8½d		
"	"	1835		£261.14s.0d		-
<u>The NEAR COPPICE EASTERN PART</u>						
A. Metcalfe	part of Coppice	1691	21	£14.5s	£35	7444
A. Metcalfe		1697/8		£14.5s		rental
E. Metcalfe	" "	1712	21	£14.5s	£35	5047
J. Truman		1733	21	£24	?	rental
T. Oldknow		1754	at will	£47	?	"
" "		1786	1s yr/yr	£58.15s		"
" "		1802	21	£60		"
		1823		£66		-
		1835		£66		-
<u>THE PINDERS FEE</u>						
Wm. Drewry		1666/7	21	12d	£112	4995 ^b
J. Tibson		1709	21	12d	£102	5040
Taylor		1730		£15-£15		rental
J. Dodd		1731		£12		
T. Taylor		1732		£11		-
H. Owen		1749		£10		-
many changes of tenant but rental remains unchanged.		1835		£10		-
<u>SAINT GEORGE'S CLOSE</u>						
T. Dawson		1523	10	£2		4875a
Ald. Hall		1688/9		£2		rental
Sarah Hall		1694	14	£2		7444
J. Collin		1708	21	£2	£120	5038
A & T Collin		1729	21	£12		5079
J. Hall (sub-tenant since 1734/5)		1750		£14		rental
J. Foxcroft		1761	21	£17		5718
T. W. Watson		1785	yrly	£28		rental
G. Nelson		1786		£20		
J. Nelson		1805		£30		-
" "	£1 pave ret'd from 1817	1808/9		£36		
" "		1817		£27.10s		
Ald. Allen		1824		£27.10s		-
B. Richards		1833		£27.10s		-

YORK

Tenant	Property	Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a	Fine	Refs
<u>BUSTARD THORPE CLOSES</u>						
		1660/1		£11		C73.1
		1670/1		10		C75.3
		1690		8		C79.1
		1723	21	10		E101
		1741	21 from 1742	15.10s		E101/154
		1761	21 from 1763	20		E101/189
R.Dodsworth		1781	21 from 1784	24		E101/18 pt II
Wm.Hotham		1804	yr to yr	42		E101/101 ptII
M.Duke & M.Hornsey		1811	" " "	32.10s		E101/139 pt II
<u>HAGG CLOSES HOLGATE LANE</u>						
		1681		10		C774
		1690		8.6s.8d		C79.1
M.Swallow		1710	21	8.6s.8d		E101
M.Swallow		1726	21	9.10s		E101
M.Swallow		1743	21 from	9.10s		E101
Wm.Adcock		1763	21 from 1744 1765	8.15s		E101/197
Wm.Barker		1783	21 from 1786 "if he takes his freedom"	£16		E101/pt II
A.Barker		1807	11	£40		E101/109 ptII
		1813	12	£49.10s		E101/146 ptII
J.Rose		1829		£24.3s.9d		E78a
<u>HAGGY & SPEGGY CLOSES</u>						
		1681		£7		C77-4
		1690		16		C79-1
Coldart		1735	21	16		E101/139
		1754	21	20		E101/181
		1772	21	26		E101/224
Jos.Rose		1790	21 from	35		E101/67 ptII
Jos.Rose		1813	yr to yr 1793	3.10s		E101/146 ptII
<u>SAINT GEORGE'S CLOSE AND HOUSE</u>						
		1660		2		C73.1
		1670		10		C75.3
		1690		10		C79.1
	The House	1706	21	1.18s.6d.7		E101/16
	House & Close	1723	21	12		E101/89
	" "	1732	21	12		E35/799
M.Wharton	" "	1753	21	20		E101/141
Ed.W.Wallis	" "	1774	21	2s.10s		E101/222
Wm.Ellis	" "	1804	11	45		E101/99 pt II
" "	" "	1808	21	45		E101/123 ptII
	extended to 21 yrs in consideration of money spent on repairs					
	St.George's field	1828		45		E78a
	" " buildings	1828		39.6s		E78a
	" " public house	1828		21		E78a
	" " field	1831		22.10s		E78a
	" " public house	1831		21		E78a
<u>CARLTON MINNIOT FARM</u>						
R.Moreland		1690		33		C79.1
R.Moreland		1737	from 1738 21	33		E101/143
J.Hodgson		1756	" 21 1757	30		E101/183
" "		1774	21	60		E100/231
" " & Son		1795	3	110		E101/85 ptII
" "		1798	11	140		E101/90 ptII
G.Hodgson		1809	yrly	200		E78a
<u>SKELDERGATE CRANE</u>						
Barreroft		1660		£25		C73.1
		1671		30		C75.3
		1690		60		C79.1
Sarah Stott		1704	21	60		E101/4
Wm.Stott		1723	21			
	on his death to Blue Coat Boys			£100		
H.Stott		1733	11	40		E101/132
J.Richardson		1766	21 from 1769	40		E35/808
Ed.Knipe		1783	7	150		E101/209
W.Boving		1790	11	40		E101/7 ptII
M.Ellis		1800	yrly	63		E101/73 ptII
J.Cillian		1812		?		E101/45 ptII
		1831		64. 6s		E78a
<u>SKELDERGATE FERRY</u>						
W.Scott		1741	21 from	2		E35/799 E101/156
W.Scott		1761	21 1742	2		E101/190
J.Cillian		1800	yr to yr	22		E101/95 pt II
		1831		22		E78a

YORK

Tenant	Property	Date	Term (yrs)	Rent p.a.	Fine	Ref:
<u>FISHING RIGHTS IN OUSE</u>						
Rich.Eccles		1711	7	£1	?	E101/45
Wm.Musgrave		1733	7	£12		E101/33
F.Stephens & E.Summers		1741	21	£5.15s		E101/156
		(surrendered 1744)				
Rosindale		1746		£4		E35 rental
Ed.Moorehouse		1766	3	£36.15s		E101/209
Tho.Tireman		1774	11	£18.18s		E101/ 232
Tho,Weatherill		1783	11	£18.18s		E101/35 pt II
M.Weatherill		1795	11	£21		E101/80 pt II
		1812		£21		E78a
Thereafter does not appear in rentals.						
<u>Nth.St.TOWER POSTERN & LENDAL FERRY</u>						
		1690		£2		G79.1
		1724	21	£8	£20	E101/97
		1743	21	£10		E35/799
		1805	yr to yr	£12		E101/105 pt II
		1831		£12		E78a
<u>STAR & CARTER CHRIST CHURCH</u>						
M.Elston		1787	21 (from	£5.5s		E101/59 pt II
J.Kilby		1813	yrly ¹⁷⁹⁰)	£22.10s		E101/147 pt II
Thos.Smith	renewal of lease	1661/2		£3.6.8d**		
	of Nth.St.Postern & Ferry					
	fine for "	1679/80		£5		

APPENDIX III

Decennial Average of Rental Income

Notes:

Boston

The figures include buoys and beacons money, receipts from the sheep pens, mart fairs the pig and fish markets, the tythes and out rents. After 1812, the buoys and beacons money and other river and harbour dues, were passed into the hands of the harbour trustees.

Nottingham

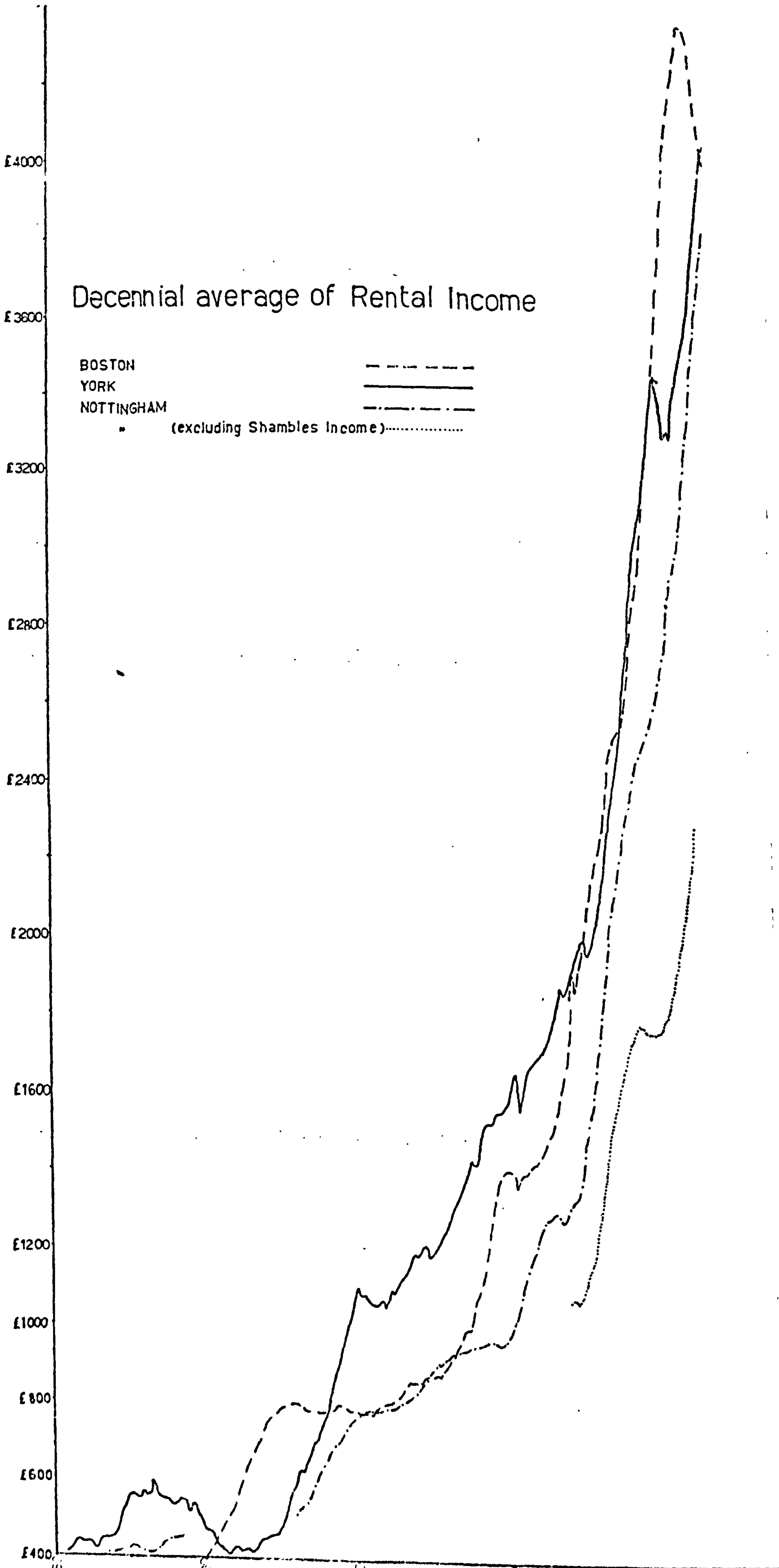
The figures exclude entry fines. Two graphs have been constructed for the period 1792-1835 in order to indicate the importance of the Shambles rents to the overall rental income.

York

The graph has been constructed from the receipts of the Chamberlain, from the City Steward. It is not, therefore, an accurate indication of rental receipts, but can be used as an indication of rental trends, especially after the late eighteenth century, when the Steward was required to hand over almost the whole of his receipts, maintaining only a small balance from year to year. The figure includes fines for leases, arrears and, from 1768, the receipts from shares held in turnpikes and navigations.

The rental income for Boston and Nottingham recorded here is generally the rent due and not the rent received.

Decennial average of Rental Income



BOSTON -----
YORK =====
NOTTINGHAM - . - . - .
• (excluding Shambles Income)

Appendix IV

The incidence of arrears at Boston,
Nottingham and York, 1660 - 1835.

The method of accounting for arrears differed considerably in each of the three boroughs. At Boston, the Chamberlain accounted for the non-payment of rent, at least for the period from 1695 to 1750, by entering under his heads of expenditure, a statement of the arrears, or rents owing to him during his year of office. This was a necessary procedure, for the rental income which he entered in his account represented the sum which he should have received during his year of office, and not the cash he actually received. His rental entry therefore tallied with the total sum calculated in the rental book. This procedure was, without question, used until at least 1750, and the state of arrears can be readily assessed for this period. Any old arrears received by the Chamberlain were entered as an individual category in the year's receipts. After 1750 however, there may have been a change in the accounting procedure. From 1750 to 1795 arrears continue to be entered in the expenditure columns as an independent category, just as they had been before 1750, but in many years no expense was recorded under this heading. If, therefore, the procedure used before 1750 was still in force, it would appear that in most years no tenants defaulted

in the payment of their rents; only in the years 1751/2; 1754/5; 1756/7; 1758/9; 1759/60; 1761/2; 1763/4; 1768/9; 1779/80; 1782/3; 1784/5; 1788/9; 1790/1; 1791/2; 1795/6; were any arrears entered in the Chamberlains' expenses. However, it appears that in some years at least, a different accounting system was definitely in use. In a number of years, the Chamberlain made a note in his income column of the rental he received, and of the arrears which were owed to him. The rental income which he then accounted for comprised not the expected rental, as before 1750; but the cash which he actually received. This occurs in 1757/8; 1759/60 (in this case he enters more arrears under expenditure too); 1760/1; 1762/3; 1776/7; and in 1791/2 the Chamberlain deducted £15.17s.6d in arrears from his rental income, although he also accounted for £7.11s.9d more in his expenditure.

It therefore becomes quite probable that in the many years when no arrears are accounted for in the Chamberlain's expenditure, the Chamberlain was following this alternative procedure without giving any indication of this. Yet, against this possibility, there stands the evidence of the rental book which remains for the year 1785/6. (4/B/1/78) In that year the Chamberlain recorded no arrears in his expenditure columns, but neither had he deducted them from his rental income, for

he recorded a rental of £1259.5s.0d, which figure tallies exactly with the expected rental income noted in the rental book - the same evidence is to be found in the rental books for 1788 and 1789. The conclusion would seem to be therefore that for very many years between 1750 and 1799 the Chamberlains at Boston experienced no arrears problem at all - so unlikely a situation must, however, remain open to doubt.

What is certain however, is that by 1800 arrears were no longer entered in the account as a category expenditure. It seems certain therefore that by this date the Chamberlain entered as his rental income, his actual receipts, having already deducted the arrears and other abatements. This was unquestionably the system used after 1815, for the remaining rental books afford information concerning the rental due, the deductions and arrears made from this sum and the actual cash rents received, this latter figure being also the entry on the Chamberlains' accounts.

For the two periods 1695 to 1750 and 1815 to 1835 we therefore have reliable and informative figures upon the rental arrears of the Chamber estate. For the intervening period however, the figures may be somewhat misleading.

At Nottingham too, the rental entry in the Chamberlains' account book, represented the total rental income due to the Corporation, and not the sum which was in fact collected.

As at Boston, these two sums would rarely tally, for there were invariably several properties which were occupied for only a portion of the year and, in addition, there were many tenants who were either in arrear, or who had paid their rents in advance. These variations were generally recorded in the rental books from year to year, but since these are often draught copies and rarely audited, they are not as helpful in this aspect, as expected. Resort must therefore be had to the Chamber account in which, in order to balance the entry of expected rental income, the Chamberlain accounted for an expenditure of whatever rents he had not received. (Properties temporarily out of lease, were not included in the expected rental). As at Boston, these were entered simply as arrears, and at the close of the year they were dismissed in the account as an inevitable expenditure. Any arrears subsequently liquidated were then entered by the Chamberlain for the time being as a bonus income rather than as part of a constant account of arrears.

That these rental debts were not dismissed from mind however, is quite certain. The defaulting tenants were painstakingly pursued, and the entry in many years of receipts for old arrears, indicates that the Corporation were, to some degree, successful in their efforts.

But this system of accounting is not as simple as it may appear. From 1789 to 1835 there is no complication, but from 1700 to 1789, there is no entry of rents unreceived in the Chamber expenditure. That tenants continued to default with their payments is quite certain. In 1730 the Hall ordered that tenants not paying their rents within three months were to be distrained, (1) and the school wardens were given the same order in 1707. That there was something a little lacksadaisical about this business however, is suggested by this order to the school wardens who were to "distrain of such of the Free School Tennts as refuse to pay their arrears of Rent in order to raise present money to discharge Mr. Griffith of the salary due to him this last Ladyday itt amounting to £85." (2) Nevertheless tenants continued in arrear, and that the Corporation pursued them is evident from scattered entries for arrears received in the period 1700 to 1789. (3)

The Chamberlain apparently continued to enter in his receipts the rental due from the estates, rather than the actual cash received. This is evident from several checks against the rental books. The evidence is not conclusive, since few rental books are audited, but random checks of the total rental due, as listed in the rental books against the rental entry in the Chamber accounts, indicate that this was almost

(1) NHB 3490/46.

(2) NHB 3473/14

(3) NCAB 1723-89 e.g. 1730/1; 1735/6; 1735/7; 1740/1; 1741/2;
1742/3; 1743/4; 1745/6; 1768/9

2000
certainly the policy pursued. Each year's balance must therefore have included an invisible amount of rents still not received. The balance handed over to the succeeding Chamberlain would therefore, in effect, be only partly cash, the arrears being an invisible liability on each year's accounts, leaving a true cash balance somewhat lower than the accounts themselves suggest. This would, therefore, be a running account of arrears, and in order to maintain a clear division of cash and invisible assets (i.e. arrears owing) it would have been essential to maintain an additional account of arrears owing and received. This could explain the absence of continual entries of arrears received in the Chamber account.

That this may have been so is suggested by several entries in the Chamber accounts between 1789 and 1793. In the financial year 1789 to 1790, the Chamberlain recorded £347.16s.7d as received from the previous Chamberlain, but of this sum, only £151.12s.11d was in cash; the remainder of £196.3s.8d being in arrears. Of these old arrears £10.1s.6d was received in the year 1789/90 leaving £186.2s.2d still owing. £11.5s.0d of this was ordered by the Hall to be 'craved' (forgiven), leaving only £174.17s.2d. This sum the Chamberlain entered as an expenditure under the heading of 'old arrears'.

The Chamberlain was not therefore being required to provide in cash the rents which he had not collected in his year of office, but these arrears were not discounted until the succeeding year. In 1790 to 1791 however, having discounted the arrears of £49.19s.1½d handed over in the balance of the previous Chamberlain, there was left a balance at the year end of £66.17s.1½d. Of this only £5.16s.4d was an actual cash balance, the remainder representing the rents owing to him in his Chamberlainship. These arrears were not handed on to the next Chamberlain for liquidation. Only £5.16s.4d, the actual cash balance, was passed on, and thus the Chamberlain was accounting for the difference between the rents due to him, and those actually received, by an entry of his own arrears in his own account. This was the situation for the period 1791/2 to 1835.

These three years from 1789 to 1792 thus constitute a bridge between the system operating from 1789 and the system from 1700 to 1789, and the entries in the year 1789 do seem to support the system of accounting for arrears which I have postulated for the period from 1700. However, the balance of arrears due in that year of only £196 is very small if it represented the accrued rental debts of an 89 year period. In addition it is noticeable that an expenditure under the head of "cravings" first begins in 1723. (N.B. there are no accounts

between 1700 and 1723 when entries for arrears end). A "craving" was a sum owing to the Corporation, usually a rent, which for some reason or other was not exacted, usually because the property was not occupied from the date of the lease, or for a complete year. But it was sometimes an acknowledgement of defeat, when payment of a debt could not be exacted - thus, the Highway rate book for St. Nicholas records, "crave expenses - can't or won't pay", (4) or it may have been a remission of monies due because the tenant was suffering severe circumstances. It thus had much the same meaning as the "supers" in Leicester. (5) Generally however, it did not include arrears - rather abatements for poverty and for sums incorrectly levied. Cravings continued to be entered until 1796 but there was a slight decline in their amount once arrears were again entered from 1789 to 1793. It does therefore, seem possible that rent arrears were included under this heading during most of the eighteenth century. An entry in the Chamber account book for 1776/7 records "by cravings for Rents not received £40.16s.6d". This constitutes the entire entry for cravings in that year. A further entry in 1771/2 records an income of £30.9s.10d "By a list of outstanding debts craved by former Chamberlains

(4) 6011

(5) LBR Chamber Accounts p xi

and delivered into the accountants hands to be collected". This was the entire sum craved in the previous year, but it would appear that the Chamberlains of 1771/2 had little more success - their cravings amounting to £41.

The exact system of accounting for arrears between 1723 and 1789 remains, therefore, uncertain. The cravings may represent only arrears which were considered irrecoverable. But, whatever the system, it is certain that tenants continued to default in their rental payments and that the Corporation did not hesitate to pursue such offenders.

Between 1660 and 1700, arrears were entered in the Chamber account, both as an expenditure to balance the rental income, and as an income for those ultimately received. It seems certain that the arrears were not kept in a running balance from year to year. The rental income is, in some years, most definitely the expected, and not the actual income. (e.g. Rental Account Book 1688/9) and the arrears received do not tally with those due in the previous year. Each year's Chamber account thus closes any debts by arrears. But that the arrears entered in the account may not represent the total state of arrears is suggested by a voucher for 1693/4 which recorded "an accompt of Moneys in arreare charged upon the shamblyng for the years 1694 £32.17s.4d."

The recorded expenditure on arrears in that year was only £29.11s.6d (6). In the nineteenth century at least the shambles were not subject to the same procedure as the rest of the rents, for in 1825 the Finance committee recommended that the Chamberlains' in each year in future be charged with the full rental arising from the Butchers Shambles and Butchers Stalls.(7) Thus, the entries for arrears may well not represent the entire arrears due, but they do give some indications of the size of the problem.

At York there is even less data, for there remain only two sets of Receivers' accounts for the whole period, 1660 to 1835. The earliest group are, in fact, Receivers' Rolls dating from 1660 to 1699. Unfortunately many are illegible or missing, and the effective working period is thereby reduced to about 15 years. As the Receiver of the rents, it was the Steward at York and not the Chamberlain who was responsible, and accounted for, the arrears owing to the Corporation. His account as kept on the rolls, was closed each year, the arrears owing representing only the arrears of any one year, and those received representing the total cash income in that year on account of old arrears. The total absence of any further Receivers' rolls until 1790 thus leaves us with no record of the state of arrears for most of the

(6) Vouchers 1798 Va

(7) Minutes of Annual and other Committees Sept.8th 1825

eighteenth century. The constant rulings passed by the Lease Committee and the Common Hall, leave no doubt however that the situation continued to require attention.

By 1790 the Receiver maintained a running account of arrears (this was done at Leicester too) (LBR Chamber Accts). the rental in arrears received representing the total assets of the Corporation by arrears. The entry for arrears in the expenditure column thus represents the increase occasioned in that year by further arrears. The figures of course do not show how many arrears of previous years were paid. Thus, although the arrears at the close of 1790 stood at £826.19s.11d this was an absolute increase of rental debts by £20.15s.9d, the arrears contracted in that year of 1790 may have been greater if, for example, £5 of the old arrears had been repaid. However, they do clearly show that until 1797 at least, the total amount of arrears owing to the Corporation was not declining.

Appendix IV

BOSTON ARREARS

1700 - 1750

Arrears owing	0 - 1	1 - 2	2 - 3	3 - 4	4 - 5	5 - 6	6 - 7	7 - 8	8 - 9	9 - 10
1700	6.12.4		130. 0.1	29.16.6	0 0 0	0 0 0	52. 7. 6	46. 8. 2	39. 0. 2	19. 3.6
1710	22.13.4	15.16. 8	63.18.8	53.12.6	15.11. 8	7.14.2	38. 1. 6	67. 8. 0	21. 1. 0	28. 9.2
1720	53. 2.6	33.18. 6	43.19.2	30. 9.2	0. 0. 0	66. 7.8		46.19. 0	72. 5. 0	125.19.4
1730	71. 2.6	19. 1. 8	63. 3.2	59.16.8	6.14. 2	59.15.8	10.11. 8	22. 1.11	88.14. 8	28. 6.8
1740		10.10. 8	0. 0.8	30. 0.8	21.10. 8	0. 0.8	104.12. 0	52.10. 0	124. 6. 8	2.10.8

Total £1926. 6.8d.

Repayments of arrears were negligible over this period, amounting to only £45. 7.2d. although they may be indiscernable amongst miscellaneous receipts,

Apparent unrecovered loss by arrears therefore £1880.19.6d., an average of £40 per annum.

The expected rental receipts over the same period were £32,296. 6s. $\frac{3}{4}$ d, making an average annual income over the 46 years of £702 per annum.

The annual unrecovered arrears therefore amounted to some 5.85% of the total rental due to the Corporation.

Arrears owing.	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-10
1810						359. 7.9	808. 3.6	677. 3.6	158. 5.0	425.15.0
1820	794. 2.6	750.15.0	636.10.0	560.13.0	805. 7.3	421.15.0	603. 4.1	936. 6.6	1025. 3.0	295. 0.0
1830	976.18.0	912. 0.0	1734.15.6		1301.13.6					

Total £13183. 1. 4d

* includes abatements

Arrears Repaid	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-10
1810						847. 2.9	239. 7.0	454.14.9	584.19.0	153. 5.0
1820	425.15.0	808.12.0	605.19.0	466. 7.6	570. 0.6	805. 1.3	416. 2.0	531. 2.5	915. 6.6	633.12.6
1830	455. 5.6	541.17.6	505.17.6		785.10.0					

Total £10746. 2. 8d

Apparent unrecovered loss by arrears therefore £2436,18.8d., an average of £128 per annum.

The arrears received are in payment of rents due not only in the previous year but for many years before. There is therefore strictly no correlation between the arrears owing and received.

