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THOMAS NEALE, A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PROJECTOR

by

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

HISTORY

Doctor of Philosophy

THOMAS NEALE, A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PROJECTOR.

by James Harry Thomas

This study reconstructs the life and work of one of England's foremost projectors - Thomas Neale (1641-1699). Stress is placed on his early career, on his numerous projects and on his associates, all previously lacunae in our knowledge of the man.

Family origins, rise to fortune, and the complex family network that was so important to Neale, are examined. His role as landowner and county figure in Hampshire, where he owned an estate until 1678, is also scrutinised. For three decades from 1668 he was a Member of Parliament. Partly through his services there he became a courtier; his growing power and influence at Court enabled him, in turn, to promote his projects.

In his long career the Revolution of 1688 acted as a natural dividing line. Before 1688 his projects were only four in number, two of which concerned property development. After 1688 the projects - 39 in all - were broadly ranged and included lotteries, treasure recovery, new industrial processes and financial innovations. From 1686 until his death Mastership of the Mint provided Neale with yet more influence and contacts and showed, particularly during the Great Recoinage (1696-1699), the calibre of his work.

Throughout Neale's hectic life money loomed large. Thus an attempt is made to reconstruct his personal financial state both before and after 1688, and the extent to which his finances were linked to his projects. He enjoyed the favours and friendship of two monarchs, worked with leading politicians, fellow courtiers, projectors, businessmen and artisans. While emphasis has, of course, been placed on reconstructing his life, a secondary theme is the interplay between the Court, the City and Westminster, and his role as middleman, a role in which he excelled.

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My greatest debt of gratitude is to Professor J.S. Bromley who supervised the work, read and re-read each chapter, and gave unstintingly of his time and vast knowledge of late-Stuart England. Mr. A.L. Merson made many suggestions for improvement of the work during its last year and helped in solving many technical problems relating to production of the thesis. For the errors that remain I alone am to blame.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Add. MSS.	Additional Manuscripts.
Adm.	Admiralty.
A./G.	Ayliffe/Guidott Papers.
Ainsworth	J. Ainsworth (ed.), Index to Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1671-5 (1942).
A.P.C.	Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial).
Armytage, Archbishop	G.J. Armytage (ed.), Allegations for Marriage Licences issued from the Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1543-1869 (1886).
Armytage, Bishop	G.J. Armytage (ed.), Allegations for Marriage Licences issued by the Bishop of London, 1611-1828 (1887).
Armytage, Vicar	G.J. Armytage (ed.), Allegations for Marriage Licences issued by the Vicar General of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1679-87 (1890).
B.I.H.R.	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.
B.L.	British Library, Reference Division.
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Browning	A. Browning, Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, 1632-1712 (3 vols. 1944-51).
Burnet	Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Times (4 vols. 1818).
C.	Chancery.
Cal.P.R.	Calendar of Patent Rolls.
Cal.S.P.Col.	Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies.
Cal.S.P.Dom.	Calendar of State Papers Domestic.
Cal.S.P.Ven.	Calendar of State Papers Venetian.
Cal.T.B.	Calendar of Treasury Books.
Cal.T.P.	Calendar of Treasury Papers.
Camb. R.O.	Cambridgeshire County Record Office.
Camden Soc.	Camden Society Publications.
C.C.C.P.	Consistory Court Cause Papers.
Chandaman	C.D. Chandaman, The English Public Revenue 1660-1688 (1975).

Chandler	R. Chandler, History and Proceedings of the House of Commons 1660-1743 (14 vols. 1742-4).
Chester	J.L. Chester (ed.), The Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Registers of Westminster Abbey (1876).
Childs	Childs Bank Ltd., Fleet Street, London.
Cobbett	W. Cobbett (ed.), The Parliamentary History of England (36 vols. 1806-20).
Codr.	Codrington Library, All Souls College, Oxford.
Craig, Mint	Sir John Craig, The Mint: A History of the London Mint from A.D. 287 to 1948 (1953).
Craig, Newton	Sir John Craig, Newton at the Mint (1946).
C.U.	Commercial Union Assurance Co. Ltd., 1 Undershaft, London.
C.U.L.	Cambridge University Library.
Dalton	C. Dalton (ed.), English Army Lists and Commission Registers 1661-1714 (6 vols. in 3, 1960 edn.).
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography.
Dunkin	E.H.W. Dunkin, C. Jenkins and E.A. Fry (ed.), Index to the Act Books of the Archbishops of Canterbury, 1663-1859 (2 vols. 1929-38).
E.	Exchequer.
E.C.	E. Chamberlayne, Angliae Notitia (various edns. 1669-1700).
Econ. Hist. Rev.	Economic History Review.
E.H.R.	English Historical Review.
Ellis	G.J.W. Agar-Ellis (ed.), The Ellis Correspondence (1686-8) (2 vols. 1829).
Evelyn	E.S. de Beer (ed.), The Diary of John Evelyn. (6 vols. 1955).
Fitch	M. Fitch (ed.), Index to Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1694-1700 (1960).
Foster	J. Foster (ed.), Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714 (4 vols. 1891-2).
Foster, Lincoln's	J. Foster (ed.), Admissions to Lincoln's Inn 1420-1799 (1896).
G.E.C.	G.E. Cokayne, Complete Baronetage (1611-1820) (6 vols. 1900-1909).
G.L.	Guildhall Library, London.

G.P.O.	General Post Office Records, St. Martin's-le-Grand, London.
Grey	Anchitell Grey, Debates of the House of Commons from the year 1667 to the year 1694 (10 vols. 1769).
Hants. R.O.	Hampshire Record Office, Winchester.
Harl.	Harleian Manuscripts, British Library.
H.B.C.	Hudson's Bay Company, Beaver House, Great Trinity Lane, London.
H.C.L.	Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Road, London.
Heref. R.O.	Herefordshire County Record Office.
Herts. R.O.	Hertfordshire County Record Office.
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
Hoares	C. Hoare and Co. Ltd., 37 Fleet Street, London.
I.O.L.	India Office Library, Blackfriars Road, London.
J.H.C.	Journals of the House of Commons.
J.H.L.	Journals of the House of Lords.
Jones	J.R. Jones, The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis 1678-1683 (1966 reprint).
Josten	C.H. Josten (ed.), Elias Ashmole (1617-1692), His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, His Correspondence, and Other Contemporary Sources Relating to his Life and Work (5 vols. 1966).
K.A.O.	Kent Archives Office, Maidstone.
L.C.	Lord Chamberlain.
L.G.	London Gazette.
L.S.	Lord Steward.
Luttrell	N. Luttrell, A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714 (6 vols. 1857).
Luttrell(P)	H. Horwitz (ed.), The Parliamentary Diary of Narcissus Luttrell 1691-1693 (1972).
Margoliouth	H.M. Margoliouth (ed.), The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell (2 vols. 1927).
M.R.	Middlesex Records, Dartmouth Street, London. (Part of Greater London Record Office).
N.L.W.	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

N.R.L.S.I.	National Reference Library of Science and Invention (formerly Patent Office Library), Chancery Lane, London.
O.E.D.	Oxford English Dictionary (12 vols., 1961 edn.).
Official Return	Return of the Names of every Member returned to serve in each Parliament (2 vols. 1878).
O.G.	Oxford Gazette.
P. and P.	Past and Present.
P.C.L.	Portsmouth Central Library, Local History Collection:
P.C.R.O.	Portsmouth City Records Office.
Pepys	R. Latham and W. Matthews (ed.), The Diary of Samuel Pepys (8 vols. 1970-4).
P.O.A.S.	Poems on Affairs of State.
Portledge	R.J. Kerr and I.C. Duncan (ed.), The Portledge Papers, 1687-97 (1928).
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
Prob.	Probate.
Proc.H.F.C.	Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society.
P.T.H.	Petersfield Town Hall.
Rawl.	Rawlinson Manuscripts, Bodleian Library.
Ridge, 1676-85	C.H. Ridge (ed.), Index to Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1676-85 (1948).
Ridge, 1686-93	C.H. Ridge (ed.), Index to Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1686-93, (1958).
R.M.	Royal Mint, Tower Hill, London
R.R.S.	The Record of the Royal Society (4th edn. 1940).
Scott	W.R. Scott, The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720 (3 vols. 1968 edn.).
S.P.	State Papers.
Steele	R.R. Steele (ed.), Bibliotheca Lindesiana: A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns (2 vols. 1910).
T.	Treasury.

T.H.C.L.	Tower Hamlets Central Library, Bancroft Road, London.
Thibaudeau	A.W. Thibaudeau (ed.), Catalogue of the Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by A. Morrison, 2nd series (7 vols. 1893-7).
T.R.H.S.	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.
T.W.C.	Transactions of the Woolhope Club.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History.
Venn	J. and J.A. Venn (ed.), Alumni Cantabrigienses: Pt. I (to 1751) (4 vols. 1922-7).
W.A.M.	Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine.
W. and G.	Williams and Glyn's Bank Ltd., Birchin Lane, London.
W.O.	War Office.
Wood	A. Clark (ed.), The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-95, described by himself (5 vols. 1891-1900).
Woodhead	J.R. Woodhead, The Rulers of London 1660-1689 (1965).

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3. Plan of the Royal Mint in 1701. — Wallet

Dates, Spelling, Citations

All dates are given in the Old Style, with the exception of correspondence with Europe where dates are given in both Old and New Styles. The year, however, is assumed to start on 1 January.

In quoting from contemporary sources the original spelling and punctuation are retained but contracted words have been expanded. Where titles of printed works have been shortened, these are given fully in the Bibliography.

INTRODUCTION

I

The seventeenth century was one of great wealth, complexity and change for England. But the change was not always fast or straightforward. Much instrumentation and apparatus developed in the early seventeenth century, for example, was not used until well after 1700. Attempts were made to harness steam, transport coal and launch rudimentary machine production. But with many of these technical changes came resistance, explained partially by craft conservatism, partially by problems of motivation and capacity, by poor communications, pressure of wartime governmental demands and other factors. Apart from general obstacles to technological change, the equivocal reputation of some inventors contributed to the barrier. In some cases, they attempted strange inventions, such as Charles Holman's scheme to develop a powder which 'being put into fair water, beer, ale or wine, immediately turns the same into very good black writing ink' or Christopher Matson's experiments 'for producing all sorts of fowl out of their eggs by artificial heat' so that London could be supplied with 'sufficient partridges and pheasants at cheap rates'.[1] Many of the inventors were themselves strange in nature, particularly those described by contemporaries as 'projectors', in whom a bizarre characteristic was frequently uppermost. Habitués of coffee-houses, dreamers of schemes and in many cases pure rogues, projectors produced, amid the plethora of crack-brained schemes for which they are usually remembered, a

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1687-9, 122-3, 214. For other examples see ibid, 48, 51, 53, 57, 59, 64, 121, 134, 188, 201, 248. See also J. Carswell, From Revolution to Revolution: England 1688-1776 (1973), 45.

solid body of rich thought on social, economic and financial advancement, thought that in many instances was remarkably futuristic in character or implication. Men such as Rowland Vaughan, Sir Richard Weston, Andrew Yarranton, the Chamberlens, William Paterson and Dalby Thomas were all projectors of one sort or another.

For our forebears, the word 'projector' had many meanings, most involving an element of change. Bacon, averse to change merely for its own sake, advocated imitating time which 'indeed innovateth greatly but quietly and by degrees scarce to be perceived', concluding his essay Of Innovations with the warning that novelty 'though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect'.[1] Jonson provided a character portrait of a projector in The Devil an Ass, when Ingine explained that a projector was:

> ... one Sir, that projects
> Wayes to enrich men, or to make 'hem great,
> By suites, by marriages, by undertakings
> According as he sees they humour it. [2]

To drive home the point Jonson called his character Meere-craft. The civil war period, witnessing the hardening of so many attitudes, saw a gradual acceptance of projectors, though the element of suspicion remained. Thomas Brugis, a Hertfordshire physician, in his The Discovery of a Projector (1641), described such a man as 'begotten on a fair Faggot pile between the man in the Moone and Tom Lancaster's Laundresse', and as one who would thrust his knife into the tender parts of the Commonwealth intending to bring out 'the very Coare of their purses'.[3] The Restoration, the creation of the

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1. F. Bacon, Essays (1936), 74, 75.
2. Act I, sc. VII, lines 10-13: C.H. Herford, P. and E. Simpson (ed.), Ben Jonson (11 vols. 1954-63), VI, 185.
3. Quoted C. Wilson, England's Apprenticeship 1603-1763 (1967), 7.

Royal Society and the development of political arithmetic did little to soften or remove these suspicious elements. In his Treatise of Taxes, Petty outlined the problems accompanying change and worrying the inventor:

> for although the Inventor oftentimes drunk with the opinion of his own merit, thinks all the world will invade and encroach upon him, yet I have observed that the generality of men will scarce be hired to make use of new practises, which themselves have not been thoroughly tried, and which length of time hath not vindicated from latent inconvenience. [1]

There were, he noted, problems for the inventor also; schemes could encounter hostility and resistance such that:

> ... the poor Inventor is either dead, or disabled by the debts contracted to pursue his design; and withall railed upon as a Projector, or worse, by those who joyned their money in partnership with his wit; so as the said Inventor and his pretences are wholly lost and vanish. [2]

By the 1690s English opinion had veered almost completely towards favourable acceptance of projectors, though a scientist such as Boyle could lament that '.... women think us still either projectors or conjurers'.[3] One of the most discernible differences was the impact of war after 1688, and its effect upon technical change. It was war pressure, for example, that led to new applications of coal to metal production, beginning with the development of the reverberatory furnace for copper-smelting at Bristol in the 1690s,[4] and to the evolution of the portable corn mill to feed ever-growing armies.[5]

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1. C.H. Hull (ed.), The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty (2 vols. 1899), I, 74-5.
2. Ibid, I, 75.
3. R. Boyle, History of Air (1692), 138, quoted O.E.D., VIII, 1445.
4. J.S. Bromley (ed.), New Cambridge Modern History, VI (1970), 70.
5. G.N. Clark, Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton (1937), 51.

Projects were of many different types. Some utopian idealists forwarded schemes heralding social welfare developments, such as the attempts of Hartlib, Peter and Hugh Chamberlen, Defoe, Cary and others to introduce a state-run medical service for the indigent poor. Needless to say, scant support came from either the medical profession or Parliament. Even the efforts of John Bellers, author of 'the most detailed and imaginative proposal for providing adequate medical benefits to the poor to come out of the 'projectors' age'', came to nought. Instead, projectors were treated to scorn and suspicion. Peter Chamberlen, whose dabblings included wind-propelled carriages and therapeutic public baths, was accused of insanity.[1] Trades fell within the projector's purview. During the seventeenth century Bacon, Petty, Hartlib, Evelyn and Boyle all gave their minds to producing a history of trades. Some progress was made. Evelyn's jottings appeared as his famed Sylva. Boyle himself advocated promotion of such a history:

> I look upon a good history of trades, as one of the best means to give experimental learning both growth and fertility, and like to prove to natural philosophy what a rich compost is to trees...

But the projected work remained unwritten despite such ardent advocacy; the participants, the work's vast scope and other factors combined to frustrate all efforts.[2]

The preoccupation with the need to increase state revenue was so strong that many devoted their time to dreaming up money-raising schemes. Such a drive, of great force during William III's reign, encouraged all sorts of ideas,

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1. Material drawn from P. Gibbons, 'The Medical Projectors 1640-1720', Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences XXIV (1969), 247-71. For the Chamberlen brothers and their offspring see D.N.B., IV, 10-15.
2. See W.E. Houghton, 'The History of Trades: Its Relation to Seventeenth-Century Thought', Journal of the History of Ideas II (1941), 33-60.

legitimate and spurious, for new fiscal and monetary devices. Moreover, the drive for money activated men who would otherwise have remained silent, as 'A.D.' explained in the preface to his pamphlet:

> It hath not been my Custom to Concern myself with Projecting, but when the Immergencies of the King and his People Cry aloud for Deliverance, I can no longer be silent without using my utmost Endeavours ... for my King and Countrey. [1]

Irrigation, drainage and reclamation also interested the projector. Early in the century Rowland Vaughan cut channels in his wife's property for irrigation and transport, thereby increasing the land's annual value from £40 to £300.[2] In 1655 Andrew Yarranton's scheme for linking Droitwich and Worcester by river aimed to reduce salt carriage costs. Although the scheme failed, he later improved the Warwickshire Avon, and had other schemes for developing Hereford as a communications and marketing centre.[3] In the allied field of drainage, the seventeenth century was a golden age. Of the 236 patents issued between 1660 and 1700, thirty were for draining mines or lands.[4] Drainage projectors 'offered to provide the capital and the engineering skill required for the work', with an expected return of a portion of the drained land 'freed of all other claims upon it'.[5] Some projectors fared well; Cornelius Vermuyden reaped the lion's share of the recently-drained Hatfield Chase.[6]

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1. P.R.O. S.P. 32/8/187, Proposals to Supply his Majesty with Twelve or Fourteen Millions of Money (1697).
2. R.S.G. Robinson, 'Rowland Vaughan and his water-works', T.W.C. (1936-8), 35-8.
3. G.H.C. Burley, 'Andrew Yarranton: A Seventeenth-Century Worcestershire Worthy', Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society, XXXVIII (1961), 25-36; T.W.M. Johnson, 'Captain Andrew Yarranton and Herefordshire', T.W.C., XXXIV (1952-4), 39-42. See also D.N.B., XXI, 1199-1201.
4. Bromley, VI, 69.
5. M. Albright, 'The Entrepreneurs of Fen Draining in England under James I and Charles I', Explorations in Entrepreneurial History, VIII (1955), 53.
6. Ibid, 55.

It was logical that projectors were interested also in developing drainage pumps and salvage techniques. During 1660-80, for example, much attention was devoted to perfecting mine-draining engines, the most prominent of such projects being those of Sir Samuel Moreland.[1] Salvage possibilities proved particularly attractive in the 1670s and 1680s. In 1671 Edmund Custis patented 'A new way... in discovering and takeing up of goods out of wrecks and shipps sunck in the sea, or (?) upon coasts, that have been sunck long ago'.[2] In 1689 Francis Smarfoot of London patented an invention 'or sea-crabb for working in the sea, for fishing and takeing upp of shipps, gunns and goods lost and forsaken'.[3] Such projects were greatly encouraged by the phenomenal success of Captain Phips in recovering over £200,000 from a West Indian wreck in 1687.[4]

II

Who were these men, so anxious to help society and themselves? Did they come from any one social group? Were there any bonds holding them together? Socially, projectors originated from all groups except the poor. But a strictly social categorisation is unhelpful and misleading. What is perhaps more rewarding is a division of projectors by types, as certain differences can then be traced between them. Firstly, there were the true professional projectors, the group to which Thomas Neale, the subject of this study, belonged. Doubtless the best known of all seventeenth century professional projectors

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1. N.R.L.S.I., Specifications of Patents: Old Series 1676-92, nos. 132, 142, 175, 179, 188, 208, 212, 215, 218, 252.
2. Ibid, no. 163.
3. Ibid, no. 262.
4. For the Phips expedition, see Ch. VII.

was Dr. Nicholas Barbon,[1] the son of Praise-God Barebones. Formally trained in medicine at Leyden and Utrecht and subsequently a Fellow of the College of Physicians, Barbon abandoned medicine to become a projector. Described as the 'unprincipled son of an eccentric father', he was 'one of the earliest, and, for a time, one of the most successful of the great speculative builders, to whose efforts the modern development of London,...,has been largely due',[2] was heavily engaged in the early development of fire insurance facilities, in land banks, and in many other schemes. Towards the close of his life he entered Parliament and sat for Bramber, Sussex, as his father had once done.

There was also the semi-professionals, combining other activities with projecting. Two such men were Samuel Weale of London, involved with Neale in his Bermuda project,[3] and Robert Ledgingham, merchant, who in 1687 patented a method of raising water from ships, the machine used also having potential as fire-fighting equipment.[4] In the same category was James Mell, merchant, involved with John Tyzack and others in a project for 'Tanning all sorts of skinns for leather, without makeing use of the ingredients now used'.[5]

There were the dabblers, such as the second Marquis of Worcester, who devoted part of his life to experiments and

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1. Barbon's career is currently being examined by A.F. Kelsall of the Greater London Council, to whom I am indebted for conversations on projectors, and for two additional sources of material which, otherwise, would have been overlooked.
2. N.G. Brett-James, 'A Speculative London Builder of the Seventeenth Century: Dr. Nicholas Barbon', Transactions of London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, VI (1929-33), 111. See also D.N.B., I, 1070-1.
3. Infra, Ch. VII.
4. N.R.L.S.I. Specifications of Patents: Old Series 1676-92, no. 205, dated 4 Oct. 1678.
5. Ibid, no. 309, dated 18 March 1692. For further details of Tyzack see Ch. VII.

invention, writing at least one book on the subject,[1] or again 'A.D.' attracted to projecting in time of national stress. Enterprising landowners experimenting with new crops, such as Sir Richard Weston and his innovatory work on clover development,[2] could also, loosely, be termed projectors. One other group were important for new ideas, techniques and industrial processes - Huguenot refugees. Of these, Nicholas Dupin was a leading example. Naturalised in 1670,[3] he prospered in military administration, first in Portsmouth and then in Plymouth. Playing a prominent role in promoting the Company of White Paper Makers, he was involved in similar schemes for both Scotland and Ireland, as well as linen and mining ventures in those two countries.[4] Huguenot immigrants helped encourage the production of laces, gloves, fancy buttons and many other commodities, while as a result of their arrival they 'raised the level of production qualitatively, and ... diffused many of the skills and arts that had long been cherished secrets of French manufacturers'.[5] Their arrival figured importantly 'in lifting England's industrial and technological level and in pushing her into the role of industrial leader in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries'.[6]

A second possible classification would be in terms of the methods employed by projectors. Here, again, variety was the keynote. While some operated alone, others, of whom Neale was a leading example, operated as middlemen, linking moneyed men to other interested parties. Again,

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1. Worcester's Century of Inventions (1663) was reprinted in H. Dircks The Life, Times and Scientific Labours of the second Marquis of Worcester (1865).
2. See N. Harvey, 'Sir Richard Weston and the New Farming', Agriculture LIX (1952), 284-6. See also D.N.B., XX, 1278-80.
3. W.A. Shaw, Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation for Aliens in England and Ireland 1603-1700 (1911), 104.
4. Scott, III, passim.
5. W.C. Scoville, The Persecution of Huguenots and French Economic Development 1680-1720 (1960), 333.
6. Ibid, 334.

they sometimes operated as part of a consortium, with as many as fifteen or twenty other people. Essentially, the projector formed one link in a chain of three, the others being the crown and the general public. The projector's aim was usually to offer advantages to each. To the public a new invention was offered; to the crown the opportunity of additional income and invariably the promise of freedom from unemployment and underemployment,[1] and financial gain for himself through the acquisition of a patent on his projected development.[2] Projecting tracts to promote these ideas, form an important sub-category of literature on economic developments in sixteenth and seventeenth century England, and reflect many key contemporary economic problems. The usual approach was for the projector to advance ideas in a manuscript or printed pamphlet, placed before the King and the Privy Council. As an indication of the volume of this activity, a Privy Councillor noted as early as 1609 that no fewer than 105 projects were then before the Council.[3] A venture's success depended on favourable Council reception; thus many projects never advanced beyond being statements of intent. But if they survived this stage, projectors then had to work hard to raise money; in the event of insufficient financial backing, they often had to abandon their proposed scheme.

A satirical civil war account of 'projecting' explained the alleged aims succinctly as 'the benefit of the King, the good of the Common wealth, and the employment of 1,000 poor people'.[4] The fullest account appeared in Defoe's

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1. On this, see D.C. Coleman 'Labour in the English Economy of the Seventeenth Century', Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser. VIII (1955-6), 280-95.
2. See G.N. Clark, 'Early Capitalism and Invention', Econ. Hist. Rev., 1st ser. VI (1935-6), 143-56.
3. L. Muchmore, 'The Project Literature: An Elizabethan Example', Business History Review, XLV (1971), 475, n.9.
4. Anon, Hogs Character of a Projector (1642), 2, quoted Muchmore, 476.

An Essay upon Projects (1697),[1] containing information on projects and projectors, on the projecting age, and schemes of his own contrivance. He claimed that the current vogue for projecting dated from 1680, and that, invariably, an element of exaggeration was involved. Referring to the construction of the Tower of Babel as a 'Right Project', he informed his readers that '... the true definition of a Project,... is... a vast Undertaking, too big to be managed, and therefore likely enough to come to nothing'.[2] In a similar vein 'Projectors, they say, are generally to be taken with allowance of one half at least; they always have their mouths full of Millions, and talk big of their own Proposals'.[3] In Defoe's view, the main issue was the difference between the honest and dishonest projector. Dishonest ones were:

> ... masters of more Cunning than their Neighbours, turn their Thoughts to Private Methods of Trick and Cheat, a Modern way of Thieving, every jot as Criminal, and in some degree worse than the other, by which honest men are gull'd with fair pretences to part from their Money, and then left to take their Course with the Author, who skulks behind the curtain of a Protection, or in the Mint or Friars, and bids defiance as well to Honesty as the Law.[4]

Understandably, he thought that 'A meer Projector ... is a Contemptible thing',[5] not least because the dishonest variety not only outnumbered the honest ones, but shed their mantle of infamy over them as well. On the other hand:

> ... the Honest Projector is he, who having fair and plain principles of Sense, Honesty and

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1. All references to the Essay come from the Scholar Press reprint of 1969.
2. An Essay upon Projects, 20.
3. Ibid, xii.
4. Ibid, 32-3.
5. Ibid, 33.

> Ingenuity, brought any Contrivances to a suitable Perfection, makes out what he pretends to, picks no body's pocket, puts his Project in Execution, and contents himself with the real Produce, as the profit of his Invention. [1]

The bulk of the Essay concerns Defoe's own projects, mostly socio-economic in nature. He argued for an extension of the recently-created Bank of England, pointing out that: 'A Bank ought to be of a Magnitude proportion'd to the Trade of the Countrey it is in'.[2] Highways could be improved by commuting prison sentences to highway labour and setting county tax at £30,000 a year for eight years. As a result, the whole country could 'reap an Advantage an hundred to one greater than the Charge of it'.[3] Assurances and Friendly Societies received attention, Defoe pointing to the advantages of insuring against fire and insuring tithes, though doubting the wisdom of life insurance except perhaps for Italy, 'where Stabbing and Poysoning is so much in Vogue'.[4] The creation of a pension office would have the long-term aim of ridding the kingdom of beggary and poverty. Something should also be done, he felt, for the lot of the insane and the bankrupt.[5] Towards the close of the Essay he advocated creating a society to improve the English tongue, a society from which clerics, physicians and lawyers would be excluded as 'their several professions do naturally ... prescribe Habits of speech to them peculiar to their Practice and prejudicial to the Study'.[6] He also outlined a lengthy proposal for a Royal Academy for Military

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1. An Essay upon Projects, 35.
2. Ibid, 41.
3. Ibid, 112. A project of a kindred spirit was that of 'D.B.' and 'C.L.' entitled A Proposal of an Inland Exchange. Benefitting from improved highways this would provide greater circulation of coinage, more employment and prevent highway robberies: P.R.O. S.P. 32/11/349.
4. An Essay upon Projects, 117.
5. Defoe went bankrupt on two occasions, writing the Essay in between: M.E. Novak, Economics and the Fiction of Defoe (1962), 95.
6. An Essay upon Projects, 235.

Exercises, and for an Academy for Women. Finally, he advocated establishing an office holding lists of seamen that would act as a recruiting pool, reduce and eventually remove the press-gang and place both merchant and royal navy on a regularly manned basis.[1]

Except perhaps for their ingenuity, Defoe's proposals for making the poor profitable to the state varied little from the ideas put forward by such projectors as William Cholmeley and Thomas Trollop in the 1550s and 1560s.[2] Defoe indicated few actual inventions, the key issues being the achievement of social justice and the avoidance and eventual eradication of necessity. For Defoe 'necessity' caused many problems. Men had to circumvent it by fraud, theft or invention. In genealogical terms, Defoe characterised Necessity as the illegitimate daughter of Sloth. Ruining her estate, Necessity married Poverty, producing a son Invention, who later married Projector, and a daughter called Wit. The Union of Invention and Projector produced three fine sons - Honesty, Industry and Ingenuity, whose subsequent marriages restored peace, harmony and prosperity to the family.[3]

Early in the eighteenth century was published the only known autobiography of a projector, that of John Dunton (1659-1733), who prided himself in 1710 as a man 'Who hatch'd Six Hundred Projects in his Brain: ... He will Six Hundred Projects more beget'.[4] It was the more

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1. A Register office was created by Act of Parliament in 1696: R.D. Merriman (ed.), The Sergison Papers (Navy Records Society 1950), 166.
2. For Cholmeley's 1553 project for dyeing cloth in England, see R.H. Tawney and E. Power (ed.), Tudor Economic Documents (3 vols. 1924), II, 130-48. For Trollop's project for centralising linen and canvas production in London, see Muchmore, 473-87.
3. Novak, 50-1.
4. Quoted F. Redlich, 'Some English Stationers of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: in the Light of their Autobiographies', Business History, VIII (1966), 3. Samuel Weale's voluminous papers include a brief autobiographical memoir recounting his career as projector: Bodl. Rawl. MSS. D.808, f. 246. For Weale see Ch. VII and App. E. He would repay study in his own right.

bizarre projects that bore the brunt of Swift's pen in 1726, epitomised in Captain Gulliver's visit to the College of Projectors at Lagado. The first projector he met, 'of a meagre Aspect, with sooty Hands and Face, his Hair and Beard long', had spent eight years upon a project for 'extracting Sun-Beams out of Cucumbers, which were to be out into Vials hermetically sealed, and let out to warm the Air in raw inclement Summers'. Another worked on the idea of converting ice into gunpowder. An architect had perfected a new method of house construction 'by beginning at the Roof, and working downwards to the Foundation'. A fourth ingenious individual had developed a device for ploughing the ground with hogs, but was hampered by the fact that the field had first to be planted with acorns, dates and chestnuts to lure the animals there! Gulliver nevertheless enjoyed his visit, subsequently complaining that he was but 'ill entertained in the School of political Projectors'.[1]

III

Why, out of this plethora of projects and projectors, it may be asked, has the present author chosen Thomas Neale for special study? Why single him out from his fellow projectors and subject him to such exacting scrutiny? There are several reasons for this, not the least being his very full, varied career. During his life he was prominent in his county community, served in Parliament for over three decades, held responsible positions in the royal household, was Master of the Mint, and promoted a galaxy of projects. Their wide extent approaches incredibility, ranging from new ways of making paper and steel, to land drainage, marine salvage operations, rudimentary town planning, lottery promotion and novel taxes. A full list is shown overleaf:

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1. J. Swift, Gulliver's Travels, (ed. H. Davis, 1965), Part III, Ch. V, passim.

Table 1 Thomas Neale's Projects

Date	Project
June 1670	Development of Shadwell.
June 1675	Mine drainage.
March 1677	Ballast Shore at Jarrow Slake.
c. 1680	Development of Tunbridge Wells.
Sept. 1690	Dice to check cheating at gaming.
Sept. 1690	Wreck off Bermuda.
March 1691	Recovery of silver from wrecks.
July 1691	Making verdigris.
Aug. 1691	Mines in Maryland and Virginia.
Aug. 1691	Tapestry Makers of England.
Aug. 1691	Brass plates for kettles.
Aug. 1691	Steel equivalent to Corinthian steel.
Aug. 1691	Company of Royal Fishery of Ireland.
Sept. 1691	Dice and Tables.
Sept. 1691	Wrecks off Ireland.
Oct. 1691	Land drainage - Plymouth.
Jan. 1692	Mineral rights: American colonies.
May 1692	Street lights in Dublin.
May 1692	Imitation Russian leather.
June 1692	Seven Dials
June 1692	Wrecks in West Indies.
Aug. 1692	Steel equivalent to Venetian steel.
Sept. 1692	New way of making paper.
Nov. 1692	Soldering and joining glass.
Feb. 1693	Postal services to America.
Feb. 1693	Wreck off Isle of Sables.
June 1693	New way of casting lead.
June 1693	Wire screens, wire cloth.
June 1693	Mining company in England.
July 1693	Sand dredging in Thames.
May 1694	Salt Duty.
Feb. 1695	Million Lottery.
Oct. 1696	£5 million in 'paper credit'.

Sources: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1670, 253; ibid, 1675-6, 164; ibid, 1690-1, 128, 32 , 445, 470, 49 , 498, 502, 515, 523, 54 ; ibid, 1691-2, 98, 29 , 405, 456, 503; ibid, 1693, 183, 207, 222; ibid, 1695, 239; ibid, 1696, 427; Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 832, 1258, 1125, 1324, 1343, 1511, 1665; ibid, 1693-6, 50, 609; ibid, 1697, 279.

To promote some of his projects and minimise accusations of charlatanry, Neale used his pen. The terminology of his pamphlets is modern in tone, and reveals him expounding with logic and clarity on such diverse topics as land banks, trade to the East, problems of raising money, of which he had more than his own share of experience, the promotion of lotteries and many other matters.[1] It was in great part because he was so active and so adroit in his use of contacts that Neale spent so much of his life in the public gaze. Like many other public figures, he acquired soubriquets. The two - 'Golden Neal' and 'bankrupt Neal'[2] - epitomise the extremes of his colourful and important career. He was the butt of lampooners, and wits, of satirists and scandalmongers. He came very close to insanity, bore a striking facial resemblance to James II and was endowed with a mellifluous, convincing tongue. During his own lifetime several poems were written about him either directly or by inference, and he could read such lines as:

> Since Pembroke and Neale
> Keep the mint and the seal,
> And Benting's prime minister,
> Old England prepare
> Of thy self to take care;
> We are under a fate très sinistre.[3]

Study of Neale thus affords a good opportunity for examining many aspects of the projector's métier. About all projectors

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1. For a full list of Neale's published writings see Appendix D.
2. The first epithet was used in A Seasonable argument to persuade all the Grand Juries in England to petition for a NEW PARLIAMENT (1677). Supposedly written by Andrew Marvell, the tract was included as an Appendix to Cobbett, IV. The second appears in Upon Neale's Projecting New Taxes (1695), a copy of which is contained in Bodl. Rawl. MSS. Poet 173, ff. 128v-129. The volume belonged at one time to John Dunton, for whom see xxiii. Though central records in bankruptcy do not begin until 1710, no reference occurs in L.G. during 1665-99 to Neale having gone bankrupt.
3. On the Earl of Dorset, Sir Charles Sedley etc. (1692), lines 13-18: W.J. Cameron (ed.), P.O.A.S., V (1971), 336.

there are mysterious elements. What made them embark on their schemes? How did they finance them? Were they close to insanity? With the meteoric rise and disappearance of some projectors such questions have long called for answers. Hitherto, however, projectors have received but scant attention. If the career of just one can be reconstructed, this will shed light on his fellows.

To date, Neale has received meagre treatment from historians. A few works deal with some aspects of his career,[1] while others mention him in passing.[2] The standard reference work on English biography merely states that 'Nothing seems known of his early life',[3] a theme reiterated by others. In many ways, therefore, a full-length study of Neale is akin to building a house; the operation has to start, perforce, with sound footings. There is a need for perspective; his activities and actions have to be set and seen in context. Was he typical of his fellow projectors, or unique in doing things on a really grand scale? Is it arguable that the Million lottery and the additional salt duties of the 1690s were the work of a genius who found time and energy to dabble in a multitude of schemes? The question of originality also looms large. Was Neale, like so many projectors, merely a plagiarist borrowing indiscriminately from other people, even perhaps

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1. C. L'Estrange Ewen, Lotteries and Sweepstakes (1932) deals with Neale's lotteries, noting on 124 that the lottery promoter should not be confused with Thomas Neale, armiger, 'also an inventor', without realising it was the same man! E. Hughes, Studies in Administration and Finance 1558-1825 (1934) deals with Neale and salt. The most recent work has been a consideration of his part in developing Tunbridge Wells: C.W. Chalklin, 'The making of some New Towns, c. 1600-1720' in Rural Change and Urban Growth 1500-1800 (ed.) Chalklin and M.A. Havinden (1974), 229-52.
2. J.H. Plumb, The Growth of Political Stability in England 1675-1725 (1969 edn.), 121, 153.
3. D.N.B., XIV, 147. The entry was compiled by Warwick William Wroth.

from other countries?[1] Does he deserve more credit than, hitherto, has been afforded him? Did he supply ideas, inspirations and connections which have gained for Charles Montague the reputation for financial wizardry? Similarly, should more credit go to Neale with regard to the Great Recoinage of 1696-9? Finally, comprehensive study of a projector, especially one so active as Neale, is more than overdue.

IV

Reconstruction of Neale's life has proved difficult. For all the power and influence at his disposal, for all his achievements and failures, Neale left few traces. There is no collection of personal papers, no family correspondence, diaries, journals and the like. This necessitated use of the wide range of primary and secondary sources to which reference is given in the text. Three rich, and hitherto unknown, collections have been used, one located in the British Library, the other two in the vaults of a London bank. To supplement these and other collections, located principally in the Bodleian and Codrington Libraries and various county repositories, considerable use has been made of litigation records, particularly those of the Court of Chancery in the Public Record Office.

The uneven survival of material determined, to a certain extent, the final shape of the thesis. The confused entry in the Dictionary of National Biography necessitated plotting in detail all known members of his wide family, particularly

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1. For consideration of the issue of plagiarism see Ch. VII. In France projectors were called 'donneurs d'avis' and in Spain 'arbitristas'. For the most recent treatment of the latter see J.H. Elliott, 'Self-Perception and Decline in early Seventeenth-Century Spain', P. and P., 74 (1977), 41-61, especially 42-5.

as it became increasingly apparent that they brought him so many entrées, contacts and difficulties. This, and the examination of his role in Hampshire, adds substantially to what was already known of Neale's life. Thereafter, it was natural to examine his early years in Parliament and the projects he promoted before the Revolution in 1688. It was considered appropriate to break the study of his career at 1688. Not only was English life different after the Revolution, but Neale's own activities, thoughts and deeds quickened considerably. For this reason, the later years in Parliament and the later projects are afforded separate treatment, and an attempt made to explore the complex, intricate ways in which these two parts of his career were so closely interwoven. His activities as Master of the Mint, though spanning the years before and after 1688, have been examined in the context of his later career.

Though the study of Neale that follows contains gaps and, in several instances, raise questions to which answers cannot be given, it nevertheless provides a more detailed account than has previously been attempted. Doubtless other, fresh, materials on his life will appear. Hopefully, they will not undermine the effort made here to reconstruct the career of a man who, despite all his critics' barbs, was one of the most influential figures of late-Stuart England.

Chapter I

NEALE AND HIS FAMILY

Thomas Neale (1641-99) was a social climber. His family originated in London, became landed gentry and reached dazzling heights when he was promised a viscountcy,[1] an honour which, much to his mortification, failed to materialise. Much light can be shed on Neale by considering his family, important not only in helping to shape some of his views and prejudices, but also in furthering his career and in causing him difficulties. Furthermore, much of Neale's career becomes clearer when seen in this context. His personal circumstances can be scrutinised by considering his background, his parents, his immediate family and the ramifications of various matrimonial alliances.

I

The earliest known member of the family was John Neale of London who married Elizabeth Parkar, daughter of a London citizen, early in the sixteenth century.[2] Two children were born of the union William, who was to be instrumental in establishing the family's fortunes, and Denise who married William Dixe, a London merchant.[3]

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1. A Seasonable Argument (1677), xxv.
2. H.S. London and S.W. Rawlins (ed.), The Visitations of London 1568 (1963), 96. A Thomas Neale had served as sheriff of London two centuries earlier, but there is no evidence of a direct family connection. For a pedigree of the Neale family see Appendix A.
3. G.H. Dashwood (ed.), The Visitation of Norfolk 1563 (2 vols. 1878-95), II, 256.

Dixe took his wife to live at Wickmere, in Norfolk.[1] William Neale, meanwhile, remained in London. In July 1560 he was appointed to the newly-created eighth Auditorship of the Exchequer.[2] His duties included examination of accounts, assessment of land values and supervision of coinage accounts.[3] He used some of his income to acquire London property from his friend Sir Walter Mildmay. A leading Privy Councillor, Mildmay sold the former frater of St. Bartholomew's Priory, West Smithfield, to Neale in 1567.[4] Times proved favourable to Neale, for the London Subsidy Roll of 1589 shows him assessed at £160.[5]

While accumulating wealth and rising in status, Neale was also establishing a circle of friends. Mildmay counted for much, the Privy Councillor never being far from the queen's ear; a near neighbour in Smithfield was Sir Henry Cary, one of whose daughters, Victoria, subsequently married into the Uvedale family of Wickham,

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1. In 1574 Dixe was appointed a trustee for Thomas Howard, son of Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk, executed in June 1572. Dixe was buried at Wickmere 19 July 1596; his widow was buried there 28 Dec. 1603. Their son Walter died young: Dashwood, II, 256. W. Rye (ed.), The Visitations of Norfolk 1563 1589 and 1613 (1891), 112, gives his name as Dyx and his residence as Wykmer.

2. Cal.P.R. 1558-60, 323. Creation of an eighth Auditorship was occasioned by the transfer of all Augmentations business to the Exchequer; the appointment was intended only as a temporary addition: W.C. Richardson, History of the Court of Augmentations 1536-1554 (1961 edn.), 441, 462n. In March 1564 Neale was granted the next vacant of the original seven Auditorships for life: Cal.P.R. 1563-6, 185. Prior to being Auditor, he may have been Exchequer surveyor of lands in Leicestershire: Ibid, 89.

3. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1547-80, 269; Ibid, 1591-4, 123; Ibid, 1595-7, 81.

4. E.A. Webb, The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, W.Smithfield (2 vols. 1921), II, 156. Neale served as churchwarden 1574-8 and his accounts are reproduced in ibid, II, 523-5.

5. London and Rawlins, 160.

Hampshire.[1] Destined to be the most important of these new contacts, however, was Agnes Bowyer, daughter of a Chichester merchant. One of nine children, Agnes had a brother, Francis, who became a London alderman, and another, William, who became Keeper of the Records in the Tower.[2] Agnes Bowyer not only provided Neale with a link outside London but also became his first wife. She was to bear him six children, three boys and three girls. Slowly rising in state service, comfortably married, Neale began acquiring property outside London. In summer 1566 he leased Titchfield rectory, in Hampshire, at an annual rent of £30.[3] In the late 1570s he and his wife purchased Warnford manor and surrounding lands in the same county for an undisclosed price.[4]

In this quiet village Neale had a house built, making it his principal residence. Modest comfort characterised his lifestyle there, a comfort disturbed by his wife's death. Though now a septuagenarian, William Neale took a second wife, Anne Culverwell, widow of a rich London merchant. Her possessions included a pair of French candlesticks, a walnut table standing in 'the greate parlour'

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1. Infra, 6, 7, 18.
2. W. Berry, County Genealogies: Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Sussex (1830), 135. Their father, Robert, was assessed for goods worth £40 in the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1525, was mayor of Chichester in 1532 and died in 1567: J. Cornwall (ed.), The Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex 1524-5 (Sussex Record Society LVI, 1956), 2,3; Berry, 134.
3. Cal.P.R. 1566-9, 107.
4. V.C.H. Hampshire, III, 270. Paulet had already alienated ownership of these and other lands at least once, in April 1563: Cal.P.R. 1560-3, 564. Residence certificates show Neale assessed for lands worth £40 annually at Warnford in 1590 and 1592: P.R.O. E115/283/12, E115/285/64. M.A. Havinden kindly drew this source to my attention.

and a walnut bedstead, all signs of a modicum of luxury. To attend to family needs over a dozen servants were retained,[1] including Elianor Culverwell, a relative of his wife's first husband, employed either as governess or housekeeper.[2] By the late 1580s the Neales had become an accepted Hampshire family. To the Armada Fund William Neale contributed a generous £50.[3] Early in the 1590s he was deputed by Burleigh as a commissioner 'to enquire of the spoiles and wastes made within the woods and bishopricke of Winchester'.[4]

With the passing years, William Neale had time to reflect and to watch his family growing up around him. Thomas, his eldest son and heir, was sent to Hart Hall, Oxford, and the Middle Temple.[5] The place of education for Francis, the second son, is unknown. Walter his third son, was admitted to Gray's Inn early in 1593,[6] and subsequently made a military career for himself. While providing for his sons, Neale also had the care of Thomas Dunscombe, whose wardship, with an annuity of a little over £3, was granted to him in late November 1591.[7] No doubt Burleigh had a hand in providing the wardship,

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1. P.R.O. Prob. 11/91, f. 4, will of Anne Neale, dated 4 Aug. 1596.
2. P.R.O. Prob. 11/98, f. 81, will of William Neale, dated 20 Feb. 1600.
3. J.S. Attwood, 'The Armada Fund', Hampshire Notes and Queries (10 vols. 1883-1900), II, 40-1.
4. Burleigh to Sir William More, Serjeant Kingsmill, Neale and others, 11 Aug. 1594: H.M.C. VII Report, 652b.
5. Foster, III, 1054; Sir H.F. Macgeagh and H.A.C. Sturgess, Register of Admissions to ... the Middle Temple (3 vols. 1949), I, 54.
6. J. Foster (ed.), The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521-1889 (1889), 82.
7. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1591-4, 126. While the annuity would have been insufficient for total maintenance of the child, there was no correlation between annuity and annual value of a ward's lands during Elizabeth I's reign: J. Hurstfield, The Queen's Wards (1958), 114-17.

perhaps as a reward for good services. With one of his sons-in-law, Neale was on excellent terms. Neale's daughter Mary married John Knight from nearby Chawton; for some inexplicable reason Neale viewed her action with suspicion, though treating his new son-in-law as another son. During the building of their Chawton house John and Mary Knight stayed with the Neales at Warnford. When the house was finished and the couple settled, they returned the hospitality, their guests including brother-in-law Thomas Neale and his wife. During 1616-18 Knight stayed regularly at Warnford, writing to his brother Stephen from the Neale house.[1]

While Neale's heir Thomas is important in this study, mention must be made of his second son Francis, for relations between the two brothers soured as they grew into manhood. Like their father, they each served as Exchequer Auditors, the elder holding office for life.[2] His duties included oversight of castles in Kent, Surrey, and Oxford, of parks, estates, mills, timber felling in Windsor forest and other matters.[3] His brother's responsibility was as Auditor of the revenues of the young Prince of Wales, particularly from the county of Chester.[4] Both brothers benefited from James I's lavish dubbings.[5]

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1. W.A. Leigh and M.G. Knight, Chawton Manor and its Owners (1911), 85-7. Hants R.O. holds the Knight MSS., in excess of 98 boxes, most of which are unfit for production.
2. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1603-10, 120.
3. P.R.O. E101/524/3, 'Castles Mansions and Fortes within the office of Sir Thomas Neale, Auditor', n.f.
4. C.U.L. Dd.9.36, 'Revenues of the Prince', 89, 159, 547. Charles Stuart had become Prince of Wales following the death of his brother, Prince Henry, in November 1612: J.P. Kenyon, The Stuarts (1967 edn.), 45.
5. Thomas Neale was dubbed at Whitehall 18 Apr. 1604, his brother 2 Jan. 1609: W.A. Shaw, The Knights of England (2 vols. 1906), II, 131, 146. See also W.C. Metcalfe, A Book of Knights (1885), 152, 160 and J. Nichols, The Progresses of King James I (4 vols. 1828, reprint n.d.), I,428, II, 213.

Both made highly suitable marriages. Sir Thomas married Elizabeth Freake, daughter of a prominent Dorset figure.[1] Sir Francis married Honora, daughter of William Uvedale of Wickham, member of a long-established Hampshire family.[2] Thereafter, however, the two brothers moved apart, Sir Francis playing the role of wicked uncle on the death of his elder brother.[3] Two years after Sir Thomas Neale's marriage the Warnford property was settled upon him and his wife by his ageing father who then moved back to London to live out his remaining days.[4]

By his wife Sir Thomas Neale sired five children. By his second wife, Mary Carlton, daughter of Robert Carlton of Goring in Oxfordshire,[5] he sired an equal number. Through their father's skill the six surviving children made useful marriages, though the plethora of daughters - four in all - strained family finances. The marriages added greatly to growing Neale prestige. Anne, the eldest daughter, married Sir Thomas Brookes of Leicestershire.[6] Mary married Payne Fisher of Preston Candover, Hampshire; Frances married Sir Francis Cave of Rothbury, Leicestershire,

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1. Robert Freake, Exchequer teller to Elizabeth I, died in 1592: H. St. George and S. Lennard (ed.), The Visitation of Dorsetshire, 1623 (1885), 41.
2. Hants. R.O. 6M64, Millen MSS, genealogical chart. John Uvedale was sheriff of Hampshire in 1408 and between then and 1594 a Uvedale had followed suit on fourteen other occasions: P.R.O., Lists and Indexes, IX, List of Sheriffs to A.D. 1831, 55-6.
3. Infra, 10.
4. Rev. C.A. Millen, 'The Neales of Warnford 1521-1700', unpublished paper, 2. I am indebted to Rev. J.C. Hurst for access to a copy. There is no entry in Warnford's registers for William Neale's burial. Those of Smithfield have since been lost. There is, however, a monument in Warnford church to William Neale.
5. W.H. Rylands (ed.), The Four Visitations of Berkshire, 1532, 1566, 1623, 1665-6 (2 vols. 1908), II, 90.
6. Anon, 'A Pedigree or Genealogy of the family of ye Frekes', Ancestor, X (1904), 187. Anne Neale's husband could have been dubbed in May 1606 or Nov. 1613: Shaw, II, 139, 153.

whose family were long-established in that county.[1] Elizabeth the fourth daughter married Sir Roger Fielding, brother of the Earl of Denbigh.[2] The children of the second marriage were equally successful. In 1632 Sir Thomas Neale's son and heir, also called Thomas, married Lucy the daughter of Sir William Uvedale.[3] William, the younger son, married Anne Vibert of Winchester, a relative of Dean Young.[4]

Given that knights were 'for the most part... men... living betwixt £1,000 and £2,000 yearly',[5] what effect did his daughters' marriages have upon Sir Thomas Neale's pocket? The daughters must have bitten deeply into their father's solvency,[6] though there were some gains. With Anne Neale's marriage, the family acquired additional property. In 1613 Sir Thomas Brooke sold Foxton Rectory in Leicestershire to Sir Thomas Neale, who retained it for seven years and then sold it.[7] Sir Thomas Neale was certainly not poor. Like his father, he maintained the two family homes in London and Warnford, owned at least two

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1. J. Featherston (ed.), The Visitation of the County of Leicester 1619 (1870), 125-8.
2. Anon, 187.
3. Warnford Parish Registers, I, 1541-1771, 3, gives the marriage date as 13 Sept. 1632; those of Wickham give 15 Sept. and the ceremony taking place at Droxford: Hants. R.O. 87M70/PRI, Wickham Parish Register 1556-1654, n.p. For Uvedale's appointment as Treasurer of the Chamber in 1618 see G.E. Aylmer, The King's Servants (1961), 391.
4. Hants R.O. 6M64, Millen MSS., genealogical chart.
5. T. Wilson, The State of England A.D. 1600 (ed.) F.J. Fisher (Camden Miscellany, XVI (1936), 23.
6. Residence certificates show Sir Thomas Neale with lands valued annually at £27 in Warnford: P.R.O. E115/283/76, 99, 153.
7. V.C.H. Leicestershire, V, 93.

carriages and wore sumptuous apparel. He left £50 'to those of my servants that I have not particularly remembered in this my will', £100 to the Warnford poor and £1,000 to each of his two sons Thomas and William. Additionally he requested burial "as neare as may be to the place where Elizabeth my deceased wife was buried'. A tomb was to be erected 'about which I verily thincke there cannot be lesse than four or five hundred pounds laid out and expended at the least'.[1] Obviously wishing to be remembered by subsequent generations,[2] Neale was participating in a craze that had England's nobility and gentry in its grasp, reaching a peak during the years 1610-40.[3]

The money to pay for such a memorial and for his daughters' marriages came from two main sources - state service and his lands, coupled, perhaps, with investment in trading ventures as his brother Francis had done.[4] On his estate his pride and joy was a paper mill, Hampshire's first, construction of which he financed in 1618, and for which he developed a virtual fixation during

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1. P.R.O.Prob. 11/137, f. 24, will dated 21 March 1619. Payment of the legacy to the poor continued until disposal of the lands in the 1670s.
2. The monument still stands in Warnford church, its once bright colours now dulled.
3. L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641 (1965), 581. The amount allowed by Neale was generous. See W.L. Spiers (ed.), The Note-Book and Account Book of N. Stone (Walpole Soc., VI, 1918-9), 66, 57, 51-2, for expenses on similar monuments.
4. T.K. Rabb, Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575-1630 (1967), 347.

his declining years.[1] He certainly consolidated and extended the family lands. The amount of land held by the family in nearby Lomer and Preshaw manors was doubled. Where his father had held 36 acres, Sir Thomas Neale held 60 acres.[2] Beside the seven-year ownership of Foxton rectory Sir Thomas Neale was tenant of the new demesne lands of Muchelney Abbey, Somerset, between 1601 and 1609.[3] There were signs, however, that finances were being strained; Thomas Bonham, the bailiff, went without wages for six years.[4] Inflation and a myriad of marriages took their toll.

II

Sir Thomas Neale was buried in the family vault at Warnford on 3 February 1622.[5] In his will the old knight

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1. Such was his fixation that his playwright son, Thomas, in The Warde, made one character refer to Sir Wary Wastefull, drawn upon Sir Thomas Neale, as follows:
   a pretty fetch to bring him on: they say
   he will doe anything, if you once Commend
   the papermill-. (Act II, scene II, lines 484-6).
   The play, the original of which is in Bodl. Rawl. MSS. Poet 79, was edited as partial requirement for a Ph.D. of the University of Philadelphia by J.A. Mitchell in 1937. A copy is located in Hants. R.O. References come from this edition, which formed the basis for the entry on Neale the playwright in G.E. Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (7 vols. 1941-68), IV, 944-5.
2. P.R.O. Wards 7/63/129, Inquisition of lands of Sir Thomas Neale, 1622. My colleague G. Merkin kindly translated the Latin. Hants R.O. 8 M49/T21, lease and release of Lomer and Preshaw, 1707, and 8M49/E9, abstract of title to Lomer and Preshaw, 1545-1782, show 36 acres as the Neale holding. For Lomer see F.B. Collins and J. Oliver, 'Lomer: A Study of a Deserted Medieval Village', Proc. H.F.C. XXVIII (1971), 67-76.
3. V.C.H. Somerset, III, 42.
4. Sir Thomas Neale willed that the six years' wages due to Bonham should be paid him in full: P.R.O. Prob. 11/137, f. 24.
5. Warnford Parish Registers, I, 1541-1771, 42.

requested the king to grant wardship of his heir, Thomas, to his four executors. While they were to watch over him, 'the education government breeding and bringing upp of my said sonnes Thomas and William' was to be entrusted to their mother. For the executors an eight-year old heir to lands in several counties was a sore temptation; though the wardship went through they plotted to deprive the boy of his rightful inheritance. So harrowing was the experience that when the boy grew into manhood and tried his hand at writing he used eventful youthful experiences as the basis for The Warde.[1] Possessing little or no dramatic or literary merit, the play is a valuable additional source for the history of the family. The plot centres on the attempts of scheming relatives to subvert the terms of Sir Wary Wastefull's will. The son and heir, Thomaso, modelled upon the young Thomas Neale, is sent for when his father is upon his deathbed, his mother referring to the fact that 'The boy is gone to scoole, Sir very earely this morning about 5 a clocke'.[2] Portrayed as Lady Wastefull, his mother is advised by her lawyer that the only way to defeat the scheming relatives is to gain her son's wardship. To the proposal she replies 'I soe I purpose: but the charge affrights mee, I meane the composition for his wardship, I doubt it is beyond my power to compasse'.[3]

The heir survived this early ordeal and became, as he modestly expressed it,

> attractive in figure, endowed with extraordinary beauty, and well proportioned in stature. His appearance in adolescence was enhanced by a slender body, ruddy and florid in complexion, elegant, charming, handsome features, piercing and sparkling eyes, round cheeks and a full-lipped mouth.[4]

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1. Supra, 9.
2. Act II, scene III, lines 540-1.
3. Act V, scene I, lines 1262-4.
4. Bodl. Rawl. MSS., Poet 79, f. 78v.

His brief adult life was spent in tending his estate, associating with a group of London merchants called the Ruthenicae, who traded with Muscovy, and writing. To his duties as a landowner he paid but scant attention, unloading most of them upon his bailiff, Bonham. The valuable 500-acre East Meon Park, worth £70 'per annum by improvement', was sold by Neale in 1635 to his step-father Sir William Lewis.[1] Neale did find time, however, to supervise payment of his father's legacy to the Warnford poor,[2] and to attend Quarter Sessions at Winchester somewhat irregularly.[3] About his relations with the London trading group nothing is known.

His literary endeavours included doggerel verse, The Warde and a book on travel, published in 1643. Entitled A Treatise of Direction, how to Travel Safely and Profitably into Forraigne Countries, the book contained a foreword signed by Neale at Warnford 3 April 1638 and was dedicated to his brother William 'at Tours in France, or elsewhere'.[4] A slim volume, profusely littered with classical allusions and other evidence of wide reading, the book offers advice for the would-be traveller. There were dangers in travelling to the East, particularly strong wine, contagious women and pernicious heat,[5] though there were just as many attached to visiting Europe. The traveller should be aware of differing national 'humours'; where Europeans were 'dreadlesse and rash', Asians were 'slothfull and effeminate'. Local custom was stressed and the traveller was advised not to be too inquisitive

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1. V.C.H. Hampshire, III, 67.
2. P.R.O. C9/489/59, Neale v. Wollaston, 1685.
3. Hants. R.O. Quarter Sessions Records, Q.O./2, Order Book 1628-49, ff. 82-179a. Of a possible maximum of twenty attendances, Neale made only five.
4. A Treatise...(1643), Foreword. Neale's advice to the reader was dated 3 Feb. 1642. The work was reprinted in 1664.
5. Ibid., 12-13.

lest he be taken for a spy. Temperance was advocated in diet, pleasure and speech, with reference to death-inducing apples, Brazilian drugs and Ottoman use of opium. The value of appearance was emphasised, 'a poore, and ill accoutred travellor' being 'the most ignoble creature in the world'.[1] Though residing mainly in Warnford, Neale had retained the family property in London, staying there on his frequent London visits to have his work published. The state of the house at this time is unknown, no returns being made for St. Bartholomew the Great in the 1638 survey, properties there being let out at low rent and on long leases.[2] By the early years of the civil war, however, it was being rented by Lady Vere at £100 annually until mid-1644, after which it stood empty for three years before being let to Sir Robert Cooke for £50.[3]

At Warnford, Neale and his wife adopted the lifestyle of the young country squire and his lady. His wife was resolute, her husband's flightiness and lack of financial stability making this a necessity. Contact with her family in nearby Wickham was frequent, and in spring 1641 she announced that she was pregnant. In early autumn she gave birth to a son, an heir to the Neale lands. The baby was christened Thomas, in the family tradition, at Wickham on 3 October 1641.[4]

III

The world into which this latest addition to the Neale family made his entrance was fraught with danger, division and death. His parental home was never actually damaged by the civil wars but skirmishing occurred in neighbouring

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1. A Treatise...(1643), 13, 20, 30-1, 100-1, 139-40, 155.
2. T.C. Dale (ed.), The Inhabitants of London in 1638 (2 vols. 1931), I, 198.
3. P.R.O. C9/8/134, Tomkins v. Lewis, 1652; C9/10/152, same v. same, 1652.
4. Hants. R.O. 87M70/PRI.

West Meon and troops were quartered in Warnford for a short time.[1] Three members of the family were directly involved in the fratricidal struggle - his grandfather Uvedale, his step-grandfather Sir William Lewis[2] and his uncle William Neale, present at the siege of Winchester, where he exchanged shots with his former school friend Ludlow.[3] The family name is omitted from those compounding or whose property was sequestrated, suggesting a family of markedly parliamentarian inclinations living in what was, after all, a 'parliamentarian-dominated county'.[4]

For young Neale his father's premature death in 1646, when the boy was a mere five years old, was far more vivid and horrifying. The playwright was interred in the family vault at Warnford[5] and Lucy Neale donned widow's weeds. Many problems faced her, not the least being the care and upbringing of her young family, for besides her son there were two daughters, Anna Sophia and Frances.[6] Though her husband had died intestate there was every indication that she had been amply provided for; on her remarriage she was said to have brought her husband 'a very great

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1. Warnford Parish Registers, I, 1541-1771, 48, records that on 4 Apr. 1644 'There was a Souldier buryed out of Mr Neales house' and that on 12 Oct. 1644 'A souldier buryed from Peter Stokes his house'. See also G.N. Godwin, The Civil War in Hampshire (1904), 138, 398, and P.R.O. C10/468/122, Loveden v. Hudson, 1661.
2. H.M.C. Portland, I, 50, 61, 78. For further details of Lewis, infra, 35-6.
3. C.H. Firth (ed.), Ludlow's Memoirs (2 vols. 1894), I, 94. William Neale had been educated at Magdalen College, Oxford and Lincoln's Inn: Foster, III, 1054.
4. G.E. Aylmer, 391. A list of Hampshire Royalists is contained in Bodl. Rawl. MSS., Poet 79, ff. 63-64v. It was copied by Neale's father from a list drawn up at Basingstoke in Sept. 1644.
5. The funeral took place 25 Nov. 1646: Warnford Parish Registers, I, 1541-1771, 49.
6. Anna Sophia was christened at Wickham 4 Dec. 1642; Frances was born in late Dec. 1646: Hants. R.O. 87M70/PRI; P.R.O. C9/8/134.

fortune'.[1] Her father left her only £20,[2] the paucity of the former Treasurer at War's bequest suggesting a decline in his own financial circumstances, which seems unlikely, or that he considered his daughter to be sufficiently provided for. During 1646-7 she met and was attracted to Sir Thomas Tomkins, a prominent Hereford royalist,[3] whom she married at Wickham on 21 February 1648,[4] much to young Thomas Neale's subsequent regret.

By reason of the boy's age at his father's death his mother was appointed guardian, to be joined later by Tomkins. At this time the boy was 'soe sickly that if hee had not beene contynued under the care of his Mother there must have beene an attendant purposely mainteyned for him at his house at Warnford' which 'could not have beene but at a very great charge'. He was to receive £300 from his father's estate annually, for 'the maynten-ance and charge of a Tutor and other Attendants for him' and for maintaining and educating the other young Neale children.[5] But on her remarriage Lucy Neale vacated the Warnford house and went to live at Monnington-on-Wye in

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1. Heref. R.O. B56/2, Phillips MSS., Genealogical Collections for Herefordshire, f. 107, n. Tomkins was comfortably off in his own right, enjoying an income estimated in 1645 at £1,200: M.A. Faraday (ed.), Herefordshire Militia Assessments of 1663 (Camden Soc. 1972), 78, n. 37. Administration of Thomas Neale's goods to his widow is contained in P.R.O. Prob. 6/22, f. 33.
2. G. Leveson Gower, 'Notices of the family of Uvedale of Titsey, Surrey, and Wickham, Hants', Surrey Archaeological Collections, III (1865), 69, 119-20.
3. Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding (5 vols.), III, 1035-7.
4. Hants. R.O. 87M70/PRI. A link with Hampshire had been established in 1610, with the admission of eleven-year old Arthur Tomkins from Monnington-on-Wye to Winchester College: T.F. Kirby, Winchester Scholars (1888), 164.
5. P.R.O. C9/8/134.

Hereford with her new husband.[1] They lived in a large, spacious house and enjoyed considerable comfort.[2] The family lands in Hampshire had already been entrusted to Sir William Uvedale and Sir William Lewis, young Thomas Neale's two grandfathers. While Lucy Tomkins lived in Hereford, her son remained in Hampshire. There were schools in the immediate neighbourhood of Warnford, at both West Meon and Corhampton,[3] to which he may have gone. It is more likely, however, that he went to live in Winchester with his aunt Anne Neale, herself but recently widowed with a small boy.[4] As her only nephew Neale would have been doted upon. Moreover Winchester possessed better educational facilities. When Anne Neale died in 1693 a telling inscription was placed upon her tomb, that she had been a 'loving mother to all the members of her family'.[5] Furthermore, she left a bequest 'unto the poore of Warnford... (where my deare sonne lyeth interred) the summe of Tenne pounds to be distributed ... where most

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1. Uvedale Tomkins, son by Lucy Neale's second marriage, was born in Herefordshire in 1649: W.H. Cooke, Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford (1892), 135.
2. In 1664 Tomkins was rated for 20 hearths in Monnington: P.R.O. E 179/119/492. His possessions included paintings, a well-appointed table, coaches, and a clock: N.L.W. Hereford Probate records, inventory dated 6 Jan. 1674.
3. Hants R.O. C.C.C.P. C/10/A/593 (West Meon); P.R.O. C5/448/150, Buckle and Lewis v. Lewis, 1678 (Corhampton).
4. The movements of William Neale after the siege are unclear. His wife is thought to have gone to Cranbury with her infant son for a while, before returning to Winchester. Thomas Neale's dedication in his travel book suggests that his brother may have fled to France. Even more intriguing is the blank burial entry in the Warnford registers for 15 Sept. 1647. Had he been living there secretly, or was he brought back from Europe for secret burial in the family vault?: Warnford Parish Registers, I, 1541-1771, 49.
5. Winchester Cathedral, Monumental inscription.

need requires'.[1] While the old lady was thinking of the son who had predeceased her by some twenty-one years, her thoughts were also of his cousin whom she had helped to raise.

From school the next stage in a young man's education was university, an Inn of Court and then, family finances permitting, a Continental tour. After this it was assumed he would be ready to play a useful role in society. The records of Cambridge university show the admission of a Thomas Neale as a Fellow-Commoner at Clare College 28 June 1656, his matriculation occurring at some point between then and 1657.[2] Unlike many other Cambridge entrants, however, no further information is given on him. If the two men were one and the same, it would mean Neale was admitted aged 14 or 15, a normal university practice at this time.[3] The Master of Clare in 1656 was Theophilus Dillingham and Neale's annual tuition fees as a Fellow-Commoner would have been £10.[4] His life there can be surmised from the contemporary account of Cambridge student life left by Sir Francis Throckmorton, son of a Warwickshire recusant. Though legally debarred from the university, Throckmorton nevertheless left details of student activity - of visits to Cambridge quarter sessions, the attractions of Stourbridge Fair, held a mile or so from the town, of

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1. P.R.O. Prob. 11/417, f. 216, will of Anne Neale dated 3 Aug. 1693. For her efforts to defend her Winchester property interests see P.R.O. C9/247/5 and C9/115/75.

2. Venn III, 236; J. and J.A. Venn, The Book of Matriculations and Degrees in the University of Cambridge from 1544 to 1659 (1913), 482. C.W. Parkin, Librarian of Clare College, kindly searched for proof of Clare College Neale and the projector being the same man, unfortunately without success.

3. Of the 48 Hampshire men admitted to Wadham College, Oxford, between 1613 and 1719, eleven went as fellow-commoners between the ages of 14 and 18, one being Neale's cousin William Neale: R.B. Gardiner (ed.), The Registers of Wadham College, Oxford, 1613-1719 (1889), passim.

4. W.J. Harrison, Notes on the Masters, Fellows, Scholars and Exhibitioners of Clare College, Cambridge (1953), 4, 53.

fencing, dancing and violin lessons, and the attraction of the bowling green attached to Clare Hall.[1] There is no record of Neale obtaining a degree. Either he decided to leave before completing his studies or was obliged to do so by the university.

In terms of family tradition conformity would have been observed had he then entered an Inn of Court. By the 1650s the Neales had established an educational pattern favouring Inns at the expense of universities. But there is no record of entry by Thomas Neale. This is the more surprising inasmuch as both his father and grandfather had attended an Inn, though it must be admitted that neither had established a tradition of service to the law.[2] Various reasons could explain why Neale did not follow paternal footsteps. Inns of Court were unattractive places during the Civil Wars. Of the Middle Temple it was noted that

> Through the troubles and distractions of the times, by reason of these unnatural civil wars, there has been no reading in this or any other Inn of Court for three years, so that the number of Benchers is grown very small. [3]

While inducement to attend was lacking, finances may well have been in the same condition. Lucy Neale's movement to Hereford could have led to neglect of the Hampshire property, leading to a fall in income for the young man, this in turn prohibiting formal education at an Inn. What happened instead, was Neale's admission to Lincoln's Inn in manhood. On 27 February 1672 he was admitted at the request of Sir Francis Goodricke, reader. Such practice was common; Sir Christopher Wren was admitted in April 1676, and Uvedale Price a distant relative and

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1. E.A.B. Barnard, A Seventeenth Century Country Gentleman (1944) Ch. II.
2. Neale's father occupied spacious chambers in the Middle Temple for only nine months in 1632. I am indebted to Miss C.R. Lutyens, Librarian to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, for this information.
3. A.R. Ingpen (ed.), Middle Temple Bench Books (1912), 31.

Exchequer baron in October 1706. Moreover, Neale's neighbour from East Meon, Sir Stephen Fox, was admitted the same day.[1] A similar question mark hangs over a tour abroad. There is an unexplained gap in the chronology of Neale's life covering 1657-60, though he could have been the Thomas Neale who travelled to Ireland in November 1657 and June 1659.[2]

The 1660s were of vital importance for Neale; there were bereavements and marriages in the family. In 1661 his maternal uncle William Uvedale died.[3] His maternal grandmother, Dame Victoria Uvedale, had meanwhile remarried, her spouse being Bartholomew Price who managed to come to an arrangement with the Crown over her first husband's outstanding debts.[4] Neale, too, began contemplating marriage. The circumstances in which he met and courted his wife remain obscure. Born 19 April 1639,[5] Elizabeth Garrard was the daughter of Sir John Garrard of Lamer, baronet and prominent Hertfordshire landowner. When fairly young she married Nicholas Gould, 'Rumper' member of parliament and merchant, created baronet in June 1660. Two daughters were born of the union and Gould died late in 1663.[6] Lady Elizabeth Gould now found herself not only a young widow but an excessively rich one as well. Pepys noted on 1 January 1664:

> I went to the Coffee-house (sending my wife by Will) and there stayed talking an hour with Colonell Middleton and others; and among other things, about a very rich widow, young and handsome, of one Sir Nich Golds, a merchant lately fallen, and of great Courtiers that already looke

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1. Foster, Lincoln's., 313, 321, 366.
2. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1657-8, 550; ibid., 1658-9, 583.
3. P.R.O. C10/153/105, Neale v. Hoppar, 1669.
4. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1663-4, 557.
5. Herts. R.O. Wheathampstead Transcripts 1604-1731, bundle 179/32.
6. G.E.C., III, 37; P.R.O. Prob. 6/39, f. 6, administration to widow, 1664.

> after her. Her husband not dead a week yet.[1] She is reckoned worth £80,000.

The victor in this race was Neale who married her amidst tense, amusing circumstances on 20 June 1664. In his diary for that day Pepys noted:

> ... the rich widow, my Lady Gold, is married to one Neale, after he had received a box on the eare by her brother (who was there a sentinel in behalf of some Courtier) at the door, but made him draw, and wounded him. She called Neale up to her and sent for a priest, married presently, and went to bed. Her brother sent to the Court and had a Serjeant sent for Neale; but Neale sent for him up to be seen in bed, and she owned him for her husband.[2] And so all is past.

Neale made ample provision by jointure for his wife 'with whome he hath a very great Advancement in marriage', admitting at the same time that he was already bound to her father for £40,000. A grant and release of his London and Hampshire properties, with certain exceptions, was to be made for a year to Richard Lone or Love of Chancery Lane, London and a rent charge of £300 reserved for Neale's mother.[3]

With some contemporaries Neale's marriage rankled. A year afterwards Pepys and Sir John Minnes travelled to Harwich to meet the Duke of York, and were joined at Ilford by 'Sir John Shaw and Mr Neale, that married the rich widow Gold',[4] apparently there for the same purpose. A contemporary referred to him as 'Golden Neal' after his marriage, with some justification as his wife brought him no less than £120,000.[5] The Garrards were pleased with the match, despite one son's initial opposition. When Dame Jane

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1. Pepys, V, 1; 'look after' = to have eyes on.
2. Ibid, 184. The allegation for the marriage licence had been taken out one week before: Armytage, Archbishop, 80.
3. W. and G. A./G. E1/136, tripartite indenture dated 19 Oct. 1664.
4. Pepys, VI, 126.
5. Supra, xxvi. Information about his wife's portion is contained in P.R.O. C9/456/143, Neale v. Garrard, 1700.

Garrard of Covent Garden made her will in November 1672 she saw fit to leave her granddaughter 'the Lady Gould' several items of jewellry, including a 'Knott with nine Great Turquoyes Sett with Forty Five Diamonds' and a bracelet with 'Tenn Great Turquoyes Sett in Gold'. Neale received a silver teapot with cover 'Two eares and a Spout', his son six German silver trencher plates.[1] Though the bequests were not large, they show that Neale was not disliked by members of the Garrard family.

Returning to Warnford soon after his marriage, Neale concentrated on developing his estates and on his role as a county figure. Visits by relatives and prominent county figures became a regular feature of life at Warnford. Neale's step-grandfather Sir William Lewis lived but a few miles away at Langrish; other relatives lived at Wickham, Hursley and Winchester. Sir Richard Corbett, an uncle by marriage, had his daughter baptised and buried at Warnford.[2] Neale's wife busied herself in looking after their more than adequate house[3] and the two daughters by her previous marriage. In December 1665 she gave birth to the first of her children by Neale, a daughter christened Lucy after her paternal grandmother. The joys of a young family were to be short-lived. A brother, Thomas, died as a seven-month old baby in 1666; young Lucy died aged two. A few months later Neale's wife gave birth to a second son, also to be called Thomas, followed in 1668 by another son, christened William. There was then a long break of fourteen years before the birth of the last child, christened Elizabeth after her mother.[4]

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1. Herts. R.O. Garrard MSS.27155, copy of will of Dame Jane Garrard, dated 5 Nov. 1672.
2. Warnford Parish Registers, I, 1541-1771, 55, shows the date of baptism and burial as 12 March 1666.
3. The 1673 and 1674 hearth tax returns show Neale assessed for 26 hearths at Warnford: P.R.O. E179/176/569, E179/247/30.
4. Warnford Parish Registers, I, 1541-1771, passim.

In his relatively short life Thomas Neale junior achieved considerable notoriety. If a contemporary account is to be believed he was promised in marriage at the age of ten to 'Moll Davey's daughter', Moll Davey being Moll Davis, Nell Gwyn's predecessor for Charles II's favours.[1] Although this match failed to materialise, young Neale endeavoured to make up for it in his early twenties by plunging headlong into a whirlwind romance with his cousin's wife. Regrettably for the family human emotions overcame all, resulting in pregnancy and a costly law suit. Narcissus Luttrell noted on 21 November 1690

> The 21st, a tryal was in the afternoon before the chief justice of the common pleas, between Robert Price, esq., plaintiff, and Mr Neal, the groom-porter's son, defendant, for enticing away the plaintiff's wife and keeping her, and getting her with child, to the plaintiff's damage of £10,000: her sister was the witnesse against her, and on a full hearing the jury found for the plaintiff, and gave him £1500 damages.[2]

News of the trial spread afield, a Devon gentleman being informed

> Also yisterday a Tryall was had by one Mr. Price a gent of Lincolns Inn and one Mr. Neale son to the Groome Porter, who maryed Sir Nic., Gould's widdow and by whom hee had this sonn, for that Neale debauched his wife and caryed her from him and Price hath recovered £1500 damages.

His informant commented further: 'Severall women of late bin taken violently away being Fortunes...'.[3] Despite a later writer's assertion that given Lucy Price's general

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1. A Seasonable Argument ... (1677) xxv. Lady Mary Tudor, daughter of Moll Davis, subsequently married Francis, 2nd. Earl of Derwentwater: D.N.B., V, 619-20. On 24 June 1687 £1,000 was paid to Anne, Dowager Countess of Marischall, 'being intended to buy the wedding cloaths of the Lady Mary Tudor': J.Y. Akerman (ed.), Moneys received and paid for Secret Services of Charles II and James II (Camden Soc., 1851), 162.
2. Luttrell, II, 131. The exact figure for damages was set at £1,518: P.R.O. C9/221/31, Price v. Garrard, 1704.
3. Richard Lapthorne to Richard Coffin, 22 Nov. 1690: Portledge, 92.

appearance 'it is difficult to imagine anyone consenting to elope with her, even if the artist was not a good one',[1] the trial led to a slur on the family name. More immediately, it caused considerable family damage. Understandably, relations between Price and his wife became strained, such that in December 1699 he authorised her to leave by will only such 'goods Chattles or personall estate ... she has got saved or acquired within these ten yeares last past'.[2] Tension was also engendered between Price and his uncle Neale who had to contend with the expenses of the case.[3]

In contrast to their reckless brother, William and Elizabeth Neale appear shadowy figures in the family annals. William may have visited France in 1683 when he was fifteen.[4] In 1697, when he was living in St. Martins in the Fields, he took out an allegation for marriage that year to Jane Standen, a spinster six years his junior, the daughter of William Standen a Chichester gentleman.[5] By 1700, however, William Neale had died.[6] Even less is known about his sister, Elizabeth, beyond that she was still alive in 1697.[7] Thereafter, however, she disappears from view.[8]

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1. Lord Rennell, Valley on the March (1958), 268.
2. Heref. R.O. Foxley Estate Papers, B47/187, Price family papers, agreement dated 1 Dec. 1699.
3. For further friction caused by the case, see Conclusion.
4. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1683-4, 192. A William Neale was lieutenant in an independent troop of horse in 1685: Dalton, II, 14, 124.
5. Armytage, Archbishop, 224.
6. P.R.O. C9/456/143.
7. Ibid, Prob. 11/465, f. 120, will of Thomas Neale dated 30 March 1697.
8. Four marriage licences were issued during 1703-1713 in London for Elizabeth Neales: G.E. Cokayne and E.A. Fry, (ed.), Calendar of Marriage Licences issued by the Faculty Office 1632-1714 (1905), 200, 238, 258, 277. On 18 June 1713 an Elizabeth Neale was buried at St. Dunstan in the East, London: R.H. d'Elboux and W. Ward (ed.), The Registers of St. Dunstan-in-the-East, London (1958), pt. III, 128.

Ironically, much more is known of Neale's two step daughters. Elizabeth, the elder, married Sir John Boteler of Watton Woodhall, Hertfordshire. Member of a long-established staunchly royalist family,[1] Boteler met his wife while she was visiting relatives. By 24 February 1676 Neale and his wife had provided Boteler and his father with a portion of £10,000 for the marriage, the settlement being released on 13 March 1676.[2] At least one child was born of the union, Philip, admitted to Lincoln's Inn in mid-April 1700.[3] Elizabeth Boteler is thought to have remarried but this is doubtful.[4] In the summer following Elizabeth's marriage her sister, Jane, married Sir Paul Whichcot.[5] Twenty years her senior, Whichcot, the son of a baronet, had all the social and financial graces that would have made him attractive to the Neales. University education had been followed by a grand tour, including a visit to Italy in 1666.[6] Eight years later, when elected a Fellow of the Royal Society,

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1. Six members of the family were sheriffs of Hertfordshire during 1450-1630: List of Sheriffs for the County of Hertfordshire (n.d.), 12-17. For the Boteler consolidation of property in Hertfordshire see V.C.H. Hertfordshire, III, 107, 137, 160, 425, 478. See also W.C. Metcalfe (ed.), The Visitations of Hertfordshire (1886), 111-2, and A. Kingston, Hertfordshire during the Great Civil War (1894), 130-1.
2. Herts R.O. Abel Smith Collection, D/EAS 4280-1, indentures dated 24 Feb., 13 March 1676; W. and G. A./G. E1/23, indenture dated 13 March 1676.
3. Foster, Lincoln's, 357.
4. G.E.C., III, 37, gives a John Gage, but this should be treated cautiously as the work confuses the two step-daughters completely.
5. A.W. Hughes Clarke (ed.), The Register of St. Lawrence Jewry and St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London, 1677-1812 (1941), pt. II, 94.
6. G.E.C., III, 22-3; Venn, IV, 382; Sir J. Finch to Edward, Earl of Clarendon, 25 Nov./7 Dec. 1666: W.D. Macray and F. Routledge (ed.), Calendar of Clarendon State Papers (5 vols. 1872-1970), V, 571.

Whichcot was living at Hendon, Middlesex.[1] By 1689 he and his wife had acquired the manor of Tooting Graveney,[2] Surrey. Whichcot drew income from fee farm rents in Gloucestershire,[3] and maintained a bank account which at its high-water mark showed a balance of nearly £6,000.[4] In September 1685 Sir Paul, his wife and daughter, and a small entourage of servants, travelled to France for their health's sake.[5] The visit must have been a success; Dame Jane died in 1698 and her husband lived on until December 1721, watching his three daughters grow up, marry and produce children of their own.[6] With two marriages in such rapid succession, Neale's personal finances were subjected to great strain. The size of portion for Jane's marriage remains unknown but must have been substantial given Whichcot's social standing and Neale's ardent desire not to lose face.

The worry for Neale of finding two marriage portions in rapid succession was exacerbated by his wife's declining health. In June 1679 she travelled to France with a maid and a footboy, to drink the waters of Bourbon.[7] Early in 1683 she contracted consumption and died.[8] As February 1683 drew to a close 'The corps of the late Lady Gold was carried into the citty, attended with many coaches, in

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1. A.W. Hughes Clarke, pt. II, 94; R.R.S., 382.
2. V.C.H. Surrey, IV, 104.
3. L.G., 2552, 24-28 Apr. 1690.
4. Childs, Ledger 1677-82, f. 248, Ledger 1682-8, f. 197, Ledger 1685-1713, f. 24.
5. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1685, 442.
6. G.E.C., III, 22-3.
7. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1679-80, 187. Before leaving, she entered into recognizances of £40 not to go to Rome nor any nunnery or school 'to be educated in the Popish religion', a stricture that also applied to her servants.
8. An Elegaick Essay upon the Decease of the Groom-Porter and the Lotteries (1700), lines 6-7.

order to its interment there'.[1] For Neale, the blow, after nearly twenty years of marriage, was unbearable. Family problems now rested solely on his shoulders; his sons were still mere youths, though his heir was fast approaching manhood, and their education had to be provided for. More pressing was the problem of Elizabeth, born shortly before his wife's death. Finally there was the problem of running three homes, at Warnford, in London and in the increasingly fashionable Tunbridge Wells,[2] and no female hand to assist him.

Neale was soon seeking the solace of female company. In summer 1688 he laid siege to a Welsh widow, proposing to marry her and capitalise upon the situation. Planning to take bets upon his marriage proposal being accepted, he then intended to present the money so made to his new wife as a nuptial gift. The lady was Dame Mary Lloyd, in her mid-forties, widow of Sir Evan Lloyd, Bt. of Yale in Denbighshire.[3] A contemporary correspondent noted that:

> Among other Policies of Assurance which appear at the Exchange, there is one of no ordinary nature; which is, that Esquire Neale, who hath for some time been a suitor to the rich Welsh widow Floyd, offers as many guineas as people will take to ensure thirty for each one, in case he marry the said widow. He has already laid out as much as will bring him in 10 or 12,000 guineas, he intends to make it 30,000, and then present it to the Lady in case she marry him; and any one that will accept of guineas on that condition, may find as many as he pleases at Garraway's Coffee House.[4]

Ingenious though the scheme was, the prize eluded him at the last moment. Early in August 1688 Sir Ralph Verney was informed of the catastrophe:

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1. Luttrell, I, 251.
2. For Neale and Tunbridge Wells infra, Ch. IV.
3. Armytage, Archbishop, 132, 195. For details of the Lloyd family see J.E. Lloyd and R.T. Jenkins (ed.), Dictionary of Welsh Biography (1959), 570.
4. ? to John Ellis, 23 June 1688: Ellis, I, 366-7.

> On Wed. last Mrs Lloyd was married to Mr Russell, and Mr Neale has lost all his guineas. He was at St. Giles' Church, where he did expect they should have been married, and did intend to forbid the match. Some of the company were come to that church, but seeing Mr. Neale there they and he (gave) out prayers, but they sent presently to her to go to be married at another place. [1]

Defeat did not deter Neale. In the mid-1690s his attention was drawn, as was that of many others, towards Frances Cecil, Dowager Countess of Salisbury. Daughter of Simon Bennet of Beechampton, Bucks., she had married when very young James, 4th Earl of Salisbury, papist and plotter. The Earl was not an attractive figure: 'Of the renegades the Earls of Peterborough and Salisbury were the highest in rank, but were also the lowest in intellect; for Salisbury had always been an idiot, and Peterborough had long been a dotard'. Macaulay was even more unkind, remarking that when the Earl died at 29 his figure 'was so bloated by sensual indulgence as to be almost incapable of moving, and this sluggish body was the abode of an equally sluggish mind'.[2] Nature's gifts soon made the young widow the toast of Williamite England.[3] There was no dearth of suitors, some more successful than others. In mid-November 1698 it was reported that

> Mr Joslin a seventh son and a beau major, shall gain my Lady Salisbury, and there is this reason for the belief that it will be a match, that she permits his visits more than she has done any man's else, has let him be a fortnight with her at her house in the country, and is often found with her now she has come to town. [4]

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1. Dr. H. Paman to Sir R. Verney, 7 Aug. 1688: H.M.C. VII Report, 505.
2. C. Ravenscroft Dennis, The House of Cecil (1914), 230, 232. For details of the 4th Earl see G.E. Cokayne, The Complete Peerage (revised and ed. by G.H. White), XI (1949), 408-9. For the young Countess this was her second bereavement in two months, her mother having been brutally murdered by a butcher who had broken into her house: Luttrell, III, 372.
3. F.H. Ellis (ed.), P.O.A.S., VI (1970), 117; Wood, III, 471.
4. Lady Rachel Russell to Lady Roos, 19 Nov. 1698: H.M.C. MSS. of Duke of Rutland, II, 164.

Perhaps to escape Joslin and his like, the Countess left England soon afterwards for an extended continental tour. But there was one whose attentions she could not escape - Thomas Neale. Early in June 1699 her companion wrote to the steward at Hatfield:

> Mr Neal has found out a way to writ to my Lady and tells her that he is coming into France and with such surcomstances that I am afraid he is in earnest. [1]

To the end, however, she was to elude him.[2]

IV

Besides Neale's immediate family, there were numerous relatives through marriage. Links were forged between Hampshire and Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, Dorset, Leicester and elsewhere. The more remote the element of consanguinity, the nearer the relatives were to the aristocracy. In all, well over a dozen people merit consideration. They may be considered in three main groups - Neale's brothers-in-law, a group of cousins and nephews, and finally step-relations and distant relatives.

The four brothers-in-law were the most important for the various contacts, social and otherwise, that they brought Neale. Geographically nearest to Warnford lived Sir Philip Honywood. Of Kentish origins, Honywood had served at sea and on land for Charles I, as had many of his contemporaries, and in his younger years was described as a 'gruff and unpolished soldier'.[3] Such were his Royalist sympathies that he fled to Virginia after the events of

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1. Mrs. Lee to E. Sadler, 7 June 1699: Hatfield House, Cecil Family and Estate Papers, General 127/12. By this time, Neale may have visited Holland with his daughter. Passes issued 27 Feb. 1697 included one to '- Neale with a child'.: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1697, 45.
2. Infra, Conclusion.
3. D. Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy in England 1649-1660 (1960), 186.

January 1649, returning to England a few years later to become involved in the Sealed Knot's activities. In February 1661 he became a captain in the King's Own Regiment of Foot and in the following April was Commander-in-Chief of Portsmouth Garrison. Between 1665 and 1670 he was Lieutenant-Governor of this strategically important naval and military town,[1] a post that exercised his exceptional capabilities to the full. A rather different story of his career was told in a slander case heard in Portsmouth in May 1663, when it was asserted that he was

> cashiered in Charles I's time for being a coward and afterwards was a poor planter in Barbados. Honywood later came to London in a leathern doublet and by favour of a lady of the Court became a captain of a foot company and by Sir Cha. Berkeley's favour Deputy Governor of Portsmouth. The king was sorry he had knighted him, thinking he was another brother. He was called 'the mistaken knight'.[2]

On 19 December 1667 Honywood married in Lincoln's Inn Chapel Frances Neale 'a Lady of this Countey sister to one Mr Neale last yeer high Sheriff of this County'.[3] The same correspondent noted soon afterwards that Honywood had rapidly 'altered his condition by marriage'.[4] Within a few years the couple were blessed with children. For Neale the marriage was of great significance. Until then, Frances had been in his care. In practical terms, therefore, there was one less worry for him. More importantly, he could now own as brother-in-law the governor of a very

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1. Underdown, 334; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1661-2, 344; Dalton, I, 7, 28, 65; R. East, Extracts from Records in the possession of the Municipal Corporation of the Borough of Portsmouth (1891), 637.
2. A.J. Willis and M. Hoad (ed.), Portsmouth Borough Sessions Papers 1653-1688 (1971), 28.
3. Hugh Salesbury to Sir J. Williamson, 26 Dec. 1667: P.R.O. S.P. 29/225/172. See also Cal.S.P.Dom. 1667-8, 101. P.C.L., A.T. Everitt, 'Church Notes and other Genealogical Memoranda relating to the County of Hampshire' (2 typescript vols. n.d.), II, 99.
4. Hugh Salesbury to Sir J. Williamson, 14 Jan. 1668: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1667-8, 167.

important military and naval town, with all that such an appointment implied.

The links and influence filtered through to subsequent generations. Three children were born to the Honywoods. In mid-November 1668 a daughter, Frances, was christened, followed in February 1672 by a son, Philip.[1] The boy lived only three days after his christening; a second son, given the same name, lived for only a few months the following year.[2] Honywood died in January 1685 at Charing, in Kent.[3] The blow of his death was softened for the family by the marriage of his daughter, then a girl of 16, to George Sayers a 28-years old bachelor from St. Martins in the Fields.[4] On 1 August 1682 he had become Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Catherine; by August 1689 he was a Groom of the Bedchamber.[5] Before this second appointment, however, fate again struck. John, the son of Sayers and his wife, lived only two months before being found 'dead by his Nurse'. Three years later, the couple were more fortunate, Sayers writing in his family bible:

> The 2nd of October 1690 my wife was delivered of her second son about 12 of the clock at night. He was chrisd George. His godfathers were my Uncle Neale and cosin Charels Killigrew.

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1. P.C.R.O. CHU 2/1A/2, Register of church of St. Thomas 1662-95, n.p.
2. Ibid; P.C.L., Everitt, II, 99. The second son Philip was baptised at St. Martins in the Fields 18 Aug. 1673 and buried at Charing 8 Dec. 1673.
3. P.R.O. Prob. 11/379, f. 6, will of Sir Philip Honywood, dated 14 Dec. 1684.
4. Armytage, Vicar, 213.
5. P.R.O. L.S. 13/197, Book of Certificates of Appointments 1672-85, f. 80v. É. Deel (ed.), Journaal van Constantijn Huygens, den zoon, van 21 October 1688 tot 2 September 1696 (1876), 165, 427-8. On 14 July 1692 Sayers lent £2,000 on the quarterly poll: Codr. MS. 324, f. 95.

> His godmother my cosin Fairfaxs. Mr Atkins christnd him in my lodgens Sommerset House [1]

For Neale to have stood as godfather he must have been an uncle for whom some members of the family had a certain amount of respect.

Neale's other sister, Anna Sophia, married Robert Rodd on 10 September 1660.[2] A member of the Herefordshire gentry, Rodd was different in character and career to Honywood. Called to the Bar at Gray's Inn in 1656, he subsequently made a considerable contribution to county life, as a lieutenant in a regiment of Militia Horse and as sheriff in 1676.[3] To his wife he offered a pleasant life in a sprawling Elizabethan house, soon to ring with the sound of children's voices. The three daughters born of the union all made good marriages. Lucy married Robert Price; Anna-Sophia, known to the family as Nancy, married William Wardour. Frances, the third daughter, married Alexander How. The connections so formed were all of importance to Neale.

The friendship between Neale and the Hows was discernible at two levels, professional and personal. A Bristol man, How helped his uncle at the time of the Great Recoinage (1696-9 acting as his deputy at the Bristol mint.[4] Frances How

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1. P.C.L., Everitt, II, 99. Distantly related to Thomas Neale, Charles Killegrew was also a member of the royal household. On 30 June 1674 he was sworn a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in waiting, in the room of Neale's cousin William Neale. In this capacity he also served James II and William III: P.R.O. L.C.3/24, 3/30, 3/31, 19. In Feb. 1677 he became Master of the Revels, a post he also held under the next two monarchs: P.R.O. L.C.3/24, 3/30, 112, 3/31, 92. On 19 Oct. 1681 he was paid £20 for two plays acted before Charles II: Akerman, 34. For William Neale infra, 37-8.
2. Heref. R.O. Monnington-on-Wye transcripts, 1660-1.
3. Lord Rennell, 257; Heref. R.O. Foxley Estate Papers, B47/188; J. Lodge, Introductory Sketches towards a Topographical History of the County of Hereford (1793), 183.
4. Heref. R.O. Foxley Estate Papers, B47/91; Cal.T.B. 1697, 192. For the Recoinage infra, Ch. VI.

was especially kind to her uncle during his frequent bouts of ill-health. When Anna Sophia Rodd married William Wardour, 10 September 1685, he was described as of Whitney Court in Hereford and as a Clerk of the Pells, though he later became a Clerk of Appeals.[1] They had two sons, one of whom entered politics, the other the army.[2] In his later life William Wardour became involved with his brother-in-law Price and two others in gaining a patent for a new saltpetre-making process.[3]

Without doubt, however, Price was the most important of these relatives. Called to the Bar in July 1679, Robert Price made a highly creditable legal career for himself, besmirched only by his wife's foolish actions and his virulent opposition to William III's favourable treatment towards Portland. Attorney General for South Wales in 1682, Recorder of Radnor, attorney for Haverfordwest in 1684,[4] town clerk of Gloucester, subsequently Exchequer Baron and Judge of Common Pleas - the list of offices seemed endless. But his career was not permanently marked by success. In 1689 he was deprived of his Attorney Generalship; in the mid-1690s he incurred William's displeasure by daring to oppose the king's grant of the lordships of Denbigh, Bromfield and Yale to Portland. William

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1. The marriage took place at St. Brides, London: Chester, 347. Wardour was Clerk of the Pells 1671-92: E.C. (5th edn. 1671), pt. II, 127; ibid (17th edn. 1692), pt. II, 97.

2. William Wardour (jun.) was baptised at St. Giles in the Fields 15 July 1686, sat as M.P. for Fowey and was buried in Westminster Abbey 26 July 1746. Tomkins Wardour, a Lieutenant Colonel in the Guards 1746, was Colonel of the Regiment of Invalides at his death in 1752. He was buried in the Abbey 22 Feb. 1752, aged 64. Their mother was buried in the Abbey 25 Feb. 1737: Chester, 370, 382-3, 347.

3. Wardour was dead by 23 Apr. 1700: P.R.O. Prob. 11/457, f. 148, will dated 19 Jan. 1697. Infra, 208, for the saltpetre patent.

4. Heref. R.O. Foxley Estate Papers, B 47/187; Cal.S.P. Dom. 1683-4, 275; ibid, 1684-5, 232; ibid, 1685, 338.

III, he argued, was indulging personal friendship too far; there were also strong arguments of both economics and precedent against the move.[1] Price also maintained Hampshire connections, being appointed in May 1699 joint steward of the manors of Chalton and Catherington.[2]

When in his mid-twenties, Price married Lucy Rodd 'and had, with this Gentlewoman, a Fortune of above thirteen thousand Pounds; besides, many considerable advantages accruing from her Family'. But fortune could not compensate in any way for her bold elopement with Thomas Neale (junior), nor for the fact that at the time she left her husband with three children to care for.[3] The tensions between her and her husband and between him and his uncle have been examined already.[4] Regrettably the repercussions did not end there, for they hastened Anna-Sophia Rodd's death. As she advanced into old age, disillusionment and disappointment with her offspring set in. A memorandum in her hand, entitled 'What I have giveen my children and have had no thanks for my pains', totals £620;[5] its contents are clearly the reflections of somebody who has come to regard her offspring as arch-ingrates. Their conduct, particularly the scandal engendered by daughter Lucy, were too much for the heartbroken mother to bear. In mid-March 1691 Neale's sister died, to be interred in Hereford Cathedral.[6] A widow for the last ten years of her life

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1. Chandler, III, 9-17.
2. Heref. R.O. Foxley Estate Papers, B47/187. See also Conclusion.
3. E.C., The Life of the Late Honourable Robert Price Esquire ... (1734), 3. The children were Lucy (1681-?), Uvedale Tomkins (1685-1764) and Thomas (1686-1706), found shot in bed in Genoa: Lord Rennell, 268. Uvedale Tomkins Price also visited Italy, attending the Venice carnival in 1711: C. Cole to A. Cardonnel, 18 Sept. 1711: H.M.C.MSS. of J.E. Hodgkin, 90.
4. Supra, 21-2.
5. Heref. R.O. Foxley Estate Papers, B47/188.
6. F.T. Havergal, Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Hereford (1881), 60.

she felt deep disappointment at the way in which she had been treated by her immediate family.

The third of Neale's brothers-in-law was Sir John Garrard of Lamer, involved in the scuffle at the time of Neale's marriage. In his home county Garrard was very influential, serving as Sheriff, Deputy Lieutenant and member of parliament.[1] Living in considerable comfort,[2] and from a well-established family, Garrard cut a fine figure. On several occasions during their careers the paths of the two brothers-in-law were to run parallel if not cross.[3] Later Garrard and his brother Samuel were to be shown in a different, malevolent, light.[4] The fourth brother-in-law, Sir Samuel Garrard, was born c. 1651. He became a merchant and was based in Watling and Newgate Streets, London. Succeeding his brother as fourth baronet, he entered politics, and became an important City figure, serving as Lord Mayor in 1709-10. In October 1720 he was elected president of the Bridewell and Bethlehem hospitals.[5] A prominent Tory, he was equally well known for his bibulous activities. He is the 'Drunken Father' in Defoe's An Elegy on the Author of the True-Born-English-Man and was also lampooned in The Court as follows

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 353; ibid, 1691-2, 118. While sheriff, Garrard was allowed to live outside Hertfordshire: P.R.O. S.P.44/163, 44. For Garrard as M.P. infra, Ch. III.
2. The Hearth tax returns for Lady Day 1673 show Garrard assessed for 23 hearths: P.R.O. E179/375/31. L.G., 1208, 14-18 June 1677 carried news of the theft of considerable quantities of silver from Garrard's house in May.
3. Infra, Chs. II, III and IV.
4. See Conclusion.
5. D.N.B., VII, 890-1. In 1677 he was described as 'Grocer' and could be contacted at 'the Pelican in Friday-street': L.G., 1208, 14-18 June 1677.

> Let some fair Nymph be Virtuous out of Spight,
> Let Thras brag, but let Achilles Fight.
> Let Garrat at a Bottle spend the day,
> Let Swan pun on, and Sir George Humble pay.[1]

After the motley array of brothers-in-law come Neale's step-relatives two of whom, Sir Paul Whichcot and Sir John Boteler, have already been considered.[2] Of the remainder the most important were Sir Thomas Tomkins and Sir William Lewis. Like Neale's younger son William, Tomkins is a shadowy figure. Though his career is well documented,[3] it sheds little direct light on Neale. Accepted as a determined man, one 'who is the likeliest ... to start what others will not say at first, but reserve themselves to justify afterwards',[4] Tomkins did not further his step-son's career in any way, save for acting as his childhood guardian; there is nothing to suggest a close relationship between the two men. Tomkins's will makes no mention of his step-son, simply stating that his personal estate is to pass to his wife.[5] Evidence points to a possible rift between the two, occasioned by Tomkins marrying Neale's mother, for it should be noted that Neale remained on good terms with her, if not with her second spouse. The differences with his step-father were accentuated further by the fact that Neale enjoyed a sound relationship with his step-brother, Uvedale Tomkins. That there was only a relatively short age gap between them may have helped. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford, Tomkins served his county as

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1. F.H. Ellis, 255.
2. Supra, 23-4.
3. The most recent treatment is contained in J. Hillaby, 'The Parliamentary Borough of Weobley, 1628-1708', T.W.C., XXXIX (1967), 105-51.
4. Sir William Coventry to Lord Arlington, 23 Sept. 1666: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1666-7, 149.
5. N.L.W. Hereford Probate Records, will of Sir Thomas Tomkins, dated 30 July 1673. Tomkins died 31 Dec. 1674 and was buried 2 Jan. 1675: Heref. R.O. Monnington-on-Wye transcripts, 1674.

sheriff, J.P. and deputy lieutenant.[1] With his wife Mary, daughter of Edward Caple of Caple How, he helped finance the building of the church at Monnington-on-Wye in 1679.[2] It was perhaps in connection with this that Uvedale Tomkins conveyed his extensive property interests, clerical patronage and mills in Herefordshire to Sir William Gregory, an Exchequer baron, and his step-brother Neale, for use during his life and afterwards during his wife's.[3] Uvedale Tomkins was buried at Monnington-on-Wye 19 July 1692.[4]

Neale also enjoyed good relations with his step-grandfather, Sir William Lewis of Bordean. An Elizabethan relic, Lewis had witnessed a great variety of political and constitutional changes during his long life. One of the eleven Presbyterian members of the Commons against whom the army drew up impeachment articles in 1647, Lewis had suffered imprisonment for his beliefs and become a passive Cromwellian upon his release.[5] In February 1660 he was appointed to Monck's Council of State[6] and again assumed political respectability. He was counted among the greater gentry with an income of £500 to £1,000 per annum.[7] It was in forwarding Neale's political career that this venerable old man was of particular import.

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1. W.H. Cooke, 135; Heref. R.O. B56/2, Phillips MSS., f. 107. Uvedale Tomkins and Robert Rodd both signed Hereford's returns to the assessments for warship construction 1677-8: P.R.O. E179/119/490.
2. W.H. Cooke, 135; T.W.C. (1933-5), xii, report of first field meeting for 1933.
3. N.L.W. Hereford Probate Records, will of Uvedale Tomkins, dated 5 Dec. 1679.
4. Heref. R.O. Monnington-on-Wye transcripts, 1692. His mother was buried there 26 May 1677: ibid, transcripts, 1677.
5. D. Underdown, Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution (1971), 346-7.
6. W.L. Sachse (ed.), The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg 1659-61 (Camden Soc. 1961), 43.
7. D. Underdown, Pride's Purge, 378.

In the 1640s he had sat for Petersfield in parliament, was court member for Lymington in the 1660s and from his home near Petersfield was able to wield influence and thus recommend his aspiring step-grandson to the town's electors.[1] Rather surprisingly, his only act of remembrance for Neale in his will was £5 for the purchase of a ring.[2]

Marriages on his mother's side brought Neale three uncles - Sir Richard Corbett, the Earl of Falmouth and the Earl of Carlisle. Closeness characterised the relationship between Neale and his uncle Sir Richard Corbett. Married to Victoria Uvedale, Corbett was a frequent visitor to Neale's house at Warnford in the 1660s. A prominent Shropshire figure, he also owned lands in both Montgomery and Hampshire.[3] Another member of the family at Westminster, Corbett represented Shrewsbury, sitting as a committee member with his nephew on several occassions.[4] The two men, in company with Sir Paul Whichcot, enjoyed the privilege of Fellowship of the Royal Society.[5] With the Earl of Falmouth, formerly Sir Charles Berkeley, husband of Elizabeth Uvedale, Neale had scarcely a chance to develop a meaningful relationship. Third son of Viscount Fitzhardinge, Berkeley had already distinguished himself as a cavalier soldier before taking

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1. Infra, Ch. III.
2. P.R.O. Prob. 11/355, f. 118, will of Sir William Lewis, dated 4 March 1674.
3. Cal.T.B. 1672-5, 790; P.R.O. Prob. 11/373, f. 93, will of Sir Richard Corbett, dated 14 Dec. 1681. His marriage allegation was dated 5 Jan. 1664: Armytage, Archbishop, 76.
4. Infra, Ch. III.
5. Corbett was elected Fellow 3 May 1665: R.R.S., 379. The Royal Society holds one manuscript by him entitled 'A Method of computing the people'. For Neale and the Royal Society, see Ch. IV. Corbett was buried in St. Margaret's church, Westminster: J. Stow, A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster (ed.) J. Strype (6th edn. 2 vols. 1754-5), II, 623.

to the sea.[1] A Vice Admiral of the White, Berkeley was also a powerful courtier and great friend of Charles II. His untimely death in England's victorious engagement with the Dutch off Lowestoft in July 1666 was for the king 'one cloud to darken the skies of victory'.[2] Within two year's the Vice Admiral's widow had remarried, Edward, Viscount Morpeth, later 2nd Earl of Carlisle, at the Savoy Chapel late in April 1668. Member of parliament for Morpeth, Cumberland and Carlisle during the years 1668-85, the Earl served as Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland during the same period and was governor of Carlisle 1679-1687.[3] To property interests in Oxford, Durham, Yorkshire and Northumberland, could be added the Uvedale property at Wickham, Hampshire which came into his possession upon marriage, and financial interests in Jamaica.[4] Carlisle died at Wickham on 23 April 1692 and was buried there. Four years later his wife died from cancer of the breast, and she, too, was buried at Wickham.[5]

Though his uncles were few, Neale's cousins were legion. Closest to him in many ways was William Neale, his only paternal cousin, with whom he had spent a formative part of his childhood. Born in Winchester, William Neale was educated at Wadham College, Oxford and at the Middle Temple, where he was admitted 9 June 1664.[6] Nearly two years before, on 26 December 1662 he had been appointed to the royal household, as a Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber in Waiting, a position which he held for the next eleven

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1. A. Bryant, Samuel Pepys: The Man in the Making (1952 edn.), 122.
2. C. Wilson, Profit and Power: A Study of England and the Dutch Wars (1957), 133.
3. G.E. Cockayne, The Complete Peerage (ed. V. Gibbs), III (1913), 34-5.
4. P.R.O. Prob. 11/409, f. 81, will of Edward, Earl of Carlisle, dated 29 June 1691.
5. Cockayne, III 35; B.L. Egerton MSS. 2364, 314.
6. Gardiner, 239; Macgeagh and Sturgess, I, 170.

years.[1] On 20 May 1663, though only 20, he became an original Fellow of the Royal Society.[2] When still young he made out his will, giving as the reason that 'upon Consideration... the tyme of sickness is not to be imployed in matters of this world...'. Monetary bequests totalled £500. Of this £20 was to go to the Winchester poor, £10 to their comrades in Hursley, the small village south-west of Winchester where he lived, the bulk to various members of his family. To his mother he left Hartridge manor and farm in Berkshire, with liberty to 'cutt downe what Timber Trees she shall think fitt' for life. On her death the property was to pass to 'my Kinsman Thomas Neale of Warnford and to his heires for ever'.[3] The property had been in the family since constituting part of the £2,000 portion brought by Mary Carlton to her husband, Sir Thomas Neale.[4] She and her second husband, Lewis, had passed it to William Neale of Winchester who, in turn, conveyed it to his son William.[5] William Neale was buried at Warnford 25 February 1673,[6] his last wishes causing family friction. A year after his death his mother and her nephew decided to let the property to a sitting tenant, William Higgs, for a ten-year period at £150 annually, with one major exception:

> ....all timber trees samplens land other trees of what nature and kind soever they were then standing growing or being or which should afterwards encrease stand grow or be in or upon the premisses or any parts or part thereof with liberty to fell and carry away the said timber and trees.