Appendix IV

NOTTINGHAM ARREARS

1660 - 1700

<u>Arrears owing</u>	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-10
1660	106. 2.1	283.16.0	183.11.11	16. 6.2	nil		3. 4.8	53.10.0	nil	18.18.4
1670	nil		52. 7.4	15. 0.6	22. 1.6	nil	6. 2.0	16. 5.10	nil	12.12.10
1680	72.4.0	15.11.6	nil	nil	6.18.6	5. 7.6	5. 4.6		20. 3.10	16. 2.6
1690			290.12.4	29.11.6	61. 5.8		16. 1.0	28.10.8	7. 2. 0	4. 4.6

Total over the 34 year period: £1397. 9.0d.

<u>Arrears received</u>	0 - 1	1 - 2	2 - 3	3 - 4	4 - 5	5 - 6	6 - 7	7 - 8	8 - 9	9 -10
1660	24.10.0	157.17.5	1. 8.0	29. 4.0	nil	.	3.17.2	2.11.8	nil	2. 3.0
1670	7. 0.0		nil	36. 3.0	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	0. 3.0*
1680	0.11.6*	nil	1.10.0*	22.19.6*	nil	nil	nil		9.11.2	4.13.4
1690			0. 3.0	31. 6.9	1.1.0	nil	nil	0.14.3	11. 6.0	nil

Total over the 34 year period: £359.17.6d.

Apparent unrecovered loss by arrears therefore £1037.11.6d., an average of £41 per annum.

Total rental over the 34 year period £13,476. 0.4d., an average of £396 per annum.

Average loss through arrears 10.4% of total rental income.

*Other debts and accidental receipts included with arrears.

1780-1835

<u>Arrears due.</u>	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-10
1780	61. 0.9	40.15.6	37.15.0	63.15.0	91.18.4	125.0.10	107.17.10	157. 2.5½	83.17.7	49.19.1½
1790	61. 0.9½	40.15. 6	37.15.0	63.15.0	91.18.4	125.0.10	107.17.10	157. 2.5½	82.17.7	112.13.7½
1800	138.17.4½	61.11. 2	123.16.6½	142. 4.1	148. 0.9	175.11.6	98.15.6½	273. 3.9½	240.12.9	259. 0.0
1810	201. 2.7½	266.19. 0	179.13.1½	93. 7.0½	186.11.9½	227.19.2½	282. 3.1	198.15.7½	150.19.5	228. 5.6
1820	417.10.1	371. 4. 5	383.10.5	101.12.0	42.13.0	31. 6.6	85.15.9	41.16.10	52.13.10	39.15.7
1830	88. 7.4	65.10. 6	87.13.5	62. 7.2	263.16.2					

Total £6842.19.2d.

<u>Arrears paid</u>	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-10
1780										10. 1.6
1790			25.19. 0	25. 5.8	7. 11.9	63. 1.8	11.17.0	52.16.5	69. 4.0½	18. 6.2
1800	87. 4.6	62.19.10	64. 9.5½	64.11.3	85.11.1½	74. 0.5	161. 7.3½	39. 6.6	248 4.0	148. 6.3
1810	154.15.3½	173.13.1½	251.11.6½	150. 1.9½	55.11.8½	81. 6.7	147.13.7½	186.11.3	114. 6.6	55.18.0
1820	105.14.8	422.16.0	268. 8.8	874.11.1	55. 9.0	21.19.6	30. 16.0	47.10.9		47.15.8
1830	20. 1.1	80.12.0	36.16.2	71. 7.11	32. 9.0					

Total £4828. 1.0½d.

Unrecovered loss therefore 1780 to 1835 £2015, an average of £43.10.0d. per annum.

Appendix IV

YORK ARREARS

1661 - 75

Arrears owing (ex Receivers' rolls 1661 - 74, excluding 1669/70 and 1671/2)

	0 - 1	1 - 2	2 - 3	3 - 4	4 - 5	5 - 6	6 - 7	7 - 8	8 - 9	9 - 0
1660		184. 5.0	113. 6.4	83.16.0	36.19.7	25. 4.10	47.14.7	66.16.6	86. 5.0	
1670	148.7.7		139.15.8	160.19.10	91.14.4					

Total £1185. 5.3d.

Arrears received (ex Receiver's rolls 1661 - 74 excluding 1669-70 which is barely legible and 1671-2 which is missing)										
1660		40.11.8	44.18.6	59.2.10	9. 6.8	12. 4. 7	13.14.8	45. 5.5	63. 3.8	
1670	63.13.0		117.10.8	79.11.2	208. 3.6					

Total £757. 6.4d.

Rental income ex Receiver's rolls										
1660		506. 3.6	420.16.6	489.2.10	483.2.8	480.16.2	488.17.6	500. 4.6	502.0.2	516.5.6
1670	519. 6.6		553. 8.0	561.13.10	560.7.6					

Total rental over the 13 year period £6582. 5.2d., an average of £506 per annum.

Apparent unrecovered loss by arrears therefore £427.18.11d., an average of £36 per annum.

Average loss through arrears 6.94% of total rental income.

1790-1798.

ex Receivers' Accounts E78a

Income	1790	1793	1795	1796	1798
Rental in arrears previous year	806. 4.2	842. 4.5	904.8.11	+330.13.0	333.0.6
Expenditure					
Arrears this year	826. 9.11	873. 4.7	913.0. 5	345. 7.4	482.2.6

+ Arrears of £852. 7.5d. were written off on Audit day 8.2.1796, leaving £330.13.0d. to be passed on to the succeeding year.

BOSTON TOLLS

Tythes - the parsonage and tythes, the glebe lands excepted.

Date	Term in years	Rent	Fine	Tenant	Reference
1661	3 years	£110		T.Cave } R.Bustard }	4/B/4/3
1667	3 "	£150		T.Marall	4/B/4/3
1669	3 "	£140		T.Marrall	"
1675	3 "	£120		C.Hutchinson	"
1678	3 "	£112		Sam Cooper	"
1681	3 "	£100		" "	"
1684	3 "	£ 90		J.Brassey	"
1687	3 "	£106		S.Cooper	"
1691	3 "	£ 97		"	"
1694	3 "	£ 85		"	"
1697	3 "	£ 85		"	"
1700	3 "	£130		"	"
1703	3 "	£ 90		"	"
1706	3 "	£120		"	"
1709	3 "	£100		"	"
1712	3 "	£105		J.Jessop	"
1715	3 "	£105		"	"
1718	3 "	£107		"	"
1721	3 "	£107		"	"
1724	3 "	£ 90		"	"
1727	3 "	£100		W.M.Close	"
1730	3 "	£116		J.Jessop	4/B/4/6
1733	3 "	£105		"	"
1736	3 "	£ 90		"	"
1739	3 "	£112		"	"
1743	3 "	£110		T.Peacock	"
1748	3 "	£112		J.Jessop	"
1754	3 "	£ 95		"	"
1760	3 "	£100		"	"
1763	3 "	£100		"	"
1767	3 "	£100		"	"
1770	3 years	£100		J & B Jessop	4/B/4/6
1773	3 "	£106		Shirhill	4/B/4/6
1776	3 "	£ 90		T.Rydell	4/B/4/6
1782	3 "	£ 75		Kra.Thirkell	4/B/4/11
1786	3 "	£ 75		Fra.Thirkell	4/B/4/12
1789	3 "	£100		N.Kyme	4/B/4/14
1792	3 "	£100		N.Kyme	4/B/4/14
1796		postponed at £120			4/B/4/14
1799		finally taken at £100 - (BAB 6.Aug.1799) but 1799 not taken and therefore:- to be collected by surveyor for one year. BAB6.Aug.1799 Collected until 1830 (BCAB)			

Ballastage/lastage and Beaconsage.

5,6 or 7 year leases until 1734, then collected.

Wharfage, bridge dues (passage over and under), Stallage and Market tolls.

Date	Term in years	Rent	Fine	Tenant	Reference
1667	7 years	£50 p.a.		Tho.Tresse	4/B/4/3
1674	7 "	£65 p.a.		"	4/B/4/3
1681	7 "	£65 p.a.		"	4/B/4/3
1688	7 "	£65 p.a.		"	4/B/4/3
1701	7 "	£100		Robt.Vent	4/B/4/3
1705	10 "	£60		Thos.Tresse	4/B/4/11
1718	7 "	£163		Wm.Wayett	4/B/4/6
1726	7 "	£120		"	4/B/4/6
1734	7 "	£100		"	4/B/4/11
1741	7 "	£100		"	7/B/4/6
1748	7 "	£100		L.Griffin & T.Yesburgh	"
1756	7 "	£ 90		Jona Sneath	"
1763	7 "	£ 90		"	"
1770	7 "	£126		Wm.Moore	"
1777	7 "	£126		Wm.Moore	"
1784	7 "	£130		Robt.Willoughby	4/B/4/11
1795	yr to yr	£135		Eliz. "	4/B/4/14
1806	3 years	£122		John "	"
1809	1 year	£220		John "	"
1812	1 "	£300		John "	"
1812	Harbour Act. Wharfage rates altered and afterwards collected separately from stallage etc; Stallage and Market Tolls				
1812	collected at 6/- in £			Wm.Atkin & Geo.Marshall	2/A/27
	until				
1814	1 year	£160		John Norris	4/B/4/14
1815	1 year	£160		John Norris	4/B/4/14
1816	1 "	£140		Rich.Hicklin	4/B/4/14
1817	1 "	£140		" "	4/B/4/14
1818	10 years	£182		T.Green & R.Hanks	4/B/4/14
1828	10 "	£410		Elix.Hicklin	4/B/4/15
<u>Wharfage</u>					
1812	collected				
1819	To be put on lease and put up at £550 p.a. for 3 years				
1820	3 years	£805		J.Clarke	7/G/2
1823	3 "	£700		"	7/G/2
1826	3 "	£670		"	7/G/2
1829	?				
1835	1 year	£525		Josh.Bower	7/G/2

NOTTINGHAM TOLLS

Leases of the Corn Tolls (Scavenger's Fee)

Date	Term	Rent	Fine	Reference
1670	7 years	£40		(4873/2 ^b)
1688	?	£41.15s		Rental 2220
1690	7 years	£41.15s	£15	5022
1704	7 years	£41.15s	£33	NHB3471/6a
1711	7 years	£41.15s	£51.5s	NHB
1718	7 " 23 days	£41.15s	£51.5s	5074
1725	11 years	£52		5089
1736	11 years	£52		5284
1779	1 year	£52		
1796	Opposition led to a series of prosecutions and after Coldham (Town Clerk) dropped all actions in 1800, failure to enforce the tolls led to their disappearance. (NHB 3559/47,54.)			

Leases of the Trent Tolls at Trent Bridge:-

Tolls difficult to trace because of the absence of Sheriffs' accounts.

The following details only have been found:-

1796	£60	Simpson.	Sheriff's Account in Rental 1796/7
1819	£100	Ed. Elliott.	NHB3578/70,71.
1821	£63	"	3987/67
1833	£63	"	Corp. had wished to lease them at £84 per annum, but tenant had refused.

Newark Tolls

Date	Term	Rent	Fine	Reference
1694/5	.	£8		Rental 2208
1697/8		£20		" 2219
1707	9 years	£20	£40	NHB3473/25
1725		£30		Rental 2225
1755		£21		" 2255
1765	yr to yr	£30		NHB3522/28
1765		£25		NHB3524/31,36.
1770	Received by Sheriffs towards their Office.			

Gunthorpe Tolls

1688/9		£1.10s		Rental 2200
1733/4		£2		" 2220,2233
1768/9		£2		" & Vouchers 1810 <u>ClV</u> 10-12
Discontinued rental.				

Everton & Mattersey Tolls

1604		£2		4635E
1733	21 yrs	£7		NHB3492/15
1745/6		£7		Rental 2246
1755	discontinued in rental			

Fiskerton Toll

1713/14		£1		
1733/4				
1735	discontinued in rental			

YORK TOLLS

FORTNIGHT FAIR TOLLS (Cattle Market)

Date	Term	Rent	Fine	Reference
1660		£1.10s		C73-1
1681		£1.15s		C77-4
1690		£2.10s		C79-1
1709		£3		E101/33
1722	21 yrs	£3.10s		E101/185
1742	21 "	£6		E101/157
1766	21 "	£8		E101
1784	21 "	£7		E101
1826 Moved outside the walls to the cattle market.				
1827/8	collected, with stallage	£352.14.7½ d.		YHB50/34-35; Y352 E6 YHB50/34-5
	Actual profit	£257.0.11d		
1828-9	Leased	£300		Y352 E6

THURSDAY MARKET TOLLS (Primarily a meat market, but other commodities also sold)
(and Stallage)

Date	Term	Rent	Fine	Reference
1660		£6.13.4		C73-1
1670		£10		C75-3
1690		£20		C79-1
1706		£22		E101/91
1723		£24		E101/91
1744	21 yrs	£70		E35/803 (reduced to £60 in 1747) YHB43/251
1765	21 "	£60		E101/192
1807	11 "	£61		E101/110 pt II
1818	year to year			
1826	" " "	£140		E77/28.4.1826
1828,29,30	"	£140		E78a
1831	"	£160		E78a
1832	"	£180		MCRp 1751

PAVEMENT MARKET

1660	To Lord Mayor	£16.13.4		C73-1
1681	" "	£6.13.4		C77-4
1690	" "	£6.13.4		C79-1
1735	3 years	£226		YHB42/202 ^b (withdrawn from Ld.Mayor)
1738	3 "	£220		E101*146-7
1741	3 "	£200		E101
1744	3 "	£200		E101/162
1747	3 "	£170		E101/168
1751	3 "	£170		E101/177
1754	3 "	£140		E101/181
1757/60	3 "	£140		E101/1851,189
1763	3 "	£145		E101/196
1766	3 "	£170		E101/209
1769	1 year	£130		E101/217
1771	collected profit	£91.18.9d		{ E101/22 b { E107

Abandoned through opposition- collection had ceased by 1784 -
officially suspended 1791 K100/21.12.1791

Toll on Woolpacks and coal taken over Ouzebidge

1660		£1		C73-1
1670		£3.6s.8d		C75-3
1743	21 years	£5.5s		E101/159;E35/804
1762	21 "	£6.6s		E101/194 pt II
1783	21 "	£8		E101
1789	(so long as is now unexpired in his present lease)	£1		E101/57 pt II
1806	1 year	£9		E101/106 pt II
1807	1 year	£9		E101/118 pt II
1808	to collect			E101/126 pt II
1809		£9		E101

Lime Pontage

1st appears. 1726				
1726	21 years	£1 First yr. £1.10s rest)		E101
1736	21 "	£1.1s		E101/799
1746	21 "	10s		E101/799
1768	21 "	10s		E101/213

Appendix VI

Purchased Freedoms, Boston, Nottingham and York 1660 to 1835

The entries in this appendix do not correspond with the sums under the heading 'freedoms' in Appendix I of Civic Income 1660 to 1835. Under 'freedoms' in that Appendix are included apprentices fees, fees paid on admission by patrimony, and fines paid for permission to trade while unfree.

With the Nottingham material it has not always been possible to separate the fees paid for entry by apprenticeship and patrimony from the redemption fines paid, and on such occasions the entries are asterisked.

At York, the Chamberlains, in the earlier part of the period frequently entered receipts into wrong categories on occasions, it has therefore been found necessary to extract the full amount paid for freedoms from, for example the category of "casual receipts" as entered in the Chamberlains' own account books. Where the fine was paid in instalments however, the sums have not been included within this list, for there is often no indication how much was ultimately paid. An additional complication at York arose from the necessity of using the account books to compile this list, for these were not always audited. On the whole though, they appear to correspond with the audited rolls. It should be noted however, that the York figures do not always tally with those given in the list of Freemen (York records D/4), but this is not surprising, for the accounts and burgess ledger did not always coincide. Even a contemporary list of purchased freedoms compiled at Nottingham for the years 1804 to 1820 does not correspond with the audited Chamber accounts, payments not necessarily being made at the time of admission. The figures quoted here only represent the actual cash received, they do not include bonds owing, or bills owing to the newly franchised man from the Corporation, which were usually discounted from the total cost of his freedom.

At York freedoms were often purchased with exoneration from Office and this was the usual procedure for prospective M.P's or gentlemen who took up their freedom merely for convenience:

On such occasions the sum paid was usually £150, and where these large payments occur it has been assumed that it was for the purchase of a freedom with exoneration. For this reason therefore, these payments have been included in Appendix VII, as exoneration fines, the major part of the fee being for the exemption from office. A letter 'e' denotes these occasions, and a table has been produced below of the sums involved:-

1682-3	Freedom and exoneration from all Offices	1 @ £100
1698-9	Freedom and assumed exoneration	1 @ £110
1705-6	Freedom and exoneration from <u>Shrievalty</u>	1 @ £150
1713-14	" and assumed exoneration	1 @ £150
1720-21	" and exoneration overH	2 @ £150
1727-8	" and assumed exoneration	1 @ £150
1731-2	" " "	1 @ £200
1733-4	" " "	1 @ £150
1740-1	" " "	1 @ 150
1742-3	" " "	1 @ £150
1747-8	" " "	1 @ £150
1753-4	" " "	1 @ £150
1757-8	" " "	1 @ £150
1758-9	" " "	1 @ £150
1761-2	" " "	1 @ £150
1762-3	" " "	1 @ £150
1768-9	" " "	1 @ £150

A blank column indicates that no account remains. Where the account is in existence, but no freedoms were purchased, a nil entry is made.

APPENDIX VI

Purchased Freedoms Boston, Nottingham and York 1660 to 1835.

Date	BOSTON		NOTTINGHAM		YORK	
	sum received	no.	sum received	no.	sum received	no.
1660-61			£ 38.13.4*			
1661-62			10. 0.0*		£ 61.13.4	11
1662-63			13. 0.0*			
1663-64			6. 0.0*		29. 6.8	4
1664-65			5. 6.8*		106. 3.4	10
1665-66					31.13.4	4
1666-67			5. 6.8*			
1667-68			5. 0.0*			
1668-69			7.13.4*		27.13.4	5
1669-70			2.13.4*			
1670-71			12.13.4*			
1671-72					63.10.0	13
1672-73			8. 0.0*		20. 0.0	4
1673-74			4. 6.8*			
1674-75			3. 0.0*			
1675-76			1.13.4*			
1676-77			5. 6.8*			
1677-78			19. 0.0*			
1678-79			2.13.4*			
1679-80			0.18.4*		49. 0.0	6
1680-81			2. 1.4*		28.13.4	4
1681-82			1. 6.8*			
1682-83			1. 1.0*		68. 0.0 ^e	5
1683-84			12.17.8*		48.13.4	6
1684-85			0. 0.0		126.13.4	10
1685-86			2. 0.0*			
1686-87			78. 6.8*		90.16.8	11
1687-88			?		156. 0.0	18
1688-89			6. 0.0*		11. 0.0	2
1689-90			2. 0.0*			
1690-91						
1691-92						

Date	BOSTON		NOTTINGHAM		YORK	
	sum received	no.	sum received	no.	sum received	no.
1692-93	£ 0. 0.0	0	£ 20.13.4*		£ 77. 0.0	7
1693-94	0. 0.0	0	59. 6.8*		90. 0.0	5
1694-95	0. 0.0	0	4. 0.8*		55. 0.0	3
1695-96	0. 0.0	0			55. 0.0	2
1696-97	5. 0.0	1	4. 0.0*		0. 0.0	0
1697-98	0. 0.0	0	24. 0.0*		60. 0.0	2
1698-99	5. 0.0	1	5. 6.8*		85. 0.0 ^e	3
1699-1700	20. 0.0	2	19. 6.8*		31.13.4	2
1700-01	20. 0.0	4	393.12.4		131.13.4	8
1701-02	0. 0.0	0			6.13.4	1
1702-03	0. 0.0	0			111.13.4	5
1703-04	40. 0.0	5			0. 0.0	0
1704-05	40. 0.0	6			155. 0.0	7
1705-06	5. 0.0	1			115. 0.0 ^e	6
1706-07	0. 0.0	0			270. 0.0	9
1707-08	0. 0.0	0			40. 0.0	2
1708-09	20. 0.0	2			120. 0.0	7
1709-10	0. 0.0	0			110. 0.0	8
1710-11	10. 0.0	1			40. 0.0	2
1711-12	24. 4.0	?			105. 0.0	6
1712-13	10. 0.0	1			25. 0.0	1
1713-14	90. 0.0	8			121.13.4 ^e	9
1714-15	10. 0.0	1			80. 0.0	5
1715-16	0. 0.0	0			75. 0.0	3
1716-17	0. 0.0	0			105. 0.0	4
1717-18	0. 0.0	0			205. 0.0	9
1718-19	2. 1.4	?			85. 0.0	3
1719-20	135. 0.0	9				
1720-21	0. 0.0	0			150. 0.0 ^e	6
1721-22	50. 0.0	1				
1722-23	0. 0.0	0			270. 0.0	11
1723-24	0. 0.0	0	45. 0.0	?3	175. 0.0	7
1724-25	0. 0.0	0	12. 0.0	?1	305. 0.0	12
1725-26	0. 0.0	0	15. 5.0	?1	175. 0.0	7
1726-27			0. 0.0	0	280. 0.0	12

Date	BOSTON		NOTTINGHAM		YORK	
	sum received	no.	sum received	no.	sum received	no.
1763-64	£ 20. 0.0	1	£ 40. 0.0	?	£ 125. 0.0	5
1764-65	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	305. 0.0	12
1765-66	0. 0.0	0	30. 0.0	?2	255. 0.0	10
1766-67	20. 0.0	1	45. 0.0	?3	285. 0.0	12
1767-68	0. 0.0	0	15. 0.0	1	300. 0.0	12
1768-69	40. 0.0	2	0. 0.0	0	365. 0.0 ^e	11
1769-70	61.10.6	?	45. 0.0	?3	225. 0.0	9
1770-71	40. 0.0	2	0. 0.0	0	205. 0.0	8
1771-72	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	200. 0.0	8
1772-73	0. 0.0	0	15. 0.0	?1	190. 0.0	7
1773-74	20. 0.0	1	45. 0.0	3	250. 0.0	10
1774-75	0. 0.0	0	15. 0.0	1	385. 0.0	15
1775-76	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	280. 0.0	11
1776-77	50. 0.0	1	15. 0.0	1	2040. 0.0	79
1777-78	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	725. 0.0	29
1778-79	0. 0.0	0	30. 0.0	2	435. 0.0	17
1779-80	60. 0.0	3	75. 0.0	3	655. 0.0	27
1780-81	70. 0.0	2	93.15.0	6	450. 0.0	18
1781-82	110. 0.0	4	31.10.0	?2	480. 0.0	19
1782-83	0. 0.0	0	15.15.0.	?1	275. 0.0	11
1783-84	90. 0.0	3	78.15.0.	?5	330. 0.0	13
1784-85	40. 6.8	2	52.10.0	?	410. 0.0	17
1785-86	60. 0.0	3	94.10.0	5	180. 0.0	7
1786-87	20. 0.0	1	41.10.0	?3	525. 0.0	21
1787-88	100. 0.0	5	110. 5.0	7	435. 0.0	17
1788-89	60. 0.0	3	47. 5.0	?	505. 0.0	20
1789-90	60. 0.0	3	126. 0.0	?	580. 0.0	23
1790-91	100. 0.0	1	0. 0.0	0	330. 0.0	13
1791-92	40. 0.0	1	105. 0.0	?	380. 0.0	15
1792-93	0. 0.0	0	43.15.0*	?	200. 0.0	8
1793-94	0. 0.0	0	53.13.4*	?	510. 0.0	21
1794-95	80.18.4	2	0. 0.0	0	550. 0.0	22
1795-96	40. 9.2	1	42. 0.0	2	205. 0.0	8
1796-97	140. 0.0	2	0. 0.0	0	455. 0.0	18
1797-98	0. 0.0	0	15.15.0	1	300. 0.0	12
1798-99			21. 0.0	1	250. 0.0	10

Date	BOSTON		NOTTINGHAM		YORK	
	sum received	no.	sum received	no.	sum received	no.
1727-28	£ 0. 0.0	0	£ 0. 0.0	0	£ 152.10.0 ^e	5
1728-29	0. 0.0	0	27. 0.0	?2	245. 0.0	9
1729-30	0. 0.0	0	75. 0.0	?5	315. 0.0	13
1730-31	0. 0.0	0	15. 0.0	?1	100. 0.0	4
1731-32	0. 0.0	0	39. 6.0	?3	130. 0.0 ^e	3
1732-33	0. 0.0	0	97.12.0		125. 0.0	6
1733-34	0. 0.0	0	15. 0.0	?1	215. 0.0 ^e	9
1734-35	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	200. 0.0	8
1735-36	0. 0.0	0	12.12.0	?1	275. 0.0	11
1736-37	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	305. 0.0	12
1737-38	£ 20. 0.0	1	15. 0.0	?1	250. 0.0	10
1738-39	0. 0.0	0	55. 0.0	4	140. 0.0	5
1739-40	0. 0.0	0	58.12.0	?	155. 0.0	4
1740-41			30. 0.0	?2	110. 0.0 ^e	4
1741-42	0. 0.0	0	90. 0.0	?8	125. 0.0	5
1742-43	0. 0.0	0	15. 0.0	?1	230. 0.0 ^e	9
1743-44	21.16.8	?	59. 0.0	?4	180. 0.0	7
1744-45	80. 1.0	4	90.10.0	?8	155. 0.0	5
1745-46	21. 0.0	1	60. 0.0	?4	200. 0.0	8
1746-47	40. 0.0	2	40. 0.0	?	170. 0.0	7
1747-48	3. 6.8	?	65. 0.0	?	380. 0.0 ^e	11
1748-49	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	225. 0.0	9
1749-50	40. 0.0	2	0. 0.0	0	200. 0.0	8
1750-51	60. 0.0	3	30. 0.0	2	412.10.0	17
1751-52	20. 0.0	1	0. 0.0	0	75. 0.0	3
1752-53	0. 0.0	0	45. 0.0	3	180. 0.0	7
1753-54	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	480. 0.0 ^e	15
1754-55	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	100. 0.0	4
1755-56	0. 0.0	0	30. 0.0	2	440. 0.0	18
1756-57	20. 0.0	1	0. 0.0	0	375. 0.0	15
1757-58	10. 0.0	1	0. 0.0	0	235. 0.0 ^e	9
1758-59	20. 0.0	1	31. 0.0	2	425. 0.0 ^e	17
1759-60	40. 0.0	2	0. 0.0	0	230. 0.0	9
1760-61	60. 0.0	3	36.15.0	?	505. 0.0	20
1761-62	0. 0.0	0	15. 0.0	1	305. 0.0 ^e	12
1762-63	20. 0.0	1	12. 0.0	1	355. 0.0 ^e	14