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1. P.R.O. L.C. 3/24. His salary was £50. His replacement was Charles Killegrew, for whom see above, 29. See also E.S. de Beer, 'A List of the Department of the Lord Chamberlain, Autumn 1662', B.I.H.R., XIX (1942-3), 15.
2. R.R.S., 376.
3. P.R.O. Prob. 11/341, f. 48, will of William Neale, dated 17 Apr. 1669.
4. P.R.O. Wards 7/63/129.
5. V.C.H. Berkshire, III, 450.
6. Warnford Parish Registers, I, 1541-1771, 76.

Anxious to dispose of his interest in the property, Neale now approached his aunt for the relevant deeds. She refused to hand them over, or 'tell him anything about them'.[1] Neale won the day for later in the year he and his wife sold the property to Isaac Foxcroft, as part of his concerted action to dispose of interests outside London.[2]

The family of Sir Richard Corbett and his wife brought Thomas Neale six cousins, all but one of them female. Elizabeth hardly lived, being baptised and buried at Warnford.[3] Of her sister Lucy nothing is known; Ann was left £1500 by her father and died in 1706.[4] The remaining two sisters made good marriages, Diana to Thomas Roch Esq., of Shropshire and Victoria to Sir Charles Lloyd, baronet of Gaith.[5] Their only brother, Uvedale Corbett of Longnor and Leighton, gave his cousin subsequent cause for concern by successfully marrying into the Cecil family, taking as wife Mildred, daughter of the 4th Earl of Salisbury.[6] Neale's rejection by her mother must have been doubly galling as a result.

Through the Earl of Carlisle there were another five cousins. Lady Anne Howard, the Earl's eldest daughter, died while still in her teens and was buried in Westminster

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1. P.R.O. C7/533/52, Neale v. Neale, 1676.
2. V.C.H. Berkshire, III, 450. See also Ch. IV.
3. Supra, 20.
4. P.R.O.Prob. 11/373, f. 93, will of Sir Richard Corbett, dated 14 Dec. 1681: J. and J.B. Burke, Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies (1964 facsimile edn.), 134.
5. J. and J.B. Burke, 134.
6. Ibid. In late Aug. 1693 Lord Lexington was informed 'There is no news but of weddings, as of Lord Roos and a daughter of Lady Russell's, and one Sir Udall Corbett with Lady Meldred Cecil sister to the beautiful Lady Stawell': Viscount Dursley to Lord Lexington, 29 Aug. 1693: H.M.C.MSS. of Duke of Rutland, II, 143.

Abbey in August 1685. Within less than a decade she was followed by her sister, Lady Mary Howard; left £2,000 by her father, she died unmarried in autumn 1694.[1] Their eldest brother, subsequently the 3rd Earl, could number among his uncles Sir John Fenwick,[2] plotter and would-be assassin of William III. Edward Howard died while still a young man, probably predeceasing his father. William Howard was M.P. for Carlisle in 1695 and 1698 and for Northumberland in 1701. He died unmarried in 1701 and like his sisters was buried in Westminster Abbey 'at the bottom of the steps ascending to Edward the Confessor's Chapel'.[3]

Mention must also be made of an interesting group of five relations, three second cousins and two relatives by marriage. The marriage of Sir Francis Neale, Sir Thomas Neale's brother, produced six children. Three of the sons pursued contrasting careers. Thomas, the second eldest son, was born in 1612 and educated at Wadham College, Oxford.[4] In his early twenties he married a Clerkenwell widow, Frances Boyse,[5] by which time he was probably already engaged in his chosen calling, that of engraver. In this capacity he flourished in the 1650s, working part of the time from Paris.[6] As mentor he had Wenceslaus Hollar, Drawing master and subsequently designer to Charles II, described by Aubrey as 'a very friendly good-natured man as could be, but Shiftlesse to the World'.[7]

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1. Chester, 214, 235; P.R.O.Prob. 11/409, f. 81.
2. Burnet, III, 212. See also Ch. V.
3. Chester, 248.
4. Gardiner, 104.
5. Armytage, Bishop, 210.
6. Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers (revised edn. 5 vols. 1920-5), IV, 9. See also D.N.B., IX, 149. Neale's work included an engraving of Titian's 'Bindo Altociitii' (1523): B.L. Add. MSS. 25401, 'A Dictionary of Engravers Ancient and Modern' compiled by Sir W. Musgrave (2 vols. 1780), II, f. 51.
7. O.L. Dick (ed.), Aubrey's Brief Lives (1962 edn.), 241-2.

Neale the engraver was still alive in April 1669 when his second cousin William Neale of Hursley remembered him with a bequest of £20.[1] The engraver's brother, Humphrey, was the sole member of the family to enter the Church. Educated at Cambridge he was subsequently ejected from his Fellowship of St. John's College. Ordained deacon at Lincoln early in June 1642, he was prebend of Chichester between 1663 and 1666.[2] At the same time he was also rector of Eastergate, Sussex, with a dispensation to hold Wickham rectory, Hampshire, as well.[3] His brother, John, born in 1615, spent part of his adult life working in the New Forest administrative hierarchy as bailiff of Burley Walk, from which he drew an annual fee of £9 2s. 6d.[4]

The two relatives by marriage also provided contrasts. In June 1654 Leonard Bilson of Buriton near Petersfield married Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Lewis.[5] Bilson had property interests in Southwark and near Petersfield, where he farmed on a considerable scale.[6] In the 1660s

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1. P.R.O. Prob. 11/341, f. 48. An entry on the engraver is contained in J. Strutt, A Biographical Dictionary, containing an Historical Account of all the Engravers from the earliest period (2 vols. 1785), II, 180-1.
2. Venn, III, 235. See also W.W. Rouse Ball and J.A. Venn (ed.), Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge, II (1913), 336.
3. Lambeth Palace Library, Faculty Office papers, Fiats, dispensation dated 28 Oct. 1665. See also Dunkin, II, 115, and E. Carter, The History of the University of Cambridge, from its origins to the year 1753 (1753), 281.
4. A copy of the warrant appointing John Neale is contained in B.L. Sloane MSS. 856, f. 39v. See also An Abstract of all the Claims on the New Forest (1776), 43-4, for the situation at 29 Sept. 1670. During 1679-95 the herbage and pannage of Burley Walk were valued at £5 3s. 4d.: P.R.O. T.48/2.
5. W.H. Challen, 'Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester...', Proc.H.F.C., XIX (1955-6), 264-5.
6. P.R.O. Prob. 11/430, f. 3, will of Leonard Bilson, dated 29 Aug. 1695; Hants. R.O. 6M56/26-36, Mapledurham Rent Rolls 1670-80; ibid, Hylton MSS, Box VIII, bundle 12; ibid, 16M49/9, indenture dated 13 Feb. 1660.

and 1670s he served in the Hampshire militia, as a J.P. and as sheriff in 1673.[1] During 1677-8 he shared the political representation of Petersfield with Neale though this, of course, is no evidence of a close working relationship between the two men. Lastly there was Payne Fisher, soldier-turned-poet, who probably managed to out-disgrace all the other members of the family completely. Born at Warnford in 1616, Fisher was Sir Thomas Neale's grandson by his first wife Elizabeth Freake. Educated at both Oxford and Cambridge, where he is alleged to have developed 'a rambling head', he saw action in Scotland and Ireland prior to the Civil War. At Marston Moor he felt it prudent to desert when he found himself on the losing side. Changing sword for pen he took to making a living from 'scribbling', producing as his first poem a work celebrating the Marston Moor victory. As Poet-Laureate to Cromwell his output was prodigious and sycophantic, many of his contemporaries agreeing that he possessed a 'vain, conceited humour'. The Restoration spelt gloom for Fisher, with obscurity, poverty and a prolonged period in the Fleet, from where he produced two further works, one on City churches, the other on the monumental inscriptions of St. Paul's. In the latter he drew explicit attention to the fact that he was a grandson of Sir Thomas Neale. When the poet died an obscure death in a London coffee-house in April 1693[2] there were many in the family who sighed with relief. At long last their source of embarrassment was removed from the Earth's face.

V

Social and economic status were of extreme importance to the Neale family. Witness the efforts made by William Neale in the sixteenth century to improve his family

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1. Cal.T.B. 1660-7, 82; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1679-80, 60; W. Berry, County Genealogies of Hampshire (1833), x.
2. D.N.B., VII, 68-70.

socially, efforts that were to be emulated by some of his descendants, particularly his son Sir Thomas Neale. A shaky third generation, over-stretching of resources and the onset of inflation undid some of this work. Thomas Neale the playwright was something of a wastrel, pre-occupied with marketing dubious, unacceptable plays. His wife, worth money in her own right, made a second marriage that took her to Herefordshire. Her new husband was not enamoured of the young Thomas Neale. These factors, combined or in isolation, forced Neale in early manhood to try his hand at large scale money-making. The more his commitments grew, particularly after his marriage, the greater the need for more money, and the more frenzied his money-making became. The situation had all the makings of a vicious circle. Even a very wealthy wife was insufficient to slake his frenetic monetary demands; hence the search for a second wife. Though disappointed in his quest, he was to make able use of the many contacts brought by the scattered members of his family. To his credit, he worked hard as a young man to restore the family's waning fortunes in Hampshire, and it is to his efforts there that this study will now turn.

Chapter II

NEALE AS A HAMPSHIRE FIGURE

The county in which the Neale family lived was viewed favourably by contemporary travellers and writers. Hampshire was full of great contrasts; it could boast of Colonel Thomas Blood and Richard Cromwell amongst its inhabitants, was a county where superstitious forces lingered on,[1] where agricultural experimentation took place, and from where subscriptions of over £6,000 were made to the Bank of England's original stock.[2]

The county economy rested heavily on agriculture, Camden waxing strong on its virtues:

> It is a small County, very fruitful in Corn, and in many places well wooded: it is rich in herbage, and has sea-commodities in great plenty; being well contriv'd, by it's many creeks and harbours, for all sorts of traffick.[3]

By 1675 three-quarters of Hampshire was enclosed; a contemporary later noted that the inhabitants 'lived happily and were able to supply corn to the open field counties'.[4] Hampshire's face was marked by enclosed land, pockets of open field arable, considerable tracts of waste, and forests. Though the New Forest predominated, there were other heavily wooded tracts. In the Isle of Wight was the neglected Carisbrooke or Parkhurst Forest; in the east were Alice Holt and Woolmer Forests, towards the north-

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1. For a 1688 witchcraft accusation at Portsmouth, see Willis and Hoad, 142.
2. Bank of England, Index to Book of Subscriptions of 1694, passim.
3. W. Camden, Britannia (ed. E. Gibson, 2 vols. 1753), I, col. 131.
4. L. Meager, The Mystery of Husbandry (1697), quoted W.E. Tate, 'Field Systems and Enclosures in Hampshire', Proc. H.F.C., XVI (1944-6) 260.

western rim of Hampshire the forests of Chute and Harewood.[1] Many of Hampshire's abundant, rapid-flowing, chalk-based rivers provided power for nascent industrial ventures such as paper-making, iron processing and leather production. Pockets of civilisation, many approaching self-sufficiency, were dotted across the country. There were approximately twenty market towns, varying in size, prosperity and importance. In the 1660s Andover was 'a town ... of no greatness, consisting mostly of inns',[2] Basingstoke was 'wretched in both buildings and trade',[3] Southampton in the 1670s was 'populous, rich, and beautiful, most strongly walled about with Square Stone'.[4] Hampshire's one city, Winchester, varied in fortune. In 1659 it was described as 'indifferently well peopled and frequented, having plenty of water'.[5] Charles II's ambitious plans for civic regeneration with palace-building at Winchester[6] and its development as England's Versailles, came to little, evoking comment that Winchester was 'but small, old fashioned and poor'.[7]

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1. A. and W. Driver, A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hampshire (1794), passim.
2. F.N.L. Poynter (ed.), The Journal of James Yonge 1647-1721 (1963), 109.
3. L. Magalotti, Travels of Cosmo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany through England 1669 (1821), 157-8.
4. Quoted E.G. Box, 'Hampshire in Early Maps and Early Road Books II', Proc. H.F.C., XIII (1937) 65.
5. Ibid.
6. For Wren's plans for the palace see Sir C. Wren and S. Wren, Parentalia: or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens (1750, republished 1965), 325-6. An undated draft warrant for the appointment of Brian Turner, a Gentleman Usher, as housekeeper of the palace is contained in Codr. MS.241, f. 384 and v. In September 1683 Count de Kenitzki, Polish envoy extraordinary, was received in audience by Charles II at Winchester: L.G., 1862, 20-24 Sept. 1683.
7. Poynter, 193.

The eighth largest county it had a population exceeding 105,000 in 1676.[1] Some Hampshire families were anciently-rooted in the county. The Whiteheads had lived at Norman Court, West Tytherley, since 1433.[2] The Uvedales of Wickham had been prominent in the county since the early fifteenth century.[3] In contrast, the Neales could be described as a 'young' family, having links with the county that stretched back only to the 1560s. But youthfulness was no deterrent, for they soon made their presence felt within Hampshire. For more than half his life Thomas Neale retained close links with Hampshire, trying hard to restore the family tradition of county service which had been rather undermined by his father's shortcomings. As landowner, county official and member of parliament, Neale was to serve Hampshire faithfully.

I

Neale's Hampshire lands were located midway between Winchester and Petersfield in the Meon Valley; his residence was at Warnford.[4] His lands fell into three main units - Warnford and its immediate environs, West Meon, Privett and Westbury further up the valley, and then Riplington and Peake Tygall manors. The Warnford unit was a little below 2,000 acres. West Meon manor included lands in nearby Woodlands, Combe and Privett. Assuming that the manor occupied the bulk of West Meon and Privett

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1. The returns to the Compton census show 75,220 over the age of 16. An allowance of 40% for children brings the figure to 105,308: Hants. R.O. Abstract of Compton census returns for Hampshire. For the survey see A. Whiteman, 'The Census that never was: A Problem in Authorship and Dating' in Whiteman, J.S. Bromley and P.G.M. Dickson (ed.), Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants: Essay in Eighteenth-Century History presented to Dame Lucy Sutherland (1973), 1-16.
2. V.C.H., Hampshire, IV, 520.
3. Supra, 6, n.2.
4. See Maps I and II in end pocket.

parishes, this would give another 5,000 acres. One unit not in Neale's possession was Westbury manor, located on the eastern outskirts of West Meon. Since the early seventeenth century at least, this had been owned by the Fawconer family,[1] from whom Neale's forebears had leased part.[2] With no evidence to the contrary it is assumed that Neale followed suit. There was also the small manor of Peake Tygall, between West and East Meon, some 280 acres in extent. The years prior to Neale's ownership had seen a certain readjustment of these units, occasioned by inflation and expenses. His grandfather had almost doubled the family lands in Lomer and Preshaw manors; his father had disposed of the valuable East Meon Park to Sir William Lewis.[3] While the bulk of Neale's lands lay in the Meon Valley, an isolated pocket lay away to the south in Widley parish, bordering on the liberties of Portsmouth. This valuable little pocket had come to him from his maternal grandfather Sir William Uvedale, via his short-lived uncle William Uvedale and his mother who, in February 1669, renounced all right to the manor and lands, making them over to him.[4] The parish, united with neighbouring Wymering since 1599,[5] was approximately 1,000 acres in extent, much of which was woodland.[6] The acreage of

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1. P.C.L. A.T. Everitt, 'Notes relating to the Bonham family' (typescript vol., n.d.), 37-8, transcripts of the Fawconer wills of 1606 and 1644.
2. P.R.O. Wards 7/63/129.
3. Supra, 9, 11.
4. P.R.O. C 10/153/105.
5. By a 1612 agreement the vicar of Widley was always to be a Fellow of Winchester College: P.C.R.O., CHU 15/3, folder of miscellaneous notes on Widley and Wymering. For further details see J.H. Thomas, 'Hampshire Parishes no. IX: Widley', Hampshire Family Historian, IV (1977), 60-66.
6. S. Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of England (7th edn. 4 vols. 1849), IV, 569.

Neale's Hampshire lands is tabulated below.

Table 2 Extent of Neale's Hampshire Lands
(units in acres)

Peake Tygall Manor	280
Warnford and environs	1,878
West Meon manor	5,051
Widley	175
	7,384
Less Westbury manor	100
	7,284

Land usage in Warnford and Peake Tygall had been predominantly arable since the early sixteenth century,[1] and there is little evidence to suggest a radical change in this pattern.

As difficult as determining the extent of the lands is an indication of their value. The inquisition of Sir Thomas Neale's lands gave the combined land values for Warnford, Lomer and Preshaw as £24 7s., those leased from Westbury manor as £10 and for land and the rectory held in Catherington as £10.[2] The subsidy assessment of October 1641 gave the value of Neale lands as £25 and the lands for all of Warnford as £33; for Westbury the figure was £5.[3] A subsidy collection of March 1664 showed Thomas Neale's lands at £20, the village total at £31 10s., and those for Westbury and Peake at £8.[4]

In and around Warnford three types of tenancy were found. The village inn, the 'Falcon', was described as 'freehold held of the Lords of the Mannor of Warnford', with barns,

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1. Based on an analysis of Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 20-24 Henry VII, 599 and P.R.O. Wards 7/63/129.
2. P.R.O. Wards 7/63/129.
3. Hants. R.O. 5M50/1636-7.
4. P.R.O. E 179/247/28.

stables and lands.[1] Neale also let some of his lands on leasehold. Bere Farm, north of the village, was described thus in the 1640s; the village paper mill, on the southern edge of the parish, was operated on a similar basis.[2] In September and October 1668 Neale let out leasehold property on 21- and 11- year terms and granted a further lease for 21 years in September 1670.[3] The bulk of lands were copyhold, with variations in size of holding. Thomas Okeshott held a house, barn and two acres; 64 acres, a house, barn, stable and orchard were held by Edward Wyatt in 1677.[4] Some were held for one life, others for two, and in two instances for 'several lives'.[5] Details of rents are scanty. John Cammis of Hinton Ampner paid £6 in September 1669 'for a yeares rent comeing due at Michelmas next for certain lands he holds of Thomas Neale Esquire', the piece of property probably being Blackhouseland on the north western rim of the parish.[6] In the 1670s 'a small tenement of Free land

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1. Hants. R.O. Probate records, Bishops' series, will of Henry Hammond, 1694. Warnford's innkeeper was charged with keeping a disorderly house in 1650: Hants. R.O. Q.I., Quarter Sessions Indictment Book 1646-60, f. 73. In 1686 the 'Falcon' could accommodate 18 guests and had stabling for 16 horses: P.R.O.W.O. 30/48, Survey of inns, 1686, 166.
2. P.R.O. Wards 7/63/129; Hants. R.O. Probate records, Archdeacons' series, will of John Winter, 1645. In 1619 John Knight left bequests to 'servantes that belong to the paper mill': P.R.O. Prob. 11/137, f. 17. In the eighteenth century the Earls of Clanricarde leased the mill for 80 year terms: Hants. R.O. Probate records, Archdeacons' series, will of Francis Bignell, 1773. For further details see J.H. Thomas, 'Early Hampshire Paper Makers, Martin Filer and Descendants', The Paper Maker, CLVI (1968), 52-4.
3. W. and G. A./G., EI/245.
4. Hants. R.O. 66M67/T54a (Okeshott), T49 (Wyatt).
5. P.R.O. C5/451/16, Bonham v. Neale and others, 1683.
6. Hants R.O. 47M48/24b, rent receipt. John and Thomas Camish, twin sons of Thomas and Mary Camish of Hinton Ampner, were baptised 24 Nov. 1641; 'old Thomas Kemisse of Black House' was buried 29 Dec. 1687: Hants R.O. 1M61/1, Hinton Ampner Register 1561-1774 (xerox copy), n.p.

then and now in occupacon of one Pinke' yielded £23 in annual rent.[1]

In the West Meon unit copyholds preponderated. In March 1624, when the Earl of Southampton owned the manor, 75 of the eighty tenants were copyholders.[2] Neale retained this arrangement. Occasionally tenants moved between holdings, as in April 1674 when Henry Prior surrendered four closes and a house, for the use of Richard Clay and his wife.[3] Precedents from the Southampton period of ownership would give the 'Scite Capitall Messuage and demesnes' of West Meon manor as leased land and Punsholt Farm in nearby Woodlands as one of two units of freehold land.[4] In the Widley unit, land was held by both leasehold and copyhold.[5]

With such extensive holdings Neale needed the services of men familiar with land management and land law. Jeffrey Willan, who acknowledged receipt of Cammis' rent in 1669, looked after the Warnford lands, though he was employed in other tasks as well. He extracted a copy of the release of Elizabeth Gould's marriage portion and signed as a witness for the sale of West Meon and surrounding lands to Isaac Foxcroft for £11,000 in 1678.[6]

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1. P.R.O. C5/448/150. To this day there is a piece of land in Warnford called 'Pink's Hill'.
2. Hants. R.O. 5M53/767, Wriothesley Deeds, Listing of tenants, holdings and improved values for 1624-5, ff. 1-3.
3. Hants. R.O. 53M63/21-3, Pink and Arnold Collection, copies of admissions.
4. Hants. R.O. 5M53/767, ff. 1-3. From 1635 onwards Punsholt Farm was held by a recusant family called Loveden. For Sebastian Loveden's compounding see Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-60, pt. III, 1788, and A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen that have Compounded for their Estates (1655).
5. P.R.O. C10/153/105.
6. W. and G. A./G., E1/23; E1/245. For biographical details see Appendix B.

Neale employed Arthur Bold of Petersfield as bailiff of West Meon. A proficient barrister and important county figure, Bold brought to Neale not only legal competence but practical experience. His family had owned land in and around Petersfield since the sixteenth century,[1] and he was one of Petersfield's two M.Ps.[2]

The fate of Neale's lands during his minority is important in understanding these appointments. Wardship was abolished the year Neale's father died intestate.[3] Towards the end of his life the playwright had granted a large part of the family lands '(exceptinge onely all Timber trees of Oake then Standinge or beinge or which should stand or bee in or upon the premisses ... therof ...)' to Sir William Lewis and Sir William Uvedale for 31 years, entrusting them to provide from the lands at least £300 annually for his son's maintenance. But the two men failed in their responsibilities, inasmuch as they did not keep an account of the 'overplus of the rents and profitts in their hands'. To ensure the work was carried out efficiently, Lewis and Uvedale employed Thomas Bonham (sen.) who had served both Sir Thomas Neale and his son as steward,

> in and about the mannaginge of the ... Estate and in the receivinge of all the rents and Fees and proffitts that have beene any wayes raysed or made eyther by Fynes sales of wood or otherwise of all the said mannors messuage parsonage lands tenements and hereditaments exceptinge only the proffitts of Katherington for the yeare in which the said Thomas Neale the Father dyed It beinge duringe that yeare managed by the said Thomas Neale the Father or by such as hee did appoint And alsoe exceptinge the issues and profitts of the mansion house in St. Bartholomew London.

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1. V.C.H. Hampshire, III, 116.
2. For Bold as M.P. see Ch. III. For biographical details see Appendix B.
3. Abolition in 1646 was by order of both Houses and confirmed by Act in 1656. This legislation was confirmed by the Commons in 1660: Chandaman, 37-8.

With the playwright's death the two trustees urged Bonham to use money raised from the estate to discharge his debts, including one of £775 14s. 8d. to Lewis, a task he duly performed. But then the trustees encountered problems. Uvedale's health began to fail and Lewis was forced to go 'beyond the sea'.[1] While their proficiency obviously left much to be desired, the presence of Uvedale and Lewis explains why they summoned West Meon manorial court in August 1649[2] and why Lewis presented to the family living of Catherington in 1634 and 1660.[3] With Lewis's poor reputation for landownership,[4] Bold's appointment as bailiff becomes even more pointed.

But did Neale benefit from any of the advice given him by Bold and Willan? This question may be answered by examining the productivity of Neale's lands and his attempts to improve them. In common with most rural communities of this period, the Meon valley villages were practically self-sufficient.[5] Wheat and oats were grown in both West Meon and Warnford. Sheep, cows and pigs met other nutritional requirements, supplemented by beer and cider production in Warnford, and the keeping of bees and fowl in West Meon.[6] Shovels and harnessware were made in West Meon. The local woodlands were put to good use. In West Meon they were used for lime-burning and brick making, on a site described in 1625 as 'a parcel of

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1. P.R.O. C9/8/134.
2. Hants. R.O. 53M63/21.
3. V.C.H. Hampshire, III, 101.
4. For Lewis as landowner see P.R.O. C5/447/14, Barfoote v. Lewis, 1675.
5. Except where otherwise stated, what follows is based on an analysis of probate and legal material preserved in Hants. R.O. and P.R.O. In all, 46 wills and inventories were examined.
6. Hants. R.O. C.C.C.P. C/7/A-3/1, Abraham Allen v. Thomas Bonham, 1675.

ground late taken out of the wast of the Manor',[1] on a scale capable of producing 4,000 bricks annually. The development of brick-making at West Meon by Henry, 2nd Earl of Southampton, was part of his policy of estate improvement.[2] Additionally Warnford could boast its paper mill, and the villages possessed five corn mills in all.[3] For some commodities such as the brass and pewter ware, books and coal in villagers' inventories, the inhabitants of Warnford and West Meon had to venture further afield. The majority of Widley's population was also supported by agriculture. Wheat, barley, oats, vetches, pease and beans were grown there, swine and poultry tended. Brewing and cheese-making were also important.[4] A chalk pit was in use, claiming at least one life.[5] A windmill ground local flour, and by the early eighteenth century, if not before, soap boiling was also carried out in Widley.[6] Though the community

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1. Hants. R.O. 5M53/767, f. 22. At this time the manorial woodlands totalled 61 acres: Ibid, f. 3. Enclosure of the waste was ordered at Quarter sessions in Oct. 1616: Hants. R.O. Q.O. I, Order Book 1607-1628, 303.

2. The Earl erected iron furnaces and forges at Sowley and Titchfield in 1605: H.R. Schubert, History of the British Iron and Steel Industry (1957), 183, 354, 388, 390.

3. V.C.H. Hampshire, III, 344, 268. On milling problems in the valley see R.A. Pelham, 'Hydrology in the Past', appended to F.J. Monkhouse (ed.), A Survey of Southampton and its Region (1964), Ch. VII.

4. This is based on an examination of allegations for Widley marriage licences, and of Widley probate material preserved in Hants. R.O.

5. Francis Speereing was buried 24 Sept. 1655 'being kyled by the fale of a Chalke pit uppon Portsdowne', P.C.R.O. CHU 15/1A/1, Register 1654-1700, n.p.

6. The mill was still standing in 1823: V.C.H. Hampshire, III, 171. Stephen Smith of Chichester was apprenticed to John Spencer of Widley, soap boiler, on 6 June 1715: R.G. Rice (ed.), Sussex Apprentices and their Masters 1710 to 1752 (Sussex Record Society 1924), 173.

was basically self sufficient, some inhabitants sought work outside in Portsmouth dockyard.[1]

Neale's Meon valley property was characterised by rolling chalk downs and flat lands on the banks of the Meon, a loamy soil with a chalk subsoil determining the area's agriculture. Mixed farming on the level lands gave way to grazing sheep on the downlands. In the early 1660s Stephen Marriner kept 180 sheep in Warnford and another 237 in West Meon. In 1675 Thomas Bonham stated that during the previous fifteen years he had kept 500 sheep, 500 ewes and 520 lambs 'feeding and depasturing' within West Meon parish.[2] Increasingly throughout the century sheep had become more important for their manure rather than for wool and carcasses,[3] and the numbers kept on Neale's lands suggest attempts to improve soil fertility. Wheat predominated, occupying approximately double the acreage devoted to barley. Pigs and cattle were few, except on land farmed by Bonham who during 1660-75 kept 'five hundred fatting sterill and barren cattle in West Meon' with bulls, steers, heifers and oxen.[4] Dairy cattle and horses were less important locally.

Besides keeping large numbers of sheep on his lands, Neale used other methods of improving. The extent to which his lands were enclosed is unknown, but is likely to have been substantial. The Neale house, fronted by a splendid avenue of trees,[5] stood in a park,[6] as much a symbol of family enterprise as of the wish to emphasise

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1. Hants R.O. Probate records, Admons, inventory of Clement Furlanger, 28 July 1666, shows that he was owed £8 'due at dock for his work'.
2. Hants R.O. C.C.C.P. C/7/A-3/1.
3. E. Kerridge, 'The Sheepfold in Wiltshire and the Floating of the Watermeadows', Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser. VI (1953-4), 282-9.
4. Hants R.O. C.C.C.P. C/7/A-3/1.
5. P.R.O. C8/303/135, Stephens v. Bonham, 1684.
6. T. Neale, The Warde, Act I, scene I, lines 72-4.

the social distance separating them from the Warnford community. Neale certainly financed some enclosure.[1] Warnford field-name evidence suggests enclosure in two stages. When Neale came to sell the property there were at least five pieces of land totalling thirty acres, called 'New Close', 'Newclose' or the 'New Lands'.[2] Individual low acreages producing cereals suggests a large number of small fields, added to as demand occasioned and finances permitted.

Neale also floated water-meadows in Warnford to increase the value of his estate and his agricultural output. The ecology of late-Stuart Hampshire was much modified by landowners attempting to rid their lands of stagnant water and ensuring sufficient fresh water for their crops. In the county's sheep-cereal economy the floating of meadows was an integral part.[3] The potential advantages of earlier, richer grass for summer sheep food and winter hay were a great inducement to enterprising landowners. The Hampshire improver John Worlidge, farming near Petersfield, advocated floating meadows in the 1660s and may have seen some but recently constructed at Bramshott.[4] With Worlidge witnessing the transfer of some former Neale property in 1677,[5] it is clear not only that they knew each

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1. In 1683 Bonham stated that Neale had financed enclosure of a piece of land 'severall years since with a Quickset hedge': P.R.O. C8/303/135.
2. P.R.O. C9/426/20, Bonham v. Wollaston, 1679.
3. J. Sheail, 'The Formation and Maintenance of Water-Meadows in Hampshire, England', Biological Conservation, III (1971), 101-6. See also E.L. Jones, 'Meadow Irrigation in Hampshire', The Hampshire Farmer XIV (1959), 8-9.
4. W.E. Capes, Scenes of Rural Life in Hampshire among the Manors of Bramshott (1901), 220-1. From at least March 1689 Worlidge was deputy steward of Chalton manor: Hants. R.O. 18M64, Box 22, Chalton Manor Presentments 1689-1733, ff. 1, 19, 31, 35, 37, 49, 57. He was succeeded by his son Edward, an attorney: Ibid, f. 61.
5. Hants. R.O. 66M67/T49.

other, but also likely that Neale floated his meadows having discussed the matter with Worlidge. In subsequent legal action over the passage of the river Meon through Neale's lands it was stated that the water was fed into a pond on its journey from West Meon to Warnford, and that Neale had employed Thomas Bonham 'to make up the said pondhead and allowed him thirty pounds for his care and charge in making up the same'. The pond had been constructed with the intention of penning up the water

> of the river or brook running through Warnford that in the heat of the Summer the water might be cast into the old watercourse to give A flash to the meadows in ... time of drouth.

Bonham asserted that the estate 'would not have yielded soe much by five hundred pounds as now it will or did when ... Thomas Neale sold the same'. Regrettably Neale's efforts were but short-lived, for within a few years the pond and pondhead had fallen into disrepair.[1]

Although Neale's efficiency as a landowner is scantily recorded, it is unlikely that he would have been appointed to look after somebody else's lands had his own performance been bad. The death of Daniel Norton of Southwick in 1665, left an infant son, Richard, as heir to large properties. To ensure their preservation six trustees were appointed. Half were themselves Nortons - Sir John Norton of Rotherfield, Richard Norton of Southwick and Edward Norton of Liss. The others were Neale, Henry Whitear of Tytherley and John Wolveridge.[2] The selection of trustees from outside the family suggests special reasons for their nomination. Through the Uvedales Neale was distantly related to the Nortons. His county prominence would have helped, and they were doubtless impressed by what he had managed to do with his own lands.

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1. P.R.O. C5/451/16. Today Warnford pond is a swamp to the left of the A 32 road linking Warnford and West Meon.
2. Hants. R.O. 5M50/388, transcript of Norton Chancery suit, 1668, f.2.

The trustees were to oversee general management of the estates, and 'Take and receave the rents Issues and profitts of the said estate' during the heir's minority, 'allowinge him fittinge maintenance out of the same for his Education'. They were also to ensure payment of £800 to the boy's mother, and the residue of the rents for Richard.[1] Given the duties, nomination of trustees would hardly have been made lightly.

What happened to the produce of Neale's estate? That not consumed locally was sent to Petersfield, the nearest market town, for disposal. Production of substantial quantities of timber, the keeping of large numbers of cattle in West Meon, and Neale's ownership of land in Widley, suggest that he was probably selling timber or food, or both, to the armed forces. Some of his lands were on Portsmouth's outskirts and his brother-in-law, Honywood, did command a position of influence there.[2] For the present, however, such an arrangement must remain conjectural.[3] It would certainly help explain why he was so ardent an improver of his lands.

II

While ensuring social status and wealth, landownership brought certain responsibilities, to the immediate local community, sometimes to the county and occasionally to the nation. Neale conformed to contemporary dictates

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1. Hants. R.O. 5M50/388, transcript of Norton Chancery suit, 1668, f. 3.
2. Supra, 28.
3. Several documents concerning Neale's lands between 1650 and 1670 refer to the woodlands, and to the fact that timber was being sold. A careful search of P.R.O. Adm. 49/22-31, Abstracts of contracts for 1670-1702, produced no mention of Neale, though he could have been working through an agent who has eluded identification. The records held by the National Maritime Museum for Portsmouth yard in the 1670s are scanty and were not searched.

and shouldered many offices during the 1660s and 1670s. Each required something different of him, and his performance needs to be seen in the context of contemporary Hampshire developments and of his fellow office-holders.

During 1660-80 Hampshire experienced many problems, broadly divisible into two main groups - social and economic, and political and religious. In the first group were poverty, plague, violence and disorder. Poverty was endemic, its effects heightened by additional calamities such as fire and plague. In mid-June 1665 plague appeared in Southampton, killing 1,700 people;[1] in 1666 it struck across Hampshire, affecting Alton, Petersfield, Basingstoke, Portsmouth and Winchester.[2] Attempts to avert its spread failed, as Portsmouth borough sessions papers and parish registers sadly reveal.[3] England's former capital, Winchester, was savagely mauled; contact with the outside world was severed, salvation coming from donations of the Charitable Society of Natives and a 'great deal of Wheat and Flower and other Provisions from Southampton, Romsey, Easton, and Chilcomb and other Places'.[4] Sometimes problems escalated, as in May 1663 when the terrified mayor of Christchurch wrote to Hampshire's deputy lieutenants of the stoning of the sheriff who had gone to restore order and of threats against his own safety.[5] In 1665 ropeworkers in Portsmouth dockyard stopped work, the naval commissioners being informed that 'all profess proper humiliation and that

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1. Monkhouse, 224.
2. W.H. Jacob, 'Some Notes on the Plague in Winchester', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, L (1894), 267-76; W. Andrews, (ed.), Bygone Hampshire (1899), 182-8.
3. Willis and Hoad, 36, 41; P.C.R.O. CHU 2/1A/2, burials May-Sept. 1666. Plague had reached Portsmouth by early April 1666. See Thomas Middleton to Samuel Pepys, 5 Apr. 1666: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1665-6, 337.
4. Quoted Hampshire Notes and Queries, VI (1892), 121.
5. Henry Hastings to Sir Humphrey Bennet, 6 May 1663: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1663-4, 131.

nothing but actual want of bread would have made them forsake their work'.[1]

Some of Hampshire's problems had more of a national flavour. The disaffection of the early 1660s, prompting such risings as that in Yorkshire in 1663, spread to Hampshire. Early that year the principal Hampshire suspect was a substantial landowner from Headley, in the east of the county, Moore Fauntleroy. Handed a letter allegedly found by a Farnham girl out walking, he professed to make nothing of its contents and forwarded it to Sir John Norton. Under examination Fauntleroy's tailor admitted that his client was troubled by the letter's arrival and not without reason, for it contained plans for a rising in mid-February. The letter may have been the work of an hallucinatory, but there were, nevertheless, serious implications. The West, stated the writer, had been preparing for the past two months, '40,000 are engaged', and a troop of horse was to fall on the profane persons of Guildford, the insurrectionists feeling sure of support from Guildford and Portsmouth. To help the proceedings, Fauntleroy was expected to provide an additional fifty men. After some consideration, Norton and a colleague forwarded the letter to the lord lieutenant, Lord Treasurer Southampton, who pointed out that 'more eyes are needed where so many hands are at work'. They explained that Fauntleroy was not quite the peaceful gentleman he so earnestly claimed to be. Sufficient arms for thirty to forty men had already been found in his house in a previous search. Moreover, they thought him an 'untoward fellow' whose only reason for such public-spirited action was to extricate himself before he could be proved the intended recipient. The deputy lieutenants' suspicions were shared at Court. When the matter was drawn to Arlington's attention he informed them that the King thought

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1. Sir John Mennes to Navy Commissioners, 8 July 1665: Cal. S.P.Dom. 1664-5, 468.

Fauntleroy dangerous, that he was suspected of complicity in recent plots and should provide some security for his own future behaviour.[1] Seditious whispers were still to be heard at the close of that year, with rumours of a projected rising in the Winchester neighbourhood, some of the conspirators subsequently taking shelter in the Isle of Wight.[2]

Within a few years the Isle of Wight and the mainland were gripped by a different fear. The appearance of the Dutch fleet off the south coast in July 1667 spread great alarm; deputy lieutenants hurried to and fro, militia regiments were drafted to Portsea Island from Wiltshire and Berkshire, trained bands moved into position. But the Dutch stood off and the panic abated, though not until after a man had been found lurking near Southsea Castle carrying a makeshift white flag, 'doubtless to induce the Dutch to send a boat for him, and then give them intelligence'.[3] The strain was especially acute for the deputy lieutenants, inasmuch as this was a transition period between two lord lieutenants.[4]

Recusancy was an additional, serious, problem for Hampshire. With its indented coastline, compact nature and prominent Catholic gentry, Hampshire was an important Catholic stronghold. During Charles I's reign acute financial necessity had occasioned a serious anti-recusant drive, resulting in the discovery of strongly supported Catholic schools in both Fareham and Winchester.[5] In

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1663-4, 44, 52.
2. V.C.H. Hampshire, V, 353.
3. H. Salesbury to Sir J. Williamson, 14 July 1667: Cal. S.P.Dom.1667, 294.
4. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1667, 193. Charles Paulet, Lord St. John, received his commission as lord lieutenant in late 1667: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1667-8, 78.
5. K.J. Lindley, 'The Lay Catholics of England in the Reign of Charles I', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXII (1971), 208. See also A.C.F. Beales, Education under Penalty (1963), 212-3.

1641 960 people were convicted as recusants in Hampshire.[1] Less than 400 suspected recusants were presented at quarter sessions during 1657-60.[2] Recusancy convictions for 1663-77 totalled only 284.[3] The strength of belief and decline in the number of successful recusancy convictions suggests lax enforcement agencies or that recusants were growing more adept at evading the law. Even if the figures represent an overall decline, the problem had obviously not yet spent itself.

The various offices held by Neale in Hampshire may be seen at a glance:

Table 3 Neale and Hampshire Offices 1660-1678

1660-78	Lay patron of Warnford living
1660s-74	Lay patron of Catherington living
1666-7	High Sheriff
1666	Admitted free burgess of Lymington
1668	Admitted burgess of Portsmouth
1669	Deputy Lieutenant
1670	Justice of the Peace
1671	Commissioner of Sewers
1675	Commissioner of Recusancy

Sources: Hants. R.O. 35M48/5/1, Induction Book 1660-1780, f. 19; ibid, Q.O. 4, Quarter Sessions Order Book 1658-72, f. 315; V.C.H. Hampshire, III, 101; O.G., 1, 7 Nov. 1665; Lymington Town Hall, Town Book 1613-1729, f. 68; P.C.R.O. CE1/8, Book of Elections and Sessions 1662-74, f. 53; P.R.O. C 181/7, 584; Cal.T.B. 1672-5, 69.

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1. B. Magee, The English Recusants (1938), 96.
2. Hants. R.O. Quarter Sessions Records, QI, Indictment Book 1646-60, ff. 118-22, 124-8, 130-1. The drop in numbers may be partially explained by the fact that recusants were more frequently convicted at assizes than at quarter sessions: Magee, 94.
3. Magee, 96, quoting B.L. Add. MSS. 20739. The returns have been printed in J.S. Hansom, 'A List of Convicted Recusants in the Reign of Charles II', Catholic Record Society Miscellanea, V (1909), 312-7.

Each office demanded something different of Neale. Possession of the advowsons of both Warnford and Catherington, especially the former, emphasised his position as premier village layman. The perfunctory nature of his duties as provider of clerical patronage contrasted sharply with those attached to being High Sheriff. Socially the sheriff was still a leading county figure, though the graces were purchased at the price of heavy responsibilities and considerable financial outlay. Empanelling juries, notifying the county of quarter sessions, maintaining public order, holding the county court, keeping his finger on the pulse of county life for his Whitehall masters - these duties and more fell within the sheriff's ambit.[1] Frequently the sheriff found himself expected to implement commands conflicting sharply with his own private interests, though as a limited measure of relief there was provision for the appointment of an under-sheriff, onto whom some of the more onerous responsibilities could be devolved.[2] While affording great social opportunities it brought great financial strain, heightened by residential stipulations. As a result, evasion abounded. Early in 1663 John Hooke of Bramshott petitioned to be excused, his predecessor having declined to take the oath.[3] Thomas Cole, Hooke's replacement, in turn asked to leave, late in 1663, to live outside Hampshire having recently married a Northamptonshire widow.[4] A few years later Henry Mildmay was granted permission to live outside Hampshire, but only after he had appointed an under-sheriff.[5] The heavy duties and other,

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1. C.H. Karraker, The Seventeenth Century Sheriff (1930), passim.
2. Ibid, 12-13.
3. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1663-4, 18.
4. Ibid, 386. When Cole produced the additional plea of lack of a suitable Hampshire residence, the king granted him a dispensation: ibid, 483, 509-10.
5. Ibid, 1668-9, 82, 94. There was some relief inasmuch as reappointment as sheriff could not take place until three years had elapsed: J.S. Wilson, 'Sheriffs' Rolls of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', E.H.R., XLVII (1932), 36.

less attractive qualities attached to the post, led to 'a sort of tacit conspiracy to let the office fall either on the minor gentry, or on a young man who had succeeded early to his father's estates, or else on a commercial gentleman who had recently settled in the county, who in this way paid his footing'.[1] That Neale carried out his duties when he was only twenty-five should, therefore, come as no great shock.

The office of deputy lieutenant was as demanding as that of sheriff. Essentially military in origin,[2] the office changed in the seventeenth century. While the duties became more involved, the deputies became a more select body than the justices 'a sort of inner circle, exercising a general oversight over county administration in the interest of the crown'.[3] Their duties included watching potential sources of sedition, county defence and general maintenance of law and order. Once again the office was an unwanted one, prospective deputies often being unwilling to serve. In December 1667, for example, the new lord lieutenant offered eight Hampshire men as deputies, but hesitated nominating Lord Delawarr, 'being uncertain whether he will accept of it'.[4] By comparison justices of the peace were expected to turn their hand to almost anything. The workhorses of Tudor and Stuart England, they enforced legislation such as the Highways Act of 1663 or the provisions of the Clarendon Code,[5] as well as coping with more practical issues such as supervising the movement

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1. S. and B. Webb, The Parish and the County (1963 edn.), 376.
2. G. Scott Thomson, 'The Origin and Growth of the Office of Deputy Lieutenant', T.R.H.S., 4th ser. V (1922), 150-67.
3. J.R. Western, The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century (1965), 17.
4. Lord St. John to Arlington, 20 Dec. 1667: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1667-8, 92.
5. B. Osborne, Justices of the Peace 1361-1848 (1960), Chs. 14 and 15.

of timber from the New Forest and Alice Holt Forest,[1] enquiries into naval thefts, and the levying of local taxes after plague outbreaks.[2] As if to rub salt into the wound, their services were but meagrely rewarded and they were enjoined to attend sessions under pain of fine.[3]

Very different were the services expected of a county commission of sewers. Commissioners were responsible for the drainage of low-lying land and its protection against floods of fresh or sea water.[4] In a seaboard county such as Hampshire there was obviously much to be done. The volume of work involved is indicated by the Isle of Wight possessing its own separate commission.[5] Finally, there was membership of the commission against recusancy. The passage of the second Conventicle Act in 1670 and promulgation of a Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 unleashed torrents of anti-Catholic sentiment, so much so in fact that Charles II subsequently withdrew the Declaration.[6] Withdrawal coincided with the first Test Act of 1673, a piece of legislation that meant storm clouds would soon gather above those whose religious principle forbade adherence to Anglican teachings. But party developments of the 1670s made Catholics political pawns. Whig elements whipped up anti-Catholic sentiment in an attempt to besmirch Danby, while he exploited similar feelings to bolster his own anti-French image. Many

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1663-4, 25; ibid, 1665-6, 340.
2. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1664-5, 243; 510.
3. J.S. Furley, Quarter Sessions Government in Hampshire in the Seventeenth Century (1937), 15-16; T.G. Barnes and A.H. Smith, 'Justices of the Peace 1558-1688', B.I.H.R., XXXII (1959), 227.
4. A.E.B. Owen, 'Records of Commissions of Sewers', History, LII (1967), 36.
5. An Isle of Wight commission dated Dec. 1661 is contained in P.R.O. C181/7, 174.
6. See R.E. Boyer, English Declarations of Indulgence 1687 and 1688 (1968), 19-22.

thought it necessary to tighten the system of financial penalties aimed at Catholics and to this end commissions were appointed for several counties in spring 1675. Regaled with wide powers, commissioners were to call on sheriffs, mayors and juries for maximum assistance. In immediate practical terms they were to seize two thirds of a recusant's property in lands, tenements or leases, rather than enforce the statutory £20 monthly fine for non-attendance at church.[1] Though the Venetian resident reported that there was little anti-Catholic feeling in the country,[2] the commissioners nevertheless went ahead with their work.

Given the county background and the demands made by each office, how did Neale fare? While resident in Hampshire he was patron of two livings, those of Warnford and Catherington. In May 1666 he presented George May to Warnford.[3] Approximately double Warnford's size, Catherington lay a few miles away to the south east. The living was more important in terms of Neale's career. His grandfather, Sir Thomas Neale, had acquired the living in 1590 and although it remained with the family, no immediate family members presented after the knight's death. As already noted, Sir William Lewis presented in 1634 and again in 1660. Thereafter the living was in Neale's gift, until 1674 when he sold it to John Bugby a Stepney mariner.[4] While obviously part of his policy of

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1. Cal.T.B. 1672-5, 694.
2. Cal.S.P.Ven. 1673-5, 418, quoted J.A. Williams, Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire 1660-1791 (1968), 25.
3. Hants. R.O. 35M48/5/1, f. 19; B.L. Add. MSS. 39971, f. 287. May's clerical career is traced in Dunkin, II, 73. In August 1660 John Butt had petitioned Charles II for the living: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1660-1, 191.
4. V.C.H.Hampshire, III, 101.

severing links with Hampshire, the episode is also important in that he sold the advowson to a man from that part of London he was actively developing.[1]

The expenses and duties attached to being sheriff, coupled with Neale's age, indicate a strong, resourceful young man, competent and willing to assume a heavy load of responsibilities. For Neale the period of office conflicted at times with other interests, as in April 1666 when he had to be away in London.[2] At the same time, the frequent absences from Hampshire of Lord Treasurer Southampton,[3] meant commensurate additional responsibilities for Neale as sheriff and for the deputy lieutenants. But his services must have pleased the Lord Treasurer and Whitehall, for Lord St. John the new lord lieutenant applied to have Neale appointed as one of his deputies. Most counties had between ten and twenty deputies,[4] though in Hampshire the figure was nearer the lower of the two. The death of Lord Sandys of the Vyne created a vacant deputyship and St. John pressed Arlington to have the King appoint Neale, an idea that proved acceptable to Charles II.[5] St. John, for all his feigned insanity, was shrewd, and with other Hampshire concerns claiming his attention, a town residence and interests in France,[6] he would have been eager not to

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1. Infra, Ch. IV.
2. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1665-6, 337. O.G., 1, 16 Nov. 1665, carried news of Neale's appointment. It is reproduced as an illustration in P.M. Handover, A History of the London Gazette 1665-1965 (1965).
3. Southampton had been Lord High Treasurer since 1660 and was also Lord Lieutenant of Kent: J.C. Sainty, Treasury Officials 1660-1870 (1972), 18; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1667, 193.
4. Western, 16.
5. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1668-9, 177, 159. Arlington's declaration of royal approval for the appointment was incorrectly minuted Jan. 1699.
6. Burnet, III, 249; A. Browning (ed.), Memoirs of Sir John Reresby (1936), 466-7; H.M.C. Vth Report, 318; H.M.C. Hastings MSS, II, 345.

make foolish choices in selecting deputy lieutenants.

Two of the offices held by Neale during these years were honorific. In August 1666 he was admitted a free burgess of Lymington,[1] entailing his travelling to that thriving town, swearing certain oaths, signing the burgess roll and laying out nearly £10 in fees to various town officials.[2] Thereafter the only link between him and Lymington can be found in a £2 donation he made to the parish in 1670.[3] In September 1668 he was elected a burgess of Portsmouth, with his step-father Sir Thomas Tomkins, Sir Henry Tichborne and thirteen others.[4] Neale took no serious part in Portsmouth life. He did not, for example, travel to the town on the two occasions when the corporation and burgesses met to nominate M.Ps. Yet he continued to be listed as a burgess long after leaving Hampshire.[5] Only once did he do anything that smacked of an interested concern for Portsmouth.[6] Why was he admitted to these two towns? There were family links with both. Sir William Lewis at this time was one of Lymington's two M.Ps., Neale's brother-in-law Sir Philip Honywood was Governor of Portsmouth. Again both towns were ports, though Portsmouth was strictly more important as a military and naval town. Perhaps his admission to Portsmouth was motivated by his being a local supplier of food to the navy? But a few months before, Neale had entered parliament for

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1. Lymington Town Hall, Town Book 1613-1729, f. 68. I am indebted to A.L. Slater for this reference.
2. C.P. Jones, History of Lymington (1930), 40.
3. Lymington parish records, Churchwardens' Account book 1669-1766, f. 5v. The money was spent on church repairs.
4. P.C.R.O. CE 1/8, f. 53. Sir William Lewis had been admitted a burgess in July 1662. See East, 357, 359. The oath administered to a burgess is contained in P.C.R.O. CE 4/1, Book of Oaths, f. 5v.
5. Not until 16 Sept. 1700 was 'mort' written against his name in the Portsmouth burgess lists: P.C.R.O. CE 1/11, Book of Elections and Sessions 1700-1705, n.p.
6. Infra, Ch. III.

Petersfield;[1] given the special relationship that existed between Portsmouth and that town in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Corporation may have been seeking to strengthen links. Lymington's economy rested almost wholly on salt production,[2] important for subsequent influence on Neale.[3] Lastly there was his year's service as sheriff. Were the towns seeking to accord him some token of their appreciation for his year's work? If this was the case, why did other Hampshire towns not follow suit?[4] A combination of family influence, business interests and growing stature must explain the civic honours.

Admission to the towns was followed by nomination as a deputy lieutenant and then as a justice of the peace in 1670. This was unusual since Neale had already served as sheriff and the more normal sequence was from justice to sheriff.[5] His name was not dropped from the commission of peace until April 1680,[6] two years after he had left Hampshire. To many of his fellow Hampshire gentry it must have seemed that this young man of great potential and promise had lost some of his enthusiasm for county life as a justice. Of the sixteen occasions between October 1670 and October 1678 when the presence of justices at Sessions is known, Neale attended only twice, in October 1670 and again twelve months later. Yet his infrequent appearance

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1. Official Return, I, 528.
2. For a good contemporary account of salt production in Lymington see C. Morris (ed.), The Journeys of Celia Fiennes (1949), 49-50. In Feb. 1666 a Lymington vessel bound for Ireland with a cargo of salt and hops foundered off Dartmouth: L.G., 130, 11-14 Feb. 1666.
3. Infra, Chs. V and VII.
4. Hants. R.O. 148M 71/1/2/1, Basingstoke Book of Oaths 1622-1720, contains no mention of Neale. Miss S.D. Thomson and Mr. A. Whitaker, City Archivists of Southampton and Winchester respectively, kindly informed me that Neale was admitted to neither town.
5. Karraker, 3.
6. H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1678-88, pt. II, 189.

should be seen in perspective. For many justices the post was simply honorary, for others a tedious chore to be avoided. His attendance, compared with that of his fellow justices, is tabulated below:

Table 4 Attendance of J.P.s at Hampshire Sessions 1670-1678 (maximum = 16)

Richard Ayliffe	14
Robert Dillington, Bt.	1
Roger Gallop	13
Andrew Henley, Bt.	5
Robert Henley, Knt.	13
William Lewis, Bt.	5
Thomas Neale	2
John Norton, Bt.	11
Henry, Lord Sandys	6
Oliver St. John	12
Hugh Stewkley, Bt.	9
William Wither	6

Sources: Hants. R.O. Q.O.4, Order Book 1658-72; Q.O.5, Order Book 1672-9, passim.

Public life, in the form of a parliamentary seat and the securing of Court offices,[1] help explain Neale's relative lack of attendance. More and more of his time was being spent away from Hampshire in London. Indeed, by the 1670s he began to look upon his Hampshire interests as adjuncts of his London ones, a reversal of the 1660s situation.

What sort of cases were heard when he attended? In October 1670 the court dealt with nine cases in two days. A new borough constable had to be found for Gosport, the recently-appointed constable of Barton Stacey, Humphrey Heath, had to be replaced as the justices considered that at 75 he was just a little too old for his post! Tythingmen for Yately and Upper Clatford had to be appointed, the bailiff of Crondall reimbursed. A decision on the

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1. Infra, Ch. III.

removal of a girl between two Winchester parishes was required and, rather embarrasingly for Neale, a West Meon problem required solution. Anne Collins, widowed with two children, had lately 'become distempered in mind' and hence was likely to become an additional parish charge. William Collins, a relation, was to pay the balance of her money to the West Meon authorities to help solve the problem. An Andover serge weaver had so maltreated an apprentice that the justices ordered the master to release him. At the sessions of October 1671 there were again nine cases, four of which concerned poverty. A Kingsclere man, having married a widow with six children, abdicated his responsibilities and went to London. A Michelmersh widow had to be found alternative accommodation following a fire. Moral lapses by John Leggatt of Hannington caused the sale of his possessions to maintain the resultant illegitimate child. An Otterbourne widow looking after a child had to be reimbursed £15 6s., with her cares shouldered by the parish. A petition on behalf of the Twyford poor complained of Ralph Wool refusing to hand over poor relief money for distribution. Four Bishopstoke men sought reimbursement for expenses on bridge repairs; a former soldier unsuccessfully sought admission to the county list of maimed soldiers. A constable was appointed for Fareham and the transfer of two released prisoners to the Isle of Wight arranged.[1]

Infrequent attendance meant that Neale gained little practical experience at sessions. With scant details of justices attending between October 1674 and October 1678,[2] there is no reason to suppose that he showed any more interest than earlier. With other interests and demands, there would have been little profit from increased attendance.

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1. Material drawn from Hants. R.O. Q.O.4, 315-7, 337-40.
2. The one extant list, for the sessions of Oct. 1675, contains no mention of Neale: Hants. R.O. Q.O.5, 102.

Unfortunately we know little about Neale's membership of the Hampshire sewers commission, beyond the fact he was appointed in 1671 and to that of Middlesex in 1672.[1] His experiences may have led to subsequent parliamentary committee nominations, to the awakening of his own ideas on improved drainage and water transport, and some of his actions in the 1690s.[2]

Lastly, Neale was a commissioner against recusancy. Catholic belief was widespread in Hampshire, and especially strong in Christchurch borough and hundred, the area between Southampton and Havant, and in mid-county near Bishop's Sutton.[3] The survey of 1676 which was expected to show Charles II that the number of recusants were 'small enough to be persecuted with impunity',[4] produced alarming figures for Hampshire. Four deaneries each contained more than 100 papists. Catholics were heavily concentrated in some villages, such as Tichborne where 30% of the adult population adhered to Rome's teachings, and Boarhunt, where although 31 inhabitants were convicted during the years 1663-77, the survey showed a recusant concentration of nearly 15% of the adult population. Kilmeston, the nearest village west of Warnford, had an adult population comprising 78 Anglicans, thirteen papists and nineteen Anglican nonconformists.[5] Had Neale and his fellow commissioners, notably Sir Hugh Stewkley of nearby Hinton Ampner, carried

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1. P.R.O. C181/7, 584, 626. The records of the Hampshire commission are neither with the Hampshire river authority, nor in Winchester City Record Office nor in Hants. R.O. Locations suggested in A.E.B. Owen, 'Land Drainage Authorities and their Records', Journal of the Society of Archivists, II, no. 9 (1964) 417-23, were alsotried. On the London Commissions see I. Darlington, 'The London Commissioners of Sewers and their Records', ibid, II, no. 5 (1962), 196-210.
2. Infra, Chs. V and VII.
3. Hansom, passim.
4. Williams, 25.
5. Hants. R.O. Abstract of Compton Census Returns.

out their duties fully, such a situation would not have continued unabated. But such criticism needs tempering, for he was not alone in failing to discharge his duties. In June 1676 the Treasury decided that as 'little or nothing hath been done' by commissioners, the seizure operation should be carried out by writs to sheriffs, and when Parliament reassembled the following February Danby tried to cure the problem with fresh anti-Catholic tax proposals.[1]

What of the men with whom Neale worked in Hampshire? Given that official life required a certain financial standing there was, inevitably, duplication between his fellow justices, deputy lieutenants and sewer commissioners. Six men may be taken as representative of those with whom Neale worked. There were relatives, such as brother-in-law Honywood serving as a recusancy commissioner, and Leonard Bilson serving as a justice.[2] The most important of this group was Sir William Lewis of Bordean, Neale's step-grandfather. In contrast there was William Wither of Manydown, a fellow justice and commissioner. Friend of Richard Cromwell, sheriff in 1663, Wither lived comfortably at Manydown near Basingstoke, where his family had been established since Edward III's reign.[3] Lamenting his inability to provide for his younger children 'owing to debts left me by my father',[4] Wither nevertheless left possessions worth more than £2,000 including a coach, pewter, nearly 500 sheep and rent arrears of £90.[5]

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1. Williams, 25-7.
2. For Bilson see 41-2.
3. F.R. Goodman, Reverend Landlords and their Tenants (1930), 56.
4. Quoted R.F. Bigg-Wither, Materials for a History of the Wither Family (1907), 37.
5. Wither's inventory, totalling £2,155 16s. 4d. is contained in Hants. R.O., 21 M58/F5, dated 22 Jan. 1672. His son's inventory taken 9 Oct. 1679, totals £140 11s. 8d. and is contained in ibid, 21 M58/F6.

Different yet again was the irascible Sir Andrew Henley. A justice and recusancy commissioner, Henley represented a county family 'younger' than the Neales that had moved from Somerset during Charles I's reign.[1] Twice during these years Henley let his fiery temper get the better of him. In late November 1666 he brawled with Lord St. John in the Court of Common Pleas;[2] pardoned eighteen months later, he then became involved in a wrangle with William Birstall, incumbent of Bramshill. Henley accused him of riot 'for earnestly not speaking about a vagrant whom he suspected to be Ludlow, took to Sir Andrew for examination'. While Birstall argued that Henley's real aim was to eject him from the living, Henley maintained that Birstall had abused him and caused his lady to miscarry.[3] Henry Compton, one of the few clerical justices on the peace commission, was another contrast. His attendance at Sessions, like Neale's, left much to be desired. Yet there was more to Compton than a young man in clerical garb. The second son of the Earl of Northampton, he had travelled on the continent before the Restoration. A trial soldiering spell convinced him of the value of taking Orders. From an early appointment as Master of St. Cross Hospital, Winchester, the capacity in which Neale knew him, his career was to embrace both London and Oxford sees, intimate friendship with Danby, the ecclesiastical census named after him, and opposition to James II.[4] So colourful and experienced a man as Compton had more than a passing influence on Neale, some ten years his junior.

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1. G.H. Blore, 'A Forgotten Family: The Henleys of Grange', Proc. H.F.C. XX (1957), 34. See also W.L.W. Eyre, A Brief History of the Parishes of Swarraton and Northington (1890), 2, 19, 24, 28, 29.
2. H. Muddiman to G. Powell, 29 Nov. 1666: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1666-7, 299.
3. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1667-8, 514, 125; Ibid, 1668-9, 212.
4. D.N.B., IV, 899. For Compton and James II see J.R. Jones, The Revolution of 1688 in England (1972), passim.

As a county administrator Sir John Norton of Rotherfield was a paradigm of virtue, with exemplary attendance at Sessions, service as a recusancy commissioner, deputy lieutenant and sewer commissioner. By the 1660s Norton was a prominent Hampshire figure, heading a coterie that eased Neale's entry into parliament.[1] Sir Hugh Stewkley was totally different. Former sheriff, keenly interested in politics and a rabid anti-Catholic, he served on the recusancy commission. A progressive landowner, Stewkley leased part of his property from the Dean and Chapter of Winchester.[2]

The variety of experiences, attitudes and standing of these men had an incalculable effect upon Neale. In his early twenties when he entered county administration, he would have listened to them and their advice, the more so as his own father had died and his relations with his step-father left much to be desired. Sir William Lewis would have helped, making useful introductions and smoothing the path into county administration. In contrast to Neale's own rather limited experience as a struggling author's son, he could talk to Henry Compton, much-travelled nobleman's son and richly experienced both as soldier and prelate. With fellow justices Neale would have discussed estate management, treatment of tenants, methods of improving lands and allied topics. From many of his fellow county administrators, especially his step-grandfather, he could learn of Westminster's cut and thrust, of party allegiance, political gifts and everything else that went with being a member of the Commons, destined to occupy much of his subsequent adult life.[3]

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1. Infra, Ch. III.
2. R. Dutton, Hinton Ampner: A Hampshire Manor (1968), 32, 40. For fuller details see G.E.C., II, 26.
3. Infra, Chs. III and V.

III

What may be concluded from Neale's role as a Hampshire figure? Connected with the county for over half of his life, this period saw him grow up, inherit from his father, marry and acquire two families. Economically, he fulfilled the role of the great landowner seeking to improve his lands, actively encouraged by a debt burden. There are strong indications that he succeeded. He enclosed, introduced new methods, profited from Worlidge's advice. Had Neale been inept as landowner his lands would surely have gone to ruin during his period of ownership. The strongest indication of Neale's standing as landowner comes with nomination as trustee for young Norton's lands. There would, after all, have been little purpose in appointing somebody to look after lands if he could not look after his own. Friendship with the Nortons was important to Neale. He worked side by side with Sir John Norton on many county matters, was to sit with him in parliament, and be succeeded by him as M.P. for Petersfield. Norton obviously remembered the services Neale had rendered his family and thus helped when Neale was involved in disposing of his Hampshire lands.

But Neale's Hampshire years gave him more than this. He associated with many leading county figures and gained a wealth of administrative experience. These years provided him with a fund upon which he could draw in later years. It is not fanciful to suggest that his project for making white, brown and blue paper, for which he sought a patent in September 1692, was inspired by visiting Warnford Mill and friendship with Martin Fyler, the village papermaker. Similarly, expertise acquired as a county sewer commissioner was to be put to good use subsequently. Yet again his Lymington links were of vital importance for a later project.[1] As landowner and county figure, Neale was

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1. Infra, Chs. V and VII.

anything but inactive in Hampshire. The more responsibilities he assumed, the greater his expenses and the more he had to work to remain solvent. Entering politics, he found, was a further expense.

Chapter III

NEALE AS MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT (1668-88)

During the years after 1660 England's politicians were faced by many problems - formulation of the Clarendon Code, the fate of its architect, Declarations of Indulgence, the Stop of 1672, the Exclusion Bills. Abroad, the nation faced the growing threat of Dutch commercial power, the military strength and diplomatic influence of Louis XIV. In Parliament party labels acquired meaning; corruption was developed skilfully as a political instrument. In such an environment a Member of Parliament could develop debating skills and contacts, perhaps advance a few ideas of his own and watch the political doyens at work. Neale's years in Parliament reflect his development as both man and projector. Once established in the House, he became an active committee man and speaker. His time at Westminster, divided for the purposes of this study at the Revolution, will be examined in several ways. His method of securing election, the boroughs he represented and his relations with them will be considered. His activities as committee man and teller reveals an impressive range of interests. His debating performance and attitude towards contemporary political issues reveals much about his ideas and contacts. While consolidating his position as M.P. he also strode across two other stages - the Court and the City. For Neale, as for many of his contemporaries, relationships established in one could frequently be put to good use in another. In all this, of course, the question arises of whether he showed any consistent political allegiance.

I

Neale entered Parliament for Petersfield on 14 February

1668.[1] The nearest parliamentary borough to his Hampshire estate, Petersfield was easily controllable and responsive to the influence of family and friends. While Neale already enjoyed a respectable reputation in the county, with a successful year's service as sheriff to his credit, his candidature owned much to his step-grandfather. Sir William Lewis had represented Petersfield in the Long Parliament, had an estate near the town at Langrish, and was court member for Lymington.[2] Moreover Lewis had shared Petersfield's representation with Neale's maternal grandfather, Sir William Uvedale. To family influence could be added that of the Nortons, related to the Uvedales by marriage.[3] Sir Richard Norton had sat for the town in 1621-2, Sir Henry in Richard Cromwell's parliament.[4] When Neale was elected he replaced Sir Humphrey Bennet, member since April 1662, and brother-in-law of the then county member Sir John Norton.[5] Neale's fellow-member was Arthur Bold, friend of the Nortons[6] and bailiff for his West Meon lands.

With a population of approximately 1,000,[7] a thriving cattle market that provided raw materials for leather and

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1. Official Return, I, 528.
2. M.F. Keeler, Members of the Long Parliament (1957), 250-1.
3. Ibid, 369-70.
4. G.E.C., I, 195; R. Atcheson (ed.), Report of the Case of the Borough of Petersfield (1831), 191. Sir Henry Norton was disinherited by his father for having 'his hands died in the blood of the late King,...': Cal.S.P. Dom. 1660-1, 298.
5. G.E.C., I, 195; W.D. Pink, 'The Norton of Rotherfield Baronetcy', Hampshire Notes and Queries, VI (1892), 126. Neale's father included Bennet among the eight men 'which have beene in Armes, against the parliament in the county of Southampton and are to be exempted out of the pardon': Bodl. Rawl. MSS. Poet 79, f. 63.
6. In July 1652 Bold witnessed Sir Richard Norton's will: P.C.L., A.T. Everitt, 'Hampshire Wills' (typescript vol. n.d.), 19.
7. In 1676 the adult population consisted of 700 Anglicans (a suspiciously rounded figure), 5 papists and 3 nonconformists: Hants. R.O. Abstract of Compton Census returns.

shoe making, and its strategic position on the London to Portsmouth road, Petersfield was a prosperous bustling, wealthy town. In 1686 it boasted inns with sufficient beds for 98 guests and stabling for 184 horses.[1] Had a bill of 1662-3 for making navigable a river between Petersfield and London become law, the town's fortunes would have improved still further.[2] Plague dealt Petersfield a heavy blow in 1666,[3] a blow from which it nevertheless recovered. When Celia Fiennes went there early in the 1690s she wrote of it being 'a good little neate town'.[4] The inhabitants included a liberal number styling themselves 'gentleman' and 'armiger', as well as more modest men such as Robert Bettesworth who left his widow 'that small estate that god hath lent me'.[5] Town worthies included John Worlidge, agricultural innovator, John Goodyer, botanist and scholar, and John Biggs, Recorder of Portsmouth 1673-85 and then Judge Advocate at Fort St. George, India.[6] It was to these sort of people that Neale had to appeal as candidate.

By a parliamentary decision of March 1658 voting rights in Petersfield were vested in freeholders and burgesses.

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1. P.R.O. W.O. 30/48, 164. In September 1679 Thomas Jacques and other Petersfield inhabitants received £268 11s. 5d. for 99 days' quartering of troops belonging to Capt. Stanley's company: Cal.T.B. 1679-80, 378. At least one enterprising innkeeper had laid out a bowling green for his guests by Oct. 1657: Hants. R.O. 21M64, Box IV, 22/1, indenture dated 29 Oct. 1657.
2. H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1662-3, 168; T.S. Willan, River Navigation in England 1600-1750 (1964 edn.), 11.
3. Between Apr. and Dec. 1666 plague burials in Petersfield totalled 235: J. Williams, The History of Petersfield (1856), 24.
4. Morris, 27.
5. Hants. R.O. Probate Records, Archdeacons' series, will dated 15 March 1666.
6. D.N.B., XXI, 943; C.E. Raven, English Naturalists from Neckham to Ray (1947), 291-4; Willis and Hoad, xxx I.O.L. B/38, East India Company Court Minutes Apr. 1684 - Apr. 1687, passim.

The town was a burgage borough whose electorate varied in size.[1] There were perhaps fewer than 100 voters to 'sweeten' in 1668. Neale had connections with many of them, either in business when his estate produce was marketed or in the militia in which several of Petersfield's luminaries were active.[2] Though his election expenses are unknown, indications of his liberality are to be found elsewhere. Before November 1668 he gave £30 to Petersfield corporation for road repairs.[3]

II

Several questions must be asked of Neale's early years in Parliament. Was he active as teller and committee man? What attitude did he take to major contemporary issues? Did he pursue a consistent political line, or trim with events? Was there any connection between his time in Parliament and his early projects? Answers can be found to all these questions, though some afford more precision than others.

Neale's activities as teller began within a short time of his entering the Commons. He acted as teller on seven occasions, mostly on matters concerning money, as set out overleaf in Table 5. With one exception all his fellow tellers were supporters of the Court. Having entered Parliament in 1661 for Carlisle, Musgrave was still there

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1. A disputed election in Feb. 1688 revealed 96 electors: J.H.C., X, 34. In the 1705 poll 64 Petersfield voters were listed: A True Copy of the Poll, for the Electing of Knights of the Shire (1705), 56-7.
2. Cal.T.B. 1660-7, 82; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1679-80, 60. In November 1661 the Petersfield militia were ordered to rendezvous at Lomer on Neale's property: B.L. Add. MSS. 21922, Letter Book of Sir Richard Norton, f. 248.
3. P.T.H. Corporation MSS., item 13, account dated 1669-70.

Table 5 — Neale as Teller 1668-1688

Date	Matter	Yeas/Noes	Other Teller	Voting
25/4/68	Supply Bill: wine duties	Yeas	Mr. Weld	75:74
20/3/71	Supply Bill: foreign commodities	Yeas	Christopher Musgrave	82:63
31/3/71	Intestates' estates	Yeas	Sir John Bramston	28:13
12/5/75	Hearth Money Bill	Yeas	Francis Gwyn	154:108
14/4/77	Lords' Amendment to Supply Bill	Noes	Sir Eliab Harvey	156:27
16/4/77	Bill for better observation of Sundays	Noes	Lord Cavendish	123:102
25/6/78	Ways and Means	Noes	Captain Howard	117:88

Sources: C. Robbins (ed.), The Diary of John Milward 1666-1668 (1938), 281; B.D. Henning (ed.), The Parliamentary Diary of Sir Edward Dering 1670-3 (1949), 101; J.H.C., IX, 88, 222, 228, 335, 421, 422, 505.

as member for Westmorland in 1702-4.[1] Bramston, an active Court committee man, was considered subsequently to have served his party's interests ably.[2] Howard had been captain of the Queen's troop of guards in 1676.[3] Sir Eliab Harvey's political views at this time are unknown. He is not listed for the 1661-79 parliament, but was probably returned for Old Sarum at the by-election caused by the death of Sir Edward Nicholas in 1669. He is thought to have belonged to the County party, being returned for Essex county in February 1679 when the tide was running heavily against courtiers.[4]

An examination of Neale's committee work reveals great activity. Between 1668 and 1688 he sat on sixty-two committees.[5] Neale's committee work ties in closely with our other knowledge of him. Twenty-one committees concerned land. Some alleviated estate disposal, such as that of late March 1671 to enable Thomas Harlakenden to sell part of his estate to meet a debt to Charles II,[6] that of February 1670 for an Act settling Portswood manor and other Southampton lands upon three men to meet the debts of John

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1. D.N.B., XIII, 1315-6. Musgrave represented Carlisle 1661-90, Westmorland 1690-5, Appleby 1695-8, Oxford University 1698-1700, Westmorland 1700-1, Totnes 1701-2, Westmorland 1702-4.
2. Bramston had introduced the bill in late 1670, the House opposing it initially 'but afterwards it was acknowledged to be very necessary': Henning, 72-3. In 1678 Bramston was described as having 'served his Majestie well in Parliament': Christopher, 2nd Duke of Albemarle to Lord ?, 1 Feb. 1678: Thibaudeau, I, 26. Noted in D.N.B., II, 1118-9, Bramston was cousin to Theodosia Stepkin, later Lady Ivy, for whom see Ch. IV.
3. E.S. de Beer, 'Members of the Court Party in the House of Commons 1670-1678', B.I.H.R., XI (1933-4), 12.
4. G. Davies, 'The By-Election at Grantham, 1678', Huntington Library Quarterly, IV (1943-4), 179.
5. For a full list see Appendix C.
6. J.H.C., IX, 277. Harlakenden, member for Maidstone, allegedly owed Charles II £1,700: Henning, 32.

Knight,[1] and the bill to rectify a mistake in a settlement of Lord Maynard's estate on his son's marriage.[2] In February 1678 Neale joined a committee for the disposal of several bankrupts' estates.[3] His experiences as landowner must also have assisted his participation in the committee appointed to encourage flax and hemp cultivation,[4] for drafting a bill against unlawful fishing and game preservation in 1670, and that of May 1675 to prevent moor-burning.[5] Membership of a committee in November 1675 to consider a bill for draining Lindsey Level in the Fens is clearly related to his early project concerning a drainage pump.[6]

Seventeen committees concerned economic and social matters. The economic issues included prevention of wool exportation,[7] hawkers and pedlars,[8] the committee of March 1677 drafting a bill for free exportation of coal, followed by another to consider a petition from the Hamburgh company's creditors.[9] Committees dealing with social

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1. J.H.C., IX, 208.
2. Ibid, 381.
3. Ibid, 437.
4. Ibid, 369, 390. The legislation was designed 'for the planting of halfe an acre for every hundred acres of meadow or pasture, of Hempe or Flax with penaltyes upon omission': Andrew Marvell to Mayor Foxley of Hull, 1 March 1676: Margoliouth, II, 177.
5. J.H.C., IX, 342.
6. Ibid, 381. For the pump see Ch. IV. This interest also explains membership of a committee early in April 1677 to allow Sir Samuel Moreland 'benefit of Pumps and Water Engines by him invented': J.H.C., IX, 412. Moreland, a noted mechanic, undertook to provide Windsor Castle with water from the Thames, was made master of the mechanicks by Charles II and exhibited his skills at Versailles: Luttrell, I, 94, 117, 192.
7. J.H.C., IX, 214.
8. Ibid, 361.
9. Ibid, 404, 405. 'Then was read a Petition from the Hamburg company who ly under an ancient debt of £70,000, ... It was referred to a Committee to receive ... proposalls, providing there was nothing tending to lay a burthen further upon the English manufacture': A. Marvell to Mayor Foxley, 24 March 1676: Margoliouth, II, 185.

policy included his first, that for uniting Southampton parishes, and that considering a bill for naturalising Jacob David and others.[1] Two dealt with charities. Early in April 1670 he joined that settling the charitable uses of the Bishop of Rochester's estate, in mid-May 1675 that dealing with land disposition in Kelshall, Suffolk, for charitable purposes.[2] Being a Hampshire member he found himself on the committee considering the bill for paving Portsmouth's streets 'and erecting an Alms House and Workhouse for the Benefit of the town,...'.[3]

During the 1670s Neale sat as member of seven financial committees. They examined such matters as abuses in Hearth Money collection and in the Post Office, and ways by which money could either be raised for the state or clawed back from executors of estates.[4] He sat with the committee considering the bill appropriating Customs to the navy's use.[5] He was a member of the committee early in November 1675 dealing with Customs fees on outports, especially Southampton, Cowes, Lymington and Portsmouth.[6] The pattern revealed is that at least once a year, with only few exceptions, he was appointed to such a committee, implying that even at this early stage in his career it was felt desirable to have his opinion. Seven committees to which he was appointed concerned London, such as those of February 1669 for Shadwell church and the additional bill for rebuilding London. Participation here is explained by the importance of contemporary rebuilding activity in London, by his project for Shadwell and his other London property interests.[7]

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1. J.H.C., IX, 65, 391.
2. Ibid, 152, 341.
3. Ibid, 309.
4. Ibid, 403-4, 618, 508.
5. Ibid, 361.
6. Ibid, 367.
7. Ibid, 125, 127. For Shadwell see Ch. IV.

There were also two small groups of committees, four relating to communications and three to procedural matters, the latter being simply accounted for by appointment to the standard committees of Privileges and Elections, open to all members from 1673 onwards.[1] Far more interesting is the group relating to communications. Two concerned the repair of highways, one of which, in March 1672, dealt with highways within the weekly mortality bill. A committee arousing more of one's curiosity was that appointed in June 1678 to consider a bill for making the river Vale in Cornwall navigable.[2] At this time Neale had no known connections with that county. He did, however, have vivid memories of defeat by Pepys in the House over his abortive Jarrow Slake project.[3]

Only once before 1688 did Neale report to the House for a committee. On 16 April 1677 he reported amendments from that considering a private act allowing Lady Mary Mordaunt, the Earl of Peterborough's 18-year old daughter, to sell family property in Surrey to meet her father's debts.[4] Having delivered his report, he was then ordered to take the amended bill to the Lords.[5]

What inferences may be drawn from Neale's committee work? The concentration of effort between April 1675 and July 1678, when he sat as a member of thirty-nine committees, is very noticeable. His knowledge of land was clearly highly regarded. Why else would the bulk of his committee work have concerned this subject? His

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1. P.D.G. Thomas, The House of Commons in the Eighteenth Century (1971), 268.
2. J.H.C., IX, 489.
3. Infra, Ch. IV.
4. J.H.C., IX, 421. Evelyn was approached by Peterborough 15 Apr. to serve as a trustee: Evelyn, IV, 108-9 and n. Lady Mordaunt married Henry, Lord Arundel, later 7th Duke of Norfolk, 8 Aug. 1677. They separated in 1685, were divorced in 1700, and she remarried, in 1701, Sir John Germaine: Ibid, IV, 112.
5. J.H.C., IX, 423; J.H.L., XIII, 119.

interest in 'financial' problems was pronounced. The link with his projects at this early stage was not, though he was able to offer advice on technical matters which would have been impossible but for the pump and Jarrow Slake projects. Committees concerned with London could also draw on his experience. Those on public matters often lasted longer than those on private bills and involved more work.[1] There are, however, two major omissions from Neale's committee work. Given his interests in Hampshire and Kent,[2] there is only scant membership of relevant committees. Likewise, he had little experience of committee work on the affairs of the great trading companies, with the exception of the Hamburgh Company. The nomination methods employed for committee work may help to explain this. Whereas all members could attend a Committee of the Whole House or of Privileges and Elections, membership of a private committee consisted of a limited, nominated number, chosen either openly in the House or by secret ballot.[3] In this respect it is all the more remarkable that he served on so many.

III

When Neale entered the Commons he found them in an unhappy state. A highly-charged recriminatory session over failures in the recent Dutch war had dissipated much energy. The House was veering sharply against the wartime administration and Clarendon had fled to the safety of France. On a novice, this atmosphere must have made a profound impression. His early days in the House were helped by the presence of both Sir William Lewis and Sir Thomas Tomkins. Lewis, who had urged that the House use

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1. O.C. Williams, The Clerical Organization of the House of Commons 1661-1850 (1954), 130. In 1667 the Commons sat between 8 a.m. and 2 p.m.: R. Sedgwick (ed.), The House of Commons 1715-1754 (2 vols. 1970), I, 3.
2. Infra, Ch. IV.
3. P.D.G. Thomas, 264-6.

constitutional methods in their attack on Clarendon, adopted a similar line with Orrery's impeachment in November 1668 and in the proceedings against Buckingham.[1] Tomkins, representing Weobley since 1660,[2] was critical of Clarendon but otherwise reticent, and participated only slightly in committee work.[3]

Following Clarendon's flight the King took direction of foreign policy and relied for advice on the Cabal. Abroad the King flirted with both Spain and Holland, while secretly moving towards an arrangement with his much-envied cousin, Louis XIV. The Treaty of Dover, concluded in June 1670, was followed by a Declaration of Indulgence, the Stop of the Exchequer and war against the Dutch in rapid succession. By 1673 the Cabal was in difficulties. Royal finances continued to be strained and it was deemed necessary to summon Parliament. Almost immediately tensions welled to the surface. The King knew that any further remonstrance to Parliament about his Declaration of Indulgence was useless. While Buckingham suggested radical measures which included overaweing London with troops, the King tactfully harkened to the advice of Arlington and Shaftesbury that Parliament should be appeased. Ormonde, Shaftesbury, Arlington and Coventry outlined to the King the wisdom of sending his brother from the Court. When Parliament finally met, after a three-year break, it was in a far from friendly mood. The costly Dutch war was to break up the Cabal, and with the enactment of the Test Bill Clifford resigned the Lord Treasurer's staff.

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1. Robbins, 100, 118; Cobbett, IV, 440, 640.
2. Official Return, I, 514.
3. D.T. Witcombe, Charles II and the Cavalier House of Commons 1663-1679 (1966), 209; J.H.C., IX, 102, 107, 125, 135. Four more relatives were to enter the Commons. His uncle Sir Richard Corbet represented Shrewsbury from March 1677; his brother-in-law, Sir John Garrard, joined him briefly in Aug. 1679. Leonard Bilson entered for Petersfield in May 1677. Nephew Robert Price was returned for Weobley in March 1685.: Official Return, I, 527, 528, 537, 543, 544, 549, 553.

His replacement, Sir Thomas Osborne, had been Treasurer of the Navy in 1668 and an effective Court spokesman for supply since 1669. Created Viscount Latimer and then, in 1674, Earl of Danby, he set about restoring the King's prestige and courting the majority in the Commons. The closing months of 1673 and the early ones of 1674 saw the Cabal in its death-throes. In November 1673 Shaftesbury, whom Charles had suspected of inciting hatred of Lauderdale, was dismissed as Lord Chancellor.[1] Thirsting for blood, the Commons decided to fall on the entire ministry; having dealt with Lauderdale and Buckingham, they advanced on Arlington. Summoned before the House he

> spoke much better than was expected: he excused himself but without blaming the King: and this had so good an effect, that though he, as secretary of state, was more exposed than any other, by the many warrants and orders he had signed, yet he was acquitted.[2]

The debate on Arlington was long and hard. Articles against him included betraying trust, dealings with the French ambassador who had lodged in his house, of a 'Foreigner made General',[3] and of 'Eighty cables and anchors sent to the French fleet, and the King not any more in his stores'.[4] Sir Joseph Tredenham moved that any recognition Arlington received for his part in formulating the Triple Alliance should come from Rome where his master resided. Arlington, he argued, should be dealt with in the same way as Buckingham and Lauderdale. In Arlington's defence it was pointed out that though what was in his heart was unknown, he had received communion since the Act against Popery.

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1. K.H.D. Haley, The First Earl of Shaftesbury (1968), 340-7.
2. Burnet, I, 408.
3. Frederick Herman Schomberg, 1st Duke of Schomberg, was made Captain-General of England's land forces in July 1673.
4. Grey, II, 304.

Until now Neale had been silent, apart from his committee work. In his first speech on a major issue he pleaded for a sensible approach, even if his opening words did not augur this: 'If he be guilty, remove him, or hang him, which you will'. He then regaled the House with the story of Paculias the unreliable Roman senator, drawing analogies as he progressed. He concluded that to attack leading ministers was futile, 'till you can find others to supply their place'. Arlington, he concluded, should be impeached and tried.[1] Losing the King's favour, Arlington resigned and was appointed Lord Chamberlain instead.[2] By his first interjection Neale had not only exhibited and counselled a level-headed approach but also a leaning towards prolixity and evidence of a classical knowledge.

Controversy over the Declaration of Indulgence and the Test Act, and Arlington's fall marked the end of what had been, in effect, a second Court party. It was replaced from 1675 onwards with an elaborate, complex organisation created by Danby and his allies. Based on the adroit use of relatives, the wielding of influence by Lord Lieutenants, and the slow development of 'interests' in certain key areas of the country, notably the south-west, the south-east and the north, the new organisation was soon in a position to exert considerable influence. Though Court office-holders entered Parliament, they were not necessarily dragooned into following a particular line of policy; the fact that many held appointments for life made such a policy unworkable. One of the unpleasant developments was the appearance of Excise pensioners, chiefly those members of the local gentry who had been bought out from the farm of their local Excise by London men with bland promises of pensions on the Excise.[3] But although he

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1. Grey, II, 313.
2. Burnet, I, 408.
3. Material drawn from A. Browning, 'Parties and Party Organization in the Reign of Charles II', T.R.H.S., XXX (1948), 21-36.

built up effective, working majorities, Danby could not hope to satisfy everybody's political desires and pretensions. Summer 1675 saw the completion of preparations with the summoning of potential governmental supporters ready for the opening of Parliament on 13 October. But by so doing, of course, he encouraged those members not so invited into a bond of unity, so that the House became marked by clearly defined groups.[1]

When the Commons met for a second session 'the King laid before the Commons the great difficulties he was in by the anticipation of his revenue'.[2] Charles II gave priority in his speech to securing the Protestant religion and to money, as he explained:

> I must likewise desire your assistance in some Supplies, as well to take off the Anticipations which are upon my Revenue, as for the building of Ships: and though the war has been the great cause of the Anticipations, yet I find by a late account I have taken of My Expenses, that I have not been altogether so good a husband, as I might have been, and as I resolve to be for the future...[3]

A few days afterwards, the Commons moved to consider the King's appeal, Sir Philip Musgrave pointing out that one day ought to be devoted to supply and one to religion.[4] Sir Thomas Meres argued that if supply were considered it should appear in a Grand Committee in line with Commons tradition. This drew forth an alternative suggestion from Neale, as well as the first clear indication of a political allegiance. Pointing out that Danby had provided the Privy Council with an account of the revenue, he suggested that the House be provided with a similar facility 'to be your guide the better, in what you are to do...'. He

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1. Browning, I, 170-3.
2. Burnet, II, 433.
3. Hereford City Library, Hopton Collection, Volume of parliamentary speeches and proceedings 1626-78, n.f., copy of King's speech.
4. Grey, III, 293.

then went further, moving that 'all the money may be employed to the use we give it, on penalty of treason'.[1] He was suggesting wholesale introduction of Danby's informative, businesslike methods.

Within a few days of the opening of Parliament, Neale sent Danby a short letter in which he stressed his zeal to serve both him and the King. It was accompanied by an outline proposal, which Neale himself admitted was both 'tedious and long', for maintaining the navy and clearing off the King's debts. The core of the proposal was that Customs should be appropriated for maintaining the navy before any money be granted for ship construction. Such a proposal, he argued, 'coming from a Person that may bee presumed to know the kings mind in the Point,... will take in the House'.[2] From the contents of the proposal it is clear that Neale was well informed on the mood of the Commons at this time. If the King saw no bill for building ships he could legitimately refuse assent to other legislation. He also sensed the mood of the Country party: 'iff the Country gentlemen find themselves Prest and in danger off a tedious land tax, Possibly they may joine in a negative vote against money which I know is aymed at by some...'. Quite rightly, he argued, men were cautious about giving money:

> ... one great reason why men are so much against giving money at this time is the fear of giving So much, that Kings would need us no more; and bee thereby made capable to do what they Please, and governe in what manner in all things they will; from whence though no ill can be feared whilst this King lives...

As far as Neale could envisage the problem, the King needed approximately £1,800,000 to free him of worry. An appropriation of part of the revenue might help; to that

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1. Grey, III, 296.
2. It is unclear here whether Neale meant himself, or whether he was writing in terms of such a suggestion being made to the House by Danby.

end he had canvassed some members for he informed Danby that 'I have as great an assurance as can be off anything whereoff tis not Possible to bee sure, that twill not be opposed by some who are against money for this any other way'. Lengthy calculations of revenue, expenditure and debts concluded the proposal. Their significance rests in Neale's comments rather than his statistics. It is made quite obvious that he had had access to revenue calculations made by Danby either in conversation or by letter. Reference is made to Danby's estimates, to disposition of the secret service money, and to what Neale could remember of the main headings.[1]

Clearly Neale was on intimate terms with Danby, was knowledgeable on the state of the House and, most important of all, had been given access to relevant materials by the Lord Treasurer. One other feature reinforces Neale's growing influence - the timing of the proposal. Although it was accompanied by a covering note dated 11 October 1675, it is clear from internal evidence[2] that he did not write the memorandum until the 13th or 14th. The King's speech to Parliament obviously reinforced Neale's determination to send such a proposal.

Such a proposal explains why Neale was included among those members 'To bee remembred' in a list drawn up by Danby late in 1675.[3] When a further working list was revised at the end of 1676, however, Neale was shown as not being totally reliable in support.[4] Danby's papers also contain two elaborate accounts of proceedings in

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1. Neale to Danby, 11 Oct. 1675: B.L. Add. MSS. 28079, ff. 90-4.
2. The proposal opens with reference to the King's speech and to one made by the Lord Keeper. The King did not open Parliament until 13 Oct. 1675.
3. Browning, III, 78. See also ibid, 81.
4. Ibid, 92.

Parliament during the 1677 session.[1] In these Neale's speeches are given verbatim, suggesting that he either drew up the accounts himself or at least participated in their formulation. That the major part of both accounts is actually written in Neale's hand is irrefutable proof of his allegiance.[2] The lengthy, regular accounts, were obviously submitted with the intention of impressing Danby with Neale's active role in the House.

When the Commons reassembled in spring 1677 attention was turned to France, whose increasing naval power had led Danby to ask for £80,000 to strengthen England's defences.[3] The King's speech having been read, Neale immediately moved that a day be set aside for its consideration and that the House 'Would passe a Voate, and resolve not to enter upon nor meddle with any other business ... till the safety of the Kingdome was provided for,...'.[4] Neale opened the ensuing debate on 20 February with a long, acrid attack on the entire House, pointing out that delay in discussing the King's speech was dangerous 'considering you give him no thanks for it in the meantime'.[5] Having stressed the value of good relations between King and Commons and between both Houses, Neale passed to naval preparedness:

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1. B.L. Add. MSS. 28091, ff. 29 et seq.; ibid, Egerton MSS. 3345, ff. 31-66. Browning was the first to suggest Neale's authorship of the speeches in Add. MSS. 28091, but failed to identify positively Neale's handwriting: Browning, I, 220n.

2. Of the sixteen speeches in Egerton MSS. 3345, thirteen are in Neale's hand, two in a second hand, and one in a third. Though never signed the documents were folded and perhaps (?) sent as enclosures to Danby. Alternatively they were folded by the Treasurer once a digest had been taken of their contents.

3. Browning, I, 220.

4. B.L. Add. MSS. 28091, f. 29.

5. Grey, IV, 77.

> The next thing the King reccomends to Us and which I hope we shall not pass over without a Vote which may answer his Majesty's desire in it is the building /of/ more ships, Which without doubt is most absolutely needfull for the safety of the Kingdom, Which I cannot but look on in danger and that with great grief too, whilst our Enemies Our Neighbours I mean whom we call friends at Sea are so much stronger than we....[1]

The provision made for 20 ships and £300,000, he argued, was insufficient given basic shortages of cordage and stores. He concluded by moving that 'an aid of £600,000 may be forthwith given to the King for the Building of Ships and the speedy provision of Cordage and stores for the whole Fleet'.[2]

Neale's clearly defined stand elicited a thunderous response from Sir Thomas Lee who accused him of breaking standard procedure: 'Neale has named a sum to grant the King, which is irregularly done'. Form, Lee argued, must be observed and members must retain 'the method of Parliament'.[3] In the debates of the grand committee on supply, held the following day, Neale again waxed eloquent. Sir Henry Capel stated that extensive French ship construction 'is not for trade, but conquest', and agreed with the notion of supplying £400,000 '... that we may have occasion to come hither again, in some reasonable time, to see how that is expended, and then supply the rest'.[4] Neale, in reiterating his arguments, stressed the gravity of the situation:

> I appeal to all that understand in the Least this affair whether £2 or 300000 worth of Cordage and stores be not the Least that ought at all times in prudence be Laid up in store for the safety of the Kingdom On A public account And would have

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1. B.L. Add. MSS. 28091, f. 30. The version in Grey, IV, 103-4, is much briefer.
2. B.L. Add. MSS. 28091, f. 30.
3. Grey, IV, 104.
4. Ibid, 124.

> Gentlemen Remember how we Lost A Whole Fleet that had been out for stores almost A Whole Winter in the first Dutch War.[1]

The House was eventually convinced and agreed to supply the King for naval construction with a sum not exceeding £600,000. In the March debate on raising the required sum,[2] the House settled on a three-year extension of Excise. Pleased with the outcome Charles II announced his willingness to waive any extra demands for 'aids to make his condition easy'.[3] On 23 March Neale again showed his colours by drawing the House's attention to an error in calculating the aid:

> I doe apprehend and beleeve I am not in the wrong that the Committee and the howse were both mistaken when they Voted the Aide not exceeding £600000: to be raised in 17 months, not knowing it would fall soe much short of itt as it will doe if noe longer tyme should be allowed for itt, And though what I am goeing to say may possibly seem to be irregular, I hope itt will not appeare soe when you have heard me out;[4]

Introduction of the phrase 'not exceeding' had, he argued, meant that the King would receive less than the agreed sum, the more so as there was also argument about the length of extension. Should it be seventeen or eighteen months? Having examined the problem he pointed to the necessity of having the extra month's collection otherwise the aid would

> fall short of the sume 15034 -13-6 besides the Charge of Collecting, the Hazard of Returnes, reduceing itt to money in tyme soe as to serve the occasons t'is design'd for, which will cost att least 8 pence in the pound[5]

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1. B.L. Add. MSS. 28091, f. 33. See also Grey, IV, 124.
2. Browning, I, 220. Appropriating Customs had already been suggested, a bill being placed before committee on 21 Oct. 1675: J.H.C., IX, 36. For Neale's role in this see 91-2.
3. B.L. Add. MSS. 28091, f. 41.
4. Ibid, Egerton MSS. 3345, f. 35. Neither Grey nor Chandler carry this speech.
5. B.L. Egerton MSS. 3345, f. 35.

Not the least of the reasons for employing the extra month was that 'twill looke better twixt the King and his people, and you may have the Stricter stand upon haveing an exact accompt of the £600000:...'.[1] Neale was thanked for his rectitude.

England's relations with Europe in the 1670s were characterised by delicate balance, English promises and French successes, altered only in 1674 when Charles II broke the Treaty of Dover and withdrew from the raging continental war. French successes in Flanders in early 1677 led to a bill recalling English troops in French service[2] and addresses to the King about preserving Flanders. In late March the House debated the provision of assurances of aid in the event of war being declared. Suggestions were made for annual votes; Downing was all for making war and then declaring it later. Neale moved that an address be sent to the King:

> It seemes to be the sense of the howse, that noe answere is expected from the King to what you are now goeing about to doe to assure him of assistance in case of a warr, Why then will you goe by way of addresse to which of Course an answere is to be expected,...

As a result it was voted that if the King declared war the House would 'from tyme to tyme ... fully ayde and assist him in carrying on of the warr,..'.[3]

Faced by rising xenophobia Danby urged upon the King an openly anti-French policy. When the House reassembled in May 1677 the King shamefacedly explained that his projected alliances had foundered through serious financial problems. At this he received an address asking him to 'enter into a League, offensive and defensive, with the States General of the United Provinces, against the Growth and Power of the

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1. B.L. Egerton MSS. 3345, f. 35v.
2. J.H.C., IX, 387, 400.
3. B.L. Egerton MSS. 3345, ff. 38-9v.

French King, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; and to make such other Alliances with such other of the Confederates' as he thought useful.[1] Three arguments were used: timing, that he could support alliances and defend his realm while Louis XIV was plagued by innumerable enemies, and lastly the risk of the Confederates allying with France before winter.[2]

On 25 May the address was debated, the Whigs hoping for adoption by acclamation. Neale spoke strongly in favour of preserving prerogative, sensing that this was the nub of the matter:

> I take the matter of this Addresse to be the undoubted sense of the Kingdome; and tis the desire and Intrest of every true English man to have these Allyances made; ... I take the Case to stand thus: The makeing of Warr and peace is an undoubted right and Flower of the Crowne, I have hear it often allowed soe here; ... For Kings are bound to preserve themselves in the first place, and to mainteyne the Right of the Crowne, and whether this be not intrenching on that is what I thinke ought be cleered in the first place; here wee advise an Allyance, and force it with a kind of condicon that wee will give noe supply without it; the hardship on his Majesty is this If he should refuse to graunt our desire, t'is possible it may create at least some dissatisfaction twixt him and his people, which ought as much as can be avoided;...[3]

In conclusion he stressed the value of emphasising to the King that the desired alliances would be for the good of the kingdom. By 182 votes to 142 the Commons decided to adopt the address and present it to Charles II. But the King, angered for several reasons, explained sharply that

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1. The composition of the address was heavily influenced by those Confederate representatives then present in London. Their position was difficult; while wanting participation by Charles II in the European struggle on their side, they feared the possibility of a financially-fortified Charles II throwing in his lot with Louis XIV: Browning, I, 230-1.
2. Grey, IV, 375-6.
3. B.L. Egerton MSS. 3345, ff. 65-5v. Grey, IV, 380 and Cobbett, IV, 884, allude to this speech very briefly.

he could not approve it and sent the Commons packing until mid-July,[1] thereby terminating Danby's attempt at rapprochement of King and Parliament by exploiting anti-French sentiment.

Late 1677 and early 1678 saw Danby working his hardest for a permanent, anti-French policy, with the match between Mary Stuart and the Stadtholder William of Orange as his final throw. Louis XIV, surprised at the resultant offensive alliance between England and the United Provinces, began to favour Charles II if he could but prevent Parliament from dragging him into war. As Louis XIV's sweeteners grew larger 'the resolution of the English King, none too great even at the beginning, was steadily sapped'.[2] The Court party maintained that supplies should now be voted, the opposition adopting delay to make Charles II reveal the terms of his alliances. On 5 February 1678 a full debate was held on monetary provision for 'preserving the Spanish netherlands, and for lessening the power and strength of France', in which Neale reiterated his favourite theme of the value of being prepared and posed the problem 'whether it be a reasonable thing for the King to enter into the war till he is most absolutely sure ... of the money to carry it on'.[3] But, he continued, there were considerations other than that of simply having the necessary wherewithal:

> Peace is gotten by war and if a peace should follow I am sure a good one cannot be made without it, neither can a warr in earnest be begun without resolving to goe through with it, and propose att least a year for it, and for makeing such preparacons as nothing may Probably Hinder the good Success and were I of opinion the King would never have occason more of this house I might distrust the right applicacon of what you give him towards carrying on of this Warr, but when I consider the great debt he lyes under and the danger his Crowne and dignity is in, and most espetially his owne person if France

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1. Grey, IV, 388; Browning, I, 231. Marvell to Mayor Foxley, 29 May 1677: Margoliouth, II, 197-8.
2. Browning, I, 259.
3. B.L. Add. MSS. 28091, f. 65.

> growes still in greatnesse, I cannot but be convinc't he will quickly have need of you, on that or other occason, and should what wee give now not be imployed as designed by this howse with what confidence could money be askt for....[1]

Ninety vessels, he argued, would be necessary to preserve the alliance, and a motion to this effect was passed, despite opposition efforts to have fifty of them financed from ordinary Customs.[2]

The debates of these years also reveal Neale's opinions on Excise. Originally raised as a wartime expediency, Excise was 'firmly linked in the popular mind with arbitrary government and the surrender of the liberties of the subject'.[3] At the Restoration Excise and Customs were looked upon as 'the pillars of the Revenue', very different from the opinion held of the Excise collectors, the 'monopolizers of our freedom - worse than Star Chamber'.[4] The practice of farming Excise collection was not abandoned until 1683, and unpopular though it may have been it did at least bring in revenue.[5] In March 1677 the London and Westminster brewers petitioned against the proposed extension of Excise as ruinous to their interests. Opinions of various hues appeared in debate: Sir Thomas Meres opposed any extension, arguing that £1,200,000 had been given for a Dutch war, 'and half of it was sufficient to discharge that War, it ended so soon, and yet no debt was paid'.[6] Sir William Coventry failed to see how Charles II could spend such sums;

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1. B.L. Add. MSS. 28091, f. 66.
2. Ibid, f. 66. See also Marvell to Hull Corporation, 7 Feb. 1678: Margoliouth, II, 206-7.
3. J.P. Kenyon, The Stuart Constitution (1966), 272. For the development of Excise see M.P. Ashley, Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate (1962 edn.), Ch. VII, and Hughes, Ch. IV.
4. Excise Anatomized (1659), quoted Hughes, 122.
5. Average income from Excise during the later years of Charles II's reign was £4-500,000: D. Ogg, England in the Reign of Charles II (2 vols. 1966 edn.), II, 423. For exact figures see Chandaman, 348-63.
6. Grey, IV, 227.

the army had been disbanded, and the navy dismissed, but still the King managed to spend £1,400,000 annually.[1]

Having listened attentively, Neale spoke at length, outlining how the proposed additional excise of 9d. and 3d. for three years could be so 'easily borne and so little felt'. He opened by examining objections to Excise, prime amongst which was, he felt, 'its affecting our Land in lowering the Price of Corn by hindering the consumption of it'. As he saw it, the outcry against Excise was without foundation, payment for the necessary sums coming from brewers' profits. The argument that 'the continuance of this duty will set up more officers and prejudice the other duty of Excise by making more people brew their own drink' was, he stated, also without basis. His tenor was confident:

> Upon the whole matter I think this is a tax very little to be considered by the nation in general and those that are so feuries against it will rather fear than feel the inconvenience of it, and as I hope I have fully convinced you that the brewers are the only sufferers by it so I declare myself fully convinced that now Corn is so cheap, and such years of plenty in prospect that I believe them the best able to bear it.[2]

He stressed that he was speaking from experience, though admitted that as a brewer he had not always been successful. There were, he pointed out,

> always some rich men or at least some men that desire to be rich, there will be to keep up there trade still stand to keep their Customers together, and to get more will ... brew this drink as strong as at any other time, so that let what will happen the Consumption still continues the Same I know it by experience ... for in 3 years I lost £9,000 by it and £6,000 was on that attempt, I mean by brewing the drink stronger than it could be afforded, and my neighbours in some measure were informed so to do too.[3]

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1. Grey, IV, 234.
2. B.L. Add. MSS. 28091, ff. 43-4. 'feuries' = furious. See also Grey, IV, 224-37.
3. Ibid, f. 43. For details of Neale as brewer see Ch. IV.

When the bill came up for second reading in April Neale again opened the debate. Pointing to vague terms in which the bill was framed, he told the House that he possessed a petition from the Brewers' Company on the proposed legislation.[1] Directions should be given to the committee for a clause relating to corn.[2] Williamson pointed out that if they were going to do anything, haste was vital as the King was thinking of an adjournment. After lengthy discussion,

> Mr. Neale moved it might be put to the Question whether the Brewers peticon be comitted with the Bill or not, ... twas carryed that it should, ... and then ... the Bill was read, the Preamble of the Old bill added to it, ... , Scarce any thing of the new bill remaining besides the words be it enacted;... It passed to be made part of the bill which then past and was ordered to be engrossed, and then the howse adjourned. [3]

The King's interests were also Neale's concern when he spoke in February 1678 about the resumption of crown lands. If the crown was to be financially revived, what better way to do it than claw back some of the lands it had lost in the 1640s and 1650s?[4] Most members were for leaving the situation as it was, Meres pointing out that taxing owners of former crown lands would produce no better title to those lands. Neale stated that the alienated crown lands were not worth as much as other lands by four years' value. Therefore, would it not be more realistic to assess them at two years' value? Sir Edmund Wyndham urged action, or the lands would be sold 'and then you cannot touch them again'.[5]

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1. B.L. Egerton MSS. 3345, f. 45.
2. Ibid. This speech, not mentioned in Grey, is followed by 'stage-directions', Neale writing 'I then carryed it /the petition/ Upp and twas read att the table, and little by any body sayd against the Contents of itt;...'. The report of speeches by other members is kept to a minimum.
3. B.L. Egerton MSS. 3345, f. 46.
4. For detailed treatment see S.J. Madge, The Domesday of Crown Lands (1968 edn.), Part V.
5. Grey, IV, 191-2.

Once again Neale advocated preserving and improving his royal master's financial position. Despite lengthy arguments, however, little was achieved, as Marvell informed his associates in Hull:

> The business of these two days though of long debate comes into short compasse; the House having proceeded both upon his Majesty's Supply. But yesterday having deliberated concerning resumption of, or imposition upon Lands and Grants from the Crown, it went of: as likewise that of all Pensions upon the Excise Customs and c: was rejected by 103 against 97.