Date	BOSTON		NOTTINGHAM		YORK	
	sum received	no.	sum received	no.	sum received	no.
1799-1800	£ 40. 3.4	1	£ 42. 0.0	2	£ 100. 0.0	4
1800-01	50.12.8	2	21. 0.0	1	625. 0.0	25
1801-02	50.13.2	1	210. 0.0	10	455. 0.0	16
1802-03	350. 0.0	4	84. 0.0	?4	175. 0.0	7
1803-04	50. 0.0	1	84. 0.0	4	400. 0.0	16
1804-05	0. 0.0	0	147. 0.0	7	325. 0.0	13
1805-06	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	505. 0.0	20
1806-07	0. 0.0	0	31.10.0	1	355. 0.0	14
1807-08	175. 0.0	2	31.10.0	1	711. 0.0	28
1808-09	50.13.4	?	0. 0.0	0	610. 0.0	24
1809-10	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	500. 0.0	20
1810-11	50. 0.0	1	157.10.0	5	375. 0.0	15
1811-12	125. 0.0	1	0. 0.0	0	575. 0.0	23
1812-13	0. 0.0	0	31.10.0	1	850. 0.0	34
1813-14	50. 0.0	1	126. 0.0	4	450. 0.0	18
1814-15	50. 0.0	1	63. 0.0	2	600. 6.8	24
1815-16	0. 0.0	0	252. 0.0	8	75. 0.0	3
1816-17	0. 0.0	0	63. 0.0	2	730. 0.0	29
1817-18	0. 0.0	0	31. 0.0	1	160. 0.0	7
1818-19	123.10.0	1	0. 0.0	0	600. 0.0	24
1819-20	273.13.4	4	42. 0.0	1	700. 0.0	28
1820-21	50. 0.0	1	0. 0.0	0	650. 0.0	26
1821-22	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	1170. 0.0	45
1822-23	50. 0.0	1	0. 0.0	0	930. 0.0	37
1823-24	0. 0.0	0	84. 0.0	2	550. 0.0	22
1824-25	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	1180. 0.0	47
1825-26	200. 0.0	4	0. 0.0	0	800. 0.0	32
1826-27	125. 0.0	1	0. 0.0	0	525. 0.0	21
1827-28	100. 0.0	2	0. 0.0	0	555. 0.0	22
1828-29	150. 0.0	3	0. 0.0	0	450. 0.0	18
1829-30	100. 0.0	2	0. 0.0	0	625. 0.0	25
1830-31	50. 0.0	1	0. 0.0	0	750. 0.0	30
1831-32	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	380. 0.0	15
1832-33	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	630. 0.0	25
1833-34			0. 0.0	0	75. 0.0	3
1834-35	0. 0.0	0	0. 0.0	0	512. 0.0	21
1835-36			0. 0.0	0	187. 0.0	9

Appendix VII

Fines for exoneration from Office. YORK 1660 to 1835

This list has been compiled from all entries in the Chamberlains' Accounts which pertain to exonerations, collecting together the sums entered within the category of exonerations and those entered within the categories of rents or casual receipts. Exonerations money paid each year by the Chamberlains for exonerations from the offices of Bridge and Mure Masters is not included since this was a regular annual payment.

Where years are missing it is because the account is not extant, or is illegible. In some years the Chamberlains' account books are not completely filled in, and they are not always audited.

Notes: f:- payment for the freedom with exonerations from certain offices.

p:- partial payment only of the exonerations money. Partial payments have not been included in the totals.

1:- the full sum was paid, but the paper where the amount of the second payment was entered, has been lost.

2:- This may not have been the full total of their fines, the account is not explicit.

3:- £1.10s.0d was refunded.

4:- This entry is from the rolls and includes the Chamberlains' payments.

5:- One was a resignation.

6:- Ordered to be put into the loan box, not into the account.

7:- £20 and £15 respectively had been abated by order of Hall.

8:- includes exonerations from the Shrievalty.

9:- £10 may have been abated for the entry on the roll is only £95.

APPENDIX VII

FINES FOR EXONERATION FROM OFFICE YORK 1660-1835

Date	no.	Chamberlain	no.	Chamberlain and Sheriff	no.	Alderman	no.	Sheriff	no.	All Offices	Total
1663-64					1	£50 + £50?	2	£70, £50			£220.0.0
1664-65							4	£15			15.0.0
1665-66							2	£100, £40, £33.6.8 ¹			173.6.8
1666-67							0	£50, £40, £10 ²			100.0.0
1668-69							2	£40, £60			100.0.0
1671-72							1	£100, £50 ^f			150.0.0
1672-73							2	£50, £90, £35, £50 ^p			225.0.0
1678-79							?	£205			205.0.0
1679-80							2	£100, £100, £10, £50 ^p			260.0.0
1680-81							2	£100, £45, £50 ^p			195.0.0
1682-83									1	£100 ^f	100.0.0
1683-84							1	£100			100.0.0
1684-85							3	£50, £50, £94	1	£130	324.0.0
1686-87							?	£100, £90, £50 ^p , £32, £38			310.0.0
1687-88							3	£45, £90, £80			215.0.0
1692-93			1	£130			2	£97, £30			257.0.0
1694-95	1	£10					1	£50			60.0.0
1695-96							2	£60, £50			110.0.0
1696-97							1	£60 ³			58.10.0
1697-98							2	£100, £100			£200.0.0
1698-99							5	£110, £100, £95, £90, £58.4.0	1	£110	563.4.0
1700-01											664.0.0 ⁴
1701-02											180.0.0 ⁴
1702-03							5	£90, £90, £90 £90, £100			460.0.0
1703-04							1	£90			90.0.0
1704-05							1	£100			100.0.0
1705-06							1	£150 ^f , £10 ^p			160.0.0
1706-07					2	£100, £100 ⁵	1	£120			320.0.0
1707-08							1	£90			90.0.0
1708-09							2	£90, £90			180.0.0
1709-10									1	£160	160.0.0
1710-11					1	£100 ⁶	2	£70, £70			240.0.0
1711-12							1	£70			70.0.0
1713-14									1	£150 ^f	150.0.0
1714-15					1	£50					50.0.0
1718-19					1	£100	1	£70			170.0.0
1719-20							2	£50, £55 ⁷			105.0.0

Date	no.	Chamberlain	no.	Chamberlain and Sheriff	no.	Alderman	no.	Sheriff	no.	All Offices	Total
1720-21			2	£150 ^f , £150 ^f			2	£70. £70, £50 ^p			£490.0.0
1721-22							2	£70, £70			140.0.0
1722-23							1	£70			70.0.0
1724-25							1	£70			70.0.0
1725-26							1	£70			70.0.0
1726-27					1	£100	1	£70			170.0.0
1727-28					3	£125, £125, £100			1	£150 ^f	500.0.0
1728-29					1	£200					200.0.0
1729-30					1	£300					300.0.0
1730-31							1	£70			70.0.0
1731-32							2	£70, £70	1	£200 ^f	340.0.0
1732-33							1	£70			70.0.0
1733-34							1	£70	1	£150 ^f	220.0.0
1734-35							1	£70			70.0.0
1735-36	1	£10					1	£70			80.0.0
1736-37							1	£70			70.0.0
1738-39					1	£200 ^B	1	£70			270.0.0
1739-40							1	£70			70.0.0
1740-41	1	£10					1	£70	1	£150 ^f	230.0.0
1741-42							1	£70			70.0.0
1742-43									1	£150 ^f	150.0.0
1744-45					1	£200					200.0.0
1747-48									1	£150 ^f	150.0.0
1748-49					Mayor	£100 by consideration					100.0.0
1749-50									1	£200	200.0.0
1750-51	1	£10									10.0.0
1752-53									1	£150 ^f	150.0.0
1753-54							1	£70			70.0.0
1756-57	1	£10					1	£70			80.0.0
1757-58							1	£70			70.0.0
1758-59									1	£150 ^f	220.0.0
1761-62					1	£100			1	£150 ^f	150.0.0
1762-63									1	£150 ^f	250.0.0
1763-64									1	£150 ^f	150.0.0
1765-66							1	£70			70.0.0
1765-66							1	£70			70.0.0
1766-67					1	£200					200.0.0
1767-68							1	£70			70.0.0
1768-69					1	£200 ^B	1	£70	1	£150 ^f	420.0.0

Date	no.	Chamberlain	no.	Chamberlain and Sheriff	no.	Alderman	no.	Sheriff	no.	All Offices	Total
1769-70					1	£100			1	£100	£200.0.0
1770-71					1	£200					200.0.0
1771-72					1	£100	1	£70			170.0.0
1773-74							1	£70			70.0.0
1778-79							1	£70			70.0.0
1779-80					1	£100					100.0.0
1780-81					1	£200 ⁸					200.0.0
1781-82									1	£350	350.0.0
1783-84							1	£150			150.0.0
1784-85							3	£150, £150, £70			370.0.0
1786-87							2	£70, £70			140.0.0
1787-88							1	£70			70.0.0
1788-89					1	£200	2	£70, £70			340.0.0
1789-90							2	£70, £70			140.0.0
1790-91					1	£100	2	£70, £70			240.0.0
1791-92							2	£70, £70			140.0.0
1792-93							1	£70			70.0.0
1793-94							2	£70, £70			140.0.0
1794-95							2	£70, £70			140.0.0
1796-97							2	£70, £70			140.0.0
1797-98							2	£70, £70			140.0.0
1798-99					1	£100	1	£70			170.0.0
1799-1800							1	£70			70.0.0
1801-02							1	£70			£ 70.0.0
1802-03			1	£150							150.0.0
1803-04							2	£70, £70			140.0.0
1804-05					2	£300, £200					500.0.0
1806-07					1	£300	2	£105, £105			510.0.0
1807-08			1	£150			1	£105			255.0.0
1809-10					1	£300	1	£105			405.0.0
1810-11							1	£105			105.0.0
1811-12					1	£300					300.0.0
1812-13					1	£300 ⁷					300.0.0
1813-14							1	£105			105.0.0
1816-17							2	£105, £105			210.0.0
1817-18					1	£300	1	£105			405.0.0
1818-19			1	£150							150.0.0
1819-20							1	£105			105.0.0
1820-21			2	£150, £150			2	£105, £105			510.0.0
1821-22							1	£105 ⁹			105.0.0
1823-24							1	£105			105.0.0
1825-26							1	£105 ⁹			105.0.0
1826-27			1	£150			1	£105			255.0.0
1827-28							1	£105			105.0.0
1828-29							1	£105			105.0.0
1829-30							1	£105			105.0.0
1830-31	1	£10			1	£150					160.0.0
1832-33					1	£150					150.0.0
1834-35							1	£105			105.0.0

APPENDIX VIII LOANS

The table of loans has been compiled primarily from the data available in the Chamberlains' account books, additional information being drawn from the Minute Books, and other miscellaneous documents.

In all three Boroughs it is apparent that a number of loan transactions did not pass through the accounts. On occasions the loan was "invisible" being the product of work or goods supplied and placed on bond. In addition, loan income was frequently directed immediately to the beneficiary or the treasury, thus bypassing the Chamberlain, and repayments of principal were on occasions made from sources other than the Chamberlains' funds. Not every loan therefore can be traced at origin or closure.

BOSTON The early accounts provide very limited information respecting loans, many receipts of extraordinary income being entered by the Chamberlains in their accounts without specification of whether the source was a loan, debt, donation or otherwise. The absence of interest repayments by the Chamberlains before 1719, suggest that no loans had been received before this date; however, the Assembly books indicate that this was not entirely the case. By 1730 interest was again no longer paid, suggesting that the credit received during the 1720's had been repaid. Again from 1754 to 1759 no interest payments were recorded by the Chamberlains.

NOTTINGHAM The early accounts here also provide very limited information, because only summary accounts remain. Loans

are specifically mentioned from time to time, but it cannot be known how many loans were not recorded directly in the accounts until the full ledger entries began in 1796. Rental books however clarify the situation during much of the eighteenth century for they include a list of interest payments due from the Chamber purse.

YORK.

The York list of loans is generally more complete than that for either Boston or Nottingham, the accounts being more detailed.

Where an asterisk appears in the table after the loan sum it denotes that receipt of the income is not recorded in the Chamberlains' Income account.

APPENDIX VIII

LOANS RAISED BY BOSTON CORPORATION 1660 to 1835

Creditor	Date of loan	Date of Repayment	Sum	Interest	Notes
W. Rosse	1660	1661	£100		BAB3/450,466
Anderson	1661	1667 £50	£100		BAB3/464
J. Bell	1663	1667 £250	£300		BAB4/485
?	1664		£60		BAB3/489
I. Jackson } M. Brown }	1669		£200		BAB3/532
?	1704		£500		"To be borrowed" BAB 1704
E. Dickinson.	1718/19	1719/20 £200 1722 £200	£400 *	5%	money into treasur; and repaid from it BAB5/328
Mr Brown	1722/3	By 1730	£40		These may not be loans, but may be related to the re- building of the Butter Cross at an estimate of £600 in 1732 BAB5/399
Mr Turell	1728/9	By 1730	£45		
Mr Preston	1728/9	By 1730	£20		
Mr Low	1728/9	By 1730	£10		
J. Chown	1732	1736, £250 1737, £140	£400 *		
Mr Adams	1733/4		£40		
Mr Nettleton	1733/4		£20		
His Honr. Berlie	1734/5		£50		
Mr Wayett	1736/7		£30		
J Parrish	By 1738/9	By 1741	£250 *	5%	
Dr Newton	By 1741/2	By 1742	£200 *	5%	
K Calthrop		1739	£100		
W Leeson		1740	£105		
Mr Falkner		1742	£305		
S Jackson	1742	1749 to 54	£150 *	5%	Possibly for the rebuilding of the bridge in 1742. £40 repaid by Shambles collector
Mrs Browne	By 1744	1744 £69.10s.6d	£100 *		
T Lane	1747		£200		
E Parrish	By 1749	1746 £40	£140 *	5%	£40 repaid direct from Collector of Butchers' rents.
J Pocklington	By 1749	1749-54	£200 *	5%	
K Fydell		1756	£450 *		£50 repaid direct from Collector of Butchers' rents.
Mr Beaty	1758/9	1771/2	£100	1771 5%	1761/2 £1100 on loan at 4% 1762/3 £1,700 on loan
Mr Waylett	1758/9	1771/2	£100	4% 1771 5%	
Mr Taylor	1758/9		£100 by 1760 £200		
Mr Jackson	1758/9		£100 by 1761 £300 *		
J Ayre	1759	1771 £200	£100	5%	
			by 1760 £200 *	5%	
Rev Whiting	1762/3		£500	1771 5%	
Mr Calthrop	1762/3	1777	£300 *	1771 5%	
Mr Arnold	1766/7		£150	5%	
			by 1771 £200		
T Hall	1770/1	1773/4	£500	4½%	
Dr Bostoe	1771/2	1773/4	£200	4½%	1771 Mayor to borrow £700 at no more than 4½%
T Hall	1771/2	1773/4	£100	5%	
Misses Barker	1771/2	1801-1811	£1,000	4%	Borrowed to pay Cooper's Pow alteration.

Creditor	Date of loan	Date of repayment	Sum	Interest	Notes
T Waite	1771/2	1801-1811	£100	4½%	
Misses Barker	1771/2	1787/8	£100	4½%	
Eliz Close	By 1771	1787/8	£300 *	5%	
Mrs Fields	1772/3	1780-1801	£700	4%	
Miss Hallam	1772/3	1780-1801	£300	4½%	
M Faulkner	1772		£400	4% 1812 5%	In trust-interest to Vicar.
E & L Close	1777		£500 *	4%	In trust
Mr Betts	By 1780/1	1785/6 £200	£400 *	4%	
E Stevens	By 1780/1	1787/8	£100	5%	
H B Pacey	1783/4		£500		To purchase Mr Ingram's house in Market Place £525
W Robinson	1794/5		£100		
Mr Pacey	1794/5		£100		
J Warren	1794/5	1801-1811	£250		
F Monkiston	1794/5	1797/8	£250		
Mrs Beaumont	1794/5		£300		
Mr Preston	1794/5	1813/14	£700		
Mr Roberts	1794/5	1803/4	£300		
Gee & Clarke	1795/6	1796/7	£500		
H Clarke		1796/7	£180 *		Treasury
A Preston	1796/7	1801/2	£600		
S Dashwood	1802/3	1811/12	£2,000		
E Wayyet	1802		£200		
Gee & Clarke	1803/4	1803/4	£500		} 1803.BAB Dec.1st To borrow £1,000 for bridge for 6 months
Bluecoat Charity	1803/4	1803/4	£50	5%	
J Wayet	1803/4	1806/7 £60	£120	5%	
Pydell & Co	1803/4	Unpaid 1833	£400	5%	
Mrs Young	1805/6	1822/3	£500		
M Wilson	1811	1816/17	£400 *		
J Robinson	1811/12		£2,000		
Laughton's Charity	1811/12		£100		
A Knight	1811	Unpaid 1833	£100 *	4½%	
J Wayet	1811		£100 *		
M Craddock	1811	1819/20 £3200	£3,000 *		For purchase of a tenement home from them. To be paid within 5 yrs
Wheldale	1817/18	1829 £30	£600	5%	
W Simpson	1812	£1,000	£2,000 *	5%	
M Thorney	1814	1833 £170 not pd.	£200	5%	
J Wilkinson	1817/18	1834 £20 1829 £20	£320	5%	
Thirkill	1818/19		£800		
White	1818/19		£200		
Calthrop	1816		£353 *		
S Byron	1819/20	1820 £500 1823 £500 1833 £1,300 unpaid	£2,500		
E Wayett	1819/20	1833 unpaid	£1,200 *	5%	£600 not placed in account
Rev Wright	1819/20	unpaid 1833	£440	5%	Trust money
F Wheldale	1820		£500 *	5%	
R B rown	1820/1	unpaid 1833	£600	5%	
J Baily	1820/1	unpaid 1833	£500	5%	
Erection Bailiff	1820/1		£600		
Harbour Trust	1820/1	1823/4	£500		
T Rogers	1821/2	1832/3	£2,000	5%	

Creditor	Date of loan	Date of repayment	sum	Interest	Notes
J Baily	1822/3	unpaid 1833	£500	5%	
Thirkill & Rogers	1824/5	1829/30	£600		
Harbour C'ttee	1824/5	1827/8	£1,000		
Thirkill & Rogers	1825/6	1825/6	£200		
J Baily	1825/6		£800 *	4%	
Rev Caparn	1825/6		£1000 *	5%	
Harbour C' ttee	1826/7	1829/30	£500		
Faulkners Charity	1826/7		£100		
S Hodgson	1826/7		£800	5%	
Mrs Hodgson	1827/8	unpaid 1833	£1000	5%	
Laughton's Charity	1827		£200 *	5%	
Miss Yerborough	1829/30	unpaid 1833	£1200	4%	
H Rogers	1829/30		£1100		For Wheldale's Bond
Rev Caparn	1829/30		£600 *	4½%	
Thirkill & Rogers	1829/30	unpaid 1833	£600	4½%	
T Vent	1829/30		£600 *	4½%	To pay for toll cause
J Backster	1830/1		£500	4%	
Dr Pacey	1831/2		£400		
Messrs Gee	1831/2	1831/2	£1000		
J Baily	1831		£500 *	4½%	
Boyall	1831/2		£700	5½%	
Mr Coupland	1832/3		£200		
Mr Coupland	1832/3		£690		
J Hardy	1832		£500 *	4½%	
B Kenrick	1832/3	1832/3	£100		
Mr Baily	1832/3	unpaid 1833	£500	5%	
Wheldale	1832/3		£800	5%	
Town Clerk	1832/3		£2000		Loan from W Seppings, trustee settlement
Blue Coat School	1834/5		£200		
J Phillips	1834/5		£250		
T Artindale	1834/5		£500		
Mr Seymour	1834/5		£100		
F Cooke	1834/5		£200	5%	} No account remains for this year 2/D/5
F Wheldale	1833/4		£500	5%	
J Baily	1833/4		£500	5%	
T Adlard	1833/4		£450	5%	
J Mason	1833/4		£650	5%	
M Hunnings	1833/4		£350	5%	

LOANS RAISED BY NOTTINGHAM CORPORATION 1660 to 1835

Creditor	Date of loan	Date of repayment	Sum	Interest	Notes
Ald. Parker	1685	?	£200 *	4%	Partially to repay the Chamberlains' deficit 1680/1
Robie Sherwin	By 1693	1695	£300	6%	The Lambley lands were mortgaged for this loan
Ald. Thos. Trigge	By 1696	after 1699	£300	6%	
Ald. Jno. Richards	By 1696	after 1698/9	£100	5%	
Thos. Alicocke	By 1696	after 1703/4	£88.9s.7d	5%	
Robie Sherwin	1710 on	1717	£1263.18s.0d	5%	Accumulated Lawbills since c1710 It was put on bond in April 1716 and repaid by the sale of Mansell Park in March 1718.
Thos. Smith	1725 on	1727	£1032 + £2432.12s.9d		Borrowed as need arose for rebuilding Shambles End. Debt by 1718 in fact much greater and partially repaid by sales.
Ald. Tho. Langford	1727	1731-2 £100 1732-3 £400 1733-4 £200 1739 £450 Balance by ? 1745	£1400	5%	Borrowed to pay Smith
Jos. Walters Mayor	1727-8	? 1745	£130		
Tho. Trigge	1730-1 ?	1731/2	£200 in part		Repaid from late balance
Ald. Tho. Langford	1734	By 1745	£200	} only 4% by 1740	To pay a bill for work at the Shambles, £100 and a legal bill £100
"	1736-7	" "	£100		
"	1737-8	1741	£150		
Wm Bilbie	1745-6	1760-1	£550	4%	
Jos. Finch B/N	1746-7	1748-9	£200		
Ald. Hornbuckle	By 1748-9	1751	£100	4%	
Jno. Wainwright	1750-1	1755-6	£400	4%	To answer the costs of a mandamus re Junior Council Borrowed from London
Jno. Seagrave	1755-6	1755-6	£200 *	4%	For his legal charges in above.
Ichabod Wright	1755-6	1759 £500 1787-8 £500	£1000	1765 5% * 1770 4½% 4%	To pay the above two legal debts and other debts and bills
J Padley	1759-60	1760-1	£200	4%	
Geo. Smith & Co	1761-2	1761-2	£200		
Ald. Hollins	1761-2	1777-80	£100	4%	
Ichabod Wright & Sons	1765-6	1774-5	£200		
" J Wright "	" " 1766	1780-1	£300 *		

Creditor	Date of loan	Date of repayment	Sum	Interest	Notes
Ald.R.Butler	1766-7	1766-7	£100		
" " "	1767-8	By 1770	£100		
Ald.Foulds Mayor	1768-9	1768-9	£60		
Mr Knowles	1770-1	1813-14	£600 *	4½%	Transferred to his exc's name in 1788
Mr.J.Smellie	1772-3	1786-7	£200	5%	R.Butler
"	1775-6	1786-7	£200	5%	For law bills
"	1780	1786-7	£100 *	5%	
Ald.R.Butler	1779/80	1798	£300	5%	
Smith & Co.Bankers	1790	Nov.1797	£1000	5%	
Whitlock & Smith Chamberlains	1792-3	1793-4	£1300		not the balance of their year in office.
Shore & Charlton	1793-4	1815 £300 1818 £500 1820 £250 1821/2 £250	£1300	5%	
Rev.A.CLauder	1793	1807-8	£500 *	5%	
Lady Santry	1793	1816-17 £250 Bal.by 1821	£500 *	5%	1795-E.Santry became E.Shore
Wm.Stretton	1793-4	1797	£100 *	5%	For work rendered
Geo.Burbage	1793-4	1799-1800	£100 *	5%	" " "
Wm.Stretton	1796-7	1801	£100 *	5%	" " "
Wm.Stretton	1796-7	1806	£300 *	5%	" " "
R.Hooton	1799-1800	1813-14	£200	5%	Between 1799-1803
Geo.Dodson	1799-1800	1803	£61	5%	Geo.Coldham T/C submitted bills for legal work concerning the disputed tolls amounting to £1680.
W ^o .Ball	1800-01	1802-3 £30 1803-4 £40 1808-9 £50 1813-14 £125 1817-18 £35 1818-19 £50	£230	5%	The loan may have been raised to meet these. ref.4728
Geo.Dobson	1800	?	£200 *	5%	
Wright	1802-3	1803-4	£500 *		temporary for 8 mths.5 days
Hen.Hollins	1804-5	1813-14	£1500	5%	
J.Balguy	1804-5	1819-20 £100 1820-1 £146.15s.	£246.15s.*		for his services as deputy recorder.
Ald.Huthwaite	1806-7	1806-7	£100.12s.		
Ann Charlton	1807-8	1821-22	£400	5%	NE law bills submitted between 1803-1809 totalled over £6571. Loans may have been raised to meet these
Lady Santry	1807-8	1816-17	£400	5%	