The tenor of all these contributions was that of a solid supporter of prerogatives, arguing for preparedness, information and fair treatment of the King. Small wonder, therefore, that when Shaftesbury drew up his consideration of the House in May 1677 he assigned to Neale the highest accolade of reprobation, an indication of the strength of his Court commitment.[2]

During 1678-81 the fever of Exclusionism swept England. Elements of the crisis, it is true, were based upon hysteria and lies; elements of the spectacular were to be found in Justice Godfrey's mysterious death, Coleman's machinations, the influence of Louis XIV's adviser La Chaise, and the revelations of Oates. With hereditary succession and divine right under withering attack, the entire constitutional and social fabric was being threatened. James, Duke of York, object of the attack, was a man of different mettle to his brother, seeing 'politics in simple designs composed of primary colours: a world of 'yes' and 'no', not 'maybe' or 'perhaps'. His supporters were loyal, honest men,

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1. Marvell to Hull Corporation, 21 Feb. 1678: Margoliouth, II, 210.
2. K.D. Haley, 'Shaftesbury's Lists of the Lay Peers and Members of the Commons, 1677-8', B.I.H.R., XLIII (1970), 87, 101. Degrees of vileness were expressed by prefixing 'v' to a member's name, Neale receiving the maximum of three. Membership of the Court group was shown by prefixing nos. 1-104, Neale being no. 67.

trustworthy and kind; his opponents were renegade scum, shifty and inveterately cruel'.[1] Discovery of the Popish plot united Parliamentary opposition which set to work to split the triumvirate controlling the government - the King, his brother and Danby. Discovery of his correspondence with Louis XIV led to Danby's impeachment on charges that he had 'encroached to himself regal power', had tried to introduce arbitrary government and entered into negotiations for a French subsidy.[2] Partially to save face Charles II dissolved Parliament in January 1679, summoning a new one to meet in early March.

Election fever ran high, as a contemporary explained:

> The Elections for Parliament-men is the sole discourse of the Town. Most of the Members are such as, it is thought, will not please, being Country Gentlemen, and, as is feared, of Phanatical Principles. [3]

The election, the first since 1661, proved worse than unfavourable to the Court and vindicated Shaftesbury's thinking on the change of opinion during the life of the Cavalier Parliament. Danby had relied on that Parliament for his position and there was but scant hope that he could 'manage' a general election. Able to influence the return of only a handful of members, the crown had to rely on the efforts of individual Court members. With the King reluctant to issue letters of recommendation as testimonials, and with Danby fighting for his life, courtiers found themselves on their own. In most boroughs, especially the small ones, much depended on local conditions. At county level the number of contested elections was clear indication of aroused passions and violently partisan feelings.[4]

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1. J.P. Kenyon, Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, 1641-1702 (1958), 30.
2. Browning, I, 307-8.
3. ? Benson to Sir Leoline Jenkins (?), 25 Feb. 1679: Codr. MS. 242, f. 552.
4. Jones, 36-43.

In this feverish atmosphere Neale switched seats to represent Ludgershall,[1] a Wiltshire market town, whose member he was to remain for the rest of his parliamentary career, but for a sojourn elsewhere in 1689-90.[2] Ludgershall's economy was based on cattle marketing and victualling. By the 1680s its population was approximately 700,[3] most of whom lived in modest dwellings.[4] One of twelve boroughs whose franchise had been widened in 1660,[5] its voters still numbered only 75.[6] Easily manageable, it had been a fairly safe Court seat since 1661.[7]

Neale may well have switched to Ludgershall at the Court's behest, as an opportunity to benefit from his recent preferment. By now he was not only an M.P. but also a courtier[8] and as such would have much to recommend him to Ludgershall's voters. His move also rendered Sir John Norton a service, for it facilitated his return for Petersfield.[9] But the Court could not be totally jubilant. The Earl of Ranelagh failed to be elected at Ludgershall, as he explained to Viscount Conway: 'I was wholly

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1. Official Return, I, 538.
2. Infra, Ch. V.
3. The Compton Census returned 488 Anglicans and 5 Papists: C. Simpson, 'A Census of Wiltshire in 1676', Wiltshire Notes and Queries, III (1899-1901), 537.
4. In 1662 only one dwelling had more than 12 hearths: P.R.O. E179/259/29.
5. Plumb, 50. Right of election rested in freeholders and leaseholders for life: T.B. Oldfield, An Entire and Complete History ... of the Boroughs of England (3 vols. 1792), III, 191-2. See also R.G. Stuckey, 'An Analysis of the Parliamentary Representation of Wiltshire 1688-1714', W.A.M., LIV (1952), 289-304.
6. Sir G. Duckett, Penal Laws and the Test Act (2 vols. 1882), I, 226.
7. de Beer, 4, 10, 13; J.R. Jones 'Court Dependants in 1664', B.I.H.R. XXXIV (1961), 89.
8. Infra, 111.
9. Official Return, I, 537.

disappointed in my hopes at Ludgershall ... I was so much mortified as to resolve not to pretend elsewhere'.[1]

With all the returns in, Shaftesbury found that he had a substantial majority though the Court faction was still potentially influential.[2] As the flames of Exclusionism were fanned still higher, the fate of Danby, lodged in the Tower that April, paled into insignificance. On 30 April alternatives were put forward for ensuring religious security and the nation's liberties, but no concession was to be offered to 'alter the Descent of the Crown in the right Line, nor to defeat the Succession'.[3] On 11 May the Whigs moved explicitly for the Duke's exclusion; basing their arguments on his character, his actions, and more importantly, on his intentions once he became King, they stressed self-preservation. The ensuing debate revealed that the Court faction, though possessing arguments and leaders, was still insufficiently organised. The new impression of confidence was dented when Court members left the House hastily rather than be counted.[4] The presence of a large group of undecided members and difficulties over alternative tactics, meant that the Whigs had to press on with Exclusion with what might appear to have been indecent haste. At the Bill's second reading on 21 May, 207 voted in favour and 128, including Neale, against it.[5] The Court minority's size and the large number of abstentions

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1. Ranelagh to Viscount Conway, 22 Feb. 1679: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1679-80, 90. His failure was a personal blow to Charles II who wanted him in the Commons because of his oratorical abilities: Jones, 38. For Ranelagh see D.N.B., X, 1042-3.

2. Jones, 48-9. In his analysis of the House, Shaftesbury applied to Neale the epithet 'vile': J.R. Jones, 'Shaftesbury's 'Worthy Men': A Whig's View of the Parliament of 1679', B.I.H.R., XXX (1957), 240.

3. Jones, 64.

4. Ibid, 65-6.

5. K. Feiling, A History of the Tory Party 1640-1714 (1965 edn.), 495. See also A. Browning and D.J. Milne, 'An Exclusion Division List', B.I.H.R., XXIII (1950), 222.

showed that the House was now sharply split into two factions.[1] Slowly the nation realised that the central issue was the Duke's fitness to be King, not the first minister's French dealings, and odium for Danby declined in consequence. In July the King again dissolved Parliament, ordering another for 7 October.[2] This was a major turning-point in the crisis; the possibility of compromise was eliminated. The solution could only be royal capitulation or eradication of the King's opponents.[3]

Candidates for the general elections of August and September 1679 were, more than ever before, sharply divided into two opposing parties.[4] Court efforts were made to influence the elections; Charles II personally encouraged many courtiers to stand, but Court organization was still limited. The King's unwillingness to allow the newly-elected parliament to meet unleashed a tidal wave of petitions from November 1679 onwards. Evidence of the 'unprecedented efficiency and resolution of Whig organization',[5] they appealed to the King against the advice, influence and actions of evil ministers. Charles II, strong enough to disregard such petitions, could not suppress them, but registered chilling contempt in the way he received both the petitions and their authors. When

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1. Jones, 71.
2. Henry Sidney gave as reasons for the dissolution: 'because the King had no hope of the last (Parliament), having done so many things for them, and having such ill returns as sending away the Duke, Lord Danby, purging the courts at Westminster, establishing a new council; which was done because we saw the King going into the hands of such as the Duchess of Portsmouth would recommend'.: R.W. Blencowe (ed.), Diary of the Times of Charles II (2 vols. 1843), I, 27.
3. Jones, 73.
4. Ibid, 92. Of Ludgershall voters after their return of Neale it was said their 'dry Drunkenness has proved more pernicious to the Public safety than their liquide; and have made a worse choice, Sober, than perhaps they had ever done stark mad': Mild but Expostulatory Letter (1679), quoted Jones, 106.
5. Jones, 115.

Thomas Thynne and his colleagues presented the Wiltshire petition the King enquired 'whether it came from the Grand Jury, they answeared no, his Majestie then said it came from the rabble and wondred that he would appear in it'.[1] The Duke of York's return to England in February 1680 strengthened Crown supporters, but his increasing belligerence and growing ideas of the assistance he was receiving alarmed many who had originally voted against his exclusion. Were they, after all, voting the right way? To ensure total support Lauderdale and Hyde purged the lists of magistrates and deputy lieutenants, removing all those of dubious affiliations. Neale was dropped from the Hampshire Commission of Peace on 10 April 1680.[2] The net effect of these purges was to increase still further political divisions within the country.[3]

Within a few days of the second Exclusion Parliament meeting on 21 October 1680, the Whigs again harried the Duke of York. But by so doing they revealed divisions within their own ranks, for while they were at one on the necessity of exclusion they could not agree on a successor.[4] In the ensuing debates Neale was silent. Though more and more members were drawn towards Exclusionism, he was not so inclined. With his solid prerogative line and his Court offices, there was no reason for him to deviate. Moreover, if he grasped the exclusionist nettle and the Whigs were to triumph he would lose everything. As a result he voted against the second Bill. Proof of his having done so is seen in his retention of his official

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1. Codr., Luttrell MS. 171, f. 111v. See also Countess of Manchester to Lord Hatton, 23 Jan. 1680: E.M. Thompson (ed.), The Hatton Correspondence (2 vols. Camden Soc. 1878), I, 219.
2. H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1678-1688, Pt. II, 189. As his loyalty was never in doubt, it is more likely that his name was dropped because he had severed all connections with Hampshire by then.
3. Jones, 121.
4. Ibid, 133-6.

posts, the King subsequently removing all those servants who had voted against the Duke. The lower House's obstinacy and action exacerbated Charles II, heightening his determination to defend his brother. He unleashed his full anger, the bill was defeated and the political world thrown into disarray. In the following January Charles II again dissolved Parliament, thereby dispensing with its services for the remainder of his reign.

The King's decision not to summon a fresh Parliament raised fresh hope for Danby, ensconced in the Tower for the last five years. Though not idle there,[1] he had been unable to infuse much of his own infectious enthusiasm into many of his supporters. Early in 1684 he made one final effort to secure his release by canvassing the judges;[2] on 12 February he was finally bailed, still encumbered with the threat of impeachment. While Neale's thoughts on Danby's plight are unknown, the fact that his former patron was endeavouring to secure release seems to have encouraged him. During the former Treasurer's last week of internment Neale went to the Tower, seemingly not to Danby's satisfaction. Having been remanded by the judges he was anxious to expedite his release, as he explained to his son:

> I will lose no time in moving for a day, but I am informed that the trial of Mr. Hampden will take up the day, that I shall scarce be able to get any motion heard tomorrow. Mr. Neale was with me this morning about nothing to any purpose,... [3]

Though this may not have been the first visit, its purpose remains indistinct.

Although Charles II had made up his mind that Danby should be released,[4] the King's life was fast slipping away. By

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1. Browning, I, Ch. XIV.
2. Ibid, 354.
3. Danby to Viscount Latimer, 5 Feb. 1684: H.M.C. Lindsey MSS., 441.
4. Browning, I, 354 and n. 4.

the time Danby was eventually freed the King had died. The accession of James II ensured the resurgence of Clarendonian interests. With revenue running short the King reluctantly summoned Parliament for 19 May 1685. The elections, marked by much activity by the lord lieutenants, proved a disaster for the King's enemies the Whigs. Though it was impossible to keep them out everywhere they were not returned in large numbers.[1]

Returned once again for Ludgershall,[2] Neale was only too aware of the attitude his new master was likely to take. The King had informed the French ambassador, Barrillon, of his ideas for encouraging loyalty:

> that those who remained in possession of their posts feared to lose them and others were in hopes to take their places; that all this would produce a good effect when Parliament met; and that there would be time to make changes when he saw how the men behaved whom he had retained in office.[3]

In the two brief sessions of James II's Parliament, Neale made only a slight contribution. His one committee nomination for the reign - for considering a bill creating a new London parish - occurred in the first session.[4] His only recorded intervention in debate came in the second. On 9 November 1685 the King opened the session with a request for supply to increase the standing army. When ways were discussed about raising the sums, Neale suggested

> The Pepper that is expended here paying one penny per pound might pay one penny more, and Soe yeild 70 or £80,000 yearly And that Bullion exported to the Indies might bear £5 per Cent, and encourage

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1. For the elections see J.R. Western, Monarchy and Revolution: the English State in the 1680s (1972), 78-81, and R.H. George, 'Parliamentary Elections and Electioneering in 1685', T.R.H.S. 4th ser., XIX (1936), 167-95.
2. Official Return, I, 556.
3. Quoted F.C. Turner, James II (1948), 251-2.
4. J.H.C., IX, 727.

> the Sending of other Goods in some measure instead of it hither.[1]

A brief interjection in a brief Parliament, it nevertheless reveals that Neale still retained his views about shielding the Crown from want. He and his fellow M.Ps. soon regretted their financial generosity towards the King;[2] many became disillusioned as his intentions became actions and their worst fears were realised. By autumn 1685 moderate Anglicans were already forming an opposition. With the prorogation of Parliament in late November the stage was set. Danby retired into private life, having abandoned all hope of office, Neale was busy elsewhere,[3] and the storm clouds began to gather menacingly.

IV

During his early years in Parliament Neale's sympathies and allegiances lay with the Court group. By the early 1670s he was considered 'a person of Vast Estate and of great Interest as well at Court as in the City and Country ...'.[4] Such a position was actively maintained by tenure of three offices - Master of the Mint, Groom Porter and Groom of the Bedchamber. As the Mint, of which he became Master in July 1678, is dealt with extensively below,[5] it is proposed to concentrate here on his two groomships. Neale gained entry to the Court using a combination of family influence and hard cash. When he approached Whitehall's hallowed portals he did so safe in the knowledge that support could be lobbied for him from within. His

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1. B.L. Egerton MSS. 3381, f. 36. A slightly amended version appears in Chandler, II, 192, and Cobbett, IV, 1384. Grey does not mention the speech.
2. For their liberality, see Chandaman, 256-61.
3. Infra, Ch. VI.
4. P.R.O. C8/232/52, Neale and Knowles v. Hemmings and Coxhead, 1680.
5. Infra, Ch. VI.

paternal cousin, William Neale, had been a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in Ordinary since December 1662.[1] From at least 1671 his brother-in-law, Sir Philip Honywood, had been a member of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners,[2] retained as a guard for the monarch and as 'a nursery to breed up hopeful Gentlemen, and fit them for Imployments both Civil and Military...'.[3]

Helpful though his various relatives were, it was hard cash that finally tipped the balance in Neale's favour. The death of Thomas Offley in 1678 left the Groom Portership vacant.[4] A race developed for the office; Neale showed an intense desire for it, as Lady Chaworth explained to her brother:

> Heer is a great dispute about the groome porter's place, Mr Chicheley pretending to it by an old promise from the King, and so will give Lord Arlington but £1500 for itt, Mr Neale offering £3,000, but 'tis thought the King's word must stand good...[5]

In the event she was to prove misinformed. Though Chicheley had a warrant for the reversion of the office,[6] Neale outbid him, giving £6,000 for it,[7] a clear indication of his desire and of the King's necessities. On 2 February 1678 Neale was sworn Groom Porter for life.[8]

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1. Supra, 37-8.
2. E.C. (5th edn. 1671), 201; (6th edn. 1672), 206; (7th edn. 1673), 211; (8th edn. 1674), 210; (9th edn. 1676), 182.
3. Ibid, (16th edn. 1687), 187-8.
4. Offley had been Groom Porter since May 1665: Cal.S.P. Dom. 1664-5, 374, 397.
5. Lady Chaworth to Lord Roos, 15 Jan. 1678: H.M.C. MSS. of Duke of Rutland, II, 45.
6. P.R.O. L.C. 5/201, Lord Chamberlain's Precedent Book 1660-87, 446.
7. P.R.O. C9/456/143.
8. P.R.O. L.S. 13/197, Certificates of Appointments 1672-85, f. 52v.

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In his Precedent Book the Lord Chamberlain described the Groom Porter's duties:

> The Groome Porter is a Groome of the Greate Chamber ... and his Office and duty hath beene ... to carry up ... wood, Coales, and all fuell to the King's Chamber and Privy lodgeings, ... The Lord Chamberlain is his Superior Officer, hee is under the Comand of the Gentlemen Ushers dayly waiters, and sworne to obey them, and here to attend att the makeing ready ... all his Majesties Howses and Howses for Ambassadors, to cause Ladders to bee brought to hang up Hangings, and fuel to be brought for the Chambers. To provide and bring Formes, Tables, Stands, Tongs, Andirons, Sconces as the Gentleman Usher shall require. And his Bills for this service are signed by the Lord Chamberlaine upon the Cetificate of the Gentleman Usher that such service was done..[1]

Beyond the Court he had general oversight of billiard tables, bowling alleys, dicing and gaming houses, and tennis courts.[2] The office carried a salary of £2 13s. 4d., board wages of £127 and an allowance of £600 for the provision of furniture and hangings 'granted by the Earle of Danby. Before this he had Bills allowed'.[3] Deputies were employed to do the bulk of the work.[4] By time-honoured tradition the Groom Porter profited greatly from the Court's Christmas revels when the monarch relaxed with his courtiers and gambled prodigiously.[5] The office had grown in importance as the Lord Chamberlain explained:

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1. P.R.O. L.C. 5/201, 437-8.
2. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1677-8, 611, 620.
3. P.R.O. L.C. 5/201, 214. Sources and payment of the allowance are noted in Cal.T.B. 1681-5, passim. Under James II it was reduced by £50: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1685, 349.
4. For 1686-7 the Groom Porter's office was kept at John Sharples's house in St. James's, Haymarket, Sharples and George Primrose of Westminster acting as deputies: L.G., 2134, 29 Apr. - 3 May 1686. A Newmarket office was also maintained, from where copies of a register of 'Horse-matches, Foot-matches, Cock-matches, or Bets' were regularly dispatched for 2s. 6d.: ibid, 1486, 12 - 16 Feb. 1680.
5. The gaming was witnessed by Pepys and Evelyn, the latter considering it 'an horrid vice, and unsuitable to a Christian Court': Evelyn, III, 504. He had, however, to reconcile his disapproval with the fact that Thomas Offley, Groom Porter, was his brother-in-law.

> ...although this Place is of late yeares become profitable by the playing att his Lodgeing; yett that does not alter the duty of the Place.... For the benefitt of Play being a considerable Game: and the Groome Porters finding out Projects to augment theire places, by getting power of granting of Lycences to gameing howses, and Bowling Greenes,...[1]

Here was one of the obvious attractions of the office for Neale - the opportunity to develop still further contacts, to control gambling and obtain an insight into both low and high life. Nor did the fruits of office end there. Like many other royal servants he could count upon supplementary income from fees due upon the creation of honours.[2] Besides his numerous official premises he had a very impressive perquisite - a substantial suite at Whitehall, consisting in March 1685 of fifteen rooms, four garrets, two cellars and three closets, the last built 'at his owne charge'.[3] Apartments were also reserved for his use at Hampton Court and Kensington Palace, on a more modest scale.[4] When the Court moved residence he travelled in his official carriage,[5] further mark of his importance. As Groom Porter he was efficient, effective and ruthless as Secretary Jenkins explained:

> I send also a long narrative of Mr. Neale, the groom porter, about some dealings he had with Fox and Cauthorne on the purchase of a lease from the

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1. P.R.O. L.C. 5/201, 440.
2. The fees and their donors were: Duke £3; Marquess £2 10s.; Earl £2; Viscount £1 10s.; Baron £1.: ibid, 464-5.
3. Ibid, 85. By comparison Wren, as Surveyor of the King's Works, had only 16 rooms and a cellar at his disposal: ibid, 89.
4. At Hampton Court he was permitted two rooms, at Kensington one room and closets: ibid, 145, 435. By May 1683 he had had a house built at Windsor for visiting Italian players: Lord Fauconberg to Sir William Frankland, 5 May 1683: H.M.C. MSS. of Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley, 54.
5. P.R.O. L.C. 5/201, 283.

> Earl of Clare. The reason his name is brought in question is this. Fox in his verbal relation to his Majesty said he was forced to go to Newmarket to give in his information, because Cauthorne told him when he let him know he would accuse him that all the avenues were stopped at Whitehall by Mr. Neale and that nobody there would receive an accusation from him. [1]

Benefit of play, access to other courtiers, a 'screening system' of accessibility to Charles II - these were the very real advantages derived by Neale from the office. Small wonder therefore, that he was called 'Brazen Groom Porter'.[2]

Nearly two years after he had been appointed Groom Porter, Neale acquired a second Court office, that of a Groom of the Bedchamber. Sworn in on 26 November 1679, he held the office until 1686 or 1687,[3] contrasting sharply with his tenure of other offices. Once again he purchased the Groomery, for a substantial sum. When, in the month following Neale's appointment, Henry Savile, Vice-Chamberlain and Envoy to Paris, wished to dispose of his Bedchamber Groomery his brother the Earl of Halifax counselled him thus:

> I have spoken with my Lord of Sunderland and H. Guy about your seeking a chapman, and they agree it is very advisable for you, but the difficulty will be to find another Mr. Neale in the world. I very much doubt whether it be possible; besides, at a time when parliaments are put off as ours is to next November, and that nothing is talked of but retrenchments, men will shrink and be more cautious than ordinary in laying out their money. The King's Leave must first be ask'd, and then enquiry must be made for a proper coxcomb to treat with, though beforehand I wish you were sure of one that

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1. Jenkins to Lord Chief Justice Pemberton, 28 March 1683: Cal.S.P.Dom. Jan.-June 1683, 139. Fox was a blacksmith in Vere Street, St. Clement Danes, Cauthorne the Earl's steward.
2. A Seasonable Argument (1677), xxvi.
3. P.R.O. L.C. 3/24; ibid, L.C. 3/28, 3. E.C. (15th edn. 1684), 162, lists him as a Groom; ibid (16th edn. 1687) does not.

> might be £500 less a fool than Mr. Neale, for all your friends would advise you to close with him. [1]

Three months later Halifax wrote to his brother

> Men will find out some way or other of doing whatever they have a very great mind to, and I think the parting with your place is none of the worst expedients, but you cannot expect at this time Mr. Neale's rate for it. [2]

Again Neale's intense desire for the office and his willingness to pay an inflated price says much about him.

Increasingly within the Groom of the Stole's purview after the Restoration, the Grooms of the Bedchamber formed part of the Staff responsible for the monarch's private apartments. Duties could be very formal, dressing the monarch ritualistically, and serving him on bended knee when he dined publicly. Others were rather more prosaic:

> That the Grooms of Our Bed-Chamber do make Us ready, make Our Bed and lodge in the Withdrawing Room next to Our Bed-Chamber, and that they keep Our Linnen for Our Bed-Chamber and Our Person...

Strict etiquette was to be observed in carrying out the duties. None of the Grooms was to enter the royal bedchamber

> ... with their Cloaks, Swords or Hatts, but that every of them give their attendance without the same and in the best Posture and readiness for Our Service, And that a certain number of them, without excluding any of them from waiting, be distributed into Weeks, Months or Quarters, who for that time of their Waiting shall be allways ready, and give their constant Attendance, and that none of them, who shall so waite, shall...,

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1. Earl of Halifax to Henry Savile, 13/23 Dec. 1679: W.D. Cooper (ed.), Savile Correspondence (Camden Soc. 1858), 130-1. Savile was sworn a Groom 7 June 1673. Henry Guy, sworn 8 July 1675, was replaced by Neale: P.R.O. L.C. 3/24.
2. Same to same, 1/11 March 1680: W.D. Cooper, 144-5. See also H.C. Foxcroft (ed.), The Life and Letters of Sir George Savile (2 vols. 1898), I, 202, 211.

> depart from such their Service and attendance without Our leave in that behalf first obtained...[1]

Grooms thus gained direct access to Whitehall's inner sanctum and to the ears of important courtiers. Although hierarchically inferior to Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, Grooms provided rather more constant service. The office carried a salary of £500 - half that of a Gentleman[2] - and was, of course, considered to be highly honourable. As with the Groom Porter's office, there were perquisites, including the provision of victuals, firing, laundry, an official carriage and their own specially allotted seat in the Royal Chapel.[3]

Needless to say, such offices were not open to all as of right. Charles II was emphatic that a holder of Court office had to be 'a seemely Person, of Honest Birth, and fitting Education, well disposed in Religion, and of verteous and sober Carriage'.[4] It says much for Neale's personal qualities that he was considered suitable for such an intimate office. Manners and self- control were obviously his, as were charm and a persuasive manner. Rampant, almost indecent, desire for Court office, illustrated by his willingness to pay over the odds for both Groomeries, were outweighed by other personal qualities. Though the scene of considerable merriment and a vehicle for preferment and opportunity, the Caroline Court nevertheless abided by its own set of laws in many ways

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1. B.L. Stowe MSS. 563, Bedchamber Ordinances, 11 June 1689, ff. 10 - 11v. Ordinances for May 1684 are contained in ibid, Egerton MSS. 3350, ff. 7 - 8.

2. J.M. Beattie, The English Court in the Reign of George I (1967), 53-4, 61. Salaries were frequently in arrears: Cal.T.B. 1681-5, 908; Akerman, 127. In 1667 payments to all Bedchamber officials had been stopped for nine months: B.L. Add. MSS. 28042, Danby's Memoranda Book 1667-88, f. 3.

3. J. Nichols, A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Royal Household (1790), 384, 388, 414; Akerman, 133, 145; B.L. Stowe MSS. 562, Royal Household Ordinances 1660-1670, f. 8v.

4. B.L. Stowe MSS. 562, f. 2.

reminiscent of medieval rigour and harshness.[1] In such an environment lack of social accomplishment would not be tolerated.

The timing of his appointment to these two offices is also important. The first came after his lengthy, solid support for the King being adequately supplied, for the value and preservation of prerogative, after drawing attention to taxational deficiencies. Given his links with Danby since 1675 and his consistent series of reports to the Treasurer of proceedings in the House, it looks as though the office was bestowed as a reward for services rendered, the more so given that his allowance warrant for £600 was granted by Danby. Yet again, his appointment as a Groom of the Bedchamber followed rapidly on the heels of his having voted against the first Exclusion Bill.

V

Staunch support of the Court marked the whole of Neale's years at Westminster before the Revolution. Rich, fruitful experience was culled from committee work and from association with leading political figures. His approach to most political issues was a judiciously balanced mixture of common sense, practical realism and an abiding belief in royal prerogative. His speeches invariably lay on the side of caution. He stressed good relations between Crown and Commons, protection of the royal financial well-being, the importance of adequate naval preparedness. As member of Parliament and office-holder he enjoyed privileged benefits, in an age when office was considered part of a man's freehold. The actual amount of profit he could derive from his offices would depend, as with any late Stuart official, on the extent to which he exploited them

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1. See E.C. (1st edn. 1669), 233, 291.

for personal gain pure and simple.[1] With a lifestyle marked by frenetic activity, it was typical of Neale that while serving in Parliament and as a Court officer he was also busy promoting his early projects.

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1. For a clear exposition of late Stuart office and its benefits see H.C. Tomlinson, 'Place and Profit: An Examination of the Ordnance Office, 1660-1714', T.R.H.S., XXV (1975), esp. 66-7, 72-5.

Chapter IV

PROJECTS TO 1688

During the years before the Revolution Neale was occupied with four main projects. Each was intensely practical and the earliest tended to overshadow the others. This great work was Neale's development of Shadwell on London's eastern rim; the other three were the successful development of a draining pump for use in coal mines, a scheme for erecting a ballast shore at Jarrow Slake on the Tyne, and an active stake in developing Tunbridge Wells. Two of the projects - those of the ballast shore and the development of Shadwell - drew the fire of critics. That for Jarrow Slake led to the involvement of Newcastle corporation, two sets of Trinity House officials, church bodies and laymen. Similarly, Neale found that developing Shadwell was no easy matter when it entailed dealing with the sort of opposition provided by Ladies Wentworth and Ivy. A hallmark of the pre-1688 projects was that they were nowhere advocated by Neale's adroit use of the pen. There were no broadsides calling on Londoners to move to Shadwell, no rich tracts advocating the pump's benefits, the advantages to be gained from the ballast shore, or from travelling to the Wells. Each was a highly legitimate and laudable scheme, with neither hint nor inference of deluding the general public.

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Post-Restoration London was the scene of feverish building. To reduce the great fire risks, so disastrously obvious in the conflagration of 1666, new materials were tried, and attempts made to lay out residential areas with graceful sweeping lines. The fire had cleared areas of jumbled masses of houses, built one upon the other with little chance of either light or air. In their place rose more

comfortable and passably handsome houses, creating such an impression that even those who had not suffered by the Fire wished to rebuild. London underwent a residential transformation:

> one by one the great houses of the nobility disappeared, to be replaced by squares and terraces bearing the names of their former owners .... And since, while the town was rebuilding, the dispossessed shopkeepers opened their booths on Moorfields and other public open spaces outside the city, these latter also tended to disappear and grow into streets and squares;...[1]

Many developers participated in this urban regeneration; the Duke of Bedford laid out Russell and Woburn Squares, Sir Thomas Clarges was responsible for Piccadilly and Dr. Nicholas Barbon for Essex Street and elsewhere. By developing Shadwell Neale, therefore, was following an established trend, but with one major difference. Fashionable squares and residential areas were not the product of his fertile brain at this early stage. Rather did he choose a Thames-side area, where commerce held sway over fashionable and graceful living.

Shadwell and its environs were important as the site of London's seventeenth-century overspill. The capital's ever-expanding population[2] led to sprawling growth eastwards and westwards along the banks of the Thames. Building in Shadwell had started in the early 1620s but a 1636 survey shows that there was still ample space. At this time Shadwell consisted of three docks and yards, numerous plots of land, some of which had already been built upon, and the site of a former lime kiln. Ratcliffe, immediately east

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1. A. Bryant, Restoration England (1968 edn.), 36-7. The rebuilding is covered in W.G. Bell, The Great Fire of London in 1666 (1951), T.F. Reddaway, The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire (1940/51), A.H. Thomas, 'The rebuilding of London after the great fire', History XXV (1940), 97-112, and J. Lang, Rebuilding St. Paul's (1956).
2. M.J. Power, 'East London housing in the seventeenth century' in P. Clark and P. Slack (ed.), Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700 (1972), 237, gives figures of 21,000 and 91,000 for 1600 and 1700 respectively.

of Shadwell, was even riper, being marked with only two taverns, two yards, a few houses, a mill and open spaces.[1] The real spate of growth came in the 1630s and 1640s when 700 houses were built in Shadwell, the majority being two-storey buildings.[2] The main material used was timber, though the subsequent proclamation of 1661 encouraging brick construction work[3] did much to alter this practice. The Hearth Tax returns suggest a population of over 10,000, in streets and houses that were laid out with a certain amount of orderly planning,[4] a characteristic of Neale's own efforts there.

Landownership in Shadwell in the 1660s was divided between the Wentworths, lords of the manor of Stepney, and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral and it was to the latter that Neale made his approaches. His request was considered sympathetically and in July 1669 Dean Sancroft leased him Ratcliffe mill, bakehouse, gardens, orchards and ponds in Shadwell for three lives.[5] The extent of the subsequent transactions was such that it has been claimed that Neale eventually leased 'two thirds of the little hamlet'.[6] That Sancroft was a cleric of sharp business acumen was demonstrated when he heralded his new tenant's arrival with

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1. P.R.O. Map Roll 248; D.O. Shilton and R. Holworthy (ed.), High Court of Admiralty Examinations 1637-1638 (1932), passim.
2. Power, 240, 249. The figures are drawn from a survey of Shadwell made in 1650. This shows 703 houses, with detailed figures on the storeys of 701: 195 had 1, 473 had 2 and 33 had 3. The survey, attached to a deed of sale, is located in St. Paul's Cathedral Library, press E, drawer 5.
3. Steele, no. 3321.
4. Power, 243, 257, and passim.
5. W. and G. A./G., E1/129, indenture dated 14 Sept. 1678. The lives were to be those of Neale and his wife and Sir Thomas Freake.
6. Sir H.L. Smith, The History of East London (1939), 98. This should be treated cautiously as Smith, and others, credit Neale with building Shadwell chapel in 1656, when he was a mere fifteen!

a 500% rent increase.[1] Neale's £80 rent for Shadwell was important in two other respects. With the tenant of Sandon rectory and manor, he was paying the highest rent, rents which between them constituted nearly half the deanery's total rental. Having long-term objectives in mind Neale subsequently attempted to obtain commutation of his rents for a perpetual fee farm, at an annual rent of £320 for ever, 'as the buildings upon those lands were ill built and ruinous, and it would be unprofitable to rebuild them without a less precarious tenure'. Although such a proposal was debated by the Lords in 1676 it was rejected.[2]

Neale and Sancroft worked together for the creation of Shadwell as a separate parish, carved from the mother parish of Stepney, and in the endowment of a church for the new parish. In mid-February 1670 Neale introduced a bill into the Commons to achieve both these aims, the bill becoming law before the end of April. The new parochial limits were specified, reference was made to the fact that Shadwell had lately become populous 'by reason of many houses there lately built', that Neale and the Dean had agreed to provide ground for a churchyard and parsonage; perhaps most important of all, however, the act was not to be used to impinge upon the privileges of three people, Lady Henrietta Wentworth and Lord and Lady Lovelace.[3] Consecration of the new church was carried out in the

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1. Prior to Neale's tenancy John Winterburn had rented a mill and lands in Shadwell from the Dean at £16 annually: Bodl. Tanner MSS. 145, ff. 257, 258. From 1669 the rent was set at £80, the Dean's rent returns for 1674-5 containing the note 'and £20 a year more after Mr Thomas Freaks Death'. An arrears list dated 1 June 1675 shows Neale owing half a year's rent: ibid., ff. 259-63, 265, 263v. One of Neale's first acts was to demolish the mill, which led to litigation against Winterbourne's widow: P.R.O. Neale v. Winterbourne and others, 1669.
2. J.H.L., XIII, 125; H.M.C. Ninth Report, 96.
3. J.H.C., IX, 123, 125, 127, 131, 141, 153.

following spring by the Bishop of Rochester.[1] Though the right of presentation to the living was to be vested in Neale for life and then in the Dean and his successors, Neale presented only once - in April 1671.[2] The newly-appointed vicar, Robert Marriott, was far from tractable. Before presentation he had pointed out that the land earmarked for his new parsonage was 'an unfitt place to build up on' and asked Neale and the Dean to provide him with a house elsewhere in the parish.[3] Yet within a little over a year of his appointment he was seeking permission to lease out the very land that he had originally refused.[4] Small wonder, therefore, that Neale made an agreement with Stillingfleet in September 1678 whereby Neale granted him the advowson so long as 'the said Edward Stillingfleet shall continue and be Dean of St Paul's'.[5]

In 1669 a waterworks was erected, complete with an engine powered by four horses.[6] The plant was linked partially to the Thames and partially to a well.[7] London authorities and the general public had to be won over to the scheme, care taken to avoid friction with the New River company,

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1. L.G., 556, 13-16 March 1670; H.M.C. MSS. of S.H.Le Fleming, 76. Sir John Robinson misinformed Sir Joseph Williamson that the Bishop of London was performing the consecration and that Neale had bought the lands: Sir J. Robinson to Sir J. Williamson, 12 March 1670: Cal. S.P.Dom. 1671, 129. For a description of the church see E. Hatton, A New View of London (2 vols. 1708), II 481-4.
2. G. Hennessy, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense (1898), 372.
3. Bodl. Tanner MSS. 145, ff. 77v-8.
4. Ibid, ff. 78v-9 contains a transcript of the agreement sanctioning such an arrangement between Neale and the Bishop of London, dated 10 May 1672. For Marriott see Dunkin, II, 60.
5. W. and G. A./G., E1/257, indenture dated 30 Sept. 1678. The document is damaged, permitting only a partial transcription.
6. D. Lysons, The Environs of London (4 vols. 1795), III, 389.
7. W. and G. A./G., E1/75, indenture dated 26 Feb. 1684; ibid, E1/137, indenture dated 7 Feb. 1684.

opinions sought from mechanics and technicians. Between 1673 and 1676 Neale met Robert Hooke on several occasions for discussions on drainage and lighthouses. The two men sometimes adjourned to Garraway's with Neale as host.[1] At their meeting on 23 July 1673 the main topic of conversation was the waterworks.[2] The City's proximity encouraged Neale to apply for a patent to cover pipe-laying right into the capital. The Surveyor-General, Sir Christopher Wren, who much concerned himself with the city's restoration and re-embellishment, reported favourably, noting that the proposal was

> so far from being any annoyance that it will rather prove of great use and convenience to those parts of the City and Suburbs not yet well supplied with water, and may well deserve publique encouragement for prevention of fires...

The only possible sources of objection Wren envisaged were the Corporation of London and the New River company, and provided Neale carefully repaired such streets through which his pipes passed and pricing matters were left to the King in Council, Wren could see only benefits emanating from the scheme.[3] On 17 February 1676 the Court of Aldermen considered a petition from Neale and accepted it with certain provisos.[4] On the strength of Wren's favourable report and of the Aldermens' agreement, Neale extended his Shadwell plant. Consisting of waterworks,

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1. H.W. Robinson and W. Adams (ed.), The Diary of Robert Hooke, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. 1672-1680 (1935), 126-7, 137-8, 211, 405.
2. Ibid, 52.
3. A.T. Bolton and H.D. Hendry (ed.), The Surveyor General's Court Orders 1669-1695 (Wren Society, XVIII, 1941), 45. In the early 1670s the New River Company charged a 'rental' of £1 10s. annually for water: P.R.O. C114/13, Bills and household accounts of Charles Moresco.
4. Corporation of London Records Office, Repertories of Court of Aldermen, vol. 81, ff. 100-1. On 29 Jan. 1680 Neale agreed not to damage or prejudice any of the Corporation's 'Conduit Water': ibid, Deeds Box 12, no. 9. I am indebted to Miss B. Masters for both references.

stable, horse-keeper's house and a piece of walled ground 'formerly used for the Boring pipes', this was now expanded to accommodate two more water houses.[1] A year or more later Neale was granted the right to lay pipes to the manors of Stepney and East Smithfield.[2] In May 1687, with the Shadwell waterworks valued at £20,000,[3] Neale applied for a charter to raise money by dividing the enterprise into 36 shares. In February 1692 royal approval was finally secured for an official company, with Neale as first governor and twelve assistants.[4] But Neale's endeavour was just one of many. By the 1690s the New River Company had been outstripped by the London Bridge Company and was suffering from the mushroom growth of many smaller companies whose hallmarks were non-payment of dividends for years and low initial profits.[5]

Next to the waterworks Neale and a partner, Alexander Meers, built brewhouses, malt loft, storage facilities and yards.[6] In 1676 the complex was valued at £10,000.[7] Located nearby were warehouses, storage cellars under the market square, and docking facilities.[8] Access to Brooks Wharf gave Neale immediate retail outlets for his beer,

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1. Herts. R.O. Garrard MSS., item 27088, indenture dated 7 Aug. 1712.
2. H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1692-3, 33.
3. P.R.O. C8/520/27, Neale v. Goodall, 1689.
4. H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1692-3, 32-3; J.H.C., X, 641, 651, 660, 679, 681, 682, 694; J.H.L., XV, 39.
5. Scott, III, 3-33; A. Shadwell, The London Water Supply (1899), 19.
6. W. and G. A./G., E1/129 indenture dated 14 Sept. 1678. In Jan. 1703, when insured for £500, the premises were described as 'formerly known by the name of Esquire Neales Brewhouse': G.L. MS. 8674/2, Hand-in-Hand Fire Insurance Policy Register, policies 3659, 3660. Meers was a merchant: W. and G. A./G., E1/131.
7. P.R.O. C8/520/27.
8. W. and G. A./G., E1/137, indenture dated 7 Feb. 1684; E1/246.

which he could sell to the fleet and the great trading companies.[1] Wapping, Ratcliffe and Shadwell were all important for naval victualling. The Victualling Office was nearby in Abbey St. Mary Graces; beer-laden transports regularly plied between the wharves and vessels riding at anchor, waiting to leave for distant shores.[2]

Development of Shadwell was completed by the provision of housing and the establishment of a market. The two decades after 1656 witnessed the construction of 289 houses in Shadwell,[3] though Neale obviously did not finance the entire building programme. In 1664 Shadwell was marked by numerous modest houses and a small number of larger ones in Upper Shadwell. From 1669 onwards a change was apparent. While modest houses continued to predominate, an increasing number of larger houses were erected. In Cutthroat Lane were eight ten-hearth houses; by the waterside in Lower Shadwell twelve-hearth houses were built, while on the eastern side of New Gravel Lane Mr. Austin divided up his seventeen-hearth house into as many separate residences. In 1674 Alexander Meers, Neale's brewing associate, lived in a ten-hearth house in Broad Bridge, Middle Shadwell. At least one house in the same street possessed sixteen hearths. Over the years Neale increased the number of his own houses in Shadwell, from two in 1669 to include a four-hearth house in Cutthroat Lane, another in Whites Gallery, one in Spring Yard, and another by the waterside which he demolished and rebuilt.[4]

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1. P.R.O. C8/229/4, Neale v. Chaplaine and Nicholson, 1677. For sales and trading companies, see 159.
2. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1672, 460. During 1670-1700 there were links between Shadwell and Barbados, East Indies, Guinea, Jamaica, New England, Norway, Spain and Sweden: Ainsworth, passim; Ridge, 1676-85, 1686-93, passim; Fitch, passim.
3. Anon, 'Shadwell', The Copartnership Herald, V (1935-6), 208.
4. Based on an analysis of Shadwell Hearth Tax returns for 1664, 1669-70, 1670-1 and 1674, contained in G.L.R.O., M.R. T.H. 4, 8, 103, 70.

Shadwell's houses were sometimes built with adjoining warehouses or work premises, such as John Catterall's two-storey home with adjoining tanyard.[1] Some were tastefully decorated and occupied by comfortable families; others were the homes of life's unfortunates such as George Roe who had lost everything in the 1666 holocaust.[2]

Neale also provided his new development with market facilities. In June 1670 he successfully petitioned the King for market rights;[3] a market square was laid out, a market house, shops and stalls built.[4] Such was his success that in 1683 Neale applied for an extension of his rights.[5] Located in Upper Shadwell, the market soon acquired a reputation for its fine fish and meat.[6]

How much can be said of the financing of these operations? Who else shared them? The most surprising feature is that in September 1678 Neale relinquished total direct interest in the project by surrendering his lease to the Dean and Chapter who made out a new one in favour of his brother-in-law, Sir John Garrard, and Christopher Cratford. A London

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1. G.L. MS. 8674/2, policies 3991, 4190; P.R.O. Prob. 4/170, inventory dated 22 Aug. 1679.
2. P.R.O. C107/158, Exhibits in Harrison v. Lacy, 1714; B.L. Add. Charters 70211-2; P.R.O. E179/143/350, Shadwell defaulters on the Poll Tax.
3. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1670, 252-3. For reaffirmation of rights see ibid, 1676, 416.
4. W. and G. A./G., E1/240, indenture of sale dated 14 Aug. 1690.
5. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1683, 83. In 1681 Neale, Wren, Barbon and others were consulted about the sale of the old Artillery Ground in Spitalfields and told to receive no proposal below £5,200 if market rights were to go with the ground: F.H.W. Sheppard (ed.), Survey of London, XXVII (1957), 29. A grant to Neale of market rights in St. Giles Cripplegate, in August 1688, was described as being 'of great use to the gentlemen and their estates in Middlesex and to all other inhabitants there': H.M.C. House of Lords MSS, 1699-1702, 159. For the application see Cal.S.P.Dom. 1687-9, 254.
6. Hatton, I, 75.

freeman, Cratford had been an agent for the Dean and Chapter of Westminster in the 1660s and was, subsequently, to serve the Earl of Conway in a similar capacity.[1] In 1686 Neale was having to lease property back from them.[2] Besides these two, Neale was also having to deal with another nine men, some of whom were creditors. Anthony Sturt, with whom Neale made an agreement in September 1678 prior to surrendering the lease, was another London resident[3] and had probably died by 1684.[4] In 1679 Neale sold a further part of the Shadwell premises to George Baron, for the residue of a forty-year term. Baron was a London merchant, possibly a lader, who was based at Garlickhithe.[5] In 1684 Garrard and Cratford agreed to surrender their lease to the St. Pauls authorities, take out a new one for forty years at £240 per annum, and re-lease the premises to Baron. This was followed, in 1685, by the waterworks, brewhouse and other premises being purchased from Neale by George Pitt of Stratfield Saye who had worked with Neale on the Hampshire Commission of Sewers in the 1670s.[6] In August 1690 Neale made several agreements relating to Shadwell. With his son Thomas he parted with such interest as he still held there to his brother-in-law, Sir Samuel Garrard, for £900. For the next eight years Garrard would ensure payment of Shadwell rents to his brother Sir John Garrard and Cratford, in trust for the young Neale.[7] Neale then reached a separate agreement with Sir John and Cratford over the trouble to

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1. For details of Cratford see Appendix E.
2. W. and G. A./G., E1/130, indenture dated 15 July 1686.
3. Ibid, E1/129.
4. By 1684 Sturt's Shadwell interest had become vested in George Baron, which suggests that Sturt had possibly died: ibid, E1/137. He may perhaps be identified with the Anthony Sturt sworn as under-housekeeper of Whitehall, 19 March 1669: P.R.O. L.C. 3/24.
5. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1675-6, 125. Infra, Appendix E for full details.
6. P.R.O. C181/7, 583-5.
7. W. and G. A./G., E1/135, indenture dated 14 Aug. 1690; E1/240, indenture same date.

which the two men had gone while holding the Shadwell property in trust for Neale. Acknowledging that neither of them had received 'to their own use any profit or advantage out of the lease or premises', Neale and his son discharged them from their responsibilities, at the same time promising them reimbursement.[1] Eight others were also involved in the complex Shadwell transactions. Sir Mathew Holworthy of Hackney came from Cambridge; in April 1672 Neale had leased him two pieces of land in Queenhithe, west of Shadwell and within the walled city, for £500 and a peppercorn rent for 99 years.[2] Four were merchants. Richard Goodall was a substantial trader;[3] John Hill may have been selling pitch and tar to the navy in the early 1670s;[4] one was Alexander Meers, Neale's brewing associate; John Letten from Norwich had city connections by marriage.[5] Stephen Knowles described himself as a gentleman, an opinion not shared by his contemporaries.[6] The remaining two parties were George Baron's two sons, Christopher and William, of Egloskerry, Cornwall.[7]

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1. W. and G. A./G., E1/132, indenture dated 16 Aug. 1690.
2. Camb. R.O. Holworthy Collection, 279/T14, indenture dated 30 Apr. 1672. The family also had property interests in Norfolk and Kent: D. and S. Lysons, Magna Britannia (1808), II, pt. I, 183-4. Neale's Queenhithe interest dated from at least Sept. 1663 when he rented a tenement in St. Michael's parish for a £10 fine and an annual rent of £27 from Henry Huscroft. Defaulting on his rent, Neale was ordered by the Fire Court to pay two months' rent to 1665, £13 6s. 8d. towards rebuilding costs and to surrender his lease: P.E. Jones (ed.), Calendar to the Judgements and Decrees of the Fire Court (2 vols. 1966), I, 100-1.
3. Infra, Appendix E.
4. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1671, 538; ibid, 1672, 351; ibid, 1672-3, 384; ibid, 1673, 39-40.
5. W. and G. A./G., E1/129. See also Appendix E.
6. Infra, 133.
7. W. and G. A./G., E1/133, indenture dated 26 May 1686.

How did these men become involved, and how deep was their involvement? Sturt and Goodall were involved as Neale's creditors. George Baron, who paid £10,807 10s. for the remainder of a forty-year lease, tried to help Neale by acquiring a share in Shadwell. Yet within a year, Baron was himself disposing of part of the property. Early in April 1680 he sold the brewhouse and two nearby properties for an undisclosed sum to Goodall and Nicholas Gould.[1] Some of the parties retained a lengthy interest in Shadwell. Knowles became a tenant and was evicted for non-payment of his rent in 1686.[2] William and Christopher Baron became involved through their father's death. Sir Samuel Garrard's interest was to outlast Neale.[3]

Rent details for Shadwell reveal much. The adroitness of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's in driving a hard bargain was shown in Neale's initial acceptance of the Shadwell lease at a higher rent.[4] It was further amply demonstrated by their increasing the rent to £240 to John Garrard and Cratford when they took on the lease in 1678,[5] doubtless in recognition of the increased value of the area following Neale's work. At least once Neale attempted to emulate Sancroft. Just as the Dean charged a lower rent during Thomas Freake's life, so in 1673 Neale let a tenement to John Mares (or Mayors), a pewterer, on the same terms.[6] In late December 1682 Neale and his wife reserved to themselves the 'several rents of Shadwell' totalling £57 10s. annually; Baron, having paid £300 at the time of the original agreement, was to pay a peppercorn

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1. W. and G. A./G., E1/137.
2. Ibid, E1/133.
3. Infra, Conclusion.
4. Supra, 121, 122.
5. W. and G. A./G., E1/137. Thereafter the rent was set at £240, the figure charged when they renewed the lease in 1684.
6. Ibid, E1/134, indenture dated 16 March 1678.

rent.[1] In 1686 Neale and his guarantors charged £16 rent for a piece of ground, a yard and a wharf on a 38-year lease.[2] Though a benign landlord, Neale insisted on loyal tenants. Non-payment of rent led him to evict Knowles and probably others as well.[3]

More clearly delineated than the rents are the obstacles Neale encountered in developing Shadwell. These came mainly from Ladies Philadelphia Wentworth and Theodosia Ivy. As lady of a manor of 2,000 acres, in whose family ownership had rested for over a century, Lady Wentworth's actions were motivated on two counts. In a petition to the King in June 1670 she explained that Saturday market rights at Ratcliffe or elsewhere in Stepney manor had been granted to her late husband and she sought both their confirmation and additional rights for a second market. That Neale, meanwhile, had tried to set up a market in neighbouring Shadwell would deprive her of her advantages; to add insult to injury, Neale had been a tenant in Shadwell for only a year with a meagre sixteen acres at his disposal. But her pleas were not heeded, for the Crown ordered a grant to Neale instead.[4] Lady Wentworth's reaction must have been one of anger, for the King had ridden roughshod over her claims, supported as they were on precedent. She subsequently found both time and inclination to cohabit with the Duke of Monmouth before his execution in 1685, and was a Lady of the Bedchamber at the time of the Prince of Wales' birth in 1688.[5] In

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1. W. and G. A./G., E1/137.
2. Ibid, E1/133.
3. Ibid, E1/240 and Herts. R.O. Garrard MSS. 27088 each contain a Shadwell rent table for 1690, giving names and rents. This, however, is of little use as an indicator of whether Neale strove to raise rents, charged equable ones, or even ones to his own detriment.
4. Supra, 128.
5. Burnet, II, 266, 422.

late 1689 she was still protecting her rights in Stepney.[1]

Neale's encounter with his other opponent Lady Theodosia Ivy, was still more complex, time-consuming, vexatious and costly. Born Theodosia Stepkin, she took as her second husband Thomas Ivy, a skilful, experienced servant in the East India Company's employ who discovered within six months of their marriage that his wife 'had wedded his fortune rather than his person'.[2] In his Autobiography Sir John Bramston, related to Lady Ivy, commented:

> The stories of this Theodosia would take up a volume: she had to her second husband Thomas Ivy, a trade fellow, but wealthie, which he had gotten in the East Indies (yet not so rich as he was thought). He was knighted after the King's returne, but merited whipping rather.[3]

Far from being a harridan,[4] Lady Ivy had a marked penchant for litigation. In 1683 she sued Neale for 7½ acres of riverside land in Lower Shadwell, claiming they formed part of the area drained by Cornelius Vanderdelf and were thus hers by inheritance and not the property of the St. Paul's authorities. The verdict was initially in her favour,[5] but further proceedings were instituted in 1684, known as

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1. J.H.C., X, 292. As belated consolation she received market rights in Tuddington, Beds., in Apr. 1692: L.G., 2758, 14-18 Apr. 1692.
2. Sir J.C. Fox (ed.), The Lady Ivie's Trial (1929), xxx. For Ivy's career see H.D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras 1640-1800 (4 vols. 1913), I, passim.
3. Lord Braybrook (ed.), The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston, K.B. (Camden Soc. 1845), 15. Ivy was knighted 25 May 1661: Shaw, II, 235. After Ivy's death in 1674 she married James Bryan who had died by Sept. 1684: Sir J.C. Fox, xxiii.
4. For her kindness see R. Parkinson (ed.), The Autobiography of Henry Newcome (2 vols. 1852), I, 181, and John Aubrey to Anthony Wood, 26 June 1679: A. Powell, John Aubrey and his Friends (1963), 176-7.
5. Sir J.C. Fox, xxi.

Lady Ivy's Case.[1] Held in June before Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys the case, fought out by an impressive array of legal minds,[2] concerned land worth between £3,000 and £4,000 annually.[3] Lady Ivy's case fell flat when the deeds upon which she rested her claim were proved forgeries. Jeffreys found her key witness, Stephen Knowles, 'an errant, notorious knave',[4] while a second witness, William Butler, admitted that the issue of forgery had been raised already. He recounted a meeting with Neale:

> Says Mr Neale again; And I question not but to give such satisfaction, as whereby to convince you and my Lady, that this is not her Estate. I should be glad to hear that, says Mr Brian: why, I hope you do not think the deeds are forged? No, says Mr Neale, I do not think they are forged. Mr Knowles offered me a long time ago, to show me that deed, and I might have had it in my possession; but I would not: for if I had, I should have been the aptest man in the world to burn it.[5]

With forgery established, Lady Ivy's case collapsed.[6] Two years later she was tried, and acquitted, on a forgery charge.[7] Neale and Lady Ivy faced each other in court again in July 1688, 'where several things were given in evidence, on both sides, of a very odd nature, touching

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1. Two editions have been consulted: The Lady Ivy's Trial 1684 (1684) and Sir J.C. Fox. In 1696 Neale published a set of documents entitled The famous tryal in B.R. between Thomas Neale and Lady Ivy which included the trial's text, a map and a copy of Sir T. Ivy's pamphlet 'Alimony Arraign'd'.
2. Counsel included four serjeants, the Attorney General and the Solicitor General: G.W. Keeton, Lord Chancellor Jeffreys and the Stuart Cause (1965), 219.
3. Paul Foley(?) to Robert Harley, 19 Apr. 1684: H.M.C. Portland, III, 378; Newsletter dated 7 June 1684: H.M.C. Ormonde, VII, 244.
4. The Lady Ivy's Trial 1684, 577. Knowles was charged with perjury in Oct. 1684.
5. Ibid, 584.
6. Newsletter dated 5 June 1684: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1684-5, 44.
7. Charles Bertie to Countess of Rutland, 9 June 1687: H.M.C. MSS. of Duke of Rutland, II, 115; Newsletter dated 26 Nov. 1687: H.M.C. Downshire, I, 278.

forging of deeds and conveyances'.[1] Victory again went to Neale, and for the remainder of her life Lady Ivy nurtured pure rancour for him. Until her death she persisted that her claim to the Shadwell lands was both right and proper.

Far less vitriolic were Sancroft's objections when in 1676 Neale proposed altering the Shadwell estate from leasehold to freehold. In memorials on the subject Sancroft accepted that the proposal would increase Shadwell's value, which would only be fair given Neale's hard work there. But the Dean envisaged disadvantages in terms of profit and reputation. Leasing by lives had disadvantages: Neale could increase entry fines in the event of a shortfall on one of the lives. In terms of reputation, the church's enemies would be ready to 'asperse him, as One, who for some private Advantage,... hath betray'd the Rights of the Deanery' and thus provide, unwittingly, a precedent for those who had developed 'so enraged an Appetite of the Revenues of the Church'. The scheme would place Sancroft and his clerical colleagues in a bad light, 'We being universally under the Suspicion of ... endeavouring to enrich ourselves, and our Relations, to the prejudice of those that come after us in the Church'. Neale's attitude has also to be borne in mind:

> though Mr Neale hath hitherto proceeded with great Modesty and Ingenuity,..... Yet that very No-importunity, he uses, importunes more, and is more clamorous, than all the Noise, which a ranting huffing person could have made, and loudly .... bespeaks at least a civil Denial.... certainly he is at .... Bottom more strongly founded, and supported in this Attempt than as yet appears:....

The Bishop of London, the Dean felt, should brief a member of both the Lords and the Commons 'because if Mr. Neale's

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1. ? to J. Ellis, 3 July 1688: Ellis, II, 14; R. Lapthorne to R. Coffin, 7 July 1688: Portledge, 38.

proposal be listed to, it must pass by Act of Parliament'.[1] Sancroft could see advantages given the size of the Deanery's rental and contemporary envy over Shadwell's location; 'it lying so nigh the Eye, and Observation of this Town, a fruitful Mother of projects of this Nature'. Retaining the three lives system would make the property less attractive to a purchaser, though he could see a solution inasmuch as Elizabethan legislation permitted clerics to make forty-year leases on houses in market towns 'and Shadwell is now so'. Finally, what Neale was offering was not a bargain in any form:

> he tenders me a Rent-Charge, which is, what it is, and can never be more; but demands of me an Estate so mightily improveable, that 'tis own'd to be askt upon the very Motive, that so fair, and probably an Improvement may not be lost; to him namely; for from us 'tis gone for ever, if we hearken to his proposal: and He shall grow, and advance, as long as there is Room for more Buildings, or Encouragement for better.[2]

A bill empowering Sancroft to make forty-year leases was drafted but rejected by the Lords after a second reading; an amended version subsequently gained approval in summer 1678.[3]

As a result of Neale's prodigious efforts Shadwell had grown, despite the occasional setback,[4] into an important town. The project repeatedly involved considerable expenditure and protracted negotiations with official bodies. The advantages offered were new homes, a lifeline to the Thames and public facilities such as a markethouse and waterworks. There was opposition to the scheme from two titled ladies but this was eventually overcome. And while

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1. Bodl. Tanner MSS. 145, f. 217, Memorial to Bishop of London, 10 March 1676.
2. Ibid, f. 218, memorial to 'the Honourable Referees', n.d.
3. J.H.C., IX, 488, 490.
4. On 23 July 1673 there broke out 'a great fire at Shadwell Dock, in the morning': Josten, IV, 1332. See also H.B. Wheatley, London Past and Present (3 vols. 1891), III, 236-7.

working on Shadwell, Neale was also carefully nurturing schemes for shipping and mining.

II

Increased demands for coal encouraged the exploitation of new seams in England during the seventeenth century; capital and energy were devoted to solving technical problems such as those arising from deeper shafts, especially drainage. Recourse had been made to the services of skilled German engineers.[1] At the same time devoted Englishmen were seeking solutions, such as Thomas Togood, James Hayes, Sir Samuel Moreland and James Ward. Togood obtained three patents for developments in this field between 1660 and 1675. In May 1661, working with Hayes, he obtained one for an invention which forced water out by bellows

> done with wind, as alsoe the draweing it upp with leatherne baggs, linked togeather in manner of bucketts, where the bellowes cannot be placed, which may be for the publique benifitt of shipping, drayning of mynes, bringing water to houses, emptying of rivers or ponds, drayneing and watering of grounds.[2]

In 1663 came 'An Engine made of ropes or chaynes.... whereby water out of mynes and pitts may, with more ease than hath yett knowne, be drayned and exhausted'.[3] In 1675 he perfected a device likely to prove 'not only ... of greate use for the dreyning of all kinde of mynes, but also may be applyed with singular advantage for the cleering of shipps from water' as well as having irrigational uses.[4] In 1674 Sir Samuel Moreland gained a patent on 'Severall Engines for Raiseing great quantities of water with farre lesse

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1. J.U. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry (2 vols. 1966 reprint) I 181, 240-2.
2. N.R.L.S.I., Specifications of Patents, Old Series, 1636-76, no. 132, dated 16 May 1661.
3. Ibid, 1637-76, no. 142, dated 2 Dec. 1663.
4. Ibid, no. 179, dated 20 Apr. 1675.

proporcon of strength'.[1] Late in 1675 Ward gained rights on an engine 'for the Pumping of Water', having previously invented 'and perfected severall other water workes and mills for the dreyneing of grounds and raiseing of water to a great height'.[2] Neale's work in this field was therefore neither unique nor far-reaching; during the period 1660-88 his grant was merely one of thirteen.[3]

In June 1675 he petitioned Charles II for a patent on a mine-draining pump 'which forces and draws water with one and the ... same stroke'.[4] As a result of his grant he was to have exclusive 'use, practise, exercise' of the invention and certain rights within the law, provided he did not abuse the security afforded by his grant to imitate the efforts of others working on the same problems. Dated 13 September 1675,[5] the patent was Neale's first successful grant from the Crown.

Neale's interest may have sprung from one of four or more sources. First, his experience in Hampshire as a member of the Sewers Commission would have familiarised him with the use of drainage pumps. There was the Shadwell experience; his patent specified that the pump could be used in a waterworks. He was certainly recognised as having expertise and was subsequently appointed to a parliamentary committee considering pumps in 1677.[6] On 1 June 1664, moreover, he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was named in a ballot

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1. N.R.L.S.I., Specifications of Patents, Old Series, 1637-76, no. 175, dated 14 March 1674.
2. Ibid, no. 188, dated 7 Dec. 1675.
3. Ibid, nos. 205, 208, 212, 215, 218, 252 for examples covering 1678-87. See Cal.S.P.Dom. 1687-9, 201, 214, for a 1688 example.
4. Ibid, 1675-6, 164. A minuted state paper noted that the patent was for a pump or engine 'drawing more water and raising it higher with less strength and much more ease than any other hitherto invented': ibid, 206.
5. N.R.L.S.I., Specifications of Patents, Old Series, 1636-76, no. 186.
6. Supra, 83, n.6.

list for the election of ten Fellows to Council on 30 November 1671.[1] His sponsor as Fellow was John Hoskins, the Society's long-serving Secretary.[2] With technological prowess as a major objective, with its large Mechanical committee, and with Fellows such as Hooke and Petty working on shipbuilding, pumps and engines, the Society was an obvious source of encouragement to Neale. Both he and Moreland took professional advice on their pumps from Hooke. On 15 January 1676 Neale met Dr. Thomas Coxe and Hooke at Garraways, and Hooke advised that he 'work chain pump at bottom'.[3] The project for the pump appears to have come to little. Though he gained the patent, there is no evidence to show that it was ever adopted. He may well have realised, after experience, that the profit-margin on mining at this time was so slight as to be negligible.[4] Admittedly, though, he did not need to actually own a mine to turn his patent to some profit.

III

The third of Neale's early projects was for a ballast shore at Jarrow Slake, a large inlet in the Tyne, certified in the 1650s as '.... of all the Wharfs upon the River ... the most commodious place for a Ballast Key'.[5] Neale's attention was drawn to the far north of England by governmental activity, the area having become a projector's playground.[6] Interference in the coastal coal trade after

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1. R.R.S., 378; Robinson and Adams, illustration opposite 4.
2. Information kindly supplied by N.H. Robinson, Librarian to the Royal Society. For Hoskins see D.N.B., IX, 1293.
3. Robinson and Adams, 211. Coxe (1615-85), a physician, was President of the College of Physicians in 1682: ibid, 484.
4. A. Moller, 'Coal-Mining in the Seventeenth Century', T.R.H.S., 4th ser., VIII (1925), 88.
5. Bodl. Rawl. MSS. D. 925, f. 50.
6. E. Hughes, 'The 'New River' Water Supply for Newcastle upon Tyne, 1698-1723', Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th ser. XXV (1947), 117.

1660 was motivated by the need to maintain reasonably priced adequate supplies - not that easy at times when Dutch men-of-war hovered menacingly off the east coast - and after 1667 by the decision to use coal duties as an aid in rebuilding stricken London. Though the government failed to turn the coal trade into a 'Cinderella for all types of taxation', here was the obvious reason for Neale's project. Participating in London's rebuilding, he could also share in developments on the Tyne. The nearer to the river mouth a ballast shore could be erected the quicker the turn-round for ships, and hence increased supplies could come to London. The government could draw a greater taxational rake-off for rebuilding purposes, and hence he stood to benefit from both ends of the process.[1]

But precedent augured ill for Neale at Jarrow Slake. The high-handed actions of Newcastle Corporation in securing a conservancy commission to supervise ballast casting on the Tyne's banks during James I's reign had angered local landowners. Prime sufferers were the Dean and Chapter of Durham, whose anger was roused when the Corporation made it clear that it intended exerting an iron hold over the building of ballast shores in the river. Control meant income, derived from charging for the right to cast ballast, and the reduction of damage caused by uncontrolled shores simply sliding into the river.[2] In the 1630s Jarrow Slake had been the subject of dispute; included in a list of concealed Crown lands, it had been claimed by the Corporation, as falling under the terms of their charter rights.[3] In

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1. T.S. Willan, The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750 (1967 edn.), 59. In 1667 a tax of 1s. per London chaldron was levied on all incoming coal, increased to 3s. in 1670. For amounts collected and uses to which they were put see Reddaway, 181-99.
2. C.M. Fraser and K. Emsley, Tyneside (1973), 33. Correspondence between Trinity House and the Corporation on the commission is contained in H.M.C. 8th Report, 237.
3. R. Howell, Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution (1967), 33-4; Gateshead Central Library, Cotesworth MSS. CJ/10/1, ff. 4-6, contains details of Jarrow Slake during 1613-39.

the 1660s the friction of the previous two decades came to a head in a test case. Sir Charles Adderley and John Crooke, tenants of the Dean and Chapter 'of a great piece of Ground called Jarrow-Slike, the place in Question (adjoyning to the said river of Tyne), and overflowed every Tide', attempted to build a ballast shore there, were thwarted by the Corporation and appealed to the Crown for redress.[1] A Newcastle alderman was sent to London, the Corporation hiring a second legal opinion to cope with its 'great and extraordinary business at the City of London'.[2] The issue was whether the Dean and Chapter could lawfully erect and use a ballast shore at Jarrow Slake without licence from Newcastle Corporation. The papers produced at the time of this clash reveal not only the complexities and vested interests involved, but also suggest the type of opposition Neale would encounter when he came to implement his project.

The argument favouring a ballast shore ran as follows. Ships should be free to take in beer and other provisions at South Shields at the mouth of the Tyne, and not 'be forced (as now they are) to send Seven Miles up the River to Newcastle for the same, whereby they have lost the opportunity of a fair Wind'. The regulation that any pilot or carpenter sent to a distressed ship could only be a Newcastle freeman should be relaxed. This would reduce costs and bring speedy help to a foundering ship, many of which 'often have been cast away, before such Pilot or Carpenter could come to them'. If ships were granted liberty to lay their ballast at Jarrow Slake, rather than sailing to Newcastle itself, the river would be improved by being made deeper and more navigable, the construction of large ships would be encouraged for use in the coal

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1. Bodl. Rawl. MSS. D.925, f. 47v.
2. Newcastle City Archives, Common Council Book 1656-1722, f. 109. Miss S. Strangroom, Assistant Archivist, kindly provided a transcript of this entry.

trade and 'for the Defence of the Kingdom, in time of War', and turn-round for ships reduced. The effects of such measures would be that 'Coals, Glass, Salt and Milstones, which are the proper Commodities of those Parts, would be much Cheaper to the Subject than now they are', and the large coal duty would 'for several Years to come, be less felt by the Poor than now it is'. Clearly, there was much to recommend the proposal.

Newcastle Corporation pointed out that the mayor and Corporation had the sole vending rights for all ale and beer to ships, although there was no objection to supplies being transhipped at South Shields provided these came from Newcastle. The argument for avoiding the long journey to Newcastle was, the Corporation stated, quite spurious given that many vessels 'go two, three, and sometimes four Miles above Newcastle for their Coals'. On Newcastle's monopoly of pilots and carpenters, the Corporation pointed out that any South Shields carpenter could be used in an emergency, adding that 'care is taken that there be always Carpenters and Pilots that are Freemen of Newcastle, that live at Sheilds'. Lastly it was erroneous to assume that ships had been lost through this arrangement 'and the same cannot be proved'.[1] More detailed objections were formulated by the Corporation in late September 1670. Erecting a ballast wharf or shore at Westoe Pans, slightly north of Jarrow Slake, would be a 'Nuzance' to the Tyne, a 'great Damage to the said River', and would hinder ships where the river channel was 'so extream Narrow'. In any case Westoe Pans was located 'upon Rocks and dangerous Stones' and therefore risk would inevitably be attached to any proposed development. The printed answer to such arguments was short and sharp, with a statement that 'twas

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1. P.R.O. S.P.29/280/41, 'Expedients proposed for the Easing and Advantaging the Coal-Trade, and Lesening the Price of Coals in London and other Places'. Calendared in Cal.S.P.Dom. 1670, 508-9.

taken by Parties concerned, and returned before Judges, who ought not to be so, (as this) in their own Case'.[1]

Within a month reasons against the scheme had also been advanced by the Trinity House authorities in Newcastle. In time, ballast dumping at Jarrow Slake would choke the mouth of the haven. Moreover, the tide's speed at this point would reduce voyages as 'the Keels cannot lye there, to lay Coals abroad'. Coal prices would rise as more lighters would be needed to load ships above South Shields; keeping vessels away from the rocks would necessitate anchoring over the entire channel which would be 'destructive to Navigation'.[2] Their answer was partly in support of Newcastle Corporation and partly in response to opinions expressed by their brethren in the London Trinity House whose main line of argument was prevention of shipping losses, encouragement of ship construction and improvements in the transport of coal.[3] By late October London's Lord Mayor and leading citizenry had also been drawn into the conflict; they reported to the King that the scheme would impair trade, obstruct the Tyne and its shipping and harm Newcastle.[4] During October Newcastle Corporation stuck vehemently to its argument that Jarrow Slake's development would leave coal staithes above Newcastle 'rendered useless'; taking rocks from the river for a ballast wharf would only create more problems. Strong among Newcastle's assertions was that

> Experience teacheth, that in things of this nature, where the Damage is most certain, and the loss irreparable, we are not to hazard the making use of Projects, for private Mens advantages, especially when the channel will be spoiled, the whole River endangered, and consequently the Cole Trade utterly ruined, which is the nursery of Seamen and Navigation.[5]

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1. P.R.O. S.P.29/280/38.
2. Ibid.
3. Bodl. Rawl. MSS. A.182, ff. 1-3, 12-15; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1670, 508.
4. Bodl. Rawl. MSS. D.925, f. 48; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1670, 508.
5. P.R.O. S.P.29/280/44.

This recent background to the Jarrow Slake project should make it clear that Neale's ideas could only have met with hostility, so many tensions having been created by so many interests. Undaunted, however, he put forward his ideas in the mid-1670s, the project being 'favoured by the Court'.[1] Newcastle Corporation was greatly angered and maintained later that they were disturbed by 'Mr Crooke and Sir Charles Adderley afterwards by Mr Naile'.[2] The subsequent developments were a clear illustration of the extent to which Neale relied upon political influence for the promotion of his schemes, hoping to reap benefits where others had failed.

From mid-October 1675 the project was before the Commons. Leave was given to bring a bill 'for the Ease of the Coal Trade, and encouraging Navigation to Newcastle', on which there was debate and a committee appointed.[3] An attempt to re-introduce legislation when the Commons reassembled in spring 1677 failed.[4] On 22 March the House debated Neale's proposal at length. The two members for Newcastle, Sir Francis Anderson and Sir William Blackett, argued against it, the former maintaining that it would only harm the Tyne, the latter that it proposed inclusion of some Corporation property, was an imposition on coal owners 'in obliging them to sell ... at the market price to such Ships as should come to this new intended shore' and that it

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1. J.R. Tanner (ed.), Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes (1926), 199.
2. Bodl. Rawl. MSS. D. 925, f. 53. The statement was made during an action over Samuel Sheppard's attempt to build a ballast shore at Jarrow Slake in 1696. For Sheppard see Appendix E. J. Sykes, Local Records of Northumberland and Durham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Berwick-upon-Tweed (2 vols. 1866/1973), I, 114, 125, refers to both cases. Sheppard's scheme was probably intended for salt-production, Houghton advocating Jarrow Slake as a suitable site 'to the incredible advantage of a Northern fishery for salmon, cod and herrings': J. Houghton, Husbandry and Trade Improv'd (3 vols. 1727), I, 100.
3. J.H.C., IX, 362.
4. Ibid, 373, 382, 387, 395, 404.

would hamper free passage along the river. Sir John Knight of Bristol pointed out that the river would be made narrower and that the ballast cast there might 'fall in and stop the River, and it may destroy the Coal trade'.[1]

In a lengthy speech Neale endeavoured to counter objections to his bill. He denied it was an imposition to coal owners or that river traffic would be impeded. Fully accepting that the Tyne was a nursery for seamen, he felt that his project 'must do more good to the breed of seamen than harm' while also making the Tyne more navigable. He asserted forcefully that the true reason for opposition lay in the 'tyranny of the towne of New Castle (which) is not to be paralleled, for they make nothing of levying money, and laying taxes at pleasure'. He could also detect the forces of private interest, the more so given Sir William Blackett's involvement with the Tyne salt trade.[2] Remarks by Sir George Downing that he was opposing it as it was 'but for 2 or 3 private mens Interest' brought Neale to his feet again. In a short speech he enunciated four further reasons why his bill was sound. He felt that the Commons was the only arena in which the strength of so powerful a body as Newcastle Corporation could be tried, and while he agreed that private interests were involved he pointed out that it was also private interests that were opposing it. Public interest, he maintained, was also involved in the 'Interest of all Ships that trade thither' and it was the best site for such a shore.

In one of his rare contributions Sir Henry Ford, Excise pensioner and member for Tiverton, spoke in favour of the bill, as did Sir Charles Wheeler, former Governor of the Leeward Islands and a Court spokesman.[3] It was now that

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1. B.L. Egerton MSS. 3345, ff. 33-33v.
2. Ibid, ff. 33v-34.
3. Ibid, f. 34v; Browning, III, passim.

the project was abruptly halted by Pepys. Master of Trinity House for the year May 1676 - June 1677 he could employ all the weight of that body.[1] Knowledgeable on ballast problems, he felt he could contribute powerful, well-informed opinion.[2] In the event the House refused to commit Neale's bill,[3] and his project came to nought. Pepys clearly thought highly of his intervention. In May 1683 he made two separate, revealing,notes about the clash:

> Q(uære) also the time and observe the success of my doing the like in Parliament against Mr Neale's long and violent solicitations, favoured by the Court, about the project of Yarrow-slick in the River of Newcastle, and the letter of thanks given me for the same from that town.[4]

And again:

> Recollect and apply the matter and time of my preventing the business of Jarrow Slake for the good of navigation in Parliament, and I alone stopped the business, and had a letter, I think, of thanks for it from the town of Newcastle[5]

His memory had served him correctly; Newcastle Corporation had sent him a fulsome letter of thanks:

> Wee are Informed by our Burgesses of your Great Kindnesse and Readinesse in Assisting us against the project of Mr: Neile If things had Gone According to Mr: Neiles desires, The product of it Would have been fatall to this Towne in particuler and have Intrenched upon the Nation in Generall, Wee never dispaired of the Successe of

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1. Pepys was sworn a younger brother in 1662, an elder brother ten years later, and Master in May 1676. See J.R. Tanner, 'Samuel Pepys and the Trinity House', E.H.R., XLIV (1929), 573-87.
2. In 1676 he had encouraged testing of an engine for taking up ballast developed by a Mr. Bailey: S. Pepys to George Boreman, 4 July 1676: J.R. Tanner (ed.), Further Correspondence of Samuel Pepys 1662-1679, (1929), 291-2.
3. B.L. Egerton MSS. 3345, f. 34v. In his account of the debate Neale informed Danby that Pepys had said 't'was a thing of great importance and that he knew not which way to give his Vote'!
4. J.R. Tanner, Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes (1926), 199.
5. E. Chappell (ed.), The Tangier Papers of Samuel Pepys (1935), 303.

the same when it was to Come before such wise and Juditious persons. For Truth it Selfe which Goes without Armour will prevail most Especially where she hath worthy persons to abett her, Wee Cannot but Tender you our most hearty thanks: And wish neither your Selfe or friends may stand in need of Assistance, But if any thing may happen whereby the Towne of Newcastle Can serve you, you shall find us most Cordially to be

Sir

Your most Ready and humble Servants.[1]

Compared with Shadwell, the Jarrow Slake project was but short-lived. In face of intense opposition Neale withdrew, licking his wounds, to be bitterly reminded of this defeat two decades later.

IV

Fate was no kinder to Neale in his scheme for developing Tunbridge Wells, which ranked after 1660 as 'second only to Bath as a health resort, and probably almost equalled it as a fashionable rendezvous'.[2] Although iron-impregnated waters were discovered there in 1606 it was Henrietta Maria's patronage which turned the Wells into a fashionable resort.[3] Their heyday came after the Restoration when visitors found that

> within a mile of the spring, rustic cottages, somewhat cleaner and neater than the ordinary cottages of that time, were scattered over the heath. Some of those cabins were movable, and were carried on sledges from one part of the common to another. To these huts men of fashion, wearied with the din and smoke of London, sometimes came in the summer to breathe fresh air,

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1. Newcastle Corporation to Pepys, 27 March 1677: Bodl. Rawl. MSS. A. 185, f. 137. In May 1682 Pepys was made a Freeman of Newcastle, an honour which doubtless accounts for his two notes: A. Bryant, Samuel Pepys: The Years of Peril (1952 edn.), 293.
2. C.W. Chalklin, Seventeenth Century Kent (1965), 157. For the growth of the Wells see M. Barton, Tunbridge Wells (1937).
3. E. Hasted, The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent (12 vols. 1797-1801; reprint 1972), III, 278.

and to catch a glimpse of rural life. During the season a kind of fair was daily held near the fountain. The wives and daughters of the Kentish farmers came from the neighbouring villages with cream, cherries, wheatears and quails. To chaffer with them, to flirt with them, to praise their straw hats and tight heels, was a refreshing pastime to voluptuaries sick of the airs of actresses and maids of honour. Milliners, toymen, and jewellers came down from London, and opened a bazaar under the trees. In one booth the politician might find his coffee and the London Gazette; in another were gamblers playing deep at basset; and, on fine evenings, the fiddlers were in attendance, and there were morris dances on the elastic turf of the bowling green. In 1685 a subscription had just been raised among those who frequented the wells for building a church, which the Tories, who then domineered everywhere, insisted on dedicating to Saint Charles the Martyr. [1]

Society at the Wells was diverse. Queen Catherine went there mistakenly believing the waters would give England an heir.[2] The Duke and Duchess of York, the Prince and Princess of Denmark provided additional royal patronage. Prominent official figures, such as Sir Joseph Williamson[3] and the Earl of Rochester[4] raised the social tone. There were those who went for their health's sake, such as Sir William Kingsmill, sheriff of Hampshire, and Neale himslf who went in summer 1685.[5] Others went for nefarious reasons.[6] Ejected ministers, including Oliver Cromwell's former chaplain Jeremiah White, could be found there.

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1. Lord Macaulay, The History of England from the Accession of James II (ed.), C.H. Firth (6 vols. 1913-15), I, 336. See also Morris, 133-4.
2. A. Bryant, Restoration England (1968 edn.), 98.
3. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1679-80, 561; ibid, 1684-5, 92, 108; ibid, 1687-9, 21, 25, 27, 30, 33.
4. William Longueville to Lord Hatton, 31 Aug. 1684: E.M. Thompson, II, 49. For Rochester's poem Tunbridge Wells (1674) which encapsulates the spa's social whirl see D.M. Vieth (ed.), The Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (1968), 76-7.
5. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1683, 284; Neale to Rochester, 6 Sept. 1685: P.R.O. T.27/9, 142.
6. See Cal.S.P.Dom. 1682, 303.

Bishop Kidder doubted the efficacy of the waters when he wrote dourly 'My bad health rather increased upon me, and I was much worse after drinking the Tunbridge Waters, to which I was advised'.[1] For many people, however, it was more therapeutic simply to be seen at the Wells rather than actually take the waters.

The new town boasted many facilities. From 1678 onwards there was a daily postal service to and from London.[2] William Thompson, a London vintner, kept premises at the Wells 'to accomodate Persons Wholesale or Retail' with wines and provided 'Ice for the Season'; in the 1690s a London apothecary kept a shop there.[3] Resident carpenters coped with the demand for new buildings.[4] Coffee houses abounded; some were used for auctions, others were converted as private residences.[5] One very remarkable feature of the Wells, and highly indicative of their importance, was the penning of laudatory works. At least two long essays and five poems were written, emphasising either the medical value of the waters or the colour, growth and variety of the Wells.[6]

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1. A.G. Matthews, Calamy Revised (1934), 71, 127-8, 524-5. Transcripts of White's correspondence of 1686-7, written from the Wells, are contained in Bodl. Rawl. MSS. D.992; these have not been examined. A.E. Robinson (ed.), The Life of Richard Kidder, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells written by himself (Somerset Record Society, XXXVII, 1924), 19.
2. L.G., 1319, 8-11 July 1678.
3. Ibid, 2058, 6-10 Aug. 1685; 2669, 8-11 June 1691.
4. Ibid, 2240, 5-9 May 1687.
5. Ibid, 2578, 24-28 July 1690; 2580, 31 July - 4 Aug. 1690; 3085, 3-6 June 1695.
6. L. Rowzee, The Queen's Wells (1670), republished in Harleian Miscellany, VII (1810), 446-68; P. Madan, A Philosophical and Medicinal Essay of the Waters of Tunbridge (1687), republished in ibid, IX(1810), 176-91; Rochester's poem, for which supra, 147; P. Causton, Tunbridgalia: or the Pleasures on Tunbridge (1686); J. Lewkenor, Metellus His Dialogues (1693); J. Manning, Tunbridge Wells, to John Suffield, Esq. (1701). 'A Ballad in Tunbridge Wells' (n.d.), is contained in B.L. Sloane MSS. 2348, f. 34.

In contrast to Shadwell, Tunbridge Wells was marked by no formal planning. For this a division of ownership was responsible. In c. 1680 Viscountess Purbeck sold Rusthall manor, in which the principal well lay, to Neale, retaining the rest of her property; another part belonged to the Earl of Abergavenny and the remainder to Sir Charles Bickerstaffe of Sevenoaks. Besides owning some of the land, Neale rented from local landowners and London-based owners. The bulk of the building dated from 1680.[1] John Archer of Speldhurst, cordwainer, remembered that before 1682 there were only a few butchers' shops at the Wells. Then Neale and his tenants built several shops and sheds for coffee and gaming rooms, though there was little suitable lodging accommodation. John Fuggle, a Tunbridge joiner, found several shops had been built when he returned to the Wells in 1686 from his apprenticeship. John Waggon, a Speldhurst carpenter, told how in 1682 Neale's agent, Thomas Janson, had applied to him and several other freeholders 'for leave to enclose and build on that part of the Wasts of the said mannor where the Walks Market place and Houses and buildings near the ... Walks and Wells now stand'.[2] Local workmen were involved; in November 1686 Gabriell Tompkin, bricklayer, leased four acres, agreeing to build and fence in the ground.[3] In June 1691 two of the new houses 'on the Hill near the Castle-Tavern' were advertised; one was large 'with all Conveniences', the other, smaller but similarly equipped, 'with a Grove behind it', was to be sold ready furnished.[4] But not all the housing was so acceptable, a point graphically made by Lewkenor:

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1. Chalklin, 'The Making of some new Towns, c. 1600-1720', passim.
2. P.R.O. C11/2318/2, Depositions given in Lord Abergavenny v. Maurice Conyers, George III.
3. Ibid, C10/511/114, Tisser v. Harwell and Tomkins, 1691.
4. L.G., 2669, 8-11 June 1691.

Just by the side of this so pleasant Way,
Some Pye-bald Houses stand, and strangely gay
So differently colour'd, you would think
Each Pane of Wall there, were to sell you Drink.
As slight, as if built only for one Day,
Nor 'bove Three Months of Twelve can Men there stay
For Wind and Weather; five Rooms scarce one Hearth,
Of other Necessaries as great Dearth.
Sure the wise Founder hardly could suppose,
'Twould still be Summer there, when he built those
Fine Bowers for Houses, but hop'd he might make
A Twelve-month's Rent in Three; so save his Stake.
Here we alight, and of the Price enquire,
Having first view'd; but finding Week's Rent higher,[1]
Than Month's at London, we soon thence retire;

Neale busied himself directly in the building process as well as in property negotiations. Soon after leasing two plots of just over sixteen acres in February 1685 from Viscountess Purbeck, he went 'about to build upon Some parte', subletting part to Thomas Weller who constructed a stable and other buildings.[2] In 1685 and 1686 Neale carefully let out twelve small plots to different people for shop erection on the Walks.[3] In 1678 work began on a church, with an enlargement programme carried out some years later. On each occasion Neale contributed £2 3s.[4]

Rents varied considerably, according to the stage of development and the use to which the property was to be put.

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1. Lewkenor, 31.
2. P.R.O. C6/100/7, Viscount Purbeck and others v. Thomas Weller and others, 1707. Weller, an attorney, acted as steward when Neale held court at Rusthall manor, 15 Sept. 1685: K.A.O. U749, M3, Rusthall Manorial Records, Court Roll 1685.
3. Chalklin, 'The Making of some new Towns, c. 1600-1720', 248.
4. Tunbridge Wells Church, Subscription lists for 1676-84, 1688-96. I am indebted to A. Savidge for this information. In Jan. 1699 the communion table cloth and other fittings were stolen in a daring night raid: L.G., 3467, 30 Jan. - 2 Feb. 1698.

Table 6 Rents at Tunbridge Wells, 1680-1690

	Tenant	Rent	Owner	Purpose
1682	T. Neale	10s. each	Pawley Jeffrey and others	Building
1682	T. Janson	£11	Neale and 3 others	"
1685	T. Neale	£18	Viscountess Purbeck	"
1686	G. Tompkin	£2 15s.	Edward White	"
1687	T. Neale	£50	Thomas Dashwood	Use of building

Sources: P.R.O. C11/2318/2; C10/511/114; C10/531/42; C7/245/58; K.A.O. U749, T2.

The most important feature is the arrangement made with Janson, by which he agreed to binding conditions over the development of the Wells. For a fifty-year term from September 1682 Janson agreed not to build any houses, lodging rooms or chimneys for meat-curing. He was not to hinder access to the Wells or charge excessive rents; he was to preserve certain specified open spaces on the Walks and the bowling green on Rusthall common, and care for the trees there. He was, however, at full liberty to provide other facilities for visitors such as coffee, drinking and gaming rooms.[1] Clearly this was an imaginative attempt to control not only building but aesthetic and commercial development as well.

The development of Tunbridge Wells was not a tale of continuous success for either Neale or his associates. Fire struck twice - in 1688 and 1692. In the first Neale suffered 'a considerable loss', the fire consuming 'about £2,000 worth of buildings belonging to Esq. Neill, though that doth not at all seem to diminish the company and concourse thither'.[2] Richard Coffin was informed that 'A

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1. K.A.O. U 749, T2, indenture dated 30 Aug. 1682.
2. ? to J. Ellis, 3, 10 July 1688: Ellis, II, 15, 35.

fire happened at the wells at Tunbridge and burnt down a fair range of Newbuildings erected by Mr Neale the Groomeporter, some say to the valew of £300 per Annum'.[1] But damage was minimal, as was quickly pointed out:

> These are to give Notice to all Persons, That the fire that happened July 1 1688 about one of the Clock in the Morning upon Tunbridge Walks, is no damage to any of the Lodgings, only a few Shops burnt.[2]

Neale estimated the damage at about £2,000 and immediately set about rebuilding. Whether his property was harmed in the second fire remains unknown.[3] The first interests us for three reasons. It reduced the security value of this property, which may have hastened his rebuilding operations. Secondly, he was not deterred from further involvement there. Thirdly, he must have had ready access to fresh capital supplies to finance the rebuilding operation.

It remains to elucidate the financial transactions involved. About two years after purchasing Rusthall manor Neale, 'haveing Occasions for moneyes', approached Thomas Dashwood, a London merchant; a short-term loan of £2,500 was agreed upon, though Neale later maintained that he received less. Pressed, he agreed to convey to Dashwood 'all his Estate att or near Tunn Bridge Wells ... being neer four hundred pounds'. Defaulting, he found that Dashwood and his brother Samuel were suing Sir Thomas Row, a business associate, to recover their loan. The Dashwoods maintained that by 1682 Neale needed money badly, such that he had told Thomas Dashwood

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1. R. Lapthorne to R. Coffin, 7 July 1688: Portledge, 38.
2. L.G., 2361, 2-5 July 1688. Thomas Dashwood later maintained that '.... the greatest parte of the errecons and buildings in the walks att Tunbridge were ... burnt down and distroyed by a casuall fyre': P.R.O. C7/245/58, Neale v. Dashwood, 1692.
3. For the second fire see L.G., 2950, 15-19 Feb. 1694; 3034, 6-10 Dec. 1694, and 'Patricksbourne Briefs', Archaeologia Cantiana, XIV (1882), 184.

> that if hee were not spedily supplyed it would be his ruine having neither money to stave off his Creditors nor to mannage those suites at Law hee had then commenced against ... Lady Ivy.

Dashwood agreed to be bound to Capt. John Hind, a London goldsmith, for a £1,100 loan. When Neale defaulted, Sir Samuel Dashwood felt obliged to pay off part of the commitment. In January 1683 Neale again approached Thomas Dashwood for a large loan. Promising repayment within three months, he raised a further £1,000. Paying neither principal nor interest, he borrowed, that March, £507 10s. from Robert Brabourne. Thomas Dashwood, providing security for £1,000, had to be rescued again by his brother. Two more defaults were recorded in spring 1684 and in April Neale approached Thomas Dashwood for a meagre £100, promising to 'repay him the same and all other moneys due to him and recompense him for all his kindnesses', to which Dashwood obligingly assented. But by mid-August 1686 Neale had repaid only £305, nowhere near even the interest, and accordingly made over the Wells property to help redress the balance. By July 1687 his debt to Dashwood was £3,300.[1]

In 1691 Neale and the Dashwoods again clashed in Chancery over Tunbridge Wells. As further security against his mounting debt Neale granted Dashwood Stockhill, Sudmerhill and Rusthall manors, a windmill, buildings and springs at the Wells in late September 1687 for 199 years. After the 1688 fire Dashwood claimed further security, in the form of other lands and buildings. Thus on 6 May 1690 Neale made over the entire Tunbridge Wells premises to him, with full market rights on the Lower Walks. As a final guarantee against defaulting, he granted manorial lordship to Dashwood, a step he regretted subsequently for he realised Dashwood already knew the property would fetch at least £8,000.[2]

In his reply Dashwood maintained that the manorial and other

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1. P.R.O. C7/243/13, Neale and Sir T. Row v. Thomas Dashwood and others, 1687.
2. P.R.O. C10/531/42, Neale v. Dashwood, 1691.

property had first been made over, early in November 1682, to Sir Peter Colleton[1] to pay off some of Neale's debts. On 21 August 1685 Neale and Colleton had made it over to Dashwood, and two years later he and Neale had settled all accounts. To settle the outstanding £3,500 at 6% Neale transferred his other property and agreed to pay off Dashwood in late September 1689. By that Christmas Neale's debt stood at £3,925, and his persistant refusal to honour it led to still more losses.[2]

Financial loss, however, was not the sole characteristic of the Tunbridge Wells project. Much of the work devolved upon Neale's agent for the enterprise, Sir Thomas Janson. The manner of their meeting remains unknown, though it was probably at Court. An attempt to secure office there in 1673 had come to nil; in 1684 Janson was more successful, being appointed to the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.[3] Before then he had started to work as Neale's agent for Tunbridge Wells. In April 1684 the following notice appeared:

> Whereas it hath been reported, that the late violent Frost hath much impaired the free passage of the Water at Tunbridge Wells, Sir Thomas J'Anson Baronet, and Thomas Neale Esq; have certified under their hands, that the said report is altogether false, they having lately with great care viewed the said Wells and found no defect, but that part of the Pavement was broken, which is now firmly amended, and the said waters run as free as ever.[4]

According to one Chancery witness, Janson acted under Neale's instructions in 'Looking after the Shopps in Tonbridge Walks ... and had one or more Shops there of his own'.[5] The nature of their relationship in subsequent years remains

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1. For Colleton see 171 and Appendix E.
2. P.R.O., C7/245/58. The lordship of Rusthall manor later became vested in the Dashwood family: P.R.O. C11/2318/2, evidence of John Archer.
3. For full details of Janson see Appendix B.
4. L.G., 1924, 24-28 Apr. 1684.
5. P.R.O. C11/2318/2, evidence of John Archer.

a mystery. Janson lived on until 1707, leaving a widow and family.[1]

The entire Tunbridge Wells project tells us much about Neale's methods, his business contacts and associates, and about his, and Janson's, efforts. Both outlay and losses were dauntingly large, the worries excessive.[2] Central to an understanding of Neale's early projects is their financing, and whether this affected his personal financial position. He obviously possessed a persuasive manner and was fortunate in having strong, long-suffering backers. This was particularly true of Thomas Dashwood. Without them Neale could not have pursued a course of continual defaults and loans. Witness the time that elapsed before Dashwood foreclosed on Neale. And when he did, Neale could still deal with an army of besieging creditors. At the very least, therefore, he possessed an outsize gambling streak. Where many would have felt impelled to curb activities to meet commitments, Neale felt capable of rapidly incurring fresh ones.

V

The financing of the early projects and Neale's personal finances were so closely intertwined that it is proposed to examine them as a whole. It is necessary first to look back two generations. Sir Thomas Neale's marriage to two fecund wives contributed greatly to the family's subsequent financial straits. His heir did his best to accentuate the straits upon reaching manhood. He accumulated many debts including one of over £700 to Sir William Lewis. With the playwright's premature death the family lands were left masterless, a boy as heir. For reasons already given,[3] Lewis and Uvedale as guardians allowed the lands

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1. J.W. Clay (ed.), Familiae Minorum Gentium (4 vols. 1896), II, 592.
2. Even so, Neale still found time to serve as a J.P. for Kent: Duckett, II, 287.
3. Supra, 51-2.

to falter economically, a dangerous step as a contemporary explained:

> this constant absence of Lords and other Gentlemen from their Country Residences, opportunizes the nourishment of such greedy Cormorants and such proud Persons their Servants, who manage all their Estates for them, that they are now more stately towards and more pressing up them, then their Masters either would be, or would need to be, if their Masters and Lords were in place, to observe or to be addressed to; but they not being, and their expenses increasing by their living abstracted from all frugality, and separate from these accomodations of extenuating expense, which at times they have, they are necessitated to become projectors of pressures and wild ways to maintain their Luxury, which Tully terms a high piece of injury, and to press and rack their Rents at all disadvantages. [1]

With a master carried off prematurely by death and a young heir absent for a number of years completing his formal education, the statement applied perfectly to the situation at Warnford. By the early 1660s our own Thomas Neale had achieved his majority, entered the family lands and was to set about rectifying the family fortunes.

His real assets at this time amounted to the Hampshire lands and the London house. Marriage brought him a wife and a very handsome portion of £120,000, generous by any standards, and to provide for her he pledged his lands as security for a £40,000 jointure.[2] The next decade and a half were to be crucial. Floating projects was costly if not always successful. With no share flotation of any of his projects until 1687,[3] Neale must have financed them from his wife's portion and from loans, made with monotonous regularity. His expenses for the 1660s and early 1670s show a distinct movement towards overspending. In October 1661 he had contributed £5 towards the voluntary subscription for a 'Present to his Majesty' and was rated

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1. E. Waterhouse, The Gentleman's Monitor (1665), 298-9.
2. W. and G. A./G., E1/136.
3. Supra, 125.

at £8 in the subsidy assessments three years later.[1] In contrast he and his wife subscribed £1,200 and £500 to the City Loans on the Hearth Tax during 1664.[2] In December 1671 he loaned £1,000 to an unnamed individual for a month.[3]

One distinct change was his forging of fresh links with London during these years. Thinking that greater rewards would come from life there than as a prominent country squire, he began acquiring more London property. As we have already seen, he rented a house in Queenhithe.[4] Within two years of the Great Fire he acquired a residence in fashionable Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he occupied no. 40 for the year 1668-9 at least. There he could include as neighbours Mrs. Anne Hearne at no. 39, Robert, 2nd. Earl of Cardigan at no. 41, Lady Diana Curson at no. 43, and at no. 42 that ageing pillar of the law Sir John Maynard, Strafford's accuser, serjeant to Cromwell and Charles II, who retorted to William III's remark 'You must have outlived all the lawyers of your time' with 'Yes, and but for your Highness's coming I might have survived the law itself'.[5] But fashionable London was to offer Neale more than the opportunity of acquiring famous neighbours.

During these years he began to do business with London bankers. Between 1665 and 1672 his balance with Edward Backwell fluctuated wildly. But for 1671-2 it was always under £1,000:

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1. P.R.O. E179/176/559; E179/247/28.
2. C.A.F. Meekings, 'The City Loans on the Hearth Tax, 1664-1668' in A.E.J. Hollaender and W. Kellaway (ed.), Studies in London History (1969), 340n., 341n.
3. W. and G., Ledgers of Edward Backwell, Ledger T, 1671-2, f. 11.
4. Supra, 129, n. 2.
5. Quoted Sir F. Black, An Outline Sketch of the Parliamentary History of the Isle of Wight (1929), 16. For Neale's neighbours see Sir L. Gomme and P. Norman (ed.), The Survey of London, III, pt. I, 52-3.

Table 7 Neale's Annual Bank Balance 1665-1672

1665-6	£360-£460
1666-7	£100
1668-9	£950
1669-70	£260
1670-1	£654
1671-2	£2,277 10s.

Sources: W. and G., Ledgers of Edward Backwell, Ledgers O, P, Q, R, S, T, 1665-72, passim.

Fluctuations apart, the accounts show that Neale could at least count on having ready money at his immediate disposal. They also show the extent to which he placed himself in the hands of goldsmiths and other bankers. In 1666, for example, £110 went to John Colvill, the Lime Street banker;[1] in February 1670, £60 was paid to Mr. Randall, and £257 to Mr. Meynell that July;[2] in December 1671, £100 was paid to Mr. Hoare.[3] A total of £527 went to those bankers who have so far been identified. A chill blast heralded 1672; in his diary for 2 January Danby coldly entered 'A Stop was put to all payments in the Exchequer'.[4] The effect of the Stop was to suspend for a year from 1 January 1672, payment of all Orders issued before 18 December 1671. That exceptions were permitted meant that the Stop was incomplete. Nevertheless, it relieved the government of payments totalling approximately £1,200,000 and allowed adoption of alternative plans.[5] Goldsmith bankers with

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1. For details see Woodhead, 51.
2. Mr. Randall could have been John Randall, possibly a draper, who died Oct. 1676 or his brother Matthew, merchant of St. Bartholomew Exchange, who died 1677. Mr. Meynell was probably Isaac Meynell who continued the goldsmith banking business established by his brother, Francis, who had died in 1666. A third brother, Richard, an apothecary, died in 1683: Woodhead, 134-5, 114-5.
3. James Hoare, (d.1696), financier and banker.
4. B.L. Add. MSS. 28040, f. 6.
5. Chandaman, 227-8.

heavy governmental commitments were hardest hit, a chain reaction followed and many of their clients were also thrown on hard times.[1] Neale, as far as can be discerned, weathered the storm. In 1678 he maintained an account with Child which stood at £1,000,[2] a more than healthy figure for a man with Neale's problems.

The years between the Stop and the Revolution saw Neale's finances deteriorate. His brewing enterprise lost heavily and he placed Shadwell in the hands of trustees. But even these losses were not so serious as they appeared initially. The odium of losing money was spared by a royal promise to be 'maintained if his brewhouse fail'.[3] Thus in March 1677 it was a humbled Neale who admitted to the Commons that he was 'the last man in the world that ought to say anything' in an Excise debate; in three years, he told his colleagues, he had lost £9,000 in brewing.[4] In reply Colonel Birch maintained that 'when a gentleman of his activity and management lost in three years £10,000 it makes him afraid of the rest'.[5] But though losing heavily, Neale continued his brewing operations. His customers included the Hudson's Bay Company, of which he was himself a shareholder for a short while.[6] In late spring 1680 he was paid £39 18s. for beer by the Company; in February 1682 it was decided that 'Mr. John Reyman furnish the Company with the half of the beer and squire Neales Brewhouse the other halfe for the next shipping'.[7]

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1. Backwell had £295,995 involved in the Stop, Colvill £85,000 and Vyner was said to have £400,000: Woodhead, 21, 51, 168.
2. Childs, Ledger 1677-1682, f. 21. The only other entry for this account was in March 1682 when Neale was debited 3s., 'For mending the Blacks Collar': ibid, Ledger 1682-1688, f. 181.
3. A Seasonable Argument, xxv-xvi.
4. Supra, 100.
5. Grey, IV, 235.
6. Infra, 160, 161-2.
7. E.E. Rich (ed.), Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679-84 (1945), pt. I, 52, 180.

During the years before 1688 Neale's investments altered considerably, as table 8 indicates:

Table 8 Neale's Investments 1660-1688

	1660-4	1665-9	1670-4	1675-9	1680-4	1685-8
East India Co.	-	£1,000	£5,000	-	-	-
Gambia Co.	-	-	£400	£400	-	-
Hudson's Bay Co.	-	-	£300	£300	-	-
Royal Adventurers to Africa	-	£800	£800	-	-	-
Royal African Co.	-	-	£1,200	-	-	-

Sources: E.B. Sainsbury (ed.), A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1664-7 (1925), 430; ibid, 1668-70 (1929), 402; ibid, 1671-3 (1932), 306, 309, 310, 311; P.R.O. C8/232/52; Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, A14/2, f. 32d; A43/1, f. 7d; Rich, I, 307; P.R.O.T. 70/75, Royal Adventurers' Minute Book 1664-72, ff. 55v, 56; ibid, T70/185, Royal African Co. Stock Journal 1674-81, 5.

Caution was revealed in his spread of risk by participating in the activities of all the chartered companies of his day. There was also demonstrated a willingness to convert this stock into cash if faced by immediate demands for extra liquidity. The large holdings in the East India and Royal African Companies, and the clear concentration of share activity by Neale in 1670-4 are also to be noticed.

Neale's association with the East India Company dated from May 1666 when, having paid £5, he was admitted to the freedom by redemption and acquired £1,000 of stock (half the nominal amount being paid up) from George Thomson.[1] The favourable conditions of the late 1660s for the Company led Neale to buy on a rising market before the impending crisis over the Stop became apparent and stock prices began to fall sharply. Thus in June 1670 he disposed of his

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1. Sainsbury, 1664-7, 224, 430.

stock to Lord George Berkeley, only to acquire within a few weeks a further £4,000 from Henry Johnson. Neale and his wife held this for a mere two days before selling back to Johnson.[1] In February 1671 and March 1672 Neale disposed of another £3,000, to John Stock, Humphrey Morrice and Abraham Dolins in equal portions. Though operating on falling market with a stock price at 80, Neale purchased £1,000 more stock from John Addis in mid-July 1672, held it for six months and then sold to Henry Griffith.[2] In all these transactions, apart from his initial acquisition, Neale appears in the guise of agent, rubbing shoulders with the mercantile peer Berkeley, who bestrode the East India, Levant and Royal African Companies,[3] and with Henry Johnson the Blackwall shipping magnate. Of his two clients in February 1671, Morrice was an Exchequer Auditor and member of the Eastland Company,[4] Dolins a future member of the New England Company.[5] Thereafter, his relations with the Company changed. He had never attended their frequent sales of silk, diamonds, calicoes, pepper and other commodities, but clearly retained an interest of some sort, explaining his contribution to the Commons debate on pepper in November 1685.[6] He also participated in the activities of the Court-dominated Hudson's Bay Company. At some point before March 1676 he bought £300 stock from Charles Bayly, sometime Governor of Hudson's Bay.[7] He retained the shares briefly, selling in January 1677 to Thomas

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1. Sainsbury, 1668-70, 402.
2. Ibid, 1671-3, 306, 309, 310, 311.
3. D.C. Coleman, Sir John Banks: Baronet and Businessman (1963), passim.
4. Woodhead, 118; R.W.K. Hinton, The Eastland Trade and the Common Weal in the Seventeenth Century (1959), 223.
5. W. Kellaway, The New England Company, 1649-1776 (1961), 293.
6. Supra, 109, 110. I.O.L., B/35-40, East India Company Court Minutes, Apr. 1678-Apr. 1695, make no reference to Neale purchasing imported wares.
7. H.B.C. Archives A 14/2, f. 32d, reproduced in Rich, I, 307. For Bayly see ibid, Pt. I, passim.

Williams.[1] Though supplying beer to the Company in the early 1680s, Neale made no further attempts to acquire stock.