Creditor	Date of loan	Date of repayment	Sum	Interest	Notes
Wm. Stretton	1807	1807	£303.9.0d*		for work rendered B/95
Ald. Ashwell	1809-10	1809-10	£400	5%	
Jno. Collishaw	1809-10	1820-21	£200	5%	lent to school-wardens, but int. pd. by Ch ^h .
Union Club	1813-14	unpaid in 1834/5	£600	5%	for the Shambles improvement
Jno. Dams	1813-14	1815-16 £100 1816-17 £200 1817-18 £100 1818-19 £200' 1819-20 £250 1820-1 £550	£1500	5%	
Chr. Sturtevant	1813-14	1815-16 £150 1816-17 £150	£300	5%	
Tho. Evison	1813-14	unpaid in 1834-5	£1500	5%	to help pay for the Shambles
J Bullivant	1813-14	1815-16	£600	5%	
J Collishaw	1814-15	1820-21	£400	5%	To pay for the Shambles
J Bullivant	1814-15	1815;16	£600	5%	
C & H Homer	1814-15	1824-25	£500	5%	To help pay for the Shambles
Jane Kite	1814-15	1820-21	£200	5%	
J Green	1814-15	1828	£1200	5%	To help pay for the Shambles
Mrs Oldfield	1814-15	1816-17	£200 *		For work rendered?
F Calcraft/ Miss Archer	1814-15	1822/3, 1823/4	£300		
S Orgill	1815-16	1824-5	£400		
J James	1815-16	1833-4 £1,000 rest unpaid 1834/5	£2000		To help pay for the Shambles
J Black	1815-16	1820-31	£160		Paid by the Chamberlains from the School Estate
Sam Bird	1815-16	1830-31	£1200		
J. Kyte	1815-16	1825	£400		
Geo. Coldham	1816	1824-5	£300 *		For services rendered - put on bond
J Black	1816-17	1819	£40	5%	
Ald. Allen	1816-17	1818 £300 1825 £200	£500	5%	
Tho. Pepper	1816-17	1824-5	£160 *		For work rendered
Eliz. Pacey	1817-18	1818-19 £20 1819-20 £50 1821-2 £50	£120	5%	
Miss Nelson via Cath Tutin	1817-18	unpaid 1834-5	£10	5%	
Bridge Masters	1817-18	1823-4	£225	5%	
W.F. Rawson	1817-18	unpaid 1834-5	£1000	5%	Treasurer of the Providential fund for Dissenting Ministers
Eliz. Huthwaite	1818-19	" "	£2000	5%	paid by Smith in trust for E.H
Mary Wood	1819-20	" "	£400		Paid by Page & More in trust for M.W.
Miss Nelson via Cath Tutin	1819-20	" "	£60	5%	
Tho. Evison	1820-1	" "	£500	5%	

Creditor	Date of loan	Date of repayment	Sum	Interest	Notes
J Dunn	1820-21	1824-5	£200 *		For stationery supplied
Ald.Allen	1820-21	1820-21	£100	5%	for 3 months only
" "	1820-21	1821-22	£100	5%	" 6 " "
" "	1820-21	1821-22	£300	5%	
J Wallace	1820-21		£200		
Hannah Ellis	1820-21	1823-4	£200	5%	
J Wallice	1821-22	1824-25	£300	5%	
Smith	1821-3	1823-4	£2000 *		For work done at Exchange
Tho.Storer	1822-23	1824-25	£200	5%	
Miss Nelson via C.Tutin	1823-4	unpaid 1834-5	£10	5%	
J Kyte	1823-4	1823-4	£100	5%	
J Peet	1823-4	unpaid 1834-5	£800	5%	
Wm.Stretton	1824	1824	£800 *		Balance of his a/c for work, to remain on loan,D/5
Sir T/W Fund	1827-8	unpaid in 1834-5	£1200	3%	
J Howitt	1828-9	1828-9 £2000 1829-30 £500	£2500		A temporary loan
Union Club	1829-30	unpaid in 1834/5	£1000	4%	
R Alllott	1829-30	" "	£1600		Treas.of the Provid. fund.
Geo L.Cox	1829-30	" "	£1600		
Edw.Staveley	1829-30	1835 £1000 bal.unpaid in 1835	£2000	5%	From 1830 interest rates vary between 4 - 5%
J Crackle	1829-30	unpaid in 1834/5	£550		
Sir T/W Fund	1830-31	" "	£1200	3%	
Sam Bird	1833/4-1834/5	" "	£500 *		
L Hall	1834-5	" "	£2000		
Miss Nelson via C.Tutin	1834-5	" "	£20		-£120 repaid by 1834 further £10 lent 1834.

LOANS RAISED BY YORK CORPORATION 1660 to 1835

Creditor	Date of loan	Date of repayment	Sum	Interest	Notes
Jas Brooke Lord Mayor	1661-2	1661-2	£150	£4.10s.0d	
Sr.Hen.Thompson	1665-6	1666-7	£300	£9.16s.0d	
" " "	1666-7	1666-7	£100	£1	
Jn.Constable Lord Mayor	1680-1	1680-1	£200	½yr 6%	
Sr.H.Thompson ?	1680-1	1680-1	£110		
Thos.Agar	1684-5		£50		
S Hardwick	1684-5		£100		
L.Wilberfoss Lord Mayor	1686-7		£100		
Gilb.Metcalf Lord Mayor	1685-6		£150		
Rev.Jackson	1702-3 ?		£200		
Ald.Redman	1704	1704	£100		
Tho.Thompson	1704	27.12.1705	£100	6%	
Ald.Redman	1728	post 1740	£300	5%	
Josh.Eamonson	By1730	" "	£200	5%	
Darcy Preston	1732		£200	4½%	
Darcy Preston	1733	post 1760	£300	4½%	
" "	1740		£100	4%	
Metcalf Ingram	1740		£450	4½%	
Ann Field	1758		£600		see YHB44/68 J.Roper
Mrs.G.Berry	15.6.1759	18.11.1768	£100		
Miss.Willoughby	" "	12.6.1760	£100	4½%	
Revd.Lowther	" "	3.1.1770	£100		
Richd.Farrer	19.10.1763	26.5.1769	£100		"by order of the Committee for rep'g the roads belonging the city"
Jos.Acomb	1.9.1763	24.10.1767	£100		
Sarah Burn	6.9.1764	18.11.1768	£50		
Mr.Trueman	19.10.1764	22.11.1768	£50		
Robt.Woodhouse	7.9.1764	9.12.1769	£150		
Ewbank & Wakefield	25.6.1764	19.1.1767	£170		
Richd.Trueman	19.8.1764	22.11.1768	£50		
Mrs.G.Berry	28.10.1765	18.11.68	£250		Borrowed on security of Grimston tolls & used towards rep'g that road.YCAB
Mrs Idle	21.5.1765	1.7.1769	£200		
Mr Bishop	1765		£200		
Jos.Simpron		26.9.1768	£200		
Ald.Allanson	16.1.1767	23.12.1775	£150		
J.Wrigglesworth	2.1.1767	8.5.1768	£50		
Mr.Musgrave	16.1.1767	18.1.1777	£150		
Mary Berry	28.10.1768	16.1.1777	£100	4%	1782 4½% following taken in £50 bonds
" "	" "	" 31.1.1777	£50		
" "	" "	" 7.1.1784	£100		
Sarah Burn	10.10.1768	31.10.1785	£50		
Eliz.Burn	" "	" "	£50		
Martin Crofts	28.10.1768	10.5.1784	£50		
" jnr.	22.11.1768	24.2.1780	£100		
R.Trueman	21.11.1768	27.11.1776	£50		
"	"	29. 1.1777	£50		
"	"	11. 4.1788	£50		
Mr.Davies Jnr.	19.5.1769	6.12.1788	£50		
Mr.Musgrave	26.5.1769	18.1.1777	£150		
Robt.Lakeland	1.7.1769	3.1.1777	£100		
Geo. Raktick Ald.	7.12.1769	7.12.1772	£50		Repaid on his death
Richd.Davies	7.12.1769	6.12.1788	£100		
Jno.Allanson Ald.	8.12.1769	11.4.1789	£100		
Mr.Musgrave	"	18.1.1777	£50		

Creditor	Date of loan	Date of repayment	Sum	Interest	Notes
Mary Lowther	11.10.1779	15.1.1770	£100		
Mrs Davies	6.12.1788	5.4.1770	£50		
" "	6.5.1789	"	£50		
Mary Hoyes	7.1.1777	"	£100		
Revd. Buxton	30.5.1782	"	£50		
" "	10.5.1784	"	£200		
" "	6.5.1789	"	£100		
Richd. Garland	19.3.1777	"	£50		
" "	11.4.1789	"	£50		
" "	21.6.1779	"	£100		
John Tasker	16.11.1781	1.3.1771	£50		
" "	30.9.1786	"	£50		
Jas Rich	6.11.1775	26.6.1776	£50		
Sarah Hawksworth	21.12.1775	16.11.1781	£50		
Max Robinson	21.12.1775	24.4.1780	£50		
Brotherly Soc.	2.3.1793	31.12.1822	£300	4%	Bonds of £100
" "	2.3.1793	23.6.1802	£100	4½% from 1795	Bonds of £100
" "	7.3.1793	8.3.1794	£100	4½%	Bonds of £100
Benevolent Soc.	6.9.1794		£250		1794 order for £1000 to be raised on loan
Sus. Hotham	10.10.1794	11.1.1823	£300	4½%	paid in on her death
"	10.10.1794	8.7.1817	£150	4½%	
"	10.10.1794	24.1.1824	£150	4½%	
John Tate	10.10.1794	1800 £50 1801 £20 1802 £80	£150	4½%	
Eliz. Daniel	1.1.1802	31.12.1822	£100	4%	
Wm. Flower	10.12.1806	10.12.1822	£200		
Robt. Eaton	10.12.1806	10.12.1822	£260		
Jas Ledger	10.12.1806	9.11.1822	£100		
Wm Staveley	26.3.1812	28.11.1814	£100		Probably raised on recomm'd advice of the finance committee estab'd 1812
Tho Wolstenholme	26.3.1812	28.11.1814	£150		
Robt. Parkinson	26.3.1812	28.11.1814 £60 9.2.1815 £60 28.11.1814 £50	£120		
Math Walker	26.3.1812	28.11.1814 £50 9.2.1815 £50	£100		
Tho Wilkinson	26.3.1812	28.11.1814 £100 1.1.1821 £100	£200		
J Rayson	26.3.1812	28.11.1814 £100 11.12.1819 £100	£200		
Tho Rayson	26.3.1812	1.1.1821	£200		
R. Townend	26.3.1812	21.5.1813	£100		
I Bayldon	26.3.1812		£100		
G.T. Richardson	26.3.1812	3.2.1814	£68		
Messrs Steads	13.4.1812	28.11.1814 £290 9.2.1815 £100 6.8.1816 £150	£790		
J Crofton	13.4.1812	1.6.1819	£170		
Wm Stables	21.5.1812	3.2.1814	£85		
Peter Davis	7.1.1813	28.11.1814 £70	£170		
Wentworth & Co	10.10.1815	13.11.1815	£200		
Townend & Bayldon	3.2.1819	1818 £480 1819 £200 1820 £380	£960		
Messrs Wilson	10.3.1821	unpaid in 1835	£200		
Wilson & Twedie	Oct.1828	17.3.1829	£700		Result of cattle mkt improvements
Geo. Peacock	12.3.1829	unpaid 1835	£3500	4½%	As per finance committee recommendation.
Wm. H. Hearon	30.1.1830	3.3.1835	£2000	4½%	Extensive improvements
J Clough	15.2.1831	1833	£3000	4%	underway-1827 Cattle market, 1830, Mansion House
Wm Dunsley	15.2.1831	unpaid 1835	£2000	4%	1833 St. Leo's place
H Cobb	15.2.1833	unpaid in 1835	£1600	4%	1831 Spurnergate
Wm Gray	2.8.1833	" "	£1400	4%	improvement which was estimated to cost some £3500 (K/102)

Creditor	Date of loan	Date of repayment	Sum	% Interest	Notes
Messrs Mills & Oldfield	22.11.1834	" "	£3000	4%	
R & J Mill's	2. 3.1835	" "	£2000	4%	1834-5 £3000 borrowed for library
Messrs Dunn etc;	18. 5.1835	" "	£3000	4%	
Yorks.Ins.Co.	15.12.1835	" "	£5000	4%	

WORKMENS' BILLS PUT ON BOND. YORK

Creditor	Date of loan	Date of Repayment	Sum	Interest	Notes
J.Roper/Ann Field	? 1758	? 1768/9	£600		
G.C.Swann	?		£100		
Messrs.Wilson	11.12.1811	27.4.1813 & 1813/14	£400		
Mrs.Roper	4.11	27.4.1813 & 1813-14	£400		
" Prince & Gray	21.5.1813	28.11.1814	£150		Work at Foss Bridge
Mrs.Hornby		1.2.1816	£100		Probably transferred to bonded loans under Finance Committee 1812-20
Mrs.Housman		18.7.1815	£100		
Wm.Hornby		23.1.1817	£100		
Rich.Simpson		22.1.1817	£100		
Geo.Peacock		11.1.1817	£100		
Wm.Hotham		11.1.1817	£100		
Jo Dales		11.1.1817	£100		
R.Rhodes		11.1.1817	£100		
Tho.Smith		11.1.1817	£100		
Jo Emmerson		29.2.1816 12.10.1816	£360		
Ann Barker		7.5.1816	£50		
Jos Wood		31.1.1818 4.1.1819 29.10.1818	£1155		
Wm Gray		22.1.1818	£200		
Ed Prest		20.1.1818	£100		
Wm.Dunsley		20.1.1818	£200		
Fra.Theakston	5.6.1813	20.1.1818	£100		5%
Is.Spencer		20.8.1817	£200		
Blanchard			£100		5%
Bayldon			£100		5%
Geo Healey		28. 7.1817	£100		
J Dodsworth		12. 7.1817	£125		
Roper		8. 7.1817	£100		
Robt.Parkinson	1815 ?	8. 7.1817	£100		
Geo Nelson & Wood		19. 1. 1819	£150		
Sam Nichol		11. 4.1818	£280		
H.Dundas		11. 7.1818	£210		
J Brown		11. 7.1818	£100		
Jon Croft		8. 1.1819	£200		
Wm Blanchard		8. 1.1819	£100		
Wm Gimber		1. 1.1819	£100		
J Rayson		2. 1.1821	£200		
Tho Wilkinson		2. 1.1821	£100		
Robt Sinclair		2. 1.1821	£285 ?		
P Davies		2. 1.1821	£180		
Miss Beilby		9.12.1820	£150		
Hen.Gill	1820	24.10.1820	£100		3 months only
Marg.Moon		9. 5.1820	£200		
Eliz.Barker		29. 4.1820	£50		
Ed.Gill		1. 1.1822	£800		
Mary Ripley		2. 1.1823	£205 ?		

SUMMARY OF LOANS RAISED BOSTON, NOTTINGHAM AND YORK 1750 to 1835

Date	Boston (a)	Boston (b)	Nottingham (a)	Nottingham (b)	York
1751-55	nil	nil	nil	£1200	nil
1756-60	£500	£700	£200	nil	nil
1761-65	nil	£1000	£500	£500	£1320
1766-70	£650	£950	£260	£1160	£2550
1771-75	£2950	£2950	£500	£500	£250
1776-80	£100	£1000	£300	£400	nil
1781-85	£500	£500	nil	nil	nil
1786-90	nil	nil	£1000	£1000	nil
1791-95	£2500	£2680	£2600	£3800	£1500
1796-800	£600	£600	£491	£1091	nil
1801-05	£3770	£3770	£1500	£2246.15s	£100
1806-10	nil	nil	£1500.12s	£1804.1s	£560
1811-15	£2300	£7900	£11,860	£12,060	£2763
1816-20	£7660	£9113	£5,755	£6,415	£960
1821-25	£4700	£5500	£1410	£4010	£200
1826-30	£5000	£8200	£11650	£11650	£6200
1831-35	£10090	£11,090	£2020	£250	£21,000
					£8250
Totals:	£41,320	£55,953	£41,546	£50,356.16s.	£45,653

Tradesmens' bills
put on bond
1811-23

a) = actual cash loans received and recorded by Chamberlain in his Account.

b) = total loans raised and bills transferred to bond, many of which are not entered in Chamberlains' accounts.

APPENDIX IX ANNUITIES

BOSTON 1770 to 1834

ANNUITANT	AGE	PURCHASE DATE	DECEASE/LAST PAYMENT DATE	PURCHASE PRICE	YIELD p.a.	TOTAL REC'd by ANNUITANT	Civic profit/ Loss.
Cass Barker		1770/1	1790/1	£300	£24 8%	£480	-£180
Han. Barker		1770/1	1786/7	£300	£24 8%	£390	+£10
		1781/2		£100	£10 10%		
Ed. Brown		1770/1	1801/2 †	£400	£32 8%	£944	-£544
Ann Dewsnap		1771/2	1822/3 †	£200	£16 8%	£808	-£608
Eliz. Hughes		1771/2	1800/01	£200	£16 8%	£474	-£274
Eliz. Orme		1771/2	1785/6	£180	£14.8s 8%	£201.12s	-£21.12s
J. Colby/Hardwicke & Son		1771/2	1819/20	£100	£8 8%	£384	-£284
Fra. Drake of Lincoln		1771/2	1818/19 †	£200	£16 8%		
"		1786/7	1818/19	£1300 + £300	£104 6.5%	£4676.5s.	-£2376.5s
"		1805	1818/19	£500	£60 12%		
John Fox of Hull		1772/3	1791/2	£400	£32 8%	£640	-£240
Marcha Lowe		1772/3	alive 1834	£100	£8 8%	£496	-£396
Miss Farnam		1772/3	1782/3	£300	£24 8%	£240	+£60
Miss A Mitford		1772/3	1813/14	£300	£24 8%	£984	-£684
Miss S Mitford		1772/3	1826/7	£300	£24 8%	£1286	-£986
Miss C Mitford		1772/3	1782/3	£300	£24 8%	£240	+£60
Mrs Whiskin		1772/3	1776/7 *	£300	£24 8%	£96	+£204
J. Brand T. Thimbleby, } S. Sands		1772/3	1821/2	£50	£4 8%	£200	-£150
Mrs Poor		1773/4	1776/7 *	£250	£20 8%	£70	+£180
Mrs. Hinchcliffe		1773/4	1805/6	£600	£48 8%	£1272	-£672
Jo. A. Roberts		1773/4	1787/8 & 1801/2	£200	£8 +£8 8%	£332	-£132
Mrs A. Hunt		1773/4	1780/1	£200	£20 10%	£140	+£60
Miss Brewster		1776 * } 1787/8 } 1789/90 }	1797/8	£300	£24 8%	£1100	-£100
				£300	£24 8%		
				£400	£34 8½%		
T. Hardwicke		1775/6	1795/6 †	£100	£8 8%	£168	-£68
Ald. Beaty		1776/ *	1786/7	£500 ?	£40 8%	£440	+£60
Mrs Blake		1776 *	1820/1 †	£300	£24 8%	£1068	-£768
Miss M Smith (1)		1776 *	1791/2	£300	£24 8%	£360	-£60
Miss M Smith (2)		1776 *	1776/7	£300	£24 8%	£24	+£276
Mr Toynbee		1776 *	1799/1800 †	£300	£24 8%	£564	-£264
Miss Hallam		1776 *	1810	£200	£16 8%	£550	-£350
Ann Lee		1777 *	1817/18	£200	£16 8%	£640	-£440

ANNUITANT	AGE	PURCHASE DATE	DECEASE/LAST PAYMENT DATE	PURCHASE PRICE	YIELD p.a.	TOTAL Rec'd by ANNUITANT	CIVIC profit/loss
Fra. Thirkill		1777 *	1820/1	£100	£8 8%	£344	-£244
S. Willmott, E & T Hoe		1777 *	1825/6	£100	£8 8%	£384	-£284
T Jarvis St Mary le Bow		1780/1	1815/16	£100	£8 8%	£280.17s.9d	-£180.17s.9d
R. Fleming		1780/1	1805/6	£300	£24 8%	£612	-£312
Miss Brewer		1784/5	1789/90 †	£80	£8 10%	£36	+£44
Misses Willerton & Sewell		1785/6	1812/13	£400	£32 8%	£864	-£464
B & G Byrons		1786/7	1801/2 †	£312.10s	£25 8%	£375	-£62.10s
M & F. Blankiston		1786/7	1828/9 †	£1250	£50	£4400	-£3150
			1832/3 †		£50		
T Cheyney for J & W Garfitt		1787/8	1830/1	£600	£28 7%	£1946	-£1346
A & M Robinson		1787/8	alive 1834		28		
M. Johnson		1809/10	alive 1834	£650	£52 8%	£2736	-£1586
W. Turner		1828/9	1828/9	£1000	£100 10%	£1950	-£950
M. Ingram		1810/11	alive 1834	£300	£30 10%	£720	-£420
J. Pennington		1813/14	1828/9	£250	£30 12%	£465	-£215
J. Procter		1813/14	1817/18	£460	£84 18.3%	£378	+£82
			1819/20	£500	£55 11%	£357.10s +	+£60
M. Potter		1813/14	alive 1834	£250	£30 12%	£630	-£380
E. White		1819/20	1830/1 †	£100	£10 10%	£321	-£21
"		1819/20	1830/1	£200 **	£18 9%		
J. Salran		1819/20	1834/5 †	£200	£24 12%	£348	-£148
A. Summerscales		1820/1	alive 1834	£100	£10 10%	£145	-£45
A. Ashbourne	66yrs	1820/1	1828/9 †	£300	£40.10s 13½%	£303.5s.	-£3.15s
M. Weatherill	61yrs	1820/1	alive 1834	£100	£11.10s 11½%	£161	-£61
Wm. Stratton		1824/5	1829/30 †	£100	£18 18	£117	-£17
A.M. Farside		1826/7	alive 1834	£650	£63 9.7%	£441	+£209
E.J. Farside		1827/8	alive 1834	£500	£55 11%	£412.10s	+£27.10s
A Hall		1827/8	alive 1834	£100	£10.10s		
R. Grantham		1828/9	alive 1834	£100	10.5% £73.10. + £26.10s. £20 20%	£130	-£30
Total:				£19,682.10s		£37,781.9s.9d	-£18,098.19s.5

† = payment for part of a year

* exact date of purchase or decease unclear owing to missing accounts

** Not entered in the Chamberlains' accounts as a receipt.

NOTTINGHAM 1814 to 1835

ANNUITANT	AGE	PURCHASE DATE	DATE OF DECEASE/ LAST PAYMENT	PURCHASE PRICE	YIELD p.a.	TOTAL REC'D by ANNUITANTS	Profit/ Loss
Wo.Kilby		1.3.1815	1821	£250	£25	£537.10s	-£287.10s
Cath Tutin		15.7.1815	1823	£350	£39.10s)	£375.19s.9d	- 19s.9d
" "		1817	1823	£25	£3.)		
J.Charlesworth		1816	alive 1834	£300	£36	£666	-£366
J Clarke & Daughter		1816	" "	£300	£30	£547	-£247
Miss Evison		16.7.1817	" "	£1000	£100	£1800	-£800
Mrs S King	54	Dec.1817	" "	£150	£15.15s	£268	-£18
Anna Sewell		Jan 1818	" "	£360	£40	£700	-£340
Mrs Sales	57	1817	1830	£80)	£11	£125.18s.9d	-£25.18s.9d
" "		1818	1830	£20)			
Wm.Dealby, Wife & Son		1817	alive 1834	£600	£51	£841.10s	-£241.10s
John Gibson	60 3/4	11.6.1818	1833	£250	£30	£452.17s.6d	-£202.17s.6d
F.Wakefield		1818	1819	£220	£22		+£220
Miss Seawell		27.12.1819	alive 1834	£100	£11	£173.5s	-£73.5s
Geo.Braithwaite		1819	1823	£306	£36	£120.16s.6d	+£185.3s.6d
J.Smith & Wife	82	1.6.1819	1821	£275**	£41.5s	£128.17s	+£146.3s
	68						
Sarah Unwin	57	11.6.1819	1828	£220**	£23.2s	£231	-£11
Thos.Evison &(on death of one Daughters annuity to be only £80 per annum)		1820	alive 1834	£1000	£100	£1264.10s.4d	-£264.10s.4d
Mrs Greaves		1821	1833	£1500	£150	£1733.13s	-£233.13s
Josh Clarke		1821	alive 1834	£650	£65	£893.15s	-£243.15s
Mr Mears		Mar.1821-2	1833	£60	£7.16s	£101.8s	-£41.8s
Mary Meadows		1830	alive 1834	£180	£18	£81.	+£99
Mrs.Minster		1830	alive 1834	£100	£10	£45	+£55
**Sum not entered in accounts as a receipt.			<u>Total:</u>	<u>£8,296</u>		<u>£11,088.0.10d</u>	<u>-£2792.0.10d</u>