A third strand of investments ran southwards: participation in the African trade. Here he was involved in three enterprises - the Royal Adventurers to Africa, the Gambia Adventurers and the Royal African Company. The Royal Adventurers, whose original character 'was more reminiscent of an aristocratic treasure-hunt than of an organized business: indeed its principal objective was the search for gold',[2] were set up by a revised charter in 1663 with a capital of £120,000. They were controlled by a Governor and thirty-six Assistants, whose qualification was possession of one £400 share. On 21 May 1667 Thomas Grey, Deputy Governor for 1665-6 and 1667-8, was given leave to transfer one share to Neale, followed three weeks later by the acquisition of a second share from a Mr. Ross.[3] Three years later Neale was elected an Assistant, though he attended the Court only twice.[4] Growing financial difficulties, the second Dutch war, the granting of licences to private traders, and the formation of a daughter holding-company - the Gambia Adventurers - tolled the knell for the Royal Adventurers. In December 1670 their sixty creditors demanded payment of the notes owing them. Neale's signature headed their petition. In the following September the creditors promised that if the Company paid '....Us one full Third part of the Respective Debts, Principall and Interest' they would 'transfer the other ⅔ parts of our said Respective summes Due to Us into the present stock of the said Company by subscribinge the Books

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1. H.B.C. Archives A.43/1, f. 7d.
2. K.G. Davies, The Royal African Company (1957), 41.
3. P.R.O. T70/75, ff. 55v, 56.
4. On 28 Jan. 1670 and 10 Jan. 1671: ibid, ff. 93, 99.

of the Company as additional Adventurers'.[1] Eventually neither scheme was used: instead a new company would purchase the Adventurers' assets for £34,000, the money to be used by the old company to pay off its shareholders and creditors.[2]

In 1672 the creditors and others were incorporated as the Royal African Company of England, to 'enjoy the rights and interests which the insolvent corporation surrendered', Neale and his associate John Letten being so included.[3] Neale's role in the new venture was again that of intermediary or agent: he held £1,200 stock for only a day. On 17 July 1674 Gerard van Heythnyson, attorney to James Ward, transferred his client's stock to Neale, who promptly transferred it to Jeffrey Jefferys, one of the two prominent merchants supplying slaves on contract to Virginia.[4] Neale's involvement with the Gambia Adventures was rather different. Here he not only acted for himself, but held on to the stock for much longer than some of his other investments. He had acquired £400 stock by 1673 at the earliest, and used it as security for a £200 loan from Edward Hemmings, a London broker, pointing out to him that it would raise £600 if sold. In August 1676, on Neale's instructions, Hemmings sold the stock for £5-600.[5]

Lastly, Neale was involved with the Levant Company, a regulated venture, and at this time virtually a monopolist supplier of many of England's important needs.[6] Neale

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1. Bodl. Eng. MSS. Misc. d. 12, dated 15 Dec. 1670; ibid, d. 13, dated 11 Sept. 1671. For the Adventurers' point of view see P.R.O. T70/75, ff. 107v, 110v-11. For the Adventurers see also G.F. Zook, 'The Company of the Royal Adventurers trading into Africa 1662-72', Journal of Negro History, IV (1919), 134-231.
2. Davies, 58.
3. C.T. Carr (ed.), Select Charters of Trading Companies, 1530-1707 (Selden Soc., XXVIII, 1913), lxvii, 188-9.
4. P.R.O. T70/185, 5 ; Davies, 295.
5. P.R.O. C8/232/52.
6. R. Davis, 'English Imports from the Middle East, 1580-1780', in M.A. Cook (ed.), Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East (1970), 201.

had no trading interests in the Levant, was never admitted to the Company's freedom, and was never an Assistant or a member of the Generality.[1] So why, then, did he stand in the 1680 elections for the Constantinople embassy? The lucrative nature of this important post provides part of the answer. Appointments to the embassy in Charles II's reign were based on compromise: the Company put up a candidate for royal approval and paid the ambassadorial salary; the King usually accepted the nominee, thereby effectively waiving his rights. With a salary of 8,000 Spanish dollars, a gratuity of another 2,000 and untold opportunities for additional gain, the post tended to attract men of rank rather than aspiring diplomats 'because of the opportunity which it afforded of recuperating diminished fortunes'.[2] Thus Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea, admitted accepting the embassy in 1660 'to no other end than to cleare my debts and advance the revenue of my estate'.[3]

The 1680 election was occasioned by the need to replace Sir John Finch with somebody of 'the mental stamina and aggressiveness needed to deal with the atmosphere of Stamboul'.[4] The ambassador was kept informed of events in England by his nephew:

> For what relates to your stay there, there has bin severall attempts to succeed you. Mr. Neall, my Lord Vaughan and even still my Lord W/inchilsea?/, but my Lord Sunderland told my father of applications made upon that score (without nameing persons) which he would stop if my father was not satisfied that you resolved to come home.[5]

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1. Based on an examination of P.R.O. S.P.Foreign 105/153-4, Levant Company Court Books 1669-76, 1676-85, and 105/332, Register of Admissions to the Company.
2. A.C. Wood, A History of the Levant Company (1964 reprint), 134. In Oct. 1672 the Company reduced the salary from 10,000 to 8,000 dollars; the gratuity was dispensed with at the 1680 election: P.R.O. S.P.Foreign 105/53, 193; 105/54, 189.
3. H.M.C. Finch, I, 342.
4. Wood, 128.
5. Daniel Finch to Sir John Finch, 2 June 1679: H.M.C. Finch, II, 53.

Slowly the tension mounted:

> Yesterday my Lord Chandos took his freedom of the Turks Comp; he hopes to go embassador to Constantinople, and so doth Tom. Neale. To-morrow come seven night whe have another Turkey Court, when 'twill be considered whether they'll send out a new embassador or not. [1]

On 15 April 1680 the return was made of six candidates for the embassy: Chandos, Neale, Sir Thomas Thynne, Major Knatchbull, Sir Richard Dereham and Sir Philip Mathews. The election took place a week later, and after an initial ballot the candidates were reduced to Chandos and Thynne, the former eventually being chosen by 72 votes to 55.[2] But although they now had an ambassador the Levant Company still had problems, for Chandos was tainted with whiggery.

As if this was not enough Neale, although he had lost, was not above interfering. Charles II informed the Company that he 'did not think fit that any person that had been heretofore in Turkey under a less figure than that of an ambassador should now be sent thither with that character,...', Finch was told, his informant adding that the message had probably been sent 'at the importunity of Mr Neale, or else rather at the motion of Secretary Coventry in favour of his nephew ... Sir Thomas Thynne,...'.[3] Between February 1678 and November 1679 Neale had acquired two Court offices[4] which he was now using to great effect. The obvious

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1. John Verney to Sir Ralph Verney, 25 Sept. 1679: H.M.C. VII Report, 475b. The admission of Chandos to the freedom is noted in P.R.O. S.P. Foreign 105/153, 152.
2. Ibid, 182, 185, 186, 188-90. For an elector's account, see John Verney to Sir Ralph Verney, 23 Apr. 1680: H.M.C. VII Report, 478b. For Dereham and Neale see 225.
3. Daniel Finch to Sir John Finch, 10 May 1680: H.M.C.Finch, II, 76. Having apologised for his erring ways, Chandos took formal leave of the King in Feb. 1681 and arrived in Constantinople 22 July 1681. Recalled in Nov. 1684, he left Turkey in Oct. 1687: L.G., 1507, 26-29 Apr. 1680; Luttrell, I, 42, 68; Wood, 251-2.
4. Supra, 110-117.

intention was to use these as a springboard from which to secure the Constantinople appointment. That he was prepared to use this influence after the election suggests a certain ruthlessness in his attitude towards power. For not the first time in his life, however, he was disappointed. Having tried and failed, Neale took no further part in the Levant Company's activities.

Clearly he had wide-scale commercial interests, interests which may have extended even further. The question eluding an answer is for whom was he an agent in many of his share transactions? With open access to the Court, many links with the City and a nimble mind he could well have been acting as a suitable go-between for his superiors at Court, as somebody who was respectable to both parties. Moreover, his connections extended beyond the commercial interests outlined above. Indirectly there were links with the New England and Eastland Companies, and possibly with the Muscovy Company also.[1] Despite his obvious agility Neale concentrated his share-holding activities into a five-year period and after 1680 his portfolio remained empty.

Share disposal, the quest for Court office and the embassy were inextricably bound up with two other features in Neale's life at this time. The marriages of his two step-daughters in 1676 and 1677[2] necessitated handsome portions and therefore posed difficulties. Should he maintain residences in London and Hampshire and constantly travel between the two, or concentrate commitments, cut loose from Hampshire, finance the two marriages and still have something to show for all his efforts? After much thought he decided to cut free from his family's adopted

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1. Dr. J. Clarke, University College at Buckingham, in letter of 15 Apr. 1977, maintains that Neale figures prominently in the Company's archives. A reading of the Minute Books for March 1677 - March 1699, contained in G.L. MS. 1174/1-2, produced no reference to Neale.
2. Supra, 23.

county and return to London, increasingly the centre of all his many activities and interests.

Leaving Hampshire was marked by complications and a trail of costly law suits. In 1676 he sold Peake Tygall manor for an undisclosed sum to Thomas Bonham, Lawrence Cooke and William Morgan; three years later it was settled upon Cooke and his family.[1] These three figured prominently in the ensuing transactions as agents for Sir William Lewis. To help raise money for the first portion Neale pledged West Meon manor to his brother-in-law Sir John Garrard, Sir John Norton and others in 1675.[2] Two years later Isaac Foxcroft, former Governor of Fort St. George,[3] bought West Meon manor, Hall Park, Woodlands, Combe and Privett for £11,000.[4] Disposal of the lands in and around Warnford brought most complications. For Neale it was much more than selling all his lands there in 1678 to Richard Wollaston for £7,500.[5] A start had been made in mid-February 1676 when Neale agreed to sell Bonham and his associates more than 50 acres of land in Warnford for £3,240.[6] A year later Lewis agreed to purchase from Neale a house, farm and just over 100 acres for £460. Agreement was reached between Neale and his wife, a group of men acting as backers, and Bonham and his associates,

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1. The manor remained in Cooke's family until his grandson's bankruptcy in 1735, when it was sold back to the lord of Warnford manor, John Bouverie: V.C.H.Hampshire, III, 71. Cooke had farmed at Widley before moving to Warnford, where he worked 200 acres: Hants R.O. Probate Records, Bishops' series, will dated 28 Aug. 1716.
2. V.C.H.Hampshire, III, 343.
3. E.C. (6th edn. 1672), pt. II, 311; (8th edn. 1674), pt. II, 320.
4. W. and G. A./G., E1/245 indenture dated c. 1678. V.C.H. Hampshire III, 343, states that the manor was sold for an undisclosed sum.
5. Ibid, III, 269; H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1690-1, 275. A Hertfordshire landowner Wollaston, of Gray's Inn, died c. 24 May 1691: V.C.H. Hertfordshire, III, 105-6, 488, 489; P.R.O. C8/434/53; ibid, Prob. 11/403, f. 44.
6. P.R.O. C9/426/20.

acting with Lewis Buckle, a grandson of Sir William Lewis. Bonham and his companions were to convey the lands to Lewis. Soon afterwards, the baronet agreed to purchase a second parcel of land, yielding £23 rent in Warnford, for £4,300. He intended using it as an endowment for a school in nearby Corhampton, but when he discovered that the school was supported from elsewhere he ordered Bonham and his partners to sell the land. The money from the sale was either to be paid to him or be placed in trust for one of his grand-daughters. Subsequently the property was conveyed in trust to Morgan who sold it to Bonham for £460. Such was the position by early March 1677.[1] Bonham and his associates now disposed of part of Lewis's first purchase, selling 64 acres and some buildings to Edward Wyatt, a yeoman formerly renting from Neale, for £150.[2] Some Warnford lands were also sold to Foxcroft, who purchased Wheely Farm and 500 acres at the same time as he bought West Meon manor.[3] Given these transactions, it must have been the family lands, less Peake Tygall, West Meon manor and the land sold to Bonham in Warnford and by his partners to Foxcroft and Lewis, that Neale eventually sold to Wollaston for £7,500.

But Neale and Wollaston were not on good terms, for there were at least four points of contention over the sale. One of Wollaston's first actions was to neglect payment of the £100 legacy Neale's grandfather had left the Warnford poor. Parts of the estate were allegedly omitted from the documents sanctioning transfer; Neale was alleged to have fraudulently sold Wollaston a part of the estate not actually belonging to him. Bonham's claim to his parts was countered with charges of having forged deeds in his own favour. Nor did the matter end there. When Wollaston

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1. P.R.O. C5/448/150.
2. Hants. R.O. 66M67/49.
3. W. and G. A./G., E1/245.

sold the estate a year later to Sir Richard Stephens, a justice of the King's Bench in Ireland, further friction was engendered. Doubts were expressed about the new purchaser's motives. While Stephens alleged he intended purchasing the estate for his son, Bonham maintained that the judge had parliamentary aspirations. Stephens became further annoyed when, having paid £6,028 of the £11,000 purchase price to Wollaston, he was drawn into the friction between him and Neale.[1] Moreover, he then found that he was purchasing a property described as 'waste and untenanted at Warnford', for which Wollaston had not yet 'completed his title by paying all the purchase'.[2] From the tangled mass of litigation two salient points emerge. Neale did not sell solely to Wollaston, rather did he sell him what was left after completing sales to Bonham, Lewis and Foxcroft. Secondly, Neale must have been extremely anxious for ready money. How else could such a property that was allegedly in such bad condition have been sold by Wollaston for such a handsome profit in so short a time?

The litigation caused by the disposal of his Hampshire estate was just part of Neale's legal expenses during these

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1. P.R.O. C8/303/135. In a case heard the year before Bonham accused Neale of collusion with Stephens in an attempt to defraud him of rights and property in Warnford: ibid, C5/451/16.
2. H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1690-1, 275. Tension between Stephens and Wollaston continued. In 1689 Stephens sued over possession of Warnford rectory and advowson: P.R.O. C10/237/93. Litigation concerning purchase of the estate reached the House of Lords on 6 Nov. 1691, with Stephens appealing against a 1690 decree in Wollaston's favour. Although Wollaston had died in May 1691 Stephens pressed for his son, John Wollaston, to answer for his father. On 1 Dec. the Lords rejected the appeal: J.H.L., XIV, 635, 646, 668. Ironically, sale of the Warnford estate brought divisions to Wollaston's own family. In May 1692 Jeremiah and Jonathan Wollaston, grandsons of Richard, sued for a share in his will, including woodland and property in Warnford: P.R.O. C8/434/53.

years. But frequent recourse to the law involved substantial expense[1] which contributed to his worries. By 1688 he had been involved in at least 23 lawsuits, whose frequency is indicated below:

1665-9	6
1670-4	1
1675-9	6
1680-4	5
1685-8	5

The concentration in the 1660s is explained by Neale's involvement in winding up the affairs of his wife's first husband, Sir Nicholas Gould, who had extensive trading interests in Genoa and Naples.[2] Then there were the spiteful frays with Lady Ivy over Shadwell. In November 1685 there was an embarrassing clash with the great merchant prince Sir Nicholas Crispe. Two years before Crispe had owned a mansion in Charterhouse, Middlesex, which Neale admired and proposed to purchase. They agreed a price of £2,252 10s. and Crispe then 'att the Direccon and desire of the said Thomas Neale' moved his family and possessions out and took another house, only to find that Neale denied ever having made such an agreement. Neale's defence was that he planned to demolish and redevelop the site, and that as Crispe had misled him on a matter of rights, and Mr. Foche, the scrivener handling the deal, had dragged his heels for nearly a year, he felt that he was thereby

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1. As an indication of contemporary costs, Samuel Weale spent 24 years in Chancery suits from the 1670s onwards. In one of seven suits '49 witnesses were Examined and the Bill of Charges ... was above £320...': Bodl. Rawl. MSS. D. 808, f. 56, n.d.

2. P.R.O. C7/249/87, Neale v. Langhorne, 1665; C10/100/10, Neale v. Adams, 1665; C10/153/103, Neale and Gould v. Gould and Baker, 1668; C10/493/174, Neale and Gould v. Trussell, 1675; C7/576/106, Osburne and Berrow v. Neale, 1678; D.E.C. Yale (ed.), Lord Nottingham's Chancery Cases (2 vols. Selden Soc. 1957-61), I, 333-4.

released from any arrangement.[1]

A crystal-clear feature about Neale, especially to his contemporaries, was that, being a speculator, he was constantly harried by besieging creditors. A minimum estimate of his debts for the years before the Revolution is set out overleaf in Table 9.

To slake his financial thirst Neale had recourse to both the large and small men in the business world of late-Stuart London. Creditors included Sir Peter Colleton, the substantial West Indies planter. Their relationship appears to have dated from c. 1676 when they were both Hudson's Bay Company shareholders.[2] Neale certainly mortgaged some of his Warnford lands to Colleton at that time for £2,000.[3] Within a few years he was to become indebted again, 'for a considerable sum of money', such that in early November 1682 he assigned his manorial interests at Tunbridge Wells to Colleton.[4] He borrowed from goldsmiths, such as Captain Hind to whom he failed to repay a £1,100 loan raised in 1682, and Thomas Williams from whom he borrowed in 1683. He also did business with merchants though some of them must have thought twice before granting him extra facilities. In March 1683, for instance, he borrowed £206 from William Browne for a three-month period and calmly forgot to repay. Some creditors were patient men, such as his brother-in-law Samuel Garrard and Sir Mathew Holworthy, who did not press unduly for the £5,000 he owed each of them. Others did not tarry but demanded repayment, like Sir James Butler. To honour his

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1. P.R.O. C9/85/66, Crispe v. Neale, 1684. For Crispe see R. Porter, 'The Crispe Family and the African Trade in the Seventeenth Century', Journal of African History, IX (1968), 57-77.
2. Rich, 1679-84, I, 307.
3. W. and G. A./G., E1/245, damaged indenture with note inside, n.d. Hants. R.O. 66M67/T49 also refers to a mortgage to Colleton.
4. P.R.O. C7/245/58.

Table 9

Neale's Debts, 1666-1688

	1666	1670	1671	1674	1675	1676	1677	1682	1683	1684	1687	1688
Robert Brabourne									£507			
William Browne									£206			
Sir James Butler						£13,000						
Sir Peter Colleton						£2,000						
John Colvill	£110											
Thomas Dashwood								£2,500	£1,015	£100	£1,600	£50
Samuel Garrard						£5,000						
Mr. Gibson				£55								
Richard Goodall									£1,300			
Colonel Hatton											£120	
Edward Hemmings				£200	£70							
Captain John Hind								£1,100				
James Hoare			£100									
Sir Mathew Holworthy							£5,000					
Mr. Meynell		£257										
Mr. Randall		£60										
Mr. Rodway											£30	
Samuel Sheppard											£1,000	£4,000
Lawrence Stanyar	£250											
William Tayler				£2,500?								
William Thorowgood										£206		
Mr. White											£32	
Thomas Williams									£1,300			£1,200
Annual Total	£360	£317	£100	£2,755?	£70	£20,000	£5,000	£3,600	£4,328	£306	£2,782	£5,250

Sources: P.R.O. C7/99/17; C7/243/13; C7/296/65; C8/232/52; C8/520/27; C8/548/83; C9/426/20; C10/531/42; W. and G. A./G., E1/129; Backwell Ledgers O, R, S, T.

obligations to Butler, Neale was forced into desperate straits and sought a partial solution by selling his Hampshire lands and mortgaging Shadwell.[1]

But though Butler regained his money some of Neale's other creditors were treated very shabbily. Thomas Dashwood was singularly unfortunate. Lending money on at least four occasions, partially paying off Neale's debt to Hind on another, he had to be rescued at least once by his own brother Samuel. Yet the constant stream of broken promises to Thomas Dashwood did not seem to worry Neale. Indeed he even promised total repayment at the time of securing a £100 loan from Dashwood, a promise he renegued. By August 1686, for example, he had repaid Dashwood only £305 over nearly ten months, a sum that was nowhere near even the interest that he owed him. Small wonder, therefore, that the two men faced each other in Chancery. Two creditors of particular importance were Richard Goodall and Edward Hemmings, both of whom acted as agents for Neale.[2] Neale employed Hemmings to dispose of an estate in Bedfordshire 'which he [Neale] alledged was worth about £20,000' and in handling the financial arrangements of the marriage of one of his step-daughters.[3]

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1. P.R.O. C9/426/20.
2. For a full list and biographical details, see Appendix B.
3. Neale had bought property in Silveshoe, Pullox hill, Litten and Fielden, Bedfordshire, c. 1666 from Dame Barbara Croft for £30,000. A subsequent minor property alteration with a local family backfired when Neale overrode the agreement in selling to Thomas Cheney: P.R.O. C6/222/39, Neale v. Milward, 1675. This is almost certainly the land Hemmings was employed to sell, which he did in Dec. 1674: P.R.O. C8/232/52. In the former case it was stated that Neale had sold the land about a year since. He was also marginally involved in the disposal of lands at Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire, which had once belonged to Colonel John Okey the executed regicide: ibid, C7/513/29, Cage v. Neale, 1674; C7/578/23, same v. same, 1678. In June 1668 Neale was proposing to purchase the manor of Mere and Godney, Somerset: Mr. Gape to Duchess of Somerset, 23 June 1668: H.M.C. Marquis of Bath MSS., IV, 261. In summer 1691 he applied for a new lease of Burnham monastery, Buckinghamshire: Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 1516-7.

Clearly the years 1676-80 were a watershed in Neale's financial history, with the worries increasing. Throughout the period to 1688 Neale was continually able to borrow. A risk-taker par excellence, he could afford to borrow from one source by promising repayment from another. He had his Court offices upon whose financial and social safety he could profitably trade. As a result he could raise money from many quarters, money which in many instances was never repaid. Even when his defaulting led to yet another Chancery suit the experience did not deter him. Moreover, if he lost he then had not only the debt but legal costs as well. But still he went on, keeping face by marrying off his step-daughters to eligible bachelors, developing Shadwell and Tunbridge Wells and dealing with creditors whose identities read, to all intents and purposes, like a roll-call of the late Stuart business world.

VI

Whether the early projects were profitable, despite Neale's personal indebtedness, remains in doubt. The conventional difficulties of evaluating profitability and the rate of profit[1] are that much more impenetrable through the absence of Neale's business papers. Some projects, such as that for Jarrow Slake and the mining pump, remained mere paper projects. So, too, did a project for Throckmorton Street, London, which Neale cut short in the mid-1670s by selling some houses he owned there for a much-needed £6,000.[2] Occasionally even his sharp wits failed to keep pace with those of associates. When, in 1681, for example, Sir Denis Gawden offered him at low rent the remaining sixteen-year term on a lease in Well Close and East Smithfield manor, Neale realised that

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1. See R. Grassby, 'The Rate of Profit in Seventeenth-Century England', E.H.R., LXXXIV (1969), 721-51, esp. 721-4.
2. P.R.O. C8/232/52.

'the same by building and otherwise might be greatly Improved'.[1] Unable to raise the £300 purchase price, he went to Richard Goodall and secured additional funds, at the price of Goodall becoming joint purchaser. Having no alternative but to agree, Neale was then dumbstruck when he found that Goodall promptly made a quick sale to Dr. Barbon for £1,500, and omitted to pay him 50% of the profit![2]

Such setbacks apart, Neale made substantial progress in developing Shadwell, thereby altering substantially the skyline along the lower reaches of the Thames. The growing town derived much of its wealth from shipping. Former Spanish prizes rode at anchor off Shadwell, ships sailed in from Jamaica; 'New England Alley' and the 'Tobacco Roll', a local hostelry,[3] reflected just some of the many connections. Shadwell throbbed with life. Watermen plied to and fro, coal merchants did a thriving business, shipwrights and victuallers had full order books. Salters, brewers, surgeons and merchants prospered there.[4] It remains unclear, however, whether Shadwell constituted a really long-term gain for Neale. Certainly the gains from urban development were much greater than those from landed property, but the price of the higher return was that urban property 'was by no means a simple, passive investment for those who wanted an economic return'.[5] Nor was the success of Tunbridge Wells for Neale any the more straightforward. Complex local ownership, fires and the unceasing demands forced him, eventually, to part with his interest there, if only to purchase temporary

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1. P.R.O. C8/520/27.
2. Ibid, and C8/520/35, Neale v. Goodall and others, 1690.
3. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1670, 610; ibid, 1672, 77, 512.
4. Henry Durley, Shadwell merchant, stood as one of two sureties for an East India Company factor in Feb. 1693 for £1,000: I.O.L. B/40, Court Minutes Apr. 1690 - Apr. 1695, 177a.
5. Grassby, 740.

peace from his creditors. In that he was able to use his development there as security for further loans, the promotion of Tunbridge Wells was of benefit to Neale. His forced parting with it, however, denied him its permanence.

For Neale the years prior to the Revolution were an orgy of spending. What other label can be applied to a period when a man runs through £120,000 in a dozen years, notches up debts of £18,000 in a year, as happened in 1676, and pursues a scheme of realising assets and swopping security for ready cash in order to cope with creditors? To supplement his finances he made small loans, with a going rate of 6%, and indeed on several occasions was himself owed considerable sums of money. He dabbled in company investment, but was sorely limited by the restricted opportunities available given the small size of the London business community. Facilities for trading in commercial stock before 1690 depended greatly upon contact with personalities and on being au fait with the current commercial intelligence.[1] Having embarked upon the chase for financial and social promotion, Neale found it impossible to stop. Money was pledged here and there, lawsuits clung to him, ideas of becoming an ambassador shot through his mind. Such actions were the characteristics not only of a social aspirant but also of a man whose powers of judgement had become seriously impaired, doubtless through being buffeted in an ever-deepening vortex of debt and credit. The interaction between the early projects and politics was slight, though he did try to use his influence. After 1688 the relationship between all three elements - politics, projects and influence - was to be much more pronounced.

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1. K.G. Davies, 'Joint-Stock Investment in the Later Seventeenth Century', Econ. Hist. Rev., IV (1952), 283-301, esp. 293-7.

Chapter V

NEALE AS MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AFTER 1688

The political environment of Williamite England was very different from the situation before 1688. Allegiance to James II was not easily squared with support for his Dutch successor. At the Revolution staunch Tories faced three choices if they had not already broken with James II because of his excesses - flight with him, adaptation of political views or seclusion. They were in a dilemma, their self-confidence shaken. The majority concluded that the King's flight was 'voluntary, unforced and criminal' and that 'we did not dispossess our Prince, but he deserted us'.[1] A member's crisis of conscience was greatly eased by the new ruler's desire for maximum national unity, no party faction, and, most important of all, oblivion. External developments made a reasonable settlement all the more urgent. In November 1688 France declared war on the United Provinces; Tyrconnel was inciting disturbances in Ireland, and James II could still count on support from Scotland, although William had been asked to assume that country's administration until a Convention could be summoned.[2] It was imperative, therefore, that England have a stable government in which differences were forgotten to enable the common enemy to be faced. Transfer of power and hereditary succession were not easily reconciled in some men's minds, but the monarch's sense of duty and reliability, which enamoured him to his new subjects, and the passage of time eased the difficulty of modifying political allegiance. Certainly there would be changes. William swiftly realised, for example, that as representative

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1. Feiling, 248.
2. E.S. de Beer, 'The English Revolution' in New Cambridge Modern History, VI (1970), 206.

of a junior line, elevated to the throne by rebellion, he could no longer count on the hitherto assured support of the Lords. Politically the period was marked by shifting alliances and allegiances, by William veering between Whig and Tory, by the rise of the unpopular Junto, and the appearance of Harley with his tortuous abilities. It is against such a background that Neale's later parliamentary career should be seen.

I

From July 1686 onwards, James II had outraged more and more of his subjects by his actions. The moderates and the extreme Anglicans broke with him. Apprehensive, temperamentally rigid, devoid of imagination, fearful, and teetering on an enormous physical and mental breakdown, the King lurched blindly from one error to another. In autumn 1687 he had used the local governmental machinery with the intention of obtaining a new, and hopefully suppliant, Parliament. The groundswell of disaffection mounted. By March 1688 Danby, free from the threat of impeachment, had decided to throw in his lot with William of Orange, a decision confirmed by the birth of the Prince of Wales that June. From September onwards those who were to accompany William in his descent on England slowly made their way across Holland in readiness. In the north Danby and his fellow conspirators plotted and awaited the Prince's arrival. When he did arrive, at Torbay on 5 November, the news came as a shock to them; they felt doubly vulnerable, cut off from William and menacingly stranded between London and James II's supporters in Scotland.

As William progressed inland, leaving the pipe-smoking, apple-donating citizenry of Brixham behind him,[1] Englishmen

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1. S.B. Baxter, William III (1966), 238.

had to make up their minds. Did they support the King, or were they going to fall in with the new arrival? Some were hesitant, especially leading landowners in the west who had vivid memories of Jeffreys' sanguinary treatment of their fellows after 1685, and were mindful of the King's recent proclamation. The defection of Sir Edward Seymour and the Earl of Bath, while effectively ensuring William would not be attacked from the rear, encouraged others to follow suit. Gradually the King's supporters, disillusioned, went over to his son-in-law. Lord Churchill, the Dukes of Grafton and Ormonde and the Prince of Denmark joined his camp, hastening the King's retreat from Salisbury to London and heightening his paranoia still further.

During these stirring events, Neale made up his mind on a course of action. Ardent prerogatives man though he was, he could not stomach the excesses to which James II had tried to take the country. There was no love lost between him and his royal master, who had either deprived him of his office of Groom of the Bedchamber, or driven him from it, by 1687.[1] As Neale's other two appointments - Groom Porter and Master of the Mint - were for life, he felt safe in their tenure. By late November Neale had decided support for William of Orange was preferable to that for the King. Accordingly, on 4 or 5 December he left London with four or five servants and travelled to Ludgershall.[2] The more intelligent of Ludgershall's inhabitants could not have helped but see the significance of one of their M.Ps. arriving one day and that of 'Engelse My Lords en volontaires' on the 6th.[3] Whether Neale encountered William there is unknown but the Prince was certainly nearby, for he reached Hungerford on the 7th

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1. Supra, 114.
2. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1687-9, 416.
3. N. Japiske (ed.), Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck (2 vols. 1927-8), II, 652.

where he held truce negotiations with Nottingham, Godolphin and Halifax.[1] In the ensuing crisis period which acted as 'a kind of political pressure-cooker, accentuating all the forces of instability and change',[2] it became increasingly apparent that the power struggle centred on Halifax with his gift of eloquence and Danby the experienced political manager. By early January the latter had definitely decided to abandon James II's cause, in favour of that of Mary, and busied himself in preparations for the Convention.

When that body assembled on 22 January 1689 Neale was absent, dispossessed of a parliamentary seat for the first time in twenty years. Given the importance of the election, his many years' experience, his official offices and the tenor of the events that were taking place, his absence clearly merits explanation. Professor Plumb has shown how the Convention adopted a middle course of action despite the fact that the forces of Exclusionism had triumphed.[3] In their reports to James II his agents had told of many members who were 'right' even though they disagreed with the King's policies. From Wiltshire the agents had written that the voters of Ludgershall intended choosing

> Thomas Neale who is supposed right, being ambitious to please your Majesty; and Henry Clarke, who is .... nott to be reconciled to your Majesties interest except the feare of looseing his office, in the Allination Office, will engage him.[4]

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1. Baxter, William III, 241.
2. J.R. Jones, The Revolution of 1688 in England (1972), 313.
3. J.H. Plumb, 'The Elections to the Convention Parliament of 1689', Cambridge Historical Journal, V (1937), 235-54.
4. Duckett, I, 226. For Clarke see J. Waylen, 'The Wiltshire Compounders', W.A.M., XXIII (1887), 336; for the Alienation Office, E.C., (15th edn. 1684), pt. II, 120. In a list of the Court party for 1670-3 Clarke had been described as having had 'a lick at the Bribe-pot': Flagellum Parliamentarium (Aungervyle Soc. reprint, 1881), 20. The list makes no reference to Neale.

The prognostication was incorrect. Ludgershall returned instead John Smith, a staunch Whig who had shared the representation with Neale in the first Exclusion parliament, and was to become chief whip in the Convention,[1] and John Deane, who had sat for Great Bedwin, Wilts., in the first Exclusion parliament and was to vote against making William and Mary King and Queen.[2]

Though absent, Neale was far from inactive. By mid-February 1689 he was back in London, working in the Mint.[3] On 13 March he was sworn in as Groom Porter to William.[4] Though no longer a Groom of the Bedchamber, he could nevertheless count on the annual £500 pension that went with the office for life.[5] The safety of his offices assured, Neale now began building new political bridges. On 27 March he sent a memorandum to the Whig Duke of Shrewsbury, recently appointed Secretary of State:

> There having been some rumour of the Lady Clarke's son being the nominal Prince of Wales, Mr. Neale on enquiry has been informed by one Dr. Bigs... Lady Clerke had a son the beginning of June last. That son is not now to be heard of. Sir Roger Clerke went with King Jeams. Lady Clerke is flying, and will be gone Friday next.... for France.

Lady Clerke's mother was the indominitable Lady Thedosia Ivy, with whom Neale had already tangled,[6] and she had told Biggs that she wanted to 'overcome Neale' and that the Prince of Wales 'was her daughter Clerk's child, and that the people was mad to know what was become of the

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1. Official Return, I, 538; A True List of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses Summoned ... to meet at Westminster, 22 January 1688-9 (Somers Tracts, 1st Collection), III (1748), 331; D.N.B., XVIII, 485.
2. Official Return, I, 538; A True List..., 331; Browning, III, 172.
3. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1689-90, 21.
4. P.R.O. L.C. 3/31, 35.
5. J.H.C., X, 107.
6. Supra, 132-4.

child'.[1] What response Neale received to his communication is unknown. Why he sent it at all is. Having changed loyalties, he felt it only proper to inform the authorities about the likely flight of one of James II's supporters.

Later that year a disputed by-election gave Neale the opportunity of returning to Westminster. The death of Oliver St. John in late summer[2] caused a by-election at Stockbridge, a small Hampshire market town. Notoriously corrupt, it was easily influenced both by leading local families and by the Duchy of Lancaster authorities who owned considerable property there.[3] The corruption was graphically described by a visitor who wrote of Stockbridge as:

> A small pitiful place, whose great advantage of late is in choosing burgesses, to which they invite and incourage any man that will spend his money, and at last the choice is him they think will die soonest, that they may choose again.[4]

This they had to do in 1689 for when the by-election returns were disputed a fresh election was ordered.[5] In the ensuing by-election Neale was returned.[6] His candidature had been aided by the recent grant to him of Duchy rents of assize in Stockbridge, because he

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1. H.M.C.Buccleuch, I, 37-8. The memorandum and the testimony of Dr. Biggs are among Shrewsbury's papers in Northamptonshire Record Office, which have not been examined. Biggs may perhaps be identified with Roger Biggs, born 1631, who treated Elias Ashmole's wife: Josten, IV, 1839.
2. St. John had died of smallpox by 31 Aug.: Wood, III, 308.
3. Until 1792 the Duchy leased out stewardship of Somborne Hundred, Stockbridge Borough and manor and other Hampshire courts: R. Somerville, Office-Holders in the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster from 1603 (1972), 22.
4. Poynter, 154. James II's agents had written of Stockbridge: 'Wee can give no good Accompt of this place': Duckett, I, 432.
5. J.H.C., X, 276, 286-7, 308. Stockbridge's political life is treated in R. Hill, 'The Stockbridge Elections', Proc. H.F.C. XXIII (1968), 120-7.
6. Official Return, I, 561.

> ... had at his Charge found out and Discovered ... certain Rents... which were due and payable ... in right of their... Duchy and had been for diverse Years then past Concealed and unpaid... [1]

Such a grant placed him in an influential position with local voters. Though complaints were to be made that he had used 'indirect Practices' at Stockbridge,[2] he was nevertheless back at Westminster. A few weeks later the Convention was dissolved, elections were held and a new Parliament met on 20 March 1690, in which he was returned for Ludgershall once again. He had survived the Revolution.

II

Neale's attitude upon returning to Westminster, and the line he would have taken in the crucial debates that March may be adduced from Grascombe's list of 1690. This shows him as a Court supporter, as 'Groom-Porter, Master and Worker of the Mint, with a reward of £10,000 lately given him'.[3] Why he had been rewarded thus is unknown, unless as some form of compensation. In March 1690 Parliament broke with time-honoured tradition and voted William and Mary customs for only four years, renewed for another five in 1694. In effect, the King would no longer be able to 'live of his own'. Members eagerly sought the freedom and opportunity to protect the King from ill advice and more frequent Parliaments were to be the method employed. Sentiments expressed in debate echo this. In the

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1. P.R.O., D.L. 42/26, Miscellaneous books, f. 8. Neale was to have the grant for 30 years. The local bailiff was deputed by Neale to collect the rents: J.H.C., XI, 36. The rents subsequently became a family perquisite, being granted to Neale's nephew Robert Price and then Uvedale Price: P.R.O., D.L. 42/26, ff. 8-9; ibid, 42/27, ff. 69v-70.
2. J.H.C., X, 327-8.
3. I.F. Burton, P.W.J. Riley and E. Rowlands, Political Parties in the Reigns of William III and Anne: The evidence of Division Lists, Institute of Historical Research Supplement 7(1968), 50; W.J. Cameron, 493. The original list is contained in Bodl. Rawl. MSS. D. 846.

Convention Seymour had warned that lavish grants would make ministers independent. Other members went further, Colonel Austin pointing out that granting revenue for life 'will prevent any ill Minister from being called in question and you can never reach them'.[1] Though Neale remained mute during the March debates, or made statements which Grey omitted or felt were not worth recording, his line of thought can be discerned.

His views on constitutional change became apparent in debates on the Triennial bills. Despite the statement in the Declaration of Rights that 'Parliaments ought to be held frequently', it was some while before politicians grappled with the problem. Not the least of the reasons for delay was disunity over intended changes. By January 1690 two new bills had been drafted and dropped, and then the issue remained in abeyance for three years. In January 1693 Shrewsbury introduced a bill in the Lords for annual Parliaments. Altered in committee stage so that Parliament was to meet and sit every year, and that there should be a new Parliament every three years, the bill went to the Commons.[2] In February 1693 it received a second reading there. The Court tried hard to defeat it by employing wide-ranging arguments. Sir Orlando Gee asserted that it would invade prerogative and aid Louis XIV who, he reminded members, had 'formerly given money for Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliament, and now you do it for him Gratis'. Paul Foley thought it fair that if 'we cannot find out our ill Ministry, others should come that they may find them out'.[3] Neale left members in no doubt about his own beliefs:

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1. C. Roberts, 'The Constitutional Significance of the Financial Settlement of 1690', Historical Journal, XX (1977), 59-76, passim.
2. M.A. Thomson, A Constitutional History of England, 1642-1801 (1938), 192-3.
3. Grey, X, 305, 307. Luttrell (P), 398, gives rather different phraseology.

It is in the interest of the King that the Bill pass, as well as that the Subject will thereby be well pleased, since it will show them that their Majesties intend to govern by Law. It is objected, 'That it come from the Lords'. A good thing may sometimes come. I cannot think that passing this Bill will impair our Credit, as is told us, nor that it can gratify our Enemies. We are told, 'this is not a proper time', but I think, that in so good a Reign, such a good law is to be gained.[1]

In debate he opposed the first clause, wanting a rider explaining 'holding a parliament', but this was refused.[2] Such advocacy clearly set him apart from courtiers employing far-fetched arguments, and obstructive moves, to thwart the bill. Nor was his belief in triennial parliaments evanescent. His name is in a list circulated among opposition leaders late in 1693 of what appeared to be supporters of a fresh triennial bill. Of the 171 potential supporters, approximately 40% were placemen, accounted for by the Court bringing less pressure to bear on placemen in matters of constitutional reform than in those of finance.[3] Yet Neale must have realised that strong adherence would inevitably jeopardise his own Court places; to have persisted he must have been assured of safety.

Further insight into his thoughts about constitutional matters can be gained by considering some of his other statements in the House. In November 1692, for example, he moved that the House maintain its customary practice of printing votes.[4] After prayers on the morning of the 10th he moved that 'upon Friday last this House had a most gracious speech from His Majesty, which he desired might

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1. Grey, X, 307; Cobbett, V, 767.
2. Luttrell (P), 406, 416; Friedrich Bonnet to Court of Brandenburg, 7/17 Feb. 1693: L. von Ranke, A History of England Principally in the Seventeenth Century (6 vols. 1875), VI, 211-2.
3. D.R. Rubini, Court and Country 1688-1702 (1967), 111-112. The list, printed in ibid, 263-7, is located in Berkshire Record Office, Trumbull Add. MSS. 13/68.
4. Luttrell (P), 214.

now be read and that the House... take it into consideration'. When Sir Robert Cotton moved that the King be thanked, Neale took the motion further, underlining the strength of his own thoughts:

> I stand not up to second that motion only but to thank him effectually by passing a vote you will all supply him according to his occasions.[1]

Such a statement was reminiscent of his many remarks on the same theme in Charles II's parliaments.[2]

But there, in many ways, the similarity ended. For many M.Ps. at this time political confusion appeared to reign supreme. At the heart of the new ruler's thinking lay the achievement of twin aims: maximum national unity so that the French war could be effectively prosecuted, and no one party domination of his administration. After a short honeymoon with the whigs, the King veered towards Nottingham and Carmarthen. But a coalition did not work well; from 1693 onwards the whigs were increasingly favoured. Between 1694 and 1698 they were to be in the ascendant.

Neale's attitude towards major issues during these years was governed by several features. While his idea of strong support for the crown was retained, he modified his views with time and experience. In 1691, for example, he showed increased leanings towards the whigs, only to veer towards the opposition for brief spells during 1693-6. With the exception of triennial bills, land banks and the Council of Trade issue, he was to vote solidly whig. His support for the Triennial bill was motivated by a desire for unity, for an indication of intent. Over land banks and the Council of Trade, it was a matter of personal involvement and experience. His own dealings with the Lords of Trade and Plantations convinced him of the desirability of some

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1. Luttrell (P), 215.
2. Supra, Ch. III.

sort of alternative. But development of his mild flirtation with the opposition into a full blown love affair was of greater value to the opposition than to Neale. With his important offices, at Court and in the Mint, permanent defection would have turned him into an opposition asset. This he was not to be; from 1696 onwards he was a solid Whig.

A major theme of the 1690s was the need for money to finance a war 'waged on a scale and with a ferocity of which the country had no previous experience',[1] a war that emphasised and multiplied England's financial problems. Such a vast undertaking engendered problems peculiar to such an enterprise. In 1689, for example, there was no governmental machinery for paying troops overseas. Customs, Excise, land and poll taxes - the traditional main revenue sources - were unable to cope with the mounting demands. With ready money required in great quantities, and an economy in which reliable credit devices were absent, extensive borrowing followed, from merchant syndicates, individuals such as Sir Solomon de Medina, and from abroad, particularly the Estates of Holland. In addition Parliament grossly overestimated tax yields while ignoring tax collection's twin problems - time and the mechanics of the operation.[2]

The volume of Neale's parliamentary contributions during this period was remarkable. It was in financial matters, of course, that he gave freest rein to his eloquence. Early in November 1691 the House voted that a supply be granted for a vigorous war against France. In debate, Neale moved that since 'they had voted a supply they would proceed to the sum, which he desired might be a sum not

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1. P.G.M. Dickson, The Financial Revolution in England (1967), 7.
2. For the operation of tax collection see C. Brooks, 'Public Finance and Political Stability: The Administration of the Land Tax, 1688-1720', Historical Journal, XVII (1974), 281-300.

exceeding four millions',[1] to be countered by Sir Thomas Clarges who pointed out that they could only vote a specific sum when they knew the King's requirements in ships and weaponry for that year.[2] The choice of Neale to make such a speech, in the opinion of some, weakened the governmental case:

> Aujourdhui la chambre basse a examiné la grande affaire des subsides. On a d'abord tout d'un voix resolu un subside. Apres quoy un membre nommé Mr. Nell, grom porter, qui a joue tous ... plus de cent mille pieces a dit qu'il etoit d'avis de donner quatre millions de livres sterlins et non d'avantage. Il eut eté bon qu'un autre membre eut dit la meme chose.[3]

Although Neale saw the gravity of the war problem in terms of both men and money, there were clearly those who were not impressed by his zeal. Despite an additional grant for naval construction, notably in Portsmouth, there were still problems, and when the subject was again debated six weeks later Colonel Godfrey drew attention to recent substantial changes in French military organisation, a fact that was supported by both Neale and Sir Ralph Dutton.[4]

To the 1692 debates on supply Neale made a useful contribution, revealing both originality and agility. As a wartime expedient he suggested impositions of 2s. 6d. and 1s. a bushel respectively on imported and home-produced salt. This, he explained:

> will raise at least £200,000, for I compute in England there are about eight millions of people, who may one with another consume about half a bushel of salt. This will raise a great sum and not be felt.[5]

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1. Luttrell (P), 3.
2. Bonnet to Court of Brandenburg, 6/16 Nov. 1691: von Ranke, VI, 163.
3. ? to Dykevelt (?), 6/16 Nov. 1691: H.M.C. VII Report, 206. Partially quoted in Browning, I, 495, n.2.
4. Luttrell (P), 80; Bonnet to Court of Brandenburg, 20/30 Nov. 1691: von Ranke, VI, 168.
5. Luttrell (P), 112.

But the proposal provoked criticism; Sir Robert Sawyer quickly attacked, arguing for more rational planning of such a measure.[1] When a committee of the whole resolved that £200,000 from the 1692 revenue be applied to the war, Neale again pressed his point:

> I compute there are in this kingdom about six millions of people that eat salt and that each head, ... may eat half a bushel of salt, which by computation may raise about £150,000. And I value it at but £100,000; if it comes to more you will have the advantage of it.[2]

With his previous statements offering precise, correct evidence, Neale's ability to lose two million people and £50-£100,000 in a week is to be marvelled at!

When supply was again debated in mid-December Neale enthused about taxing salt. Paul Foley's suggestion of a land tax at 4s. in the £ was countered with yet another suggestion from Neale's fertile brain. There was, he said,

> a way to raise money without paying so much interest as you do on all your taxes - by settling a perpetual fund of £120,000 to pay the interest of £2,000,000. This will tend to strengthen your government by interesting so many persons to wish well to it and to endeavour to preserve it. I shall propose the fund to be on the hereditary excise and to lay 1s. a bushel on all salt made at the pan and 2s. a bushel on all foreign salt, and you may for further security give a clause of credit as you did on the poll act.

This placed him in direct contradiction to Foley, who felt a perpetual fund was unworkable because of the extra contingencies involved.[3]

The poll act to which Neale referred had been debated for much of 1692. On 19 January he had opened the debate by moving for a 20s. tax on all 'who have trades and hang out signs.... This I believe will raise £100,000'. Sir John

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1. Luttrell (P), 112. Neale's proposal was seconded by Col. Sackville, Sawyer's by Sir Christopher Musgrave.
2. Ibid, 123.
3. Ibid, 321.

Lowther favoured a fund for a perpetual interest, arguing lengthily how this would meet everybody's needs and be reasonably simple: 'Thus the whole tax is raised at once, paying about £60,000 per annum for interest and ... one of the ninepences on the excise will do'. Neale concurred, arguing that with time it would succeed.[1] His contribution to the next three days of debate was sustained and continuous, fresh and, at times, daring. He and Mr. Machell suggested that every tradesman, shopkeeper and artificer with an estate of £300 or upwards pay 10s. quarterly. Sir Christopher Musgrave moved that peers be enmeshed in the state fund-raising net; an annual contribution from every duke of £50 would, he argued, 'make the bill go easier'. Neale and Sir Robert Sawyer argued for the inclusion of barons and above at £40.[2] Clergy, teachers and preachers with livings worth £80 or more should be ranked as gentlemen, and included. Neale then suggested including money out at interest, but this was poorly received.[3]

On 18 January 1692 the House, receiving a report from the committee for raising money upon a perpetual interest fund, went into Committee. Once again Neale opened the debate, with proposals for an additional clause:

> to empower those commissioners to examine and state the ... debt to the bankers and to see how it stands. For I am of opinion that debt is not half so much as is pretended.

There was, he elaborated, a practical reason for his suggestion:

> You have taxed most things in this kingdom but money. If you will tax that, you may raise £200,000 at least. And to this, I propose two per cent on all money out at interest and in stock and none else. And there may be ways

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1. Luttrell (P), 139-40.
2. Ibid, 143, 148.
3. Ibid, 151.

> found to bring it in without bringing in question the persons' name who owe it.[1]

In reply Sir Charles Sedley pointed out that while the intention was laudable, the rate was excessive; half that figure would suffice. It was suggested that official salaries, fees, emoluments and pensions, with certain exceptions, also be applied to the war effort. Colonel Goldwell argued for an excise upon particular commodities - soap and salt - suggesting this would raise £300,000 or £400,000, to which Neale retorted 'I am against that motion for it is a downright excise'.[2]

He also opposed bills for the suppression of hawkers and pedlars, designed to prevent decay of urban trade. In January 1692 Neale, Sir Robert Henley and Sir Charles Sedley all argued that such a ban would set up trade in corporations, restrain trade, create monopolies and eventually raise prices.[3] Neale reiterated such arguments when the bill came up for reconsideration in February 1693. On both occasions he probably remembered that nearly twenty years before he had sat on two committees dealing with the same problem.[4] In February, also, he suggested a further panacea for the government's financial ills:

> I compute you have yet about £1,000,000 to raise. You have voted about £2,000,000 for the Navy, as much for the land forces, £750,000 the last quarterly poll falls short, there is about £600,000 for the charge of the civil list - in all about £5,300,000. Now towards this you have raised £2,000,000 upon the land tax, £1,000,000 on the fund bill, and about £1,000,000 the revenue will furnish you with, and about £300,000 or £400,000 on the new customs on several commodities. Now to raise the remaining £1,000,000, I shall propose ... a tax upon tradesmen, who have borne but little of the war. I would lay a tax upon all they bought the last year - about the two hundredth penny, which will be very easy to them and so much

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1. Luttrell (P), 135-6.
2. Ibid, 138.
3. Ibid, 132.
4. Ibid, 396. See Appendix C. See also J. Thirsk and J.P. Cooper (ed.), Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents (1972), 420.

> ready money to you. I compute it will raise about £1,000,000.

Though debated fully, the idea was eventually rejected for a 5% charge on East India Company stock.[1] Undeterred, Neale battled on, suggesting a tax on all parchment and paper used in legal documents. Proposals for a tax on married couples '... upon all who shall have legacies given them unless it be of what would have come to them by descent,...' and upon burials followed swiftly. Sir Thomas Clarges, objecting strongly, argued for taxing those who remained single 'for marriage of itself is already too much out of fashion'. Sir Ralph Dutton proposed a six-months' tax on all new buildings but 'the committee were not minded to do anything'.[2] Neale followed with a revised paper duty, suggesting it for materials 'used for public matters and all such to be made on ... sealed paper and parchment'.[3]

During the 1690s, for all his loquacity, he contributed only once to debates on the affairs of the great commercial ventures. Since 1660 the East India Company, the largest of the joint-stock ventures, had been under constant attack, from Dutch competitors, from English critics and rivals. Although a new charter in 1686 had lessened the Company's worries, fresh troubles soon emerged. The Revolution fanned the critics' fires, as did troubles in Bengal with Auringzeb. From 1689 onwards a rival merchanting group, led by Thomas Papillon, began edging their way into the Eastern trade, their actions condoned, if not positively encouraged, by the Whigs who openly avowed preference for a regulated company as opposed to a joint-stock. Disliked as a Tory institution, as a vestige of Stuart monopoly and for other reasons, the Company was to be subjected to withering fire during the 1690s.[4]

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1. Luttrell (P), 399-400.
2. Ibid, 401-2.
3. Ibid, 403.
4. D. Ogg, England in the Reigns of James II and William III (1966 edn.), 308-9.

Although he had long since disposed of his Company stock,[1] Neale supported the old Company until 1691, when he began to have a change of heart. In November the Commons reviewed Company debts in England and India and heard the case for retaining or replacing the Company. Though regulation was increasingly favoured, Neale suggested that £2-300,000 could be raised by either regulating or creating a new organisation.[2] Sir Joseph Herne subsequently ventured to suggest that the Company, of which he was governor, provide security for its accounts. In a long debate sixteen members attacked; 'Those that spoke for it were Sir Richard Temple, Sir Thomas Clarges, Major Pery, Sir Joseph Herne, Mr. Neale, Lord Falkland, Sir John Morton, Serjeant Blencowe', and six others.[3] The Company refused security without confirmation of trading rights. In February 1692 Sir Edward Seymour moved that William III be approached to dissolve and replace it. Neale, angered by Company intractability, seconded Seymour.[4]

By mid-November Neale's attitude had ossified, principally because the Company refused every alternative offered. He and Sir Charles Sedley moved that in view of the rejection of regulation 'this House should vote to have a new company'. Within less than a month the Commons agreed on the necessity of a 21-year joint-stock of £1½ millions to £2 millions. But Neale, opposing the idea of new subscriptions, offered an alternative:

> I am against this head. I am for your regulations but think this trade may be better carried on than by new subscriptions as thus: I would have 40 persons chosen by this House to manage the trade and to be accountable to parliament; and they to be empowered to take up money at interest, the

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1. Supra, 160-1.
2. Luttrell (P), 44.
3. Ibid, 88.
4. Ibid, 173.

> profit to go to paying the interest and after the money borrowed; and for a fund for the money a tax ... of £70,000 per mensem for one month, which will pay five per cent for £1,400,000; and when the principal and interest is paid, then the profit to be divided amongst the contributors to the £70;000 land tax. This is what I collect at present, but if you please to postpone this head for a day or two I will offer you something further to it.[1]

The House, finding the idea unpalatable, opted for the committee's suggestion of subscriptions of £100 to £10,000, with an initial 33% outlay.[2] Why Neale promoted a complex alternative is unclear. Experience as a land tax collector counted, in his eyes, for much. Trust and accountability would be ensured, with Neale presumably prominent among the proposed forty new undertakers. Growing anti-Company sentiment and his own ideas on the subject, counselled the advisability of running with the hounds rather than the hare. Shaped and matured, his thoughts on the matter appeared in print in 1696 in a pamphlet entitled <u>To Preserve the East-India Trade</u>.[3]

While the Company's troubles in Bengal appeared remote and unimaginable, the strains and problems of the war with France were very real. Throughout the war unprotected merchantmen fell prey to roaming French pirates with appalling consequences. The official body responsible for such losses, the Lords of Trade and Plantations, were racked by incompetence and division. Heavy losses during summer 1695 and a grant of privilege to the Scottish East

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1. <u>Luttrell (P)</u>, 233.
2. Ibid, 308. As further evidence of a hardening of attitude, the East India Company considered in April and May 1692 a reply to Treasury information that Neale had applied for a grant for prosecuting the recovery of monies owed the Crown by the Company 'for their reserved parts of Fines and Forfeitures...': I.O.L. B/40, 108b, 113b, 116a. Significantly, Neale's petition to the Treasury was minuted 'Nothing can be done': <u>Cal.T.P. 1556-1696</u>, 325.
3. For further details see 329-30.

India Company did little to help matters and gave 'great advantages to those who complained of the administration'.[1] To head off any parliamentary initiative the Court, drawing on Locke's skill, devised a plan for a Board of Trade.[2] On 12 December the Court was taken aback by a parliamentary proposal for a Council of Trade, whose members would be nominated by Parliament and not by the Crown. Court reaction was two further resolutions - that M.Ps would be ineligible for membership and that an abjuration oath would be imposed. While clearly calculated to dampen the ardour of potential office seekers, the first resolution was also aimed at curtailing any potential opposition patronage.

When the committee report was considered in the House on 31 January the situation was one of confrontation. While the mercantile community unanimously favoured a Council, many members of the House genuinely did not seem to know where they stood on the issue. In the forecast made for the impending division, Neale was shown favouring the Council.[3] While reliability and accuracy would not be hall-marks of such a forecast, compiled for lobbying purposes,[4] the forecast is nevertheless significant. Neale's dallying with the opposition was due, in no small part, to his recent acquisition of Mastership of the Transfer Office.[5] Quite naturally, he was averse to the

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1. Rubini, 85-7; Cobbett, V, 977. For background see C.M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History (4 vols. 1934-8), IV, Ch. IX, and R.M. Lees, 'Parliament and the Proposal for a Council of Trade, 1695-6', E.H.R., LIV (1939), 38-66.
2. P. Laslett, 'John Locke, the Great Recoinage and the Origins of the Board of Trade', William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser. XIV (1957), 370-402.
3. Burton, Riley and Rowlands, 50.
4. Burton and Riley, 'Division Lists of the Reigns of William III and Anne: What are they: How were they compiled?', in A. Newman (ed.), The Parliamentary Lists of the Early Eighteenth Century: Their Compilation and Use (1973), 23-5.
5. Infra, 306.

resolution concerning membership of the Council of Trade. In the ensuing divisions, however, the Court suffered swingeing defeats, losing both resolutions.[1] Although the Commons' proposal was eventually lost because of other factors,[2] the Court had nevertheless suffered a very serious defeat.

Opposition is also to be discerned in Neale's involvement with the National Land Bank. Foundation of the Bank of England in 1694, with exclusive charter, note-issuing and bill-discounting powers, provoked criticism and hostility from rival land banks. Before the Bank had even been floated Neale had criticised the proposals of Paterson and his colleagues in A Proposal for Raising a Million on a Fund of Interest (1694). After swiftly disposing of their venture, he outlined proposals for raising £2 millions at 6%. Within a short time, he argued, merchants would realise:

> That whereas Money kept by them for any occasion ... brings them no Profit, Money thus Put out is always Ready Money for every occasion, and yet brings them in 6 per Cent Interest till the very Hour they use it: And for these Reasons,... Merchants and others will quickly be so fond of having thus Money in Bank, that in a short time (as in Holland it is) 'twill come to be One or Two per Cent better than Ready Money it self:...[3]

In part, his criticisms stemmed from considerable practical experience of land banks. In December 1693 he was a member of the special committee considering Hugh Chamberlen's land bank,[4] 'the most brazen attempt to hoodwink the public

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1. The votes were 209-188 and 195-188 respectively.
2. Infra, 198-9.
3. P.R.O. S.P. 32/5/46, 2. For a full bibliography of Neale's published writings see Appendix D. For discussion of Dutch influence see Ch. VII.
4. J.H.C., XI, 22, 80.

that the City of London had yet witnessed'.[1] A similar venture, floated by Asgill and Barbon in 1695, never obtained its intended £500,000. That September, John Briscoe launched his National Land Bank; Neale headed the list of appointed directors.[2] But this, too, was to be a short-lived institution, overtaken by the tide of events.

Faced by a £2 million gap between revenue and expenditure in 1696, the government envisaged possibilities in a modified, expanded version of the Asgill-Barbon undertaking. The result of fusing their creation with Briscoe's was to be a governmental National Land Bank, promoted initially under Harley's patronage. In February Neale, as spokesman for the directors of the National Land Bank, published The National Land Bank, together with Money.[3] Such a device he argued, could supply 'the Government with any Sum of Money in proportion to what Fund shall be settled'. A £3 millions subscription, one third to be by land, was proposed. Every £100 annually subscribed could be converted into £500 bank stock. The land would be 'in Proportion with the Money Subscriptions in the Profit of the Bank, and may ... be subscribed and ... made good Security'. While Neale assured readers that everybody's interests would be protected, formal provisions were made for the new bank. As the Bank of England had refused the bills of land banks, provision was made that nobody with Bank of England interests would be involved in the National Land Bank and vice versa. Moreover, unless half of the requisite £2,564,000 had been subscribed by 1 August, the bank was not to come into existence.[4]

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1. R.D. Richards, The Early History of Banking in England (1965 edn), 123. The various schemes are discussed at length in ibid, 116ff., and J.K. Horsefield, British Monetary Experiments 1650-1710 (1960), 156-211.
2. Horsefield, 271. Neale had 1418 votes. Codr. MS. Luttrell 159, 75-81, lists 342 people empowered to receive subscriptions for the bank. Though Briscoe, Barbon and many of Neale's associates are included, Neale is not. For associates, see Ch. VII and Appendix E.
3. G.L., Broadsides 22.106.
4. Horsefield, 206. Bank of England, Index to Book of Subscriptions of 1694, makes no mention of Neale.

The new venture became horribly enmeshed in political and financial differences and difficulties. Treasury and Bank of England officials opposed it on grounds of undercutting rivalry, while much of the City saw little or no purpose in it.[1] Ministerial support, essential for success, was lacking although the government badly needed money. Differing interest rates apart, it was felt that more would have to be done to defeat the new venture.[2] Montagu opposed it virulently, oblivious that anger was mounting on all sides. Junto opposition was rooted, quite simply, in fear; success over the National Land Bank would give Parliament too much autonomy and power. Defects and difficulties were followed by disaster; the bank 'like the Bubble of the Brook, swell'd with the Wind,... burst again with it in an Instant'.[3] Montagu confided subsequently that there never was 'more artifice, and lesse sincerity shewed, then has appear'd in this affair of the Land Bank'.[4] Envisaged as slaking national thirst, the new bank produced only a trickle of funds, its failure due more to bad investment climate, low interest rates and ministerial hostility than to inherent internal deficiencies.[5]

Junto defeat of the National Land Bank project was actively helped by disclosure, in late February 1696, of an assassination plot against William III. With Mary's death the throne's safety appeared to hang by the slender thread of the King's life; Jacobite activity revived.

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1. J.H. Clapham, The Bank of England: A History (2 vols. 1966 edn.), I, 33-4.
2. J.P. van den Brande van Cleverskerke to States General, 21 Feb./2 March 1696: B.L. Add. MSS. 17677, QQ, General Correspondence, 1696, f. 49. I am indebted to F.A.G. Poole for a translation.
3. Chandler, III, 24n.
4. Montagu to W. Blaithwayt, 17/27 July 1696: B.L. Add. MSS. 34355, f. 14.
5. D.R. Rubini, 'Politics and the Battle for the Banks, 1688-1697', E.H.R. LXXXV (1970), 693-714, esp. 709-10.

When the issue was placed before Parliament the Whigs actively capitalised upon the resultant horror; the idea was floated of an Association to protect the King's life.[1] Sir Rowland Gwyn moved that members subscribing should acknowledge William III as 'rightful and lawful King, and promise faithfully to adhere to him against King James and the pretender Prince of Wales', causing consternation among the practitioners of legal semantics. As an official Neale signed the Association,[2] eventually passed but

> opposed with more heat and fier than I ever saw there before, and the next day refused to be signed by 95, who, ... generally declar[e]d that they did not refuse it for what was contained in it, but for the manner it was obtruded uppon them, which they said was unparliamentary;...

The more perceptive members realised what was afoot, the same correspondent noting: '...I find the government here inclined to judge of affection, or disaffection, to this government by its reception'.[3] In April signature became obligatory for office-holders and Members of Parliament. Many sensed fear and trickery, suspecting a Junto stratagem. And cozenage it was, ably exploited by the Whigs to delimit potential opposition with almost crystal clarity.

Under the later Stuarts English coinage was in short supply and bad condition. Various actions, official and private, explain this. The undervaluing of silver and overvaluing of gold gave Englishmen an incentive to melt down English silver coins, export them as bullion, and gain a better price as a result on a European market.

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1. Browning, I, 531-2.
2. Ibid, III, 211. Lists of signatories in both Houses are printed in ibid, III, 187-213. For Commons signatories see J.H.C., XI, 470-4.
3. John Verney to Lord Christopher Hatton, 5 March 1696: E.M. Thompson, II, 221. Neale's nephew, Price, was among those refusing the Association: Browning, III, 202.

Such a trend encouraged the offence of clipping which became wholesale. To complicate matters still further, the adoption of milling by the Mint for coins in 1663, in the naïve hope of reducing clipping, had the reverse effect. The old clipped coins drove the newly-milled silver money out of circulation. The milled coins were now melted down and, in turn, exported as bullion.[1]

Parliament, aware of the problems, produced draft legislation in May 1689 to cope with the problem but it was lost with prorogation. Early in 1690 complaints by London goldsmiths brought fresh parliamentary action. Concerned lest illness prevent him from attending the House when the matter was debated, Neale committed his thoughts to paper. In essence he doubted the value of attempting legislation against bullion export. 'No Law against Exporting Bullyon' he wrote, 'in any Country has ever had any Effect,...'. A better solution would be to 'make the Standard of England's such that an Ounce of Silver Coyned may be worth as much as 'tis uncoyned'.[2] In October 1690 he introduced a bill for devaluation, but this was rejected by the Lords.[3] Proposed legislation fell by the wayside in December 1691, as did Sir Richard Temple's proposal for prevention of melting and exporting of gold and silver.[4]

During the winter of 1693-4 the Commons tried yet again, without success; a bill for discovering clippers was rejected by the Lords and one to check bullion exports was

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1. J.O. Appleby, 'Locke, Liberalism and the Natural Law of Money', P. and P., 71 (1976), 45-6.
2. B.L. Harleian MSS. 1243, f. 194. Neale's comments were sent, presumably with a letter, to an unnamed Committee member.
3. Horsefield, 39.
4. Ibid, 41-2. For Temple in Parliament see G. Davies, 'The political career of Sir Richard Temple (1634-97) and Buckingham politics', Huntington Library Quarterly IV (1940), 47-83.

refused by the Commons.[1] Though coins deteriorated all the while, nobody took that much notice - until late 1694 when foreign exchanges began to move sharply against this country, with the result that silver and gold prices rose. In March 1695 a parliamentary committee suggested that all money be called in and reminted, the value of coins to be raised by 10%. But now the Commons changed tack. Rather than promote the idea, they adopted and adapted a Lords' bill prescribing penalties for clipping and counterfeiting and stipulating that coins were not to be accepted at more than their face value.[2] Slowly, insidiously, the situation worsened. In May the government asked Lowndes to suggest remedial action. He reported in September, suggesting in An Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins, that coins be called up by 25%. Addressing parliament in November William III drew attention to the state of coinage, telling members that decisions for the best method of recoinage should be left to them. On 19 December he issued a proclamation stipulating dates after which certain types of money could or not pass according to circumstance and purpose.[3]

Between January 1696 and April 1697 much parliamentary time was taken up with the enactment of legislation to cover all contingencies. On 20 January royal assent was given to an act prescribing dates beyond which old money was unacceptable.[4] Having fixed dates for taking clipped money as legal tender, the Court turned to the second stage, to regulate the price of guineas between 20s. and

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1. Horsefield, 44.
2. Ibid, 47. For gold and silver prices and exchange movements see ibid, 11.
3. Steele, no. 4164. See also Ming-Hsun Li, The Great Recoinage of 1696-9 (1963), 114-5.
4. Clipped money was to be accepted for tax payments until 4 May 1696, as subscriptions to government loans until 24 June: 7 and 8 William III c. 1.

22s. 6d. In this they were singularly helped by the assassination plot which enabled them to press forward against a now retreating opposition. To secure the eventually agreed price of 22s. the House was forced to twelve divisions. That autumn a pamphlet appeared, purporting to list members' views on the fall in guinea prices, in which Neale is shown favouring a fall.[1] As the pamphlet figures bore no resemblance to any of the division results, it must have been written from knowledge of members' views on the question.[2] That hurdle surmounted, the Court pressed forward with the remaining preparations for the Recoinage.[3]

But the guineas issue and deliberations on recoining paled into relative insignificance with the news in mid-June that Sir John Fenwick, allegedly involved in the assassination plot, had been taken. Intercessions by his wife with Portland for royal clemency[4] fell on deaf ears. By mid-November talk of attainder was in the air. Eventually committal was decided on 'after all things were said that could be heaped together to deter men from dipping their hands in blood,...'.[5] During the long debates Neale remained silent, listening to fellow members, especially his nephew Robert Price who interjected three times on legal technicalities.[6] In the final division Neale was with the 189 favouring attainder, the opposition mustering only 156. Vernon was of the opinion that the

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1. An Account of the Proceedings in the House of Commons in Relation to the Recoining the Clipp'd Money and Falling the Price of Guineas: Burton, Riley and Rowlands, 50.
2. Ibid, 14-19.
3. See Ch. VI for further details.
4. Duke of Portland to William III, 4 Aug. 1696: Japiske, I, 188-9.
5. James Vernon to Duke of Shrewsbury, 17 Nov. 1696: G.P.R. James (ed.), Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III from 1696 to 1708 (3 vols. 1841), I, 63.
6. Cobbett, V, 1010-11, 1041, 1045.

majority should have been larger, 'but some had a shyness in a case of life; some could not resist importunities, and some, I must say, sneaked and deserted'.[1] Neale's vote for attainder appears as a vote with the Court again, being one of the members so reconciled. It assumes fresh importance, however, in view of his being distantly related to Fenwick.[2] Clearly he felt impelled to transcend blood and family ties. On 28 January 1697 Fenwick, the last victim of attainder, passed into history.

During 1697-9 William III became deeply embroiled in one of the most sensitive issues of his reign. The war had hardened the minds of many against possessing a standing army. With peace at Ryswick politicans began to muse on the desirability of beating swords into ploughshares, only to find that William III had different ideas.[3] The King was of the opinion that Louis XIV planned to re-open campaigning and for this England must be prepared. Moreover, effective control would still rest with Parliament, the body paying the army and reviewing its size each year. Harley, Foley and their 'New Country Party' colleagues thought otherwise. Harley, echoing the sentiments of many politicians who wished to see a reduction in national expenditure, argued that such an army would endanger liberty, strengthen William's power and threaten the fabric of government. Even before the King opened Parliament on 3 December 1697, mounting resistance towards the army was apparent. Increasingly the issue was to centre on contravention of the Bill of Rights and all that such an infringement entailed. On 10 December Harley

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1. Vernon to Shrewsbury, 26 Nov. 1696: James, I, 82.
2. Supra, 40.
3. What follows is derived from L.G. Schwoerer, 'The Role of King William III of England in the Standing Army Controversy - 1697-9', Journal of British Studies, V (1966), 74-94. See also Schwoerer, 'No Standing Armies!': The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England (1974), Ch. VIII.

moved that the army be reduced to its 1680 proportions. Heated debate followed; an adverse vote on the matter was a serious setback to the King, though parliamentary disunity allowed him to proceed. A first attempt at disbanding, rushed through the House in January 1698, failed.[1]

Throughout the 1697-8 session William III employed various methods to stave off his critics. He delayed opening Parliament in both 1697 and 1698 to allow himself more time to secure converts; a lengthier Christmas recess in 1698 had the same goal. But although the King became visibly more human, although he threatened, cajoled and pleaded, Harley and his followers remained determined. For all his ruses and subterfuges, William III was to find that effectively his hands were tied. In December 1698 he suffered defeat with a vote that he should face Louis XIV with only 7,000 troops, all of whom had to be Englishmen. In the vote for the bill, Neale maintained his support for the King to the point of defeat, voting with the minority.[2] His nephew Robert Price thought that only Court men had not backed the bill and noted that at least 120 Court supporters were in the minority. Having discerned the really strong among them, Price and his colleagues became intent upon destruction: 'Wee met severall of us and have within a very few, fixed the names of those who voted pro and con;...'.[3] In the event, Neale was to be spared the ignominy of overt attack from his nephew. Though the contest intensified the King's estrangement

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1. For William III's views see his letters to the Pensionary Heinsius of 19, 26 Nov., 10 Dec. 1697: P. Grimblot (ed.), Letters of William III and Louis XIV and of their Ministers (2 vols. 1848), I, 137, 139, 142.
2. The voting was 221 to 154: B.L. Add. MSS. 28091, f. 167.
3. Price to the Duke of Beaufort, 19 Jan. 1699: Bodl. Carte MSS. 130, f. 397, quoted Rubini, 149-50.

from the Commons, the subsequent actions of Louis XIV were to more than vindicate the King's policy.

IV

Neale's service as M.P. in the 1690s was marked by scant activity as teller and much as committee man. This reflected intimately his ever-increasing range of interests and is linked with his later, more diffuse, projects. His actions quickened with each year, edged along by the hectic nature of the 1690s. Neale's fellow tellers are interesting here.

Table 10 Neale as Teller 1689-1699

Date	Issue	Yeas/ Noes	Other teller	Votes
26 Dec. 1690	Edmund Prideaux's claim	Noes	Mr. Dolben	103:94
4 Feb. 1693	Ways and Means	Noes	Col. Perry	91:103
20 Dec. 1693	Rowe as M.P.	Yeas	Sir T. Littleton	146:166

Sources: J.H.C., X, 525-8, 804; XI, 36-7.

Of the tellers the most important was Littleton. An adherent of Montagu's and an extremely active Whig. Described as 'one of the ablest and most consistent Whigs in the ... Commons',[1] he was a Treasury lord from May 1696 onwards.[2] Neale's association with him at the same time as he supported triennial parliaments is a hint of a reshaping of political views. Gilbert Dolben was shown with Jacobite inclinations in the Convention and as a government supporter in the coalition of 1690-2.[3] Colonel Perry was John Pery, Tory member for Shoreham in 1696.[4]

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1. Quoted D.N.B., XI, 1255.
2. R. Lapthorne to R. Coffin, 2 May 1696: Portledge, 229.
3. Browning, III, 169, 176.
4. Burton, Riley and Rowlands, 49.

During these years Neale sat as a member of 73 committees,[1] nineteen of them by virtue of being a Wiltshire member. A classification of Neale's committees during this period contrasts sharply with the pre-1688 analysis: then, his committee work had concerned mainly landownership, economic and social problems, financial issues, and London.[2]

As with the earlier committee work, the problem which most attracted his interest after 1688 was land, particularly overcoming landownership obstacles. Thus in December 1692 he was on the committee considering the bill to enable Dr. William Wake to make leases within Shapwick manor, Dorset.[3] He showed a continuing interest in bankruptcy, sitting as member of the committee evaluating methods for the better discovery of bankrupts' estates.[4] Eleven committees concerned social policy. In three instances Neale was there by virtue of being a Wiltshire member; four concerned improving the lot of the poor. An interest in matrimonial matters and seeking relief against sheriffs and gaolers for escapes of prisoners confined for debts is also revealed.[5] Having been a sheriff,[6] Neale had perhaps experienced some of the difficulties. Rather curiously, these committees were bunched between 1697 and 1699.

An equally large number of committees considered Mint matters. They are concentrated, as is to be expected, during 1696-9, the period of the Great Recoinage. The bulk concerned its smooth running and range from three considering the mechanics of the exercise to one set up in April 1698 to consider a complaint of laxness over the recoinage of £3,000 at York.[7] For this committee Neale

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1. See Appendix C.
2. Supra, 82-86.
3. J.H.C., X, 766. See also J.H.L., XV, 116, 118, 147.
4. J.H.C., XI, 215.
5. Ibid, XI, 182, 184, 188.
6. Supra, 62, 66.
7. J.H.C., XII, 240.

was ordered to prepare an account 'of what is due to every particular Mint and what due to the severall Officers and what new money remaines in the Mints'. When Neale presented his account early in May, Lowndes attacked him seeking an account of the money imprested to Neale as Master, 'there being above £100000 imprest to him within these two yeares'. In reply Neale explained that 'There is 20711 3. 11. due to the Mint, but if they had £10000 of that debt will be sufficient to keep up the creddit of the Mint'.[1] During 1690-4 three committees considered discouraging bullion exports, and one the efficient eradication of counterfeiting. In each case Neale as Master of the Mint would have been required to offer first-hand expert opinion.

Mastership of the Mint may also explain, if only marginally, his membership of certain other committees. In mid-December 1692, for example, he was among the group instructed to inspect statutes prohibiting copper exportation and report back to the House.[2] Early in January 1693 he was appointed to the committee considering a bill for 'removing of Doubts and preventing Controversies, concerning Royal Mines', designed to allow William III pre-emptive rights.[3] When the counsel for the King spoke against the bill, Neale followed suit; when the matter was reconsidered his services were not required. He was, however, appointed to the committee in March 1697 for considering a petition from Cornish tin miners.[4]

Six committees considered projects. His presence on the committee considering Shadwell waterworks bill is only to be expected.[5] So, too, is his membership of the 1694

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1. O.C. Williams (ed.), 'The Minute Book of James Courthope', Camden Miscellany, XX (1953), 37-8.
2. J.H.C., X, 747.
3. Ibid, 772.
4. Luttrell (P), 376; J.H.C., XI, 52.
5. Supra, 123-5.

committee for making Wapping a parish. His successful development of Shadwell and its proximity to Wapping made his membership of that particular committee almost obligatory. The committee heard two petitions, one from the Whitechapel parish authorities, the parish from which Wapping was to be separated, and one from Lady Philadelphia Wentworth who argued that such a step would be 'to her great damage' as she possessed the presentation to both Stepney and Whitechapel.[1] When, in April 1690, a bill for encouraging white paper production was referred to committee, its members were to include Neale. On paper production he could offer first-hand advice, having owned a paper mill until 1678.[2] The committee was petitioned by his old legal enemy Lady Ivy who maintained that she had purchased several patents originally granted to Eustace Burnaby and Nathaniel Bladen for white paper manufacture.[3] In late December 1691 his name was added to the committee preparing a bill for saltpetre manufacture. He was also on the committee for the second reading of the bill, as was his nephew.[4] Robert Price and another nephew, William Wardour, had gained a patent for a new method of making saltpetre in January 1691.[5] Early in 1693 Neale served with the committee considering enlarging the patent rights to William Walcot 'for making Sea water Fresh, clear and wholesome...'.[6] At the first reading Neale and several others spoke against it, pointing out that it was a 'monopoly and no new invention, it being done only by stilling without mixing anything therewith'. Despite his criticisms, a second reading was ordered.[7]

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1. J.H.C., XI, 87, 116-7.
2. Supra, 49.
3. J.H.C., X, 379.
4. Ibid, 570, 635-6.
5. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 219.
6. J.H.C., X, 804.
7. Luttrell (P), 355.

Participation by Neale in committee work relating to Irish affairs is the radical difference of this later period. James II's arrival in Ireland in March 1689, the prolonged siege of Londonderry, the failures at Dundalk, and the Boyne effectively sealed the permanence of the Revolution in England. The Williamite conquest presented different opportunities to different groups. For the Irish protestants, the conquest meant safety; for Irish catholics, the beginning of penal legislation. To M.Ps. at Westminster the conquest and its attendant land settlement conjured up visions of solutions to many pressing financial problems. But when William allowed some Catholic rebels to keep their lands and gave away vast tracts of confiscated lands to his foreign favourites, the notions of M.Ps. became chimerical. The old policy of balancing the various elements of Irish society was replaced with one of increased control from London. The impressive Irish economic recovery from the war, particularly in the woollen industry, encouraged many industrialists, entreprenurs and projectors to look towards Ireland. With cheap labour, cheap raw materials and a lower cost of living it appeared an attractive proposition. For many there appeared the opportunity of enrichment. With the greater control from London, many of these schemes required parliamentary sanction.[1]

In January 1692 Neale was appointed to the parliamentary committee receiving proposals for raising money from the forfeited estates in Ireland.[2] With his long record of interest in landownership, position as Master of the Mint and experience of promoting Irish ventures,[3] he would have made a useful committee member. In February 1697 he sat with a second committee discussing means whereby the Duke

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1. J.C. Beckett, The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923 (1966), 150-7.
2. J.H.C., X, 605.
3. Infra, 281, 313.

of Ormonde might raise money by timber sales, make leases for lives and encourage English plantation.[1] As he deliberated with the other committee members Neale would have been reminded that some twenty years before, Ormonde (or Sir James Butler as he then was), had been a creditor of his for £13,000.[2]

On six occasions after 1688 Neale was prominent in committee activity. He twice took a leading part in monetary committees. On 6 November 1690 he chaired a committee of the Whole House considering a bill for discouraging bullion export. When the Speaker resumed the chair Neale reported from the committee on several agreed amendments '...Which he read in his Place with ... Coherence...'. Furthermore he and Sir Christopher Musgrave were to draft an extra clause regarding the form in which silver bullion could be permissibly exported.[3] Though only chairing a committee once, he 'shone' in other ways. Three times he was nominated to drafting groups. Early in December 1694 he was among the group preparing the bill for relief against sheriffs and gaolers.[4] A year later he was named among those bringing in the bill for regulating the coinage of silver money.[5] In February 1699 it was agreed to send an address to William III for his speech to both Houses on disbanding the army. Neale was named to the group who would draw up the address assuring the King of further support 'against all his enemies whatsoever'.[6] When in December 1692 the bill for facilitating a trust created by the late Sir Anthony Browne Bt. was given a second reading, Neale reported committee amendments. Following a

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1. J.H.C., XI, 696.
2. Supra, 171-3.
3. J.H.C., X, 462.
4. Ibid, XI, 182.
5. Ibid, 359, 380, 384-5, 390, 391, 427.
6. Ibid, XII, 468.

third reading he was ordered to carry the bill to the Lords.[1] A final sign of his leadership can be found in his account to the House in mid-February 1695 of guineas coined since the previous Lady Day.[2]

During these years, Neale was nevertheless frequently omitted from those committees on which he might have been expected to serve. Thus although he presented his guineas report as requested, he was not named to the committee considering the matter. But when a bill for importing guineas was read the following year he was named to that committee.[3] On five occasions between 1688 and 1697 Neale was omitted from committees considering Mint affairs. On a sixth - a complaint about the scarcity of halfpences and farthings - he was added ten days later, almost as an afterthought.[4] Apart from nomination on 18 November 1692 to the committee inspecting and considering the Book of Rates and the balance of trade,[5] Neale was not involved in committee work concerning foreign trade and commercial companies. He was absent from those dealing with a Royal African Company petition in January 1690, with management of the East India trade that April, and from that in late April 1690 considering a bill for confirmation of the Hudson's Bay Company's privileges.[6] His absence from a committee appointed in May 1698 to examine a bill ensuring orderly payment of lottery winnings is also remarkable.[7] Omission from the committee appointed in spring 1693 for the prohibition of lotteries is to be expected; in all likelihood it was Neale or one of his agents who approached a committee member and, '... offered some Sums of Money to

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1. J.H.C., X, 759, 764, 769, 776, 784; J.H.L., XV, 174, 178.
2. J.H.C., XI, 447-8.
3. Ibid, 568.
4. Ibid, 388, 408.
5. Ibid, X, 706.
6. Ibid, 345, 363-4, 392.
7. Ibid, XII, 248, 252, 280.

delay the Proceedings upon that Bill'.[1] When complaints were made about the management of the Million Lottery, Neale was conspicuously absent.

While the years after 1688 saw no slackening in Neale's committee work, it was work undertaken at a time when his projects were consuming more and more of his time and resources - physical, mental and financial. In addition the Mint was making great demands upon him. There were appointments to be made and evidence to be given before enquiring bodies. In February 1694, for example, Neale, his Mint colleagues and Goldsmiths' Company officials appeared before a Lords' committee considering proposals to prevent clipping, export and defacing of coinage.[2] And as the 1690s progressed, the calls made by the Mint were to increase.[3]

That demands were made on Neale's time was explained, in great part, by the fact that he was now a prominent figure, with influence at his disposal. Twice during these years he tried to use it on behalf of other people. In 1693 he endeavoured to secure the return of Anthony Rowe, a fellow Household official,[4] as member for Stockbridge. Before the by-election Thomas Clark, one of Neale's servants,[5] delivered to the Stockbridge burgesses a letter from his master eulogising Rowe's virtues and assuring them that a vote in the right direction would bring them each a sack of wheat. About a month before the election Neale and Rowe arrived. Neale promised to be kind to Thomas Webb,

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1. J.H.C., X, 834. See also ibid, 773, 785, 800, 806, 837, 842.
2. For details see H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1693-5, 510-11.
3. For further details, infra, Ch. VI.
4. For biographical details of Rowe, see Appendix E.
5. Clark, in all probability, was the Thomas Clarke employed by Neale at Chester in the Great Recoinage, for whom see 252 and Appendix B. If so, it is an interesting example of the way in which Neale used his offices to political ends.

one of the voters; Rowe sent for another at the Swan inn and offered him 'a considerable Parcel of Money' for his vote. With a third voter Neale and Rowe joined forces, suggesting they stand as godfathers to his child 'though he had not any-way particularly obliged them, nor was related to them'. Another was told that if he voted for the opposition candidate 'there was only a Pot of Ale and a Toast; but, if he drew only a little pin of Beer, and voted for Mr. Row, he should have Five Pounds'.[1] Inducements prevailed and Rowe was returned on 20 November. But victory was to be only short-lived, for within a month the election was declared void.[2]

Neale was no more successful in his attempt, in January 1695, to secure his son's election as second member for Ludgershall. The death of Deane at the end of 1694[3] gave Neale the opportunity that he had long hoped for - to be joined in Parliament by his son, Thomas. While several relatives sat in the House,[4] none was really close to him since the death of Sir William Lewis. For all the closeness of nephew Robert Price as a relative, they were poles apart politically as the next few years illustrated. On 12 January 1695 the Commons resolved that Neale be sent for in custody 'for absenting himself from his service in Parliament'.[5] Members' absenteeism was an important element in political life at this time, reaching a rate of 25%-50% on important issues. It was explained by many reasons: attendance to property, ill-health, other London commitments, or just plain indifference.[6] As,

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1. J.H.C., XI, 36-7.
2. Official Return, I, 558, 568.
3. The Speaker was asked for the appropriate warrant on 1 Jan. 1695: J.H.C., XI, 194.
4. Supra, 87, n. 3.
5. J.H.C., XI, 202. Two days later Neale was discharged, having paid the appropriate fee: ibid, 203.
6. Haley, 89.

however, this was the only occasion that Neale was absent in his entire parliamentary career, it clearly merits comment. Coming so close as it does to the Ludgershall by-election, it looks as though Neale was absent on his son's behalf, using his influence with the Ludgershall electorate. In the event, however, he was to be disappointed. His son petitioned the House on 26 January that he had been duly elected but that the bailiff had made up his mind to return John Webb. After deliberating for two and a half months, the Committee of Privileges and Elections found against him.[1]

The type of influence that Neale used on his son's behalf was illuminated when he himself fell foul of the Committee of Privileges and Elections. In December 1698 Webb petitioned the Commons about Neale's activities at Ludgershall.[2] The committee report was exceptionally frank. He had come second in the poll, securing 58 of 176 votes. But, maintained the committee, some of these should be discounted. Witnesses told of Richard Fransham, an agent, travelling to Ludgershall with £50 and purchasing votes at 10s. a man. But for the money, two admitted, they would not have voted at all. Neale was also accused of bringing in outsiders to vote for him. His counsel admitted the monetary distribution, pointing out that 'It was before the Dissolution of the last Parliament, and without any Condition'.[3] In retaliation allegations were made of Webb offering to make a bricklayer's day worth two guineas if he vote for him, of offering money, a load of straw, and child care for votes. After the election Webb's father was alleged to have bound over four men who had voted for Neale, for no other reason than sheer spite. Unmoved, the committee resolved that Neale was not elected

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1. J.H.C., XI, 216, 308. For the development of the Webb interest at Ludgershall see V.C.H. Wiltshire, V, 216.
2. J.H.C., XII, 350.
3. Ibid, 498.

for Ludgershall, and ordered the clerk of the crown to amend the return. When this was done on 13 February 1699,[1] Neale ceased being a Member of Parliament.

V

Neale's parliamentary career sheds much light on his ideas and activities. After 1688 he became more prominent in Parliament, with increased participation in debate, more committee work and promotion of legislation. Politics and Parliament in the 1690s were a world apart from the situation he had encountered when he entered the House in 1668, and it is a tribute to his abilities that he managed to survive the changes and their implications so well. He had sharpened his rather hesitant debating skills, to make regular, and at times acidic, contributions, frequently openly annoying members who did not share similar political views as well as those who did. He had acquired a wealth of committee experience. From the benches he had watched a rising stream of relatives of various political hues enter Westminster, though heavily disappointed in the hope of being joined by his elder son. But for a brief interval in the early 1690s he had steadfastly supported Court and crown. Dalliance with the Tories was only passing, inspired by basic differences over finance and motivated more by potential opposition gain than by personal reward for Neale. There were stronger links between his Westminster actions and his projects. Increasingly, practical financial matters became important to him, particularly lottery creation and floating exchequer bills,[2] just two of the projects on which he was actively engaged

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1. J.H.C., XII, 499-500. Luttrell noted that the Committee voted against Neale, 'he sending £50 to the borough, which was lookt upon as bribery': Luttrell, IV, 479.
2. Clapham, I, 38, 39. See also A. Andreades, History of the Bank of England, 1640-1903 (1966 edn.), 105.

after 1688. But the results of his increased efforts were not salutary for his already weak frame. He became exhausted more easily, a condition aggravated by frequent clashes with the Treasury and in Parliament, clashes which, contemporaries recognised only too readily, left an awful mark upon him. Before nemesis struck, in the form of removal from Westminster, he had impressed fellow members and observers, and more than added to his image as the human embodiment of a whirlwind.

Chapter VI

NEALE AS MASTER OF THE MINT

Located within the confines of the Tower of London, but guaranteed independence of it, the Royal Mint had substantial premises and was staffed in the later seventeenth century by a hierarchy of a dozen or so individuals, supported by an army of labourers, stable-lads, door-keepers and ancillary staff.[1] Besides supplying the realm with adequate coinage, the Mint had also to act as a source of revenue. Until 1666 it had been funded by seignorage, substituted that year by a customs duty levied on imported liquor. The officers with substantial power were the Warden, the Master and the Comptroller. The basic structure was that of an elaborate system of checks and balances, with everybody set to watch the performance of everybody else. Originally the Warden had acted as supremo, but with the abolition of seignorage he became responsible for detecting and prosecuting clippers and coiners,[2] and a channel for certain payments. By tradition, he remained the main disciplinary agent within the Mint. All Mint personnel, for example, enjoyed freedom from arrest or trial, except by the Warden.[3] Isaac Newton, Warden (1696-9) and Master (1699-1727) outlined the organisation:

> The Mint or Change is by the Charter thereof a Corporation consisting of the Warden, the Workers, the Moneyers and the other Ministers. It may buy and sell, sue and be sued and is free from Taxes, arrests and servitude in Foreign offices and

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1. For a plan of the Mint in 1701, see wallet.
2. For this problem, infra, 236-40.
3. Craig, Newton, Ch. I, provides useful background material.

> imployments unless when the Charter be over-ruled by Act of Parliament.[1]

The Master of the Mint, or Master and Worker as he was otherwise known, was the official responsible for all Mint expenditure. Since Elizabeth I's reign, the office had been conferred for life. It was the Master who contracted with the crown for coinage work, which was then subcontracted to the Corporation of Moneyers led by their Provost. The Master's duties were again explained by Newton:

> ... The Master upon new occasions of coynage contracts with the King by Indenture and according to the Indenture by the assistance of his ... servants receives, melts, refines, assays, rates and standards the gold and silver to be coyned, sets it out to the Polls, runns it into standard barrs, delivers these barrs by weight to the Moneyers and after coynage receives it from them and delivers it to the Importers by weight, and by his Clerks enters the accounts thereof in Day-books, Leger books, Melting books, Poll-books and books of Debtor and Creditor.

The third triumvir was the Comptroller employed as '... a cheque upon the Master in his Accounts and upon the Assaymasters in their assays'.[2] To add to feelings of disgruntlement, there were salary differences. The Master received £500 annually; the Warden received £350 and the Comptroller £300, their salaries being paid to them by the Master.[3]

Mint business was formally conducted by a board composed of these three disparate officials meeting bi-weekly. On Wednesdays they met to receive bullion or issue coin, and this could only be done when two of them, or their deputies, were present. On Saturdays, they met for regular business

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1. R.M. Newton MSS. (5 vols.), I, f. 2, memorandum by Newton for the parliamentary committee enquiring into Mint mismanagement, for which infra, 244-6.
2. Ibid. 'Importer' was the term applied to anybody bringing bullion or coin to the Mint for minting or reminting.
3. These were the figures as at 17 July 1661: ibid, f. 81.

purposes. Mint expenditure was carefully controlled. Any new post, except that of a workman, any salary increase, or any new building work entailing more than simple maintenance, was subject to strict Treasury control and account. But though technically independent, the Mint was not always inviolate. In 1640 the financially destitute Charles I had closed it and impounded the bullion stored there for his own purposes; two years later it had been occupied by parliamentarian forces.[1] This apart, there were other, more permanent, sources of friction between Mint and Tower personnel over disputed buildings, the supply of food and drink and other matters. Though such friction was demoralising, especially when it reached alarming proportions, it was far outweighed by the benefits and privileges enjoyed by Mint personnel. Besides freedom from arrest, legitimate profits could be made from coinage work, and there were concessionary tax arrangements[2] and official residences. The sanctuary privilege was not well received by Dr. Owen Wynne in June 1689 when he was Warden. Complaining of the increase in clipping and coining which he stated had become 'the most common offence of all...', he felt it had been encouraged by difficulties in securing a conviction and by the abuse of sanctuary, and argued strongly for urgent reform.[3]

Neale was to serve as Master of this important department between 1686 and 1699. But whereas much is known of Newton as Master, all to little attention has been paid to the activities of his predecessor, save for a few pointed

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1. For the Mint during this period see Craig, Mint, Ch. VIII, and J.D. Gould, 'The Royal Mint in the Early Seventeenth Century', Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser. V (1952-3), 240-8.

2. What the position of Mint personnel was on taxation is unclear. Craig, Newton, 32, refers to '... old and wide exemption of Mint personnel from taxation'. P.R.O. E179/272/33, is an assessment on Mint fees and salaries for 1673-4.

3. Dr. O. Wynne to Sir H. Goodrick, 19 June 1689: Codr. MS. 263, ff. 318-21. For Goodrick, see D.N.B., VIII, 136-7.

examples to suggest that Neale was irresponsible.[1] How did he gain office? What did he do as Master? How did his performance compare with that of previous Masters? Were there any links between his time at the Mint, his projects and his personal finances? These are just some of the questions to which this chapter will seek to provide answers.

I

Neale gained access to the Mint by a combination of experience, influence, royal patronage and money. In late September 1677 he was appointed to the commission to look into Mint abuses and irregularities. The King had observed that the coining of money 'which heretofore was a considerable revenue to the Crown is now grown a very great charge and of no benefit'. The commission was composed of thirteen men including Sir Edward Dering, Charles Bertie, Edward Backwell and Sir Nathaniel Herne.[2] Having met on six occasions[3] the commission duly reported its findings to Danby on 22 December 1677. Having summoned the three principal officers and the Assay Master to appear before them, the Commissioners encountered a poor response:

> ... they have not only refused to give us such an Accompt or shew us their Bookes, but have used great Art to spinn out the time given us by the Commission for our inquiry: and at last when we had gratified them in condescending to Mr. Slingsby's desires of Copy of our Instructions, They would give us no sattisfaccon to any particular we demanded of them, but desired to be heard by their Councell,...[4]

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1. See Craig, Mint, 196.
2. For the commission see Cal.T.B. 1676-9, 751-2, and for modifications in membership ibid, 986. M.F. Bond (ed.), The Diaries and Papers of Sir Edward Dering, Second Baronet 1644 to 1684 (1976), 20, refers to Dering's membership.
3. The sequence and venue of meetings was as follows: 8 Nov.: Mint; 22, 29 Nov.: Vyner's house in Lombard Street; 6, 13, 18 Dec.: Mint: Codr. MS. 263, ff. 74-5v.
4. Ibid, f. 75v.

On 25 January 1678 the commission further suggested that Danby request regular accounts from the Mint's leading officers.[1] As a result of serving on the commission, therefore, Neale became familiar with Mint weaknesses and performance.

But it was not just a matter of pinpointing weaknesses, important though this was. On 2 February 1678 he had been sworn Groom Porter for life.[2] Increasingly an important figure in his own right, he could also count upon Danby's influence and his own knowledge of the Mint. A royal promise of the reversion of the Mint Mastership was followed by an approach to Danby and his supporters. This was followed by an agreement over renouncing the post in return for money on the part of Perergrine Bertie, and finally, the appointment of Neale as Master in July 1678. As Groom Porter, Neale was an important courtier and this may well have emboldened him in the actions that followed. In mid-June 1678[3] he wrote in forthright terms to Bertie, a letter worth quoting <u>in extenso</u>:

> Sir
> after I parted with you in the lobby I spoke to my lord latimer about the Business and Hee told mee the reason why I had no answer to itt, was because Hee had left the Papir in a coat Pockett att wimbleton, but would go fetch itt presently and that I should (iff wee mett) Have an answer att night; but least Hee should have lost the Papir, or not have been att wimbleton for itt, I have heer enclosed another to the same effect and do request itt off you that I may to morrow know what my lord and you do resolve upon in't, which I conceave you may as well then lett mee know, as at a longer time, since all you need say to mee in it, is whether either off the offers I have made bee argument enough to make you my friends in't or not. you may Possibly wonder why I am so Pressing in this affaire, the true and Plaine reason is, the

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1. Codr. MS. 263, f. 78. A second copy of the report, in a different hand, is located at f. 79.
2. Supra, 111-12.
3. Neale to Peregrine Bertie, 16 June 1678: B.L. Egerton MSS. 3331, f. 35.

king hath spoke to mee in a Business wherin I can and Have promised to serve him and I thinke this a more convenient time to move his maiesty in itt, then twill bee after the Business is done, and that I may with more reason hope to succeed now then I can affterwards, having by experience and to my great loss found what itt is to play an affter game in such cases as this, and therefore pray bee Sollicitous to lett mee Have an answer to morrow, iff wee agree I shall owne the whole as a gratious gift from the king, and bee as good as my Word to you too; iff otherwise with what other interest I can make I must indeavour to prevaile with the king to make good His Promise which I cannot doubt but Hee will, when ever the thing falls without any more adoe, and lett the king plainly know How itt stands in the mean time; my most Humble Service pray to my lord, and excuse the trouble from

sir

your most Humble Servant
to Command

Thomas Neale.

From the letter it is obvious not only that Neale knew what he was doing, but that he was forceful and unafraid to speak his mind, even to his royal master should the need arise. What the 'business' was that the King and Neale had discussed is, unfortunately, far from clear. Six days after writing his letter, Neale and Bertie signed agreements concerning the Mastership of the Mint. Bertie promised to use his 'utmost endeavour to gett a warrant for the Revertion off Mr. Slingsby's office off Master and worker off the Mint' signed by the King and passed to Neale. Were the office to be offered him, Bertie swore he would decline it in Neale's favour.[1] Neale promised that when he received the office 'Promised mee by the king' Bertie would receive £500 immediately, and another £1,000 within a month of Neale taking up the place. Should the transaction not be completed by Christmas 1679, Bertie was to return the £500.[2] The

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1. B.L. Egerton MSS. 3331, f. 37. Bertie's agreement was witnessed by Lord Latimer.
2. Ibid, f. 39. H.M.C. Eleventh Report, Appendix VII, MSS. of Duke of Leeds, 20, referred to the letter and engagement.

promise materialised fairly swiftly, for in July 1678 Neale was granted the office of Master for life, to take effect from the death of the then Master, Sir Henry Slingsby.[1] Some years later Neale was to explain that the office had been granted him by Charles II 'out of his especiall grace and favour for ... services to the ... King.[2]

Though eight years were to pass before Neale actually assumed office as Master of the Mint, he spent much of this time familiarising himself with the work. In great part this was due to Slingsby's irreparable behaviour. Though a cultivated man,[3] Slingsby had failed abysmally in his Mint duties. He had not rendered his accounts for 1662-6 and 1674-7, 'which he long since promised to doe',[4] was deeply in debt, owing the King £5,000 and bullion importers another £5,500,[5] and generally negligent. Such was the situation that by mid-July 1680 the Treasury resolved 'to go forward with suspending him'.[6] In his place a three-man commission was appointed; composed initially of Sir John Buckworth, Charles Duncombe and James Hoare, it was altered in August 1684 by Neale replacing Buckworth.[7] During service with this commission Neale handled various tasks, some only indirectly related

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1. Cal.T.B. 1676-9, 1060, 1462, 1463.
2. P.R.O. C7/99/17, Duncombe v. Neale, 1699.
3. Slingsby had attended Gresham College meetings in the 1650s and was an original member of the Royal Society, from which he was subsequently expelled: T. Sprat, The History of the Royal Society (1667), 53-8, quoted M. Purver, The Royal Society: Concept and Creation (1967), 103.
4. Codr. MS. 263, f. 78. C. Risdell Smith, Without Touch of Dishonour: Life and Death of Sir Henry Slingsby, 1602-58 (1968), 171, states that no accounts were returned for 1662-6 and 1670-7.
5. S.B. Baxter, The Development of the Treasury 1660-1720 (1957), 63.
6. Bond, 118.
7. Cal.T.B. 1681-5, 1268. 'His Majesty, having advanced Sir John Buckworth to be one of the Commissioners of the Customs, has disposed of his place in the Mint to Thomas Neale,...': Newsletter of 16 Aug. 1684: H.M.C.Ormonde, VII, 265.

to Mint affairs. He and Hoare served on a commission examining royal property in and around the Tower, to ascertain City encroachment upon the King's rights.[1] In 1685, when the commission was renewed,[2] Neale began to show appreciable concern over the perquisites which, eventually, were to be his. Early in September he wrote to Lord Treasurer Rochester from Tunbridge Wells about the Master's house in the Tower:

> ... upon the death of Mr. Harley in the Mint the house that alwayes and particularly belongs to the Master Worker of the Mint is become voyd, and that there is noe other house but that for him in case any time he should (as sometime I fully intend to doe if I ever come to it) reside there. The Warden Comptroller Assay master and most of the Clerkes but mine are provided with houses, And therefore my humble request to your Lordship is that this house, which soe or particularly does (as I have been informed) belong to the Master Worker or Comissioners for the time being, may not be disposed of to any other Officer of the Minte ... at least till my returne,...[3]

Clearly he was concerned about the fruits of office, as well as rivalry from colleagues, before he had even entered the position.

Not until April 1686 did Slingsby finally surrender his powers as Master, and even then he did so with a flourish of resistance. He barricaded himself in the Mint, so that the Treasury serjeant-at-arms had to go and cut the locks open in the presence of the Warden and the Lieutenant of the Tower. But still Slingsby hung on, and two days later the serjeant had to return, this time to cut open locks on three other Mint buildings as well as on equipment used in the trial of the Pyx.[4] Due consideration had now to be given to Neale's patent for the office to 'see

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1. Cal.T.B. 1685-9, 532-3.
2. Ibid, 610.
3. Neale to Rochester, 6 Sept. 1685: P.R.O. T.27/9, 142.
4. Baxter, 63-4. For the trial infra, 243-4.

whether it be good or otherwise'.[1] In June it was decided that while the patent was sound Neale would have to provide £15,000 as security for entering office.[2] Such a high surety must have been a reflection of attitudes towards Neale, for the sum normally demanded of a Master of the Mint was £2,000. Despite the tremendous increase, Neale was able to raise sureties, an indication not only of his persuasiveness but also of his contacts. The largest amount was provided by his nephew Robert Price, who was bound for £10,000. Robert Chaplain, merchant, provided £3,000, Sir Richard Dereham £1,000 and two merchants, Edward Bovey and Richard Onslow, £500 apiece.[3]

When, in 1699, he was asked for sureties as Master, Newton made much of the increase imposed for Neale:

> Mr. Neale ... having spent a large estate and being far in debt made his way into the place granting half the profits thereof to other officers of the Mint and giving £15,000 security to the King and had time given to him to find the security after the sealing of his Indenture.[4]

The statement, though made by the vituperative Newton long after the incident, had more than a shred of truth in it. For though Neale was to become Master, entry to office was far from easy. Not only did he have to raise a larger amount of security but he had also to deal with his unpleasant fellow Mint commissioners, Duncombe and Hoare. Years later, when the parties clashed in Chancery, Neale made two revealing statements. He recalled that the interest and power of his two colleagues were considerable and that to circumvent this he signed a document, in

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1. Henry Guy to Attorney General, 30 Apr. 1686: P.R.O. T.27/9, 332; Cal.T.B. 1685-9, 716.
2. Cal.T.B. 1685-9, 772.
3. Ibid, 851. For the efforts of sureties to regain their money, see Conclusion. For biographical details, see Appendix E.
4. Newton to Treasury, 21 June 1700: R.M. Newton MSS., I, f. 64. The letter is misquoted in Craig, Newton 32-3.

mid-July or August 1686, by which half the profits of the office and the salary of £500 would be made over to them.[1] Later he elaborated on this. When Slingsby finally surrendered office Neale applied for it, but found that his two colleagues were planning to deprive him of part of the profits. They told him that unless they each received 25% of the profits, besides the salary, they would represent him to James II 'as a person that has run out great sumes of money and ... not a person fitt or proper to be Entrusted with soe great a Treasure...'. Cornered, he felt compelled to sign their agreement. Though the harpies were not to leave him alone,[2] Neale managed, with great resolution, to keep them at arm's length. Meanwhile arrangements for his admission to office went ahead and eventually, by an indenture dated 23 July 1686, Neale at last became Master of the Mint.

His duties concerning the various types of gold and silver coinage to be produced were carefully set out in the document.[3] So, too, was the amount of commission he was to receive for such activities. For every pound weight in gold money Neale was to receive 6s. 6d. 'for defraying all waste, provisions, necessaries and charges about the coining of ... moneys by the mill and press'. Of this sum, 3s. was to go to the moneyers. Similar arrangements were made for silver coinage where the sums were 1s. 4½d. and 8d. respectively. Powers of employment were vested in him, the Warden and the Comptroller, as Newton explained subsequently. These three officers, or any one of them, could

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1. P.R.O. C7/99/17.

2. P.R.O. C8/586/38, Neale v. Duncombe and Dame Dorcas Ashfield, 1699. She was executrix of James Hoare's will.

3. Copies of the indenture may be read in several locations: Goldsmiths Library, MS. 51; Codr. MS. 261, pt. I, 71-85, contains a transcript. See also Cal.T.B. 1685-9, 821-6 and Ming-Hsun Li, The Great Silver Recoinage, 1696-9 (1963), 42-3. Craig states that Masters were also allowed a personal share of the piece-work rates, 1s. 10d. for gold and 3½d. for silver coin per pound, and that this was 'very nearly clear profit and became known specifically as 'the Master's fee'': Craig, Mint, 170-1.

> take up at his Majesties price Gravers Smiths Workers and Labourers and other necessaries for making the irons and moneys and doing all manner of business and therein all Mayors, Sheriffs Bayliffs and other officers are commanded to assist the ... officers of the Mint... [1]

Powers were vested in the Master to make slight coinage alterations to trap coiners.[2] Payment of salaries to the Warden and other officers was also to be his responsibility, as was the finding of half the annual diet of £104 allowed to Mint officers.[3] Lastly, he was subject to the oath, as were his fellow officers and all Mint workmen, 'not to reveal the new invention of rounding the money and making the edge of them with letters or grainings...'.[4] As Sir J. Craig expressed it so aptly: 'A Master of the Mint was hung about with parchments'.[5] What, therefore, did Neale actually do during his thirteen years as Master of the Mint?

II

Neale's activities as Master can be considered in three sections - the normal, day-to-day business of the Mint, the parliamentary enquiry of the 1690s into alleged Mint mismanagement, and the Recoinage of 1696-9 with all its

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1. R.M. Newton MSS., I, f. 2.
2. The King empowered the Master to 'put privy marks on the coin and from time to time to alter same in order to the discovery of false coiners': Cal.T.B. 1685-9, 823.
3. The King was to pay the other half: ibid, 824.
4. Ibid, 825. The three senior Mint officers were to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and the Secret Oath on bended knee before the Lord High Treasurer. An example of the secret oath, that administered to Warden Owen Wynne, is preserved in Codr. MS. 261, pt. 3, 117. Despite these, and other, elaborate measures the Mint was not totally secure. Thus in August 1696 John Hill, a Mint labourer, absconded having 'stolen away from the ... Mint a parcel of Silver uncoined;...'. A reward of 5 gns. was offered by John Braint, Provost of the Moneyers: L.G., 3219, 14-17 Sept. 1696.
5. Craig, Newton, 30.

attendant difficulties, pressures and tensions. Routine matters included payments to former officers and their families for work done. For Neale as new Master his predecessor, Slingsby, was a nuisance in this respect. In late June 1687 he petitioned the Treasury for his dues from Mint service.[1] His friend Evelyn pleaded with the Treasury that although Slingsby was under a cloud of gloom they should nevertheless 'be favourable to him'.[2] No sooner had the Treasury referred the matter to the Mint officers than Slingsby approached them about reimbursement, pointing out that the sooner the matter was settled the better it would be, adding rather peremptorily 'I desire to see Mr. Neale as soon as he can conveniently'.[3] But six months or more were to pass before the Mint reported back about how much he was entitled to.[4] Slingsby was never to receive