YORK 1783 to 1818

ANNUITANT	Age	PURCHASE DATE	DATE OF DECEASE/ LAST PAYMENT yrs pd.	PURCHASE PRICE	YIELD P.A.	TOTAL ANNUITANTS' RECEIVED	CIVIC PROFIT/ LOSS	INTEREST PAYABLE if a 5% LOAN
Hen.Myers		24-17-1783	1793 9 1/2	£500	£45	£427.10.0	+£72.10.0	£250.0.0
Mrs.Harrison		6.1.1784 16.2.1785	1816 32 1/2	150	12	388.16.0	-238.16.0	247.10.0
Fran.Hall		Oct.1785	1793 7	200	18	127. 1.0	+ 72.19.0	70. 0.0
Sarah Farnell		3.12.1788	1795 6	225	25	156.19.0	+ 68. 1.0	75. 0.0
Mrs Robinson		2.2.1789	1806 17	400	50	811.10.9	-411.10.9	320.00.0
Martha Inchboard		20.6.1794	1803 9	105	10	90. 0.0	+ 15. 0.0	46. 5.0
Wm.Lambert		5. 9.1794	1804 9 1/2	200	24	230.11.0	- 30.11.0	100. 0.0
Martin Walker		16.5.1795	1811 16	525	50	795.11.2	-270.11.2	446. 5.0
Ann Moseley		12.1.1796	1802 6 1/2	100	10	65. 0.0	+ 35. 0.0	35. 0.0
Jane Marshall		12.1.1796	1813 17	100	9	162.13.0	- 62.13.0	85. 0.0
Henrietta Tunnicliffe		24.3.1796	1816 20	500	50	1011. 0.0	-511. 0.0	500. 0.0
Louisa Floyd	65	28.3.1796	1817 21	300	33	700. 8.0	-400. 8.0	315. 0.0
Wm.Agar		24.1.1800	1808 8	250	40	324.15.0	- 74.15.0	100. 0.0
Wm.Bussey		27. 1.1800	1824 24	400	36	864. 0.0	-464. 0.0	420. 0.0
Chas Appleby	62	14.2.1800 1806	1826 25	300 120	30 15.10s	1092.15.9	-672.15.9	404. 0.0
Eliz.Yeoman		14.5.1802	1804 2	400	36	76.16.0	+323. 4.0	40. 0.0
Lowther Rutter	65	10.12.1806	1820 14	700	75	1065. 5.9	-365. 5.9	490. 0.0
John Kests		4.2.1807	1809 4	350	42	168. 0.0	+182. 0.0	70. 0.0
J.Earnshaw		7.1.1807	1823 18	100	15	270. 0.0	-170. 0.0	90. 0.0
Lind.Murray	61	7.1.1807	1825 19	400	50	950. 0.0	-550. 0.0	390. 0.0
Ann Long		7.1.1807	1813 7	150	24	168. 0.0	- 18. 0.0	52.10.0
Rich.Fletcher		7.2.1807	1813 6	200	26	156. 0.0	+ 44. 0.0	60. 0.0

YORK 1783 to 1818

ANNUITANT	Age	PURCHASE DATE	DATE OF DECEASE/ LAST PAYMENT yrs pd.	PURCHASE PRICE	YIELD P.A.	TOTAL ANNUITANTS' RECEIVED	CIVIC PROFIT/ LOSS	INTEREST PAYABLE if a 5% LOAN
Mary Middleton	58	Mar.1807	1826 20	£200	21	£430. 0.0	-£230. 0.0	200. 0. 0
Mary Field		4.4.1807	1805 8	200	21	169. 0.0	+ 31. 0.0	80. 0.0
Robt.Healey		4.4.1807	1826 19	400	52	988. 0.0	- 568. 0.0	380. 0.0
Chas Whittle		4.4.1807	1812 5½	1000	110	605. 0.0	+ 395. 0.0	250. 0.0
Marg.Selburn		4.4.1807	1813 7	100	16	112. 0.0	- 12. 0.0	35. 0.0
Jos.Vocer		1.6.1809	1815 6½	200	22	143. 0.0	+ 57. 0.0	60. 0.0
Kitty Parker		27.6.1810	1812 1½	250	15	45. 0.0	+ 205. 0.0	18.15.0
Robt.Brown	53	July 1810	1824 14	100	10	140. 0.0	- 40. 0.0	70. 0.0
Jas.Healey	68	1.8.1810	1826 16	400	60	960. 0.0	- 560. 0.0	320. 0.0
Thos.Bell		16.8.1810	1813 3	800	88	264. 0.0	+ 536. 0.0	120. 0.0
Jane Smith	67	16.8.1810	1820 9½	100	14	133. 0.0	+ 33. 0.0	50. 0.0
John Yeoman	66	1.9.1810	1819 9	156.5s	25	225. 0.0	- 68.15.c	67.10.0
Ann Burley	58	6.11.1810	1826 16	85	10	160. 0.0	- 75. 0.0	68. 0.0
Eliz.Terry	56	23.1.1811	1831 21	300	33	693. 0.0	- 393. 0.0	315. 0.0
Sarah Nicholson	59	24.1.1811	alive 1834	100	11	275. 0.0	- 175. 0.0	
Thos.Fentman	25	9.5.1811	alive 1834	75	£5.5.0	131. 5.0	- 56.15.0	52.10.0
Jane Tomlinson	67	4.3.1812	1818 6	175	23.12.6	141.15.0	+ 33. 5.0	200. 0.0
Mrs Hewson	71	4.3.1812	1820 8	500	82.10.0	639. 7.6	- 139. 7.6	65. 0.0
Mary Richardson	53	7.5.1812	1825 13	100	9.12.0	124.16.0	- 24.16.0	87.10.0
Eliz.Williamson	60	1.8.1812	1822 10	175	20	200. 0.0	- 25. 0.0	50. 0.0
Wm.Simpson	78	20.5.1814	1819 6	200	34	161.10.0	+ 38.10.0	130. 0.0
Rich.Simpson	79	20.5.1814	1827 13½	200	32	432. 0.0	- 232. 0.0	45. 0.0
Ann Addy	63	Sept.1814	1823 9	100	£11.10s	100.12.6	- 0 12.6	
Wm.Burn		Sept.1814	1831 1/12th	£125	£5.12.6d	£ 5.12.6	+£119. 7.6	1.10.0
Mrs.Broadbent	60	Sept.1814	alive 1834	300	33. 0.0	781. 0.0	- 481. 0.0	
Rev.S.Pollard	65	Oct.1814	1820 5	270	33.15.0	177. 3.9	+ 92.16.3	67. 5.0
Jere.Cunningham	57	Oct.1814	alive 1834	100	10. 5.0	215. 5.0	- 115. 5.0	
Mary Porter	53	19.11.1814	1835 21	100	9.10.0	197. 2.6	- 97. 2.6	105. 0.0
Jane Broker	59	7.2.1815	alive 1834	100	10.10.0	220.10.0	- 120.10.0	
Rich.Barr	74	2.3.1815	1825 10	100	17.10.0	169. 7.6	- 69. 7.6	50. 0.0
Rich.Dilcock	59	5.8.1816	1819 3	300	34.15.0	112.17.6	+ 187. 2.6	45. 0.0
Ann Fairburn	82	17.1.1817	1823 6	100	25	136. 5.0	- 56. 5.0	30. 0.0
Ann Ellis	67	17.7.1817	1831 14	400	54	756.0.0	- 356. 0.0	280. 0.0
Thos.Farrer	57	13.9.1817	1830 12½	300	30	375. 0.0	- 75. 0.0	180. 0.0
Sarah Oliffe	71	29.8.1818	1834 16½	100	15.10.0	255.15.0	- 155.15.0	80. 0.0
Jas.Wright	66	24.10.1818	1831 13	300	37.10.0	477. 5.6	- 177. 5.6	105. 0.0
				15,186. 5.0		21,275.2.8	- 6,088.17.8	8374. 0.0

APPENDIX XI Analysis of Civic Expenditure

The tabulations of civic expenditure which follow have been constructed by making a detailed breakdown of the Chamberlains accounts for each borough using the audited and unaudited accounts, cash books and vouchers of expenditure.

The Chamberlains in each borough subdivided and grouped their expenditure themselves for much of the period from 1660 to 1835, but nevertheless their accounts, as they stand, are of little value to any real understanding of the intricacies of civic expenditure. In each borough there existed the highly amorphous category of "necessary" expenses, which comprised in most years a substantial proportion of corporate payments. Such a category inevitably encouraged a random collection of payments, for many of which, the Chamberlain had a subdivision in his accounts, which he chose to ignore and which gives little indication of the true nature of civic expenditure.

At Boston the Chamberlain did not categorize his expenditure at all until 1749, his accounts being no more than a cash book of income and expenditure as it arose over his year of office while, at Nottingham, the brevity of the accounts until 1795 gives little indication of the payments which made up the "Fees and Salaries", "Necessary Expenditure", "Arrears" and "Presents and Rewards". At York the Chamberlains grouped their payments into six major categories of "Fees and Salaries", "Rents Resolute", (annual payments to traditional civic servants like the City Surgeon) "Charities" comprising interest due upon trusts held by the civic authority, "Chamberlains and Auditors Fees", "Necessary Expenditure" and, after 1672, "Buildings and Repairs". Such categorization is however often of more hindrance than help in identifying the nature of civic expenditure. Although in each borough the groupings were increasingly subdivided and narrowed as the eighteenth century progressed and civic expenditure became more involved, it is nevertheless apparent

that for much of the period until 1835, the categories were in many instances, abused, rather than used. Within the category of "Fees and Salaries" it is common to find premium payments, interest on charitable trusts, or loans and annuities, anything in fact of an 'ordinary' annual nature, which indicates a minimum annual commitment in outgoings, but renders little further information until more carefully identified and sorted.

In order therefore to analyse civic expenditure with any accuracy a complete re-ordering of the expenditure accounts appeared to be necessary, creating categories which could be used with a much greater degree of precision. This at the same time facilitated contrast and comparison over the time from 1660 to 1835 and from borough to borough.

The categories were selected as a result of the material arising from the accounts themselves, indentifying nine major areas of expenditure comprised of twenty-four smaller categories:-

A. Civic Pride and Administration.

1. Dignity (eg. material embellishments, plate, maces, portraits, gifts to visitors).
2. Feasts and Celebrations.
3. Liveries.
4. Salaries of Officials of the Corporation, some of whom had held responsibility posts for nominal remuneration, most of whom contributed primarily to dignity and aplomb of the civic body.

B. Improvements and Amenities.

5. Salaries of workmen and professional advisers employed specifically for their services and for the duration of their usefulness, who received reasonable remuneration for their work.
6. Costs of work and materials.
7. Costs of maintaining a civilised environment - eg. cleansing, lighting, drainage, water supply.
8. Maintaining Law and Order.
9. Valuing and surveying.

C. The Local Economy

10. Subscriptions to functions - eg. horse races, assemblies,
11. Subscriptions and Assessments relating to applications for and obtaining of Local Acts of Parliament and Enclosure.

D. Charity

12. Charitable donations.

E. Legal

F. Annual Commitments

14. Charitable trust premiums and dues.
15. Annual taxes and assessments, rents owed on civic property.
16. Interest and principal repayments.
17. Arrears of rent due on civic tenancies.
18. Insurance charges.

G. Purchases and Investments

19. Investments and Loans.
20. Purchases of property and materials.

H. Newspapers and Stationary Bills.

21. Printing and Papers.

I. Miscellaneous.

22. Miscellaneous payments of small amount and unrelated to any of the other groupings in this table.
23. Charges and debts from past accounts.
24. Undesignated expenses, the nature of which cannot be ascertained.

Categorization of the accounts in this manner inevitably creates an opportunity for subjectivity and inaccuracy in analysis and grouping. It facilitates however far greater analysis than would otherwise be possible. To have made such an analysis for each account over the whole period from 1660 to 1835 would, if desirable, nevertheless not have been feasible, for such a process requires the sorting, analysis and re-categorization of hundreds of individual payments in each financial year, together with the ultimate re-balancing of the final total. A selection has therefore been used taking an account every ten years, or as close thereto as extant records permit, with three

concurrent accounts examined in 1749 and 1819. This method has provided the means to trace regular expenses and areas of expenditure through the entire period from 1660 to 1835, thus providing some perspective through the time span by highlighting significant periods of change. It also provides a rough perspective in monetary terms. The most obvious drawback of this method lies in the danger of identifying individual deviations from the norm as significant on the basis of only one account in ten when any number of reasons may be behind the increase or decrease in cost, not least, the over, or under payment of an item in the preceeding year's account. It was partly to alleviate this problem that the three concurrent years were also examined, but in all areas of prime significance this problem is obviated by more detailed analysis within the chapters of the dissertation.

Errors have emerged during the process of recategorization, some originating from the Chamberlain himself, others arising during the re-ordering. The latter, having proved seemingly intractable, have been noted in the totals figures in the tables.

APPENDIX XI A

Boston - Analysis of Civic Expenditure

	1700-01	1710-11	1717-18	1730-31	1741-42	1749-50	1750-51	1751-52	1760-61	1770-71
A 1) Dignity										
2) Feasts and Celebrations	51.13.7	88. 0.0	103. 4.10	121. 3.0	112. 1.6	122. 8.8	112.18.6	112.18.8	160. 1.25	149. 5.3
3) Liveries										
4) Officers Salaries	129. 0.8	100. 3.8	124. 7.0	159.19.0	180. 8.0	188.11.4	183. 8.0	189.18.0	211.11.0	199.18.0
B 5) Salaries Workmen	0. 1.0	21. 1.4	54. 0.6	45. 3.7	46.18.0	66. 2.2	73.19.4	70.10.4	87.18.9	77.10.6
6) Work and Materials	152. 7.8	570. 9.2	625. 6.05	557. 6.0	69. 0.4	198. 8.4	273.19.45	186. 3.55	327. 7.65	167. 9.1
7) Civilised Environment										
8) Law and Order										
9) Valuing and Surveying										
C 10) Local economy									30. 0.0	
11) Enclosure										
D 12) Charitable						10.10.0				5. 5.0
E 13) Legal costs										
F 14) Charitable trusts	17.12.1	6.10.2	10.13.6	5. 0.0	5. 0.0	25. 0.0	25. 0.0	25. 3.9	25. 0.0	9. 1.0
15) Taxes, rents, assessments	19.11.5	66. 9.0	59.15.10	60.11.7	96. 1.0	102.11.5	83. 5.3	84. 5.0	104. 3.6	100. 9.11
16) Interest and repayments					10. 0.0	24.10.0	24.10.0	22.10.0	32. 0.0	124.15.0
17) Arrears	6.12.4	22.13.4	39. 5.0	71. 2.6	10.10.8	2.10.8		82.18.2		
18) Insurance										
G 19) Investment								11. 5.0		
20) Purchases									50. 0.0	
H 21) Printing & papers										
I 22) Miscellaneous	4.10.0	13. 9.10	28.19.6	2. 4.0	1.18.9	3.17.75	0.18.3	27.8.115	20. 0.0	9.10.0
23) Previous account						5. 4.65				
24) Unknown	34. 0.15	23.15.11	47.15.4				212. 3.05	130.17.1	125.16.9	35. 0.0
Total	415. 9.8	912.12.5	1023. 7.65	1022. 9.8	531.18.3	749.14.85	990. 1.95	943.18.45	1173.18.9	878. 3.9
error			Accountants error 10/-				1d			2.0
Total as per audited account	415. 9.8	912.12.5	1022.17.65	1022. 9.8	531.18.3	749.14.85	990.1.105	943.18.45	1173.18.95	878. 1.9

Boston - Analysis of Civic Expenditure

	1780-81	1790-91	1800-01	1810-11	1819-20	1820-21	1821-22	1830-31
A 1) Dignity								
2) Feasts and Celebrations	188.12.10	21. 4.0	226.13.11	224. 5.6	179.18.5	190.12.4	86. 1.1	225. 5.0
3) Liveries								
4) Officers Salaries	200.18.0	354.17.0	290.17.8	348.10.7	938. 4.2	984. 4.2	914. 4.2	411.16.8
B 5) Salaries Workmen	159. 0.6	131.15.6	132.19.6	100. 3.10	237.12.10	197.12.10	244.13.6	305.17.4
6) Work and Materials	615. 8.6½	294. 6.3	394. 0.3½	2234. 6.6½	4390.12.3	4603. 8.0	2829.18.11	275. 3.9
7) Civilised Environment								
8) Law and Order			12. 0.0					
9) Valuing and Surveying								
C 10) Local economy			47. 9.6					
11) Enclosure								
D 12) Charitable	8.19.5	7. 6.2	73. 6.4	101.10.0	82.10.0	884. 1.7	481.10.0	123. 0.0
E 13) Legal costs		41.16.11	87.15.0½	74. 6.3	451.14.1	356. 8.9	197. 9.4	869.13.2
F 14) Charitable trusts	32. 2.9½	24.11.8	28. 4.8½	26. 4.0	26. 8.2	23. 4.1½	23. 0.0	27.10.0
15) Taxes, rents, assessments	136. 2.0	134.14.5½*	211.10.1½	238.18.6	136. 1.6	189.14.10	189. 0.10	290. 1.4
16) Interest and repayments	761. 3.0	925.10.0	829. 0.0	1407. 1.0	5120. 7.10	3109.15.6	2041. 0.0	1983. 6.6
17) Arrears	14. 7.6	3. 0.0	3. 0.0					
18) Insurance	3.15.0	6. 7.6	7. 5.0	8. 2.6	8.14.0	8.14.0		21.14.6
G 19) Investment								
20) Purchases								
H 21) Printing & papers								
I 22) Miscellaneous	0. 2.0		28.12.6	6. 1.0				10. 0.0
23) Previous account								
24) Unknown	43.15.3	30.18.2		24.17.0				
Total	2164.6.10½	1976. 7.7½	2372.14.7	4794. 6.8½	11622.3.3	10547.16.1½	7006.17.10	4543.8.3
error								
Total as per audited account	2164.6.10½	1976. 7.7½	2372.14.7	4794. 6.8½	11622.3.3	10547.16.1½	7006.17.10	4543.8.3

* Includes payment on Lighting and Paving Act.

Boston - Summary of Civic Expenditure

	1700-01	1710	1717	1730-31	1741-42	1749-50	1750-51	1751-52	1760-61	1770-71
A Civic pride and administration	180.14.3	188. 3.8	227.11.10	281. 2.0	292. 9.6	311. 0.0	296. 6.6	302.16.8	371.12.24	349. 3.3
B Improvements and amenities	152. 8.8	591.10.6	679. 6.64	602. 9.7	115.18.4	264.10.6	347.18.84	256.13.94	415. 6.34	244.19.7
C Local Acts and economy									30. 0.0	
D Charity						10.10.0				5. 5.0
E Legal										
F Annual commitments	43.15.10	95.12.6	109.14.4	136.14.1	121.11.8	154.12.1	132.15.3	214.16.11	161. 3.6	234. 5.11
G Purchases and investments								11. 5.0	50. 0.0	
H Newspapers, Stationery										
I Miscellaneous	38.10.11	37. 5.9	76.14.10	2. 4.0	1.18.9	9. 2.14	213. 1.34	158. 6.04	145.16.9	44.10.0
Total	415. 9.8	912.12.5	1093. 7.64	1022. 9.8	531.18.3	749.14.84	990. 1.94	943.18.44	1173.18.9	878. 3.9
	1780-81	1790-91	1800-01	1810-11	1819-20	1820-21	1821-22	1830-31		
A Civic pride and administration	389.10.10	376. 1.0	517.11.7	572.16.1	1118. 2.7	1174.16.6	1000. 5.3	637. 1.8		
B Improvements and amenities	774. 9.04	426. 1.9	538.19.94	2334.10.44	4628. 5.1	4801. 0.10	3074.12.5	581. 1.1		
C Local Acts and economy			47. 9.6							
D Charity	8.19.5	7. 6.2	73. 6.4	101.10.0	82.10.0	884. 1.7	481.10.0	123. 0.0		
E Legal		41.16.11	87.15.04	74. 6.3	451.14.1	356. 8.9	197. 9.4	869.13.2		
F Annual commitments	947.10.34	1094. 3.74	1078.19.10	1680. 6.0	5341.11.6	3331. 8.54	2253. 0.10	2322.12.4		
G Purchases and investments										
H Newspapers, Stationery										
I Miscellaneous	43.17.3	30.18.2	28.12.6	30.18.0				10. 0.0		
Total	2164.6.104	1976. 7.74	2372.14.7	4794. 6.84	11622.3.3	10547.16.14	7006.17.10	4543. 8.3		

Boston - Summary of Civic Expenditure (%)

	1700-01	1710	1717	1730-31	1741-42	1749-50	1750-51	1751-52	1760-61	1770-71
A Civic pride and administration	43.5	20.3	20.8	27.5	54.8	41.5	29.8	32.1	31.6	39.8
B Improvements and amenities	36.6	64.7	62.0	58.8	21.8	35.3	35.2	27.2	35.3	27.9
C Local Acts and economy etc.									2.6	
D Charity						1.50				
E Legal										
F Annual commitments	10.0	10.5	10.1	13.4	23.0	20.6	13.4	22.7	13.7	27.7
G Purchases and investments								1.2	4.3	
H Newspapers etc.										
I Miscellaneous	9.4	4.05	7.05	1.95	0.4	1.2	21.5	16.7	12.4	5.1
Total	99.5	99.56	99.95	100.65	100	100.1	99.9	99.9	99.9	101.1
	1780-81	1790-91	1800-01	1810-11	1819-20	1820-21	1821-22	1830-31		
A Civic pride and administration	18.0	19.1	21.5	11.9	9.5	9.6	14.25	14.0		
B Improvements and amenities	35.7	21.6	22.8	48.6	39.8	45.5	43.8	12.6		
C Local Acts and economy etc.			2.0							
D Charity	0.4	0.4	3.1	2.1	0.7	8.2	6.85	2.71		
E Legal		2.1	3.7	1.5	3.9	3.4	2.8	19.15		
F Annual commitments	43.7	55.3	45.5	35.0	46.0	31.6	32.1	51.1		
G Purchases and investments										
H Newspapers etc.										
I Miscellaneous	2.03	1.6	1.2	0.6				0.2		
Total	99.83	100.1	99.8	99.7	99.9	99.7	99.8	99.76		

APPENDIX XI B

Nottingham - Analysis of Expenditure 1825-1835

	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834
A 4) Officers Salaries	356.14.6	353.10.2	366.11.0	409. 3.0	420.15.6	420. 0.0	420. 9.4	417.16.10	418. 8.4	419. 5.10
B 5) Salaries Workmen	209.18.4	209.18.4	209.18.4	224.18.4	251. 3.4	239.18.4	239.18.4	246.18.4	227.18.4	237.18.4
Exps. Exchange Rus										
6a) Meadows, Mkt. Place	446.13.8	1837. 9.5	411. 2.2	67. 0.6	173. 2.0	67.15.6	90. 4.2	271.15.2	297.13.11	162. 1.1
6b) Repairs	352. 1.10	700. 4.6	620.14.1	796. 2.0	519. 8.8	951.13.0	546.15.10	704.15.6	815. 4.2	687. 0.9
6c) Improvements	1004. 5.2	4100.13.0	677.10.6		998.18.0	2349.14.6	1251. 3.6		315.19.6	
D 12) Donations and gratuities	210.17.6	224. 2.0	135.12.0	157. 2.0	382. 7.0	164. 0.0	187.12.0	158. 2.0	257.18.0	232.18.0
E 13) Legal costs	351. 4.0	493. 1.0	439. 0.0	439. 3.6	424. 8.6	495. 8.9	431.13.0	425.16.0	426.14.0	506.13.0
F 14) Charitable trusts	28. 5.9	22. 8.6	60. 1.6	26.12.6	22. 2.6	61.19.0	28.14.0	29. 3.6	22.16.6	25.13.0
15) Taxes, rents, assessments	132.17.5	135.18.0	138. 7.6	135.11.6	141.19.0	147.11.9	148. 9.2	152. 5.6	148. 6.1	269. 3.6
16) Interest, annies. and repayments	1236.15.0	1262. 9.0	2515.15.4	3187.13.0	1924. 8.0	2651.11.3	1503. 3.0	1430. 1.0	2268.13.6	1303. 8.6
17) Arrears	31. 6.6	85.15.9	41.16.10	52.13.10	39.15.7	88. 7.4	65.10.6	87.13.5	62. 7.2	263.16.2
G 19) Investment										2000. 0.0
20) Purchases					5861.14.0				919.15.6	330. 0.0
I Expenses	619. 6.10	302. 9.9	345.12.7	437. 6.5	839. 9.10	667. 1.3	919.15.0	678.12.8	629. 3.6	552. 5.6
22) Miscellaneous					200. 0.0					
23) Previous account	1294. 3.3		1389. 7.6	936.15.4			1134. 9.5	271. 3.8		848. 2.8
Total	6274. 9.9	9727.19.5	7351. 9.4	6870.1.11	12198.11.11	8305. 0.8	6927.17.3	4864. 3.7	6810.18.6	7827. 6.4

Nottingham - Summary of Civic Expenditure 1825-1834

	1825-26	1826-27	1827-28	1828-29	1829-30	1830-31	1831-32	1832-33	1833-34	1834-35
A Civic pride and administration	356.14.6	353.10.2	366.11.0	409. 3.0	420.15.6	420. 0.0	420. 9.4	417.16.10	418. 8.4	418. 5.10
B Improvements and amenities	2012.19.0	6848. 5.3	1919. 5.1	1089. 0.10	1942.12.0	3609. 1.4	2128. 1.10	1213. 9.0	1656.15.11	1077. 0.2
C Local Acts and economy										
D Charity	210.17.6	224. 2.0	135.12.0	157. 2.0	382. 7.0	164. 0.0	187.12.0	158. 2.0	257.18.0	232.18.0
E Legal	351. 4.0	493. 1.0	439. 0.0	439. 3.6	424. 8.6	495. 8.9	431.13.0	425.16.0	426.14.0	506.13.0
F Annual commitments	1429. 4.8	1506.11.3	2756. 1.2	3402.10.10	2128. 5.1	2249. 9.4	1750.16.8	1699. 3.5	2502. 3.3	1862. 1.2
G Purchases and investments					5861.14.0				919.15.6	2330. 0.0
H Newspapers etc.										
I Miscellaneous	1913.10.1	302. 9.9	1735. 0.1	1374. 1.9	1038. 9.10	667. 1.3	2054. 4.5	949.16.4	629. 3.6	1400. 8.2
Total	6274. 9.9	9727.19.5	7351. 9.4	6870. 1.11	12198.11.11	8305. 0.8	6927.17.3	4864. 3.7	6810.18.6	7827. 6.4

Nottingham - Summary of Civic Expenditure 1825-1834 (%)

	1825-26	1826-27	1827-28	1828-29	1829-30	1830-31	1831-32	1832-33	1833-34	1834-35
A Civic pride and administration	5.7	3.6	4.96	5.9	3.4	5.05	6.0	8.5	6.1	5.2
B Improvements and amenities	32.2	70.4	25.9	15.8	16.0	43.5	30.7	26.0	24.3	13.7
C Local Acts and economy										
D Charity	3.4	2.3	1.8	2.3	3.1	1.9	2.7	3.2	3.8	2.9
E Legal	5.6	5.05	5.9	6.3	3.4	5.9	6.2	8.7	6.2	6.5
F Annual commitments	22.3	15.4	37.4	49.5	17.5	35.6	25.3	34.8	36.8	23.8
G Purchases and investments					48.2				13.5	29.8
H Newspapers etc.										
I Miscellaneous	30.2	3.1	23.6	19.9	8.5	8.05	29.6	19.5	9.2	17.9
Total	99.2	99.95	99.5	99.7	100.1	100.00	100.5	100.7	99.9	99.8

York - Analysis of Expenditure

APPENDIX XI C

	1661-62	1671-72	1680-81	1692-93	1700-01	1710-11	1720-21	1730-31	1740-41	1749-50
A 1) Dignity		3. 6.2	9.10.0	27.16.2	3.10.0	3. 2.5	3.15.2	72.19.6	19.18.6	13. 1.34
Feasts and										
2) Celebrations	28.18.0	21. 4.6	24. 1.6	98.10.2	36. 4.2	20. 0.0	38.13.7	28. 4.8	33.16.0	31.14.6
3) Liveries	26. 0.8	27.15.6	11.11.7	10.12.8	7. 0.5	5.14.0		20.12.6	35. 4.0	32.19.0
4) Officers Salaries	208.17.4	215.16.8	213. 7.4	234. 8.6	240. 1.10	244. 3.8	244.10.0	257.15.8	545.10.10	541. 2.10
B 5) Salaries Workmen	23. 3.10	37. 0.0	41. 2.8	62.14.8	80.11.0	84. 7.5	78. 6.5	71. 9.1	87. 9.34	106. 6.4
6) Work and Materials	65. 6.2	340.14.8	211. 7.4	177. 1.8	105.10.1	39.10.1	98.17.84	267.17.114	377. 7.3	223. 2.6
Civilised										0. 2.0
7) Environment										
8) Law and Order					1.14.7	3.10.8		0. 6.0		3. 0.0
Valuing and										
9) Surveying										
C 10) Local economy						15. 0.0	15. 0.0	15. 0.0	147.17.0	15. 0.0
11) Enclosure										
D 12) Charitable	3.11.8	4. 7.6	84.11.8	62.19.7	20.5.104	30.17.6	2. 0.0	7. 2.0	10. 0.0	10. 0.0
E 13) Legal costs	54. 3.6	9.10.11	134.12.9	50. 8.7	87.12.0	16. 4.0	20. 9.11	24. 2.8	67. 5.11	18.13.0
F 14) Charitable trusts	61.12.6	31.10.8	58. 0.0	103. 3.4	244. 3.4	137. 8.4	138.18.0	180. 9.0	197.19.0	188. 9.0
Taxes, rents,										
15) assessments	49. 2.9	49. 1.4	54. 4.4	71. 0.0	33. 2.5	566.14.2	105.16.9	136.13.10	140. 1.6	131.17.11
Interest and										
16) repayments	161.10.0		206. 0.0		353. 7.7	25. 0.0		32.10.0	17. 5.6	24. 0.0
17) Arrears										
18) Insurance										
G 19) Investment										
20) Purchase			100. 0.0							
H 21) Printing & papers				11. 6.3	7. 0.0	8. 6.6	11.13.0	17. 8.0	9.16.0	17. 8.1
I 22) Miscellaneous	1. 5.2	4. 2.10	1. 0.8	8.14.7	3. 0.2	4. 1.4	2. 9.0	1.16.4	2.10.0	0. 5.11
23) Previous Account				2. 4.4						6.10.104
24) Unknown	32.10.0		6. 1.4	4. 9.10	1. 0.0		54.10.6	1. 7.0	1. 0.0	
Total	716. 1.7	744.10.9	1155.11.2	925.10.4	1224. 3.54	1204. 0.1	815. 0.04	1135.14.24	1693. 0.94	1363.13.34
error		1.0			Chamberlain error 2.0			Chamberlain error 1d.		11d.
Total as per account		744.11.9	1155.11.2	925.10.4	1224. 5.54		815. 0.04	1135.14.14	1692.19.14	1363.13.34

York - Analysis of Expenditure

	1750-51	1751-52	1760	1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1819-20	1820-21
A 1) Dignity	13.14.4	26.16.6	19. 9.10	45. 0.4	34. 4.6	122.14.0	32. 7.10	109. 0.0	7. 7.9	52.10.0
2) Feasts and Celebrations	13. 7.6	9. 2.0	101. 7.9	4. 1.8	11. 4.9	29.12.0	15.17.4	29.19.0	67. 7.9	139. 5.4
3) Liveries	17. 6.8	13.11.0	26.19.0	60. 9.0	11. 7.6	13.16.8	32. 4.8	27.12.0	81. 9.9	20. 4.1
4) Officers Salaries	532. 2.10	541. 2.10	557. 2.10	640. 2.10	761. 8.10	734. 8.2	803.14.10	1126.17.8	396. 6.6	391. 6.0
B 5) Salaries Workmen	113. 5.1	103. 6.6	77.17.10	97.10.4	98. 8.4	91.14.9	72.11.0	56.12.4	47. 8.6	61. 0.9
6) Work and Materials	537.16.4½	201. 1.0½	403.12.4	306.10.10½	583. 8.3½	455.12.3	586. 3.8½	2650.10.2½	988.11.9½	1550.19.4
7) Civilised Environment	7. 0.4		111. 1.0		3. 7.9				40. 7.3	12. 0.0
8) Law and Order	4.15.6	17.10.0	0.16.0		0.11.0					
9) Valuing and Surveying								7.17.6	7. 7.0	
C 10) Local economy	15. 0.0	15. 0.0	50.13.6	39.15.0	44.11.0	207. 9.6	74. 6.3	65.17.0	96. 0.6	93.10.6
11) Enclosure									448.19.0	
D 12) Charitable	70.15.0	40. 0.0	114. 0.0	79. 7.6	65. 8.0	21. 1.0	310. 0.0	15. 0.0	15. 0.0	15. 0.0
E 13) Legal costs	91.19.6			5.12.2				153. 4.6	1560.11.2	17.14.0
F 14) Charitable trusts	190.19.0	189. 6.9½	191.15.0	198. 5.0	207.15.0	201.15.0	286.13.6	194.19.0	206. 7.0	227. 5.0
15) Taxes, rents, assessments	127. 4.5	151.17.9	124. 4.4	173.0.10½	138. 9.9	175.14.9½	402.17.10	220.0.10½	200. 0.4½	204.16.0
16) Interest and repayments	24. 0.0	24. 0.0	135.14.0	128.10.0	234. 3.9	172.10.0	453.11.8	1405.12.9	2458. 0.5	2730.15.3
17) Arrears										
18) Insurance								5.10.0	6. 0.0	6. 0.0
G 19) Investment										
20) Purchase			154.10.0			41. 3.6		60. 0.0		
H 21) Printing & papers	9.17.5	15. 1.0	24.16.4	13. 8.6	41. 5.9	17.16.2	15. 9.0	33. 5.4	42.19.3	40. 6.5
I 22) Miscellaneous	3. 1.0		25. 0.0			8. 8.0				4. 7.0
23) Previous account										
24) Unknown			10.18.8½	36.13.3	2.12.6			1. 1.6		
Total	1772.4.11½	1347.15.4½	2129.18.5½	1828. 7.3½	2238. 6.8½	2294.15.9½	3085.17.8	6162.19.8	6670. 4.0	5566.19.8
error		Chain 5.7d 1.4d	8.0	2.0½		1.0	Chain ½d			
Total as per account	1772.4.11½	1347.11.1½	2130. 6.5½	1828. 5.3½	2238. 6.8½	2294.16.9½	3085.17.7½	6162.19.8	6670. 4.0	5566.19.8

York - Analysis of Expenditure

	1821-22	1830
A 1) Dignity		173. 4.6
2) Feasts and Celebrations	203. 4.6	251. 2.0
3) Liveries	55. 6.5	7. 0.0
4) Officers Salaries	425. 1.6	440. 1.6
B 5) Salaries Workmen	50.12.6	218.15.10
6) Work and Materials Civilised	1126.19.6 ⁴	2460.10.2
7) Environment	9. 5.0	201. 0.8
8) Law and Order		
9) Valuing and Surveying		
C 10) Local economy	95. 7.0	205. 5.0
11) Enclosure	269.17.0	52.16.10
D 12) Charitable	15. 0.0	15.12.6
E 13) Legal costs	292.17.11	
F 14) Charitable trusts	225. 7.0	552. 4.6
15) Taxes, rents, assessments	201.12.1 ⁴	268. 0.7
16) Interest and repayments	1856. 0.6	547.10.0
17) Arrears		
18) Insurance	6. 0.0	6. 0.0
G 19) Investment		400. 0.0
20) Purchase	105. 2.6	
H 21) Printing & papers	25.19.0	9.17.0
I 22) Miscellaneous		
23) Previous account		
24) Unknown		
Total	4963.12.6	5816. 1.1
error		
Total as per account	4963.12.6	5816. 1.1

York - Summary of analysis of civic expenditure

	1661-62	1671-72	1680-81	1692-93	1700-01	1710-11	1720-21	1730-31	1740-41	1749-50
A Civic pride and administration	263.16.0	268. 2.10	258.10.5	371. 7.6	286.16.5	273. 0.1	286.18.9	379.12.4	634. 9.4	618.17.7½
B Improvements and amenities	88.10.0	377.14.8	252.10.0	239.16.4	187.15.8	127. 8.2	177. 4.1½	339.13.0½	464.16.6½	332.10.10
C Local Acts and economy						15. 0.0	15. 0.0	15. 0.0	147.17.0	15. 0.0
D Charity	3.11.8	4. 7.6	84.11.8	62.19.7	20.5.10½	30.17.6	2. 0.0	7. 2.0	10. 0.0	10. 0.0
E Legal	54. 3.6	9.10.11	134.12.9	50. 8.7	87.12.0	16. 4.0	20. 9.11	24. 2.8	67. 5.11	18.13.0
F Annual commitments	272. 5.3	80.12.0	318. 4.4	174. 3.4	630.13.4	729. 2.6	244.14.9	349.12.10	355. 6.0	344. 6.11
G Purchases and investments			100. 0.0							
H Newspapers etc.				11. 6.3	7. 0.0	8. 6.6	11.13.0	17. 8.0	9.16.0	17. 8.1
I Miscellaneous	33.15.2	4. 2.10	7. 2.0	15. 8.9	4. 0.2	4. 1.4	56.19.6	3. 3.4	3.10.0	6.16.9½
	716. 1.7	744.10.9	1155.11.2	925.10.4	1224. 3.5½	1204. 0.1	815. 0.0	1135.14.2½	1693. 0.9½	1363.13.3½
	1750-51	1751-52	1760-61	1770-71	1780-81	1790-91	1800-81	1810-11	1819-20	1820-21
A Civic pride and administration	576.11.4	590.12.4	704.19.5	749.13.10	813. 5.7	900.10.10	884. 4.8	1293. 8.8	552.11.9	603. 5.5
B Improvements and amenities	662.17.3½	321.17.6½	593. 7.2	404. 1.2½	685.15.4½	547. 7.0	658.14.8½	2715. 0.0½	1083.14.6½	1624. 0.1
C Local Acts and economy	15. 0.0	15. 0.0	50.13.6	39.15.0	44.11.0	207. 9.6	74. 6.3	65.17.0	544.19.6	93.10.6
D Charity	70.15.0	40. 0.0	114. 0.0	79. 7.6	65. 8.0	21. 1.0	310. 0.0	15. 0.0	15. 0.0	15. 0.0
E Legal	91.19.6			5.12.2				153. 4.6	1560.11.2	17.14.0
F Annual commitments	342. 3.5	365. 4.6½	451.13.4	499.15.10½	580. 8.6	550.19.9½	1143. 3.0½	1826. 2.7½	2870. 7.9½	3168.16.3
G Purchases and investments			154.10.0			41. 3.6		60. 0.0		
H Newspapers etc.	9.17.5	15. 1.0	24.16.4	13. 8.6	41. 5.9	17.16.2	15. 9.0	33. 5.4	42.19.3	40. 6.5
I Miscellaneous	3. 1.0		35.18.8½	36.13.3	2.12.6	8. 8.0		1. 1.6		4. 7.0
	1772.4.11½	1347.15.4½	2129.18.5½	1828. 7.3½	2238. 6.8½	2294.15.9½	3085.17.8	6162.19.8	6670. 4.0	5566.19.8

1700-01 Exceptional Interest

1710-11 Exceptional lease renewal Tanghall.

	1821-22	1830-31
A Civic pride and administration	683.12.5	871. 8.0
B Improvements and amenities	1186.17.0½	2880. 6.8
C Local Acts and economy	365. 4.0	258. 1.10
D Charity	15. 0.0	15.12.6
E Legal	292.17.11	
F Annual commitments	2288.19.7½	1380.15.1
G Purchases and investments	105. 2.6	400. 0.0
H Newspapers etc.	25.19.0	9.17.0
I Miscellaneous		
	4963.12.6	5816. 1.1

York - Summary of Civic Expenditure (%)

	1661	1671	1680	1692	1700	1710	1720	1730	1740	1749
Civic pride and										
A administration	36.7	36.0	22.3	40.1	23.4	22.7	35.1	33.4	37.4	45.3
Improvements and										
B amenities	12.3	50.7	21.8	25.8	15.3	10.5	21.7	30.0	27.4	24.4
Local Acts and										
C economy						1.2	1.8	1.3	8.7	1.1
D Charity	0.4	0.5	7.3	6.7	1.6	2.5	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.7
E Legal	7.5	1.2	11.6	5.4	7.1	1.3	2.5	2.1	4.0	1.3
F Annual commitments	38.0	10.8	27.5	18.8	51.5	60.5	30.0	30.7	21.0	25.2
Purchases and										
G investments			8.7							
H Newspapers etc.				1.2	0.6	0.6	1.3	1.5	0.5	1.2
I Miscellaneous	4.6	0.5	0.6	1.6	0.3	0.3	6.9	0.2	0.2	0.4
	99.5	99.7	99.8	99.6	99.8	99.6	99.5	99.8	99.6	99.6
	1750	1751	1760	1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1819	1820
Civic pride and										
A administration	32.5	44.0	33.1	41.0	36.6	39.2	28.7	21.0	7.9	10.8
Improvements and										
B amenities	37.4	23.8	27.9	22.1	30.6	23.8	21.3	44.0	16.2	29.2
Local Acts and										
C economy	0.8	1.1	2.3	2.1	2.0	9.0	2.4	1.1	8.5	1.7
D Charity	4.0	2.9	5.4	4.3	2.9	0.9	10.0	0.2	0.2	0.3
E Legal	5.1			0.3				2.5	23.4	0.3
F Annual commitments	19.3	27.2	21.2	27.3	25.9	24.0	37.1	29.6	43.0	57.0
Purchases and										
G investments			7.2			1.8		1.0		
H Newspapers etc.	0.5	1.1	1.1	0.7	1.8	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7
I Miscellaneous	0.2		1.6	2.0	0.1	0.3				0.1
	99.8	100.1	99.8	99.8	99.9	99.7	100.0	99.9	99.8	100.1

	1821	1830
Civic pride and		
A administration	13.3	14.1
Improvements and		
B amenities	23.9	49.5
Local Acts and		
C economy	7.9	5.3
D Charity	0.3	0.3
E Legal	5.9	
F Annual commitments	46.1	23.7
Purchases and		
G investments	2.1	6.9
H Newspapers etc.	0.5	0.2
I Miscellaneous		
	100.0	100.0

APPENDIX XII Boston repairs and improvements

Boston - Expenditure on repairs, improvements and upkeep excluding salaries, cleaning 1800-35

	1801-02	1802-03	1803-04	1804-05	1805-06	1806-07	1807-08	1808-09	1809-10	1810-11
Harbour, sea banks buoys and beacons	134. 0.10	228.12.05		310. 1.25	149. 7.65	400.13.1	258.19.6	161.14.11	279.17.6	344. 9.10
Repairs	373.11.15	562. 5.8	1039.16.11	101. 5.5	231.14.9	91. 3.5	352. 3.24	409.11.3	449.19.34	343. 3.45
Markets		6. 0.0					29. 0.0			
Bridge	148. 2.4		4141. 3.3	2523. 7.7	6339. 7.64	2136. 9.2	1458.11.6	1490. 0.9	1130.12.6	1483. 3.8
Roads/Pavements				160.19.3	100. 0.0					
Town Hall & Gaol								145.11.6		
Purchase						530. 0.0				
Other work						67. 1.0	11.11.0			
Farms/Commons								49.11.6		
Total	535. 5.14	796.18.54	5181. 0.2	3104.13.54	6870. 9.94	3225. 6.8	2110. 5.24	2256. 9.11	1860. 9.34	2170.16.104
Total expenditure	3305.19.04	3325.14.3	8015.14.64	5451.11.34	8975.12.94	5825.12.44	4561.14.04	4368. 8.5	4322.11.14	4794. 6.84

	1811-12	1812-13	1813-14	1814-15	1815-16	1816-17	1817-18	1818-19	1819-20	1820-21
Harbour, sea banks buoys and beacons	364.13.1	217. 9.11				135.16.10				64.14.1
Repairs	298. 1.0	239. 4.84	266.12.94	282. 0.7	385. 0.3	435.10.74	512. 6.10	509. 0.0	450. 0.9	351.11.5
Markets						993. 8.5		140.12.3	2768. 7.10	4075. 1.0
Bridge	174. 5.3	12.16.10		51.11.9						
Roads/Pavements	915. 9.6	51.16.4				116. 2.7				
Town Hall & Gaol							1229. 3.0	2467.11.9	765.16.10	64. 5.6
Purchase		112.16.4							175. 2.7	
Other work	99.16.0	50.13.8			60. 3.0	291. 8.64	14.11.7	441.13.2	41. 1.3	
Farms/Commons									132. 3.0	37. 6.0
Total	1852. 4.10	675.17.94	266.12.94	331.12.4	445. 3.3	1872. 7.0	1756. 1.5	3049.17.2	4332.12.3	4592.18.0
Total expenditure	7945. 8.11	5315.2.104	6856. 5.1	9340.11.11	5608.10.74	7879.13.44	5507. 1.10	7961.12.4	11622. 3.3	10547.16.14

	1821-22	1822-23	1823-24	1824-25	1825-26	1826-27	1827-28	1828-29	1829-30	1830-31
Repairs	186. 9.0	387. 6.5	10. 5.5	477. 8.64		1071. 7.3	754. 9.7	733.11.3	543.14.4	433.11.7
Markets	2386.11.10	2083.16.0	4062.19.54	844. 4.1	513.14.6					
Bridge			16. 6.3							
Roads/Pavements			819. 6.8		275. 0.3	223.14.7	348.13.8	135. 0.0		
Town Hall & Gaol	131.10.2	501. 6.6	89. 1.0							
Claying		27.18.3	106. 4.0							
Other work	357.10.0	190. 5.7	332. 6.74	19. 7.3	777.14.1			4. 0.0		
Farms/Commons	125. 7.11			138. 7.3	465.13.10					
Total	3187. 8.11	3175. 7.9	5536. 9.5	1479. 7.14	2032. 2.8	1295. 1.10	1103. 3.3	872.11.3	543.14.4	433.11.7
Total expenditure	7006.17.10	8256. 4.6	10429.19.7	6915. 6.11	6675. 4.3	6324. 1.3	6026. 5.10	4737.17.7	7472. 8.2	4543. 8.3

	1831-32	1832-33	1833-34	1834-35
Repairs	1551. 1.11	523.10.1		757. 2.54
Markets				
Bridge				
Roads/Pavements		135. 0.0		135. 0.0
Town Hall & Gaol				
Purchase				
Other work	40.17.8			
Farms/Commons				
Total	1591.19.7	658.10.1		892. 2.54
Total expenditure	8107.17.5	8268.15.0		5015. 0.114

Boston - Expenditure on Repairs and Improvements 1801 to 1835.

The Chamberlain at Boston in 1801 created a new category in his expenditure account entitled "repairs". It is this entry in his account which forms the basis of the following table but to it have also been added all other specific and major entries in the account relating to repairs but not included by him within this category. The Chamberlain's repairs category has been used as it stands, although it does in some years include sundries of a varied nature ranging from payments for letters, stamps, elections and even dinners.

APPENDIX XII York Buildings, repairs, and road maintenance.

York - Buildings and Repairs. Total cost per annum as entered by Chamberlain - 1672 onwards.

	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-0
1670			339.15.6	173. 0.11	212. 1.1	351.14.14		328.16.9	500.16.6	304. 3.6
1680	211. 7.4	219. 5.14	365.18.4	303. 8.84	453.18.24	19. 8.8		609.10.1	107.12.6	147.1.74
1690	325. 7.6	317. 9.10	171. 1.6	0. 0.0	130. 5.1	222. 0.3	38.11.6	83. 8.10		27.19.1
1700	85.19.11	120. 7.9		186. 5.64	52. 3.34	258. 7.8	150.12.34	139.13.5	65. 0.7	65. 5.34
1710	37. 0.3	22. 7.34	51. 0.10	64. 0.3	87.15.9			11.10.24	58. 4.10	
1720	71.14.11		85.16.3	201. 9.64	132. 0.94	242. 3.5	132.15.5	113. 0.0	386.11.9	393. 5.84
1730	194.8.10	117.13.0	388. 6.3	645. 1.8	143. 5.3	267.15.10	333. 4.10	271.13.10	338. 9.3	100. 2.6
1740	289. 1.11	206. 4.6	205. 6.3	206.15.11	271. 2.3	384.12.54	85.10.6	297.16.11	101. 1.5	191.13.8
1750	447. 5.6	47.13.10	58. 5.34	320. 4.4	252. 0.4	43.19.6	24. 8.9	105.16.04	273.13.9	102. 1.3
1760	239.10.8	125. 6.6		193.15.04	137. 1.7	192. 5.0	161. 5.44	407. 9.2	616.11.11	397.11.54
1770	263. 9.6	343. 0.10	337. 4.64	197.12.11	270.14.8	285. 8.8	161. 4.10	404.19.10	363.13.3	204. 0.11
1780	499. 9.54	474. 8.9	461. 2.2	780.19.2	616.14.9	437. 6.3	714. 5.4	403. 7.2	358.12.9	246. 1.64
1790	405. 7.10	845. 0.7	273.14.1	583.13.2	468.14.9	445. 1.9	845.18.0	744. 7.34	373. 2.84	740. 5.84
1800	527. 0.64	331. 6.10	588.12.10	243.19.34	628. 7.24	411.15.0	1177.10.9	670.14.8	808.14.10	1076. 9.34
1810	2093. 0.24	2123.9.114	2983. 2.5	3850. 3.5	630.17.44	604.16.114	1073. 3.34	929.18.94	1120.15.64	900.16.10
1820	1141.12.0	1116.17.64	848. 5.84	1278. 9.64	1273. 9.64	1389. 0.64	1010.13.34	989. 4.10	1645. 7.8	2732.10.9
1830	2460.10.2	2259. 3.5	2131.11.11	2331.13.10	2407.18.3					

Where there is no entry in the table, no account remains.

York Road Maintenance

	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-0
1770 Roads		117. 5.4	93. 0.74	115.2.104	86.17.5	65. 4.8	24.18.10	78.12.7	72.12.1	58. 2.8
Paving						74. 5.64		32.15.9	31. 0.9	33.16.6
1780 Roads	62.12.10	60.15.11		120. 3.10	111.15.5	170.14.6	90.17.11	114.14.10	113. 8.2	80.17.54
Paving	52.16.0	155.19.9	236. 7.0	30. 1.6	27.11.0	38.10.6	79.19.0	24. 9.11	76.18.11	29. 9.7
1790 Roads & Cobbles	98.16.10	81.15.3		170. 5.8	143. 6.4	240.10.2	394.12.7	281. 6.11		
Paving	27. 0.4	30.19.7	122.18.8	79. 8.0	53. 4.94	72.11.1	54. 1.1	46.11.0	259.15.7	210.12.1
1800 Roads & Gravel	167. 0.04	201.10.9	141. 6.2	155. 6.8	264. 0.4	250.10.7	356.18.2	326. 6.2	591.12.1	469.17.10
Paving	39. 4.11	28.10.0	82.15.74	32. 1.11	52.19.4	26. 2.6	34. 1.34	103.10.10	49. 2.5	38. 8.34
1810 Roads	580. 0.44	716. 5.3	353.15.10	559. 2.9	528.13.3	397.12.54	550.17.24			
Paving	69.17.11	152.10.1	8.18.2	71. 7.0	104. 7.04		46.13.4	472. 3.11	539.14.11	481.18.4
1820 Roads & Paving	508.12.6	567. 8.8	541.16.24	704. 9.0	804. 9.9	725.15.44	447.17.84	422. 8.9	557.10.7	500. 0.0
Paving Act								449.17.44	97.12.2	217. 5.0
1830 Roads & Paving	537.18.0	528. 7.10	360.17.11	0. 0.0	0. 0.0	0. 0.0				
Paving Act	201. 0.8	164. 1.5	140. 5.0	177.14.9	130. 1.7	123.17.10				

York road maintenance: covered the areas without the walls. Road repairs from Monk Bar to Heworth Moor Cross; Bootham Bar to Burton Stone and Horse Fair, Walmgate Bar to Green Dike Lane, from Castlegate Postern to the mill; from Micklegate Bar to Hob Lane east; from Hoigate Lane east to the bridge and from the Bar to Skeldergate.

Paving was within the walls in the four wards. After 1827 an annual percentage was paid by the City to the commissioners under the Paving Act towards their annual expenditure.

APPENDIX XIYA Salaries

Boston - Salaries

Officers	1700-01	1710-11	1717-18	1730-31	1741-42	1749-50	1750-51	1751-52	1760-61	1770-71
Mayor	50.0.0	35.0.0	30.0.0	55.0.0	55.0.0	55.5.0	55.0.0	55.5.0	60.10.0	65.5.0
Chamberlains	15.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0
Town Clerk	22.5.0	11.5.0	11.5.0	11.5.0	11.0.0	11.5.0	11.0.0	11.5.0	11.5.0	21.5.0
Recorder	4.0.0	5.0.0		6.13.4	11.13.4	6.13.4	6.13.4	6.13.4	6.13.4	6.13.4
Vicar			34.13.4	34.13.4	34.13.4	43.6.8	34.13.4	34.13.4	34.13.4	34.13.4
Judge of Admiralty	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4
Marshall of Admiralty	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	8.0.0	16.0.0	16.0.0	16.0.0	16.0.0	24.0.0	16.0.0
Sergeants at Mace	18.13.4	18.13.4	18.13.4	27.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	35.0.0	40.0.0	45.0.0	30.0.0
Coroner	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0
Cryer	3.15.0	0.14.0	0.14.0	0.14.0	0.14.0	4.14.0	3.14.0	4.14.0	5.8.0	4.14.0
Beadle	0.14.0	4.18.0	4.18.0		4.14.0	4.14.0	4.14.0	4.14.0	7.8.0	4.14.0
Total	129.0.8	100.3.8	124.7.0	159.19.0	190.8.0	188.11.4	183.8.0	189.18.0	211.11.0	199.18.0

Officers	1780-81	1790-91	1800-01	1810-11	1819-20	1820-21	1821-22	1830-31
Mayor	65.5.0	159.16.0	65.5.0	115.5.0	400.0.0	400.0.0	350.0.0	0.0.0
Chamberlains	10.0.0	10.10.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0
Town Clerk	21.5.0	21.0.0	47.2.0	47.2.0	90.0.0	90.0.0	90.0.0	90.0.0
Recorder	6.13.4	6.13.4	6.13.4	6.13.4				
Vicar	34.13.4	34.14.4	34.13.4	31.4.4	34.13.4	34.13.4	34.13.4	34.13.4
Judge of Admiralty	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4
Marshall of Admiralty	17.0.0	18.0.0	23.10.0	30.0.0	43.0.0	43.0.0	43.0.0	42.0.0
Sergeants at Mace	30.0.0	30.0.0	48.5.0	44.0.0	80.0.0	80.0.0	80.0.0	78.0.0
Coroner	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0
Cryer	4.14.0	4.0.0	7.4.0	9.14.0	16.0.0	16.0.0	16.0.0	15.0.0
Beadle	4.14.0	4.0.0	21.1.8	27.8.7	36.7.6	36.7.6	36.7.6	35.0.0
Mayor elect		60.0.0			150.0.0	150.0.0	150.0.0	
Chaplain to gaol						26.0.0	26.0.0	26.0.0
Muskians			10.10.0	10.10.0	10.10.0	10.10.0	10.10.0	10.10.0
Late Cryer					35.0.0	35.0.0	35.0.0	20.0.0
Organist						20.0.0		
Late Beadle								18.0.0
Total	200.18.0	354.17.0	290.17.8	348.10.7	938.4.2	984.4.2	914.4.2	411.16.8

Boston - salaries

Professional and workmen	1700-01	1710-11	1717-18	1730-31	1741-42	1749-50	1750-51	1751-52	1760-61	1770-71
Boatmen			30.0.0							
Gaol keeper				10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	17.10.0	10.0.0
House of correction keeper				5.4.3	5.0.0	5.0.0	5.0.0	5.0.0	5.0.0	5.0.0
Pavement repairer						18.0.0	18.0.0	18.0.0	18.0.0	10.0.0
Scavenger		18.0.0	22.0.0	26.0.0	26.0.0	26.0.0	26.0.0	26.0.0	26.0.0	26.0.0
Cleaning, sweeping	0.1.0	1.10.0	0.1.6	2.12.0	4.0.0	1.1.2	0.5.0	0.5.0	0.5.0	1.6.0
Watching		1.11.4	1.9.0		1.8.0	1.1.0	1.10.4	1.3.4	1.1.9	1.2.6
Cleaning cross dial							2.2.0	2.2.0	2.2.0	2.2.0
Lighting Lamps						5.0.0			3.0.0	6.0.0
River Inspectors										
Surveyors										
Pilots										
Miscellaneous			0.10.0	1.7.4	0.10.0		11.2.0	8.0.0	15.0.0	16.0.0
Total	0.1.0	21.1.4	54.0.6	45.3.7	46.18.0	66.2.2	73.19.4	70.10.4	87.18.9	77.10.6

Professional and workmen	1780-81	1790-91	1800-01	1810-11	1819-20	1820-21	1821-22	1830-31
Boatmen								
Gaol keeper	15.0.0	15.0.0	20.10.0	26.0.0	62.0.0	62.0.0	69.10.0	67.0.0
House of correction keeper	5.0.0	5.0.0		5.0.0				
Pavement repairer								
Scavenger	26.0.0	40.0.0						
Cleaning, sweeping	1.6.0	1.13.6	24.7.0	6.13.6	26.12.6	26.12.6	26.12.6	23.9.6
Watching	1.2.6		1.2.6	2.5.0	2.5.0	2.5.0	2.5.0	2.5.0
Cleaning cross dial	2.2.0	2.12.0	2.12.0	2.12.0	2.12.0	2.12.0	2.12.0	2.12.0
Lighting lamps								
River inspectors	7.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0
Surveyors	30.0.0	20.0.0	25.0.0	30.0.0	140.0.0	100.0.0	140.0.0	120.0.0
Pilots		35.0.0	46.18.0					
Miscellaneous	71.10.0	10.10.0	10.10.0	25.3.4	2.3.4	2.3.4	1.14.0	83.10.10
Total	159.0.6	131.5.6	132.19.6	100.3.10	247.12.10	197.12.10	244.13.6	305.17.4

APPENDIX XIVB Salaries

Nottingham - Salaries Officers	1689-99	1697	1713	1719	1730	1740	1755	1760	1770	1780
Mayor	20.0.0	40.0.0	40.0.0	60.0.0	60.0.0	60.0.0	60.0.0	60.0.0	77.14.0	97.14.0
Chamberlains	1.14.8	1.14.8	1.14.8	1.14.8	2.5.8	2.8.0	2.8.0	2.8.0	2.14.0	2.14.0
Town Clerk	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4
Coroners	0.8.0	0.8.0	0.8.0	0.8.0	0.8.0	0.8.0	0.8.0	0.8.0	0.8.0	0.8.0
Lady Mayoress		0.6.8	0.6.8	0.6.8	0.6.8	0.6.8	0.6.8	-	0.6.8	0.6.8
Mace Bearer	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0
Common Sergeant		8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0
Ringing Mayor's Bell	0.4.0		0.4.0	0.4.0	0.4.0	0.4.0	0.4.0	0.4.0	0.10.0	0.10.0
Town Cryer	0.2.8	0.2.8	0.2.8	0.2.8	0.2.8	0.2.8	0.2.8	0.2.8	0.2.8	0.2.8
Town Waits	2.0.0		2.0.0	2.0.0	6.0.0	6.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0
Tanners Fee	2.8.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	-	-	-	
Deputy Recorder			4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.4.0	4.4.0	-	4.4.0	4.4.0
Cook	6.0.0	4.0.0	6.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	-	-	-	-	-
Beadle		6.0.0	6.0.0	6.0.0	6.0.0	6.0.0	6.0.0	6.0.0	6.0.0	6.0.0
Sheriff			12.0.0	12.0.0	12.0.0	12.0.0	-	-	-	-
Bailiffs										
Total	44.10.8	74.5.4	94.9.4	112.9.4	117.0.4	113.6.8	101.6.8	96.16.0	119.12.8	139.12.8

Officers	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830
Mayor	97.14.0	97.14.0	210.0.0	210.0.0	315.0.0
Chamberlains	3.18.0	3.18.0	3.18.0	1.6.8	1.6.8
Town Clerk	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4
Coroners	0.8.0	0.8.0	0.8.0	0.8.0	0.8.0
Lady Mayoress	0.6.8	0.6.8	0.6.8	0.6.8	0.6.8
Mace Bearer	12.0.0	12.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0
Common Sergeant	8.0.0	8.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0
Ringing Mayor's Bell	0.10.0	0.10.0	0.10.0	0.10.0	0.10.0
Town Cryer	0.2.8	5.5.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	
Town Waits	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	8.0.0	24.0.0
Tanners Fee	-				
Deputy Recorder	4.4.0	4.4.0	4.4.0	4.4.0	-
Cook	-	-	-	-	-
Beadle	6.0.0	-	-	-	-
Sheriff					
Bailiffs					30.0.0
Total	144.16.8	143.19.0	281.0.0	278.8.8	410.4.8

Nottingham - salaries

Officers	1825-26	1826-27	1827-28	1828-29	1829-30	1830-31	1831-32	1832-33	1833-34	1834-35
Mayor	262.10.0	262.10.0	262.10.0	315.0.0	315.0.0	315.0.0	315.0.0	315.0.0	315.0.0	315.0.0
Chamberlains	1.6.8	1.6.8	1.6.8	1.6.8	1.6.8	1.6.8	1.6.8	1.6.8	1.6.8	1.6.8
Town clerk	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4	3.13.4
Coroners	8.0	0.0.0	0.0.0	0.0.0	0.0.0	0.0.0	0.0.0	0.0.0	0.0.0	0.0.0
Lady Mayoress	0.6.8	0.0.0	0.0.0	0.0.0	0.6.8	0.0.0	0.0.0	0.0.0	0.0.0	0.0.0
Mace Bearer	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0
Common Sergeant	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0
Mayor's Butler	2.6.6	2.6.6	2.6.6	2.6.6	2.6.6	2.6.6	2.6.6	2.6.6	2.6.6	2.6.6
Crying hall days	2.1.0	3.0.0	2.14.0	1.3.6	1.15.0	1.1.6	1.6.6	0.16.0	1.7.6	1.5.0
Town Cryer	5.16.0	5.16.0	5.16.0	5.16.0	5.16.0	5.16.0	5.16.0	5.16.0	5.16.0	5.16.0
Town Waits	24.0.0	24.0.0	24.0.0	24.0.0	24.0.0	24.0.0	24.0.0	24.0.0	24.0.0	24.0.0
Tanner's fee	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0
Deputy Recorder	13.12.0	10.4.0	13.12.0	10.4.0	10.4.0	13.12.0	13.12.0	13.12.0	13.12.0	13.12.0
Ringers	3.14.4	3.13.8	3.12.6	3.13.0	5.19.4	6.4.0	6.8.4	4.6.4	4.6.4	4.6.4
Total	356.14.6	353.10.2	366.11.0	409.3.0	420.15.6	420.0.0	420.9.4	417.16.10	418.8.4	418.5.10

Nottingham

Professional and workmen	1825-26	1826-27	1827-28	1828-29	1829-30	1830-31	1831-32	1832-33	1833-34	1834-35
Collecting stall rents	17.0.0	12.0.0	12.0.0	12.0.0	12.0.0	12.0.0	12.0.0	9.0.0	0.0.0	0.0.0
"	20.0.0	20.0.0	30.0.0	25.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0
Collecting house rents	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0
Keeper of the woods	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4
Sexton	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0
Field Pindar	20.10.0	20.10.0	20.10.0	20.10.0	20.10.0	20.10.0	20.10.0	20.10.0	20.10.0	20.10.0
Keeper of the Meadow	16.0.0	16.0.0	16.0.0	16.0.0	16.0.0	16.0.0	16.0.0	16.0.0	16.0.0	16.0.0
Surveyor	65.5.0	65.5.0	65.5.0	65.5.0	65.5.0	65.5.0	65.5.0	65.5.0	65.5.0	65.5.0
Mickleton Jury	42.0.0	42.0.0	42.0.0	42.0.0	42.0.0	42.0.0	42.0.0	42.0.0	42.0.0	42.0.0
Bailiffs				15.0.0	11.5.0 30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0	30.0.0
Total	209.18.4	209.18.4	209.18.4	224.18.4	251.3.4	239.18.4	239.18.4	236.18.4	227.18.4	227.18.4

APPENDIX A/VC Salaries

York - salaries

Officers	1661-62	1671-72	1680-01	1692-91	1700-01	1710-11	1720-21	1730-31	1740-41
Mayor	66.0.0	66.0.0	68.0.0	68.3.8	63.0.0	68.0.0	88.0.0	88.0.0	350.0.0
Chamberlains	3.10.0	3.10.0	3.10.0	3.10.0	4.10.0	3.10.0	1.10.0	3.10.0	3.10.0
Town Clerk	22.0.0	22.0.0	22.0.0	22.0.0	22.0.0	22.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0
Recorder	19.6.8	19.6.8	19.6.8	19.6.8	19.6.8	19.6.8	19.6.8	19.6.8	19.6.8
City Counsel	10.0.0	5.0.0	5.0.0	5.0.0	5.0.0	5.0.0		5.0.0	5.0.0
Cushions & City Arms	0.10.0	0.10.0	0.10.0	1.1.6	3.0.0	1.5.0	2.5.0	2.5.0	4.7.6
Sword Bearer	8.18.0	8.18.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	15.8.0
Mace Bearer	8.16.8	8.16.8	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0
Officers at Mace	18.15.4	18.15.4	18.15.4	18.15.4	18.15.4	18.15.4	18.15.4	18.15.4	24.0.0
Lord Mayor's Chaplain		12.10.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.13.4	10.13.4	10.13.4	10.13.4	10.13.4
Porter	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0
Deputy Porter									
Baker	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	6.0.0	6.0.0	6.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0
Cooks	16.13.4	13.6.8	13.6.8	13.6.8	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0
Waits			0.8.8	6.14.8	6.14.8	10.0.0		10.0.0	10.0.0
Huntsman							10.0.0		10.0.0
Tipstaves	10.1.2			12.0.0	13.4.6	12.16.0	6.10.4	12.16.0	12.16.0
Judges	11.6.2	21.5.0	17.9.4	17.9.4	17.4.0	17.4.0	16.16.0	16.16.0	16.16.0
Judges' Clerk	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4
Sheriff	0.10.0	3.10.0	3.10.0	0.16.8	0.6.8	0.6.8			
4 warden jury	1.16.8	1.16.0	0.17.4	0.17.4	1.0.0				
Esquires				2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4			
Total	208.17.4	215.16.8	213.7.4	234.8.6	240.1.10	244.3.8	244.10.0	257.15.8	545.10.0

Officers	1749-50	1750-51	1751-52	1760-61	1770-71	1780-81	1790-91	1800-01	1810-11
Mayor	350.0.0	350.0.0	350.0.0	350.0.0	400.0.0	500.0.0	500.0.0	525.0.0	840.0.0
Chamberlains	3.10.0	3.10.0	3.10.0	3.10.0	3.10.0	3.10.0	3.10.0	3.10.0	3.10.0
Town Clerk	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	18.0.0
Recorder	19.6.8	19.6.8	19.6.8	19.6.8	19.6.8	24.11.8		19.6.8	19.6.8
City Counsel	10.0.0		10.0.0		5.0.0	10.0.0		15.0.0	
Cushions & City Arms	3.7.6	4.7.6	3.7.6	3.7.6	3.7.6	3.7.6	3.7.6	3.7.6	3.7.6
Sword Bearer	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	15.0.0	21.0.0	21.0.0	21.0.0	21.0.0	19.5.0
Mace Bearer	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	15.0.0	21.0.0	21.0.0	21.0.0	21.0.0	19.5.0
Officers at Mace	24.0.0	24.0.0	24.0.0	40.0.0	40.0.0	40.0.0	40.0.0	40.0.0	60.0.0
Lord Mayor's Chaplain	10.13.4	10.13.4	10.13.4	10.13.4	10.13.4	10.13.4	10.13.4	10.13.4	9.13.4
Porter	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	22.17.6
Deputy Porter						6.14.0	5.0.0		
Baker	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0	4.0.0
Cooks	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	25.0.0	25.0.0
Waits	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	12.0.0
Huntsman	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	30.0.0	50.0.0
Tipstaves	12.16.0	12.16.0	12.16.0	12.16.0	12.16.0	7.3.0	6.8.0	6.8.0	4.18.0
Judges	16.16.0	16.16.0	16.16.0	16.16.0	16.16.0	16.16.0	16.16.0	16.16.0	8.8.0
Judges' Clerk	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	1.6.8
Sheriff									
4 warden jury									
Esquires									
Total	541.2.0	532.2.10	541.2.10	537.2.10	642.2.10	731.8.10	734.8.2	803.14.10	1126.17.8

York - salaries

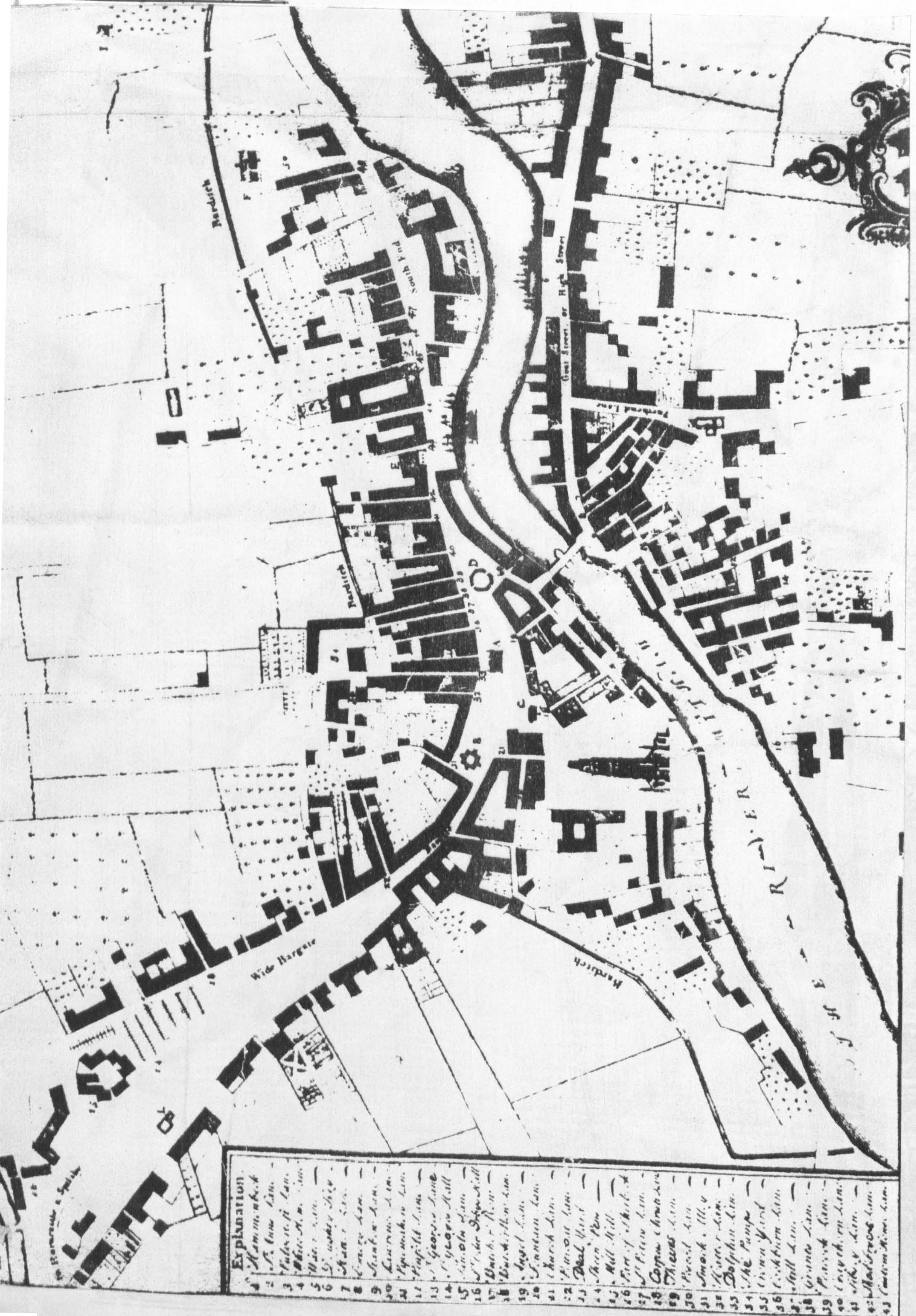
Professional and workmen	1661-62	1671-72	1680-81	1692-93	1700-01	1710-11	1720-21	1730-31	1740-41	1749-50
City Surgeon	7.0.0	5.0.0	5.0.0	3.15.0	1.5.0	13.5.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0
Butter weigher			4.0.0		4.0.0	4.0.0	1.0.0	1.0.0	1.0.0	1.0.0
Ringing bow bell		1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0
Paver				15.0.0	20.0.0	26.0.0	25.13.6	26.0.0	28.0.0	40.0.0
Scavenger			0.10.0	0.10.0	1.10.0					
City Steward				5.0.0	5.0.0	6.16.0	6.15.6	6.10.0	12.10.0	14.10.0
House of correction keeper				17.0.0	17.0.0	17.0.0	18.10.0			
Sweepers and cleaners	0.3.4	0.3.4	1.13.4	1.9.4	2.1.4	2.10.5	2.6.11	2.13.4	2.3.4	3.18.4
Repairers	2.13.4	0.10.0			0.10.0	0.10.0	0.10.4			
Common Hall keeper	0.13.4	0.13.4	0.13.4	0.13.4	1.5.4	3.6.3	3.15.2	2.0.0	6.2.74	4.12.0
Readers	2.13.10	2.16.8	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0
Lamps			2.0.0					1.10.0	3.19.6	4.18.0
Fire engines								6.13.4	7.11.4	9.18.0
Common informer	10.0.0	10.0.0	15.10.0					5.0.0	5.0.0	5.0.0
Clock care		0.4.4	1.0.0	1.0.0	1.0.0	1.10.0	0.10.0	0.10.0	0.15.0	0.15.0
Teaching poor children			5.0.0	6.0.0		5.0.0				
Miscellaneous		16.2.4	1.12.8	7.11.8	22.16.0	0.6.0	0.15.0	1.2.5	1.17.6	3.5.0
Total	23.3.10	37.0.0	41.2.8	62.14.8	80.11.0	84.7.5	78.6.5	71.9.1	67.9.34	106.6.4

	1750-51	1751-52	1760-61	1770-71	1780-81	1790-91	1800-01	1810-11	1819-20	1820-21
City Surgeon	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	15.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0			
Butter weigher	1.0.0	1.0.0	2.12.0	2.14.0	2.12.0	2.12.0	2.12.0	7.10.0	7.10.0	12.10.0
Ringing bow bell	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0				
Paver	50.0.0	40.0.0	11.5.0							
Scavenger										
City Steward	14.10.0	14.10.0	14.10.0	18.5.0	18.5.6	18.15.6	20.0.0	15.0.0		
House of correction keeper										
Sweepers and cleaners	1.18.4	3.18.4	1.18.4	13.11.10	11.6.4	1.3.4				
Repairers										
Common hall keeper	7.6.11	4.12.4	3.0.0	1.0.0	3.0.0	4.12.3	3.0.0	6.10.10	6.0.0	7.19.11
Readers	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0	2.0.0				
Lamps	4.17.3	4.10.0	7.13.0	8.15.0	12.19.0	13.0.0				10.14.4
Fire Engines	6.13.4	6.18.4	5.0.0	12.10.0	10.0.0	18.0.0	18.0.0		9.0.0	18.0.0
Common informer	6.5.0	5.0.0	5.0.0	10.7.6	10.7.6	10.7.6	10.7.6	18.15.0		
Clock care	0.15.0	1.2.6	1.15.0	1.15.0	1.15.0	2.0.0	0.15.0	1.15.0	0.15.0	1.10.0
Attending general Cttee									19.8.0	4.4.0
Miscellaneous	1.10.0	3.5.0	6.14.6	10.2.0	9.13.0	7.14.2	7.16.6	7.1.6	4.15.6	6.2.6
Market Inspector										
Total	113.5.1	103.6.6	77.17.10	97.10.4	98.8.4	91.14.9	72.11.0	56.12.4	47.8.6	61.0.9

	1821-22	1830-31
City Surgeon		
Butter weigher	10.0.0	
Ringing bow bell		
Paver		
Scavenger		
City Steward		100.0.0
House of correction keeper		
Sweepers and cleaners		
Repairers		
Common hall keeper	4.6.6	22.4.6
Readers		
Lamps		17.17.6
Fire Engines	27.0.0	38.0.0
Common informer		
Clock care		0.15.0
Attending general Cttee	4.4.0	13.13.10
Miscellaneous	5.2.0	11.5.0
Market Inspector		15.0.0
Total	50.12.6	216.15.10

York - salaries

Officers	1819-20	1820-21	1821-22	1830-31
Mayor	52.10.0		52.10.0	52.10.0
Chamberlains	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0	1.10.0
Town Clerk	20.0.0		20.0.0	20.0.0
Recorder	19.6.8	19.6.8	19.6.8	19.6.8
City Counsel	15.0.0	5.0.0	15.0.0	5.0.0
Cushions & City Arms	3.7.6	3.7.0	3.7.6	3.7.6
Sword Bearer	21.0.0	284.15.0	21.0.0	21.0.0
Mace Bearer	21.0.0		21.0.0	
Officers at Mace	105.0.0		120.0.0	120.0.0
Lord Mayor's Chaplain				21.0.0
Porter	31.10.0		31.10.0	31.10.0
Deputy Porter	11.5.0		15.0.0	15.0.0
Baker				
Cooks				
Waits	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0	20.0.0
Huntsman	25.0.0	25.0.0	25.0.0	50.0.0
Tipstaves	7.18.0	12.18.0	10.8.0	10.8.0
Judges	16.16.0	16.16.0	16.16.0	16.16.0
Judges' Clerk	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4	2.13.4
Sheriff				
4 warden jury				
Esquires	22.10.0		30.0.0	30.0.0
Total	396.6.6	391.6.0	425.1.6	440.1.6



- Explanation.
1. Hammon's block
 2. S. Lane Lane.
 3. Palace St. Lane.
 4. White St. Lane.
 5. Water Lane.
 6. S. Water Lane.
 7. Market Lane.
 8. S. Water Lane.
 9. S. Water Lane.
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 41. S. Water Lane.
 42. S. Water Lane.
 43. S. Water Lane.



NOTTINGHAM, 1829. STAVELEY and WOOD

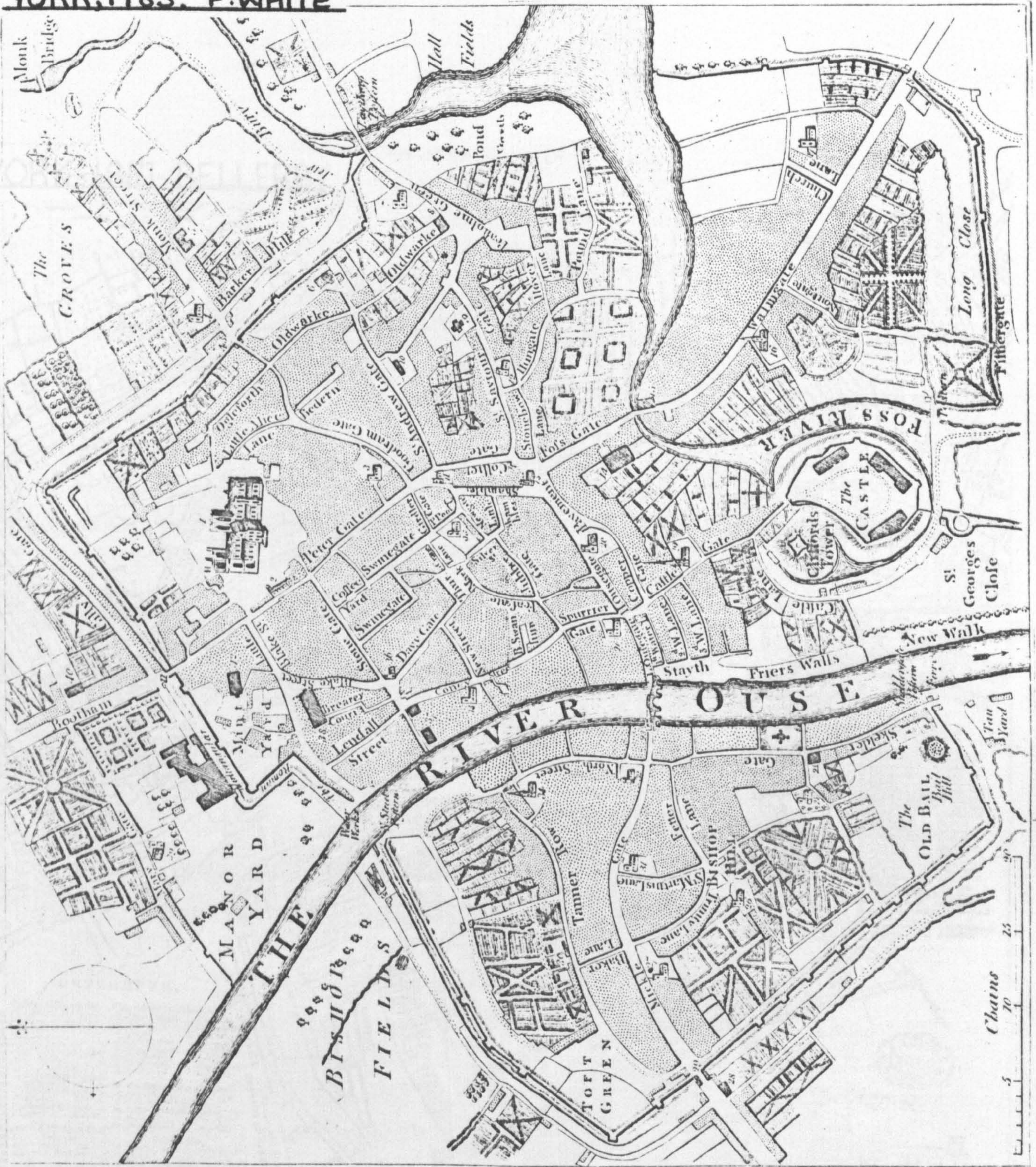


Printed at the Nottingham & Lincolnshire Press



By the author and publisher of the
STRAIGHT
ROAD AND SHERIFF
 IN THE COUNTY OF
NOTTINGHAM
 From a plan made in the year 1829 by
 G. Sturton & J. Hill

YORK, 1785. F. WHITE



- 1 The Cathedral
- 2 St. Michael le Belfrey
- 3 Trinity Ch. Goodramgate
- 4 St. Maurice Monk Street
- 5 The County Hospital
- 6 Merchant Taylors Hall
- 7 St. Cuthbert Presbiterian Green
- 8 St. Anthony's Hall
- 9 Dissenters Chapel
- 10 The Free School
- 11 Christ Church
- 12 St. Savours Ch.
- 13 St. Cruz Ch.
- 14 Merchants Hall
- 15 Mrs Wilson's Hospital
- 16 St. Dyons Ch. Walmgate
- 17 St. Marys Ch.
- 18 Walmgate Bar
- 19 St. Marys Cusleygate
- 20 All Saints Tament
- 21 St. Michaels Spurrerygate
- 22 Common Hall
- 23 Ouse Bridge
- 24 Mrs Middletons Hospital
- 25 St. Mary Bishop Hill the Elder
- 26 St. Mary Bishop Hill the Younger
- 27 Trinity Ch. Micklegate
- 28 St. Thomas's Hospital
- 29 Micklegate Bar
- 30 Lady Hewlays Hospital
- 31 St. Martins Ch.
- 32 St. Johns
- 33 St. Martins Coney Street
- 34 All Saints North Street
- 35 St. Sampsons Ch.
- 36 St. Helens Ch.
- 37 Mauston Ho. & Coach Mall
- 38 The Assembly Rooms
- 39 St. Olaves Marygate
- 40 Old Maids Hospital
- 41 Bootham Bar
- 42 The Play House
- 43 Monk Bar

YORK - 1847 - BELLERBY



Churches.

1. St. Mary's
2. St. Andrew's
3. St. Peter's
4. St. John's
5. St. James's
6. St. Michael's
7. St. Nicholas's
8. St. Leonard's
9. St. Mary's
10. St. Andrew's
11. St. Peter's
12. St. John's
13. St. James's
14. St. Michael's
15. St. Nicholas's
16. St. Leonard's
17. St. Mary's
18. St. Andrew's
19. St. Peter's
20. St. John's
21. St. James's
22. St. Michael's
23. St. Nicholas's
24. St. Leonard's

REFERENCES.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| Public Offices | Churches |
| 1. City Hall | 1. St. Mary's |
| 2. Guildhall | 2. St. Andrew's |
| 3. Corporation Office | 3. St. Peter's |
| 4. City Clerk's Office | 4. St. John's |
| 5. City Engineer's Office | 5. St. James's |
| 6. City Surveyor's Office | 6. St. Michael's |
| 7. City Treasurer's Office | 7. St. Nicholas's |
| 8. City Assessor's Office | 8. St. Leonard's |
| 9. City Clerk's Office | 9. St. Mary's |
| 10. City Engineer's Office | 10. St. Andrew's |
| 11. City Surveyor's Office | 11. St. Peter's |
| 12. City Treasurer's Office | 12. St. John's |
| 13. City Assessor's Office | 13. St. James's |
| 14. City Clerk's Office | 14. St. Michael's |
| 15. City Engineer's Office | 15. St. Nicholas's |
| 16. City Surveyor's Office | 16. St. Leonard's |
| 17. City Treasurer's Office | 17. St. Mary's |
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| 19. City Clerk's Office | 19. St. Peter's |
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| 21. City Surveyor's Office | 21. St. James's |
| 22. City Treasurer's Office | 22. St. Michael's |
| 23. City Assessor's Office | 23. St. Nicholas's |
| 24. City Clerk's Office | 24. St. Leonard's |

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A. MANUSCRIPT.

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- 4/A/1/18 Corporation Bonds, annuities, charity trusts, 1780 to 1841
4/A/1/40/3 Witham shares 1765, 1770 to 1775, 22 items
4/A/1/40/4 to 6. Mortgages, shares, securities
4/A/1/40/14 Haven shares 1776
4/A/2/4 Estimate of furnishing for new Assembly rooms
5/A/3/15 Notices of Corporation intention to pay off loans 1835-1837
5/A/3/21 Adverts and conditions of letting 1816 to 1882
5/A/3/26 List of sales and rents, 1800
9/A/5/i,ii,iii Bridge Accounts, vouchers 1801 to 1810
9/A/6 to 9 Deeds for annuities on behalf of the bridge
- 4/B/1/3 to 146. Chamberlains' accounts and rentals 1695 to 1835
4/B/1/258 General account book 1706 to 1763
4/B/2/1 to 108 Chamberlains' vouchers 1696 to 1835
4/B/3/109 to 113 Leases, miscellaneous adverts, rent abatements
4/B/4/3 to 15 Leases, surveys, rentals 1657 to 1861
7/B/1/1 Harbour trustee accounts 1827/8 to 1836/7
7/B/1/3 Buoys and beacons money 1747 to 1811
7/B/1/4/i to 90 Tonnage and lastage accounts 1776/7; 1812 to 1834
7/B/1/5 Wharfage received at Grand Sluice 1830 to 1832
7/B/1/6/i Boston light books 1782 to 1792
7/B/1/6/ii Boston light books 1793 to 1801
- 4/C/1/3 to 119 Erection Bailiffs' Accounts 1794 to 1833
4/C/2/i to 93 Erection Bailiffs' Vouchers 1701 to 1836
- 7/F/1 Schedule of tolls 1725 to 1730
7/F/2 Tolls payable on goods c 1800
7/F/3 Amendments to tolls 1812

12/3	Accounts and Vouchers re Shambles	1710 to 1771
12/4	Lease of sheep pens	1780 to 1781

Minutes and Committee Papers

Vols 3 to 8	Boston Assembly books, neat copy	1638 to 1817
2/A/1 to 27	Boston Assembly books, draft minutes	1671 to 1824
5/A/3/23	Reports and Resolutions to Committees	1823 to 1829
7/A/1 to 3	Buoys and beacons Committee	
9/A/1	Bridge Committee	1799 to 1819
2/D/1	Improvement Committee	1818 to 1823
2/D/3	Lease Committee	1811 to 1835
2/D/4	Paving Committee	1817 to 1828
2/D/5	Finance Committee	1817 to 1834
2/D/6	Miscellaneous Committees	1819 to 1852
10/1	Gaol Committee	1814 to 1819

Improvements

9/A/3	Bridge Specifications, tenders and contracts	
9/A/4	Bridge correspondence with J. Rennie	
9/F/1 & 8	Surveyor's reports and estimates for work on Corporation properties	1745 to 1806
9/F/2	Surveyors' reports and estimates	1803, 1821 to 1828
9/F/3	Draft specifications and contracts	1816 to 1830
9/F/4	Specifications for ballroom and market	1819
9/F/6	Specifications for farmhouse in West Fen	1821
7/G/1 to 4	Boston haven	
10/2 to 10/4	Gaol	
12/2	Plans and contracts for market improvements	
12/7	Complaint regarding state of sheep market.	

Legal and Administrative

4/A/2/2	Corporation stock & furnishings of Assembly Rooms	1788 to 1837
5/A/1/1 to 5	Town Clerk's papers	1780 to 1839
5/A/3/1	Relief of British prisoners in France	1807
5/A/3/12	Petition to remove duty on sea coal	1824
5/A/3/24	East and West fen enclosure	1802 to 1814
5/A/4	Bills of costs	1792 and 1830
5/A/5/2/3	Wildmore and East & West Fen drainage Act	1801
5/A/5/2/4	Bill to re-erect Boston bridge	1801

- 1/B/1 & 2 Charters
- 2/B/2 Petitions relating to freedoms, salaries,
rents, properties 1787 to 1802, 1812 to 1830
- 2/B/3/1 & 2 Petitions by Corporation for new bridge 1800
and Act for recovery of small debts 1801
- 2/C/1 & 2 Bye laws

Newark Municipal Offices

Newark Account Book

1795 to 1800

Formerly at Nottingham City Record Office, now deposited at
Nottinghamshire County Record Office.

The call numbers for these documents are numerical and are consequently not always readily distinguishable from the date references. The documents have been grouped in order of significance rather than sequentially by call number in order to help differentiate between different documents.

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- 1688 to 1799 Chamberlains' account books, summaries 1660 to 1699
- 1523 Chamberlains' general statements of
account 1724 to 1765
- 1524 Chamberlains' General statements of
account 1765 to 1795
- 1515E Chamberlains' Accounts, Ledger A, 1795 to 1823
- 1520D Chamberlains' accounts 1823 to 1835
- 2340C to 2351C Chamberlains' cash books 1823 to 1834
- 1515 to 1518D Corporation Accounts with individuals
and firms 1795 to 1835,
Ledgers A,B,C,D
Chamberlains' account books of expenditure, odd years:

Call No.	Year	Call No.	Year	Call No	Year
1659	1687/8	1799/F/116	1706	1800/E	1716/17
1800/H/169	1719/20	1801/A/150	1720/1	1801/B/127	1721/2
1801/E/134	1724/5	1802/B/117	1726/7	1802/B/118	1727
1803/B/115	1731/2	1803/C/146-7	1732/3	1803/D/113	1733/4
1803/E/120	1734/5	1804/A/197	1735/6	1804/B/167	1736/7
1804/C/121	1737/8	1804/D/137	1738/9	1805/A/156	1740/1
1805/B/146	1741/2	1806/D/176	1748/9	1810/C/IV	1767/8
1810/D/III	1768/9	1811/D/IV	1773/4	1811/E/V	1774/5
1814/A/IV	1785/6	1814/C/IV	1787/8		

Chamberlains' Vouchers, Odd Years:

Call No	Year	Call No	Year	Call No	Year
1798K	1664/5	1798La	1668/9	1798Lc	1670/1
1798Ma	1675/6	1798Mb	1676/7	1798Mci,ii	1677/8
1798N	1679/80	1798P	1680/1	1798Qi-126	1681/2
1798R	1683/4	1798S	1684/5	1798T	1686/7
1798Ua-c	1690-92	1798Va	1693/4	1798Vb	1694/5
1798Wi-156	1696/7	1798xi-138	1697/8	1798Vi-103	1698/9
1798Zi-80	1699/1700	1799A-C	1700-03	1799D toEi116,i110	1703 to '05
1801Ai-150	1720/1	1801B-C	1721/2	1802Fi-173	1725/6
1849 I	1727/8	1803Ai-143	1730/1	1804Ai-196	1735/6
1804Bi-167	1736/7	1805Ai-156	1740/1	1806D	1748/9
1806E	1749/50	1807A1-147	1750/1	1807B	1751/2
1807C	1752/3	1807D	1753/4	1809AI i-169	1760/1
1811Ai-211	1770/1	1812E	1779/80	1813A	1780/1
1814C	1787/8	1815A	1790/1	1823	1801/2
1850 I,II	1828/9				

1802 A-D,F	Vouchers for the building of the Exchange 1725 to 1728
2219 to 2336	Chamber Estate rental books - most years 1688-1835
2208	Chamber Estate rental 1694/5
1847 IV	Chamber Estate rental 1825/6
1858 VI	Chamber Estate rental 1835
7438	Account for the sale of Mansell Park 1717/18
2151 to 2159	Market Place Account and Vouchers 1827 to 1835
7444	Chamber and School Estate Leases
1995	Bridge Masters' Accounts 1660 to 1698
1523	Bridge Masters' Accounts 1765 to 1795
1515	Bridge Masters' Accounts Ledger A 1795 to 1823

1522	Bridge Masters' Accounts 1823 to 1835
2414	Bridge Masters' rentals 1722 to 1830
1523	School Wardens' Accounts 1724 to 1765
1524	School Wardens' Accounts 1765 to 1795
1515	School Wardens' Accounts Ledger A 1795 to 1823
2641 to 2740	School Wardens' rentals, odd years. 1722 to 1820
1530	Town Clerk's Ledger 1818 to 1828
H8 to H50	Town Clerk's bills 1735 to 1737
4052,4053,4056, 4060,4063,4065 b,c 4067,4068to 4071, 4073,4074b,4076 4688,4688b,4690a,b, 4691,4718,4728,4729, 4873,/13 to 16; 4873/19 to 25;4873/27 to 30; 4875a;4887;4893;4909;4933a;4938;4944; 4950/1-2;4961;4974;4995b;4996;4999;5002;5003; 5005;5006a;5007 to 5021; 5023 to 5025; 5027 to 5047; 5049 to 5052; 5054 to 5070;5075 to 5078; 5080 to 5082;5084 to 5086;5088;5090 to 5127;5129a;5130a; 5132;5133;5135a;5136;5137;5175 to 5181; 5289.	Annuities and bonds
4773 ii	List of customs and tolls c1825
8022 to 8024	Chief rent payable to Sheriffs 1792 to 1793
4635 bD	Terriers of Corporation lands 1595 to 1618
4649D	Terrier of Corporation lands 1604
4079CI to XLVI	County rate vouchers 1794 to 1824
6011	Saint Nicholas Highway rate book 1796

Minutes

3434 to 3594	Hall Books 1660 to 1835
3987	Annual and other Committees 1800 to 1835
1508	Shambles Committee 1806 to 1828

Legal and Administrative

4048I to IX	Market Stallage
4049I to IV	Market Stallage
4051I,II,III,V,VI	Sir Thomas White's Charity 1724 to 17899
4692C/2a	Letters
4692C/3,4,5,8	Letters
4692d,4694	Letters
4702,7650	Letters
6009	Refusals to pay Corn Tolls 1798

TRURO COUNTY RECORD OFFICE

56	Helston plans and agreement for building a new Cornage Hall 1806/7
60	Liskeard Market Stalls and Weights, Leases
169	Liskeard bonds for loans 1760 to 1833
363/1,2,3	Lostwithiel borough account 1785/6;1786/7;1787/8
363/11	Lostwithiel borough account 1801/2

YORK CITY LIBRARY ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT

Finance and Property

C22.3 to C58	Chamberlains' rolls 1660 to 1835 but many missing 1802 to 1824
C73.1 to C79.4	Receivers' rolls 1660 to 1694
CB25 to CB116	Chamberlains' account books 1660 to 1835 with several gaps
E78a	Rental books 1790 to 1831
E107	Market toll book 1771 to 1773
E110	Register of bonds 1783 to 1835
H50/1 to 5;H51/14,36,40,41 H54/10,11,H60/2;H61;H62/2.	Leases and conveyances
K43	Rental arrears 1627 to 1758
K75	Town Clerk's Accounts of receipts and payments 1833/4
K118	City Surveyors' reports on condition of Corporation properties 1838 to 1845
K128	Accounts of Market Improvement, Parliament Street, 1834

Minutes and Committee Papers

Acc. 86/12	Finance Committee Reports 1812 and miscellaneous data.
E34	Memoranda book
E35	Memoranda book
E36	Memoranda book
E37	Memoranda book; Lib. Miscellanea
E40	Letters re City Affairs
E68	Minutes of Corporation meetings and Committee re poor relief 1682 to 1685
E77	Committee for management of revenues 1816 to 1828
E101	Lease Committee 1704 to 1773; 1779 to 1813;
HB37 to HB50	House books 1660 to 1835
K102	Extracts from house books 41 to 46, 1706 to 1802
K102	Committee report on improvement of Spumergate 1831.
K110	Committees re finances 1827 to 1835
M24	Letters re cholera, St. Giles Parish 1832

Improvements

K130	Petition or residents for widening street near Colliergate.
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Legal and Administrative

E40/189	Leeds/Selby Canal
E85	Letters re City Affairs 1663 to 1718
E131	Case Mayor and Burgesses of Hull v Jackson 1714/15
G58	Agreements for woollen manufactory 1698
K14	Counsel's opinion on observance of bye-laws 1799 to 1810
K20	Counsel's opinion 1799 to 1810
K21, 22, 23	Corporation v Archbishop of York 1807
K30	Mandamus to elect Mayor 1793
K32	Brief re Joshua Draker's refusal to act as Sheriff 1694

K33	Oswald Allen's refusal to serve as Sheriff 1821
K34	Mandamus to elect Sheriff 1821
K35	Corporation v Robt. Wilson to recover exoneration money 1738
K36	Action for obtaining exoneration money 1728
K37	Mandamus to elect Lord Mayor and other Officers 1790, 1792
K41	Case for Counsel 1832
K47 to K52	Corporation v Thos. Bowen 1775 and Phillips 1776 re non-free trading
K54	Corporation v William Tuke
K87(A)	Papers re Charities Corporation v Bristol re. Sir Thos. White Charity 1810 to 1825
K87(B&C)	Papers re Charities, Packards Charity
K100	Report of Town Clerk on City Records 1831
YC/CH A48	Corporation v Squire & Gladstone, Sheriffs 1663/4
YC/CH A56	Licence in Mortmain to purchase lands 1808
YC/CH A56a	Licence in mortmain to purchase land for Cattle Market 1826
YC/CH A57	Letter patent re election of Mayor 1830
YC/DA G22	Arbitration award 1670
YC/DA G57,58,58a	Agreements re clothing manufactory 1655 to 1698

Giles Manuscripts (extracts from Civic Records)

Y352 C1,C4	The Foss and its Navigation
Y352 D4,D5	Freemen and Trading
Y352 D6	Dinner given to Duke of Sussex
Y352 D10 i-iv	The City Walls, bars and posterns
Y352 D11	Reaction to proposed road through the Walls at Bishophill
Y352 D11	Committee report on non-free trading
Y352 D11	New Market accounts 1834 to 1840
Y352 D11	The Water works
Y352 D11	Civic and Parliamentary government
Y352 E1	Ouse, Monk and Lendal Bridges.

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Nottingham Journal

Nottingham Review

Nottingham Gazette

Nottingham Mercury

York Courant

York Chronicle

York Herald

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COMMISSION REPORTS and PARLIAMENTARY ACTS:

<u>First report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Municipal Corporations of England and Wales</u>	1835
<u>Report of the Select Committee on Framework Knitters Petitions</u>	1812, 1819
<u>Report of the Royal Commissioners on the condition of the Framework Knitters</u>	1845
<u>The reports of the Commissioners appointed in pursuance of various Acts of Parliament to enquire concerning charities in England and Wales, relating to the county of Nottingham 1819 to 1837</u>	1890
<u>The reports of the Commissioners for enquiry concerning charities - the county of Lincoln</u>	1836
<u>First report of the Commissioners for enquiring into the state of large towns and populous districts</u>	1844
<u>Second report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the state of large towns and populous districts</u>	1845
<u>An Act to provide for the regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales</u>	1835

LOCAL ACTS OF PARLIAMENT

Boston:-

Enclosure and Drainage.

11 Geo III	1771	Common Fen
41 Geo III	1801	East, West and Wildmore fen drainage
43 Geo III	1803	
41 Geo III	1801	Wildmore enclosure
42 Geo III	1802	
41 Geo III	1801	East and West Fen enclosure
50 Geo III	1810	
58 Geo III	1818	Amending several earlier enclosure Acts

River.

2 Geo III	1762	4 Geo III	1808	7 Geo IV	1826/7
10 Geo IV	1829				

Harbour and Port.

16 Geo III	1775 c 23, 32 Geo III, 1792 c79 (Pilot Act).
52 Geo III	1812 c105, 7&8 Geo IV 1827 c79, 4&5 Will 1834 c87, (Port and Harbour)

Improvements.

15 Geo III	1775	Lighting and Watching
16 Geo III	1776	Lighting and Watching
46 Geo III	1806	
32 Geo III	1792	Paving and Cleansing
46 Geo III	1806	
41 Geo III	1801	Bridge and Market Area
42 Geo III	1802	Bridge, gaol and house of correction
6 Geo IV	1825	Gas Light.

Nottingham.

Roads

8 Geo II	1737	Trent Bridge to Coles Bridge
32 Geo II	1759	Chapel Bar to Newhaven
20 Geo III	1780	
40 Geo III	1800	
3 Geo IV	1822	
27 Geo III	1787	Nottingham to Mansfield
48 Geo III	1808	
9 Geo IV	1828	
31-36 Geo III	1795	

Canals

33 Geo III	1793	Grantham Canal
37 Geo III	1797	
36 Geo III	1796	

Improvements

2 Geo III	1762	} Lighting
1 & 2 Geo IV	1821	
58 Geo III	1818	Gas Light
7 Geo IV	1826	New Water Works Co.
7 & 8 Geo IV	1827	Old Water Works Co.

Administration

43 Geo III	1803	Justices of Peace, Nottingham
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York

River OUse

13 Geo I	1726-7
5 Geo II	1731-2

Improvements

6 Geo IV	1826	Paving, Lighting and watching.
3 & 4 Will IV	1833	Improving and enlarging Market Place

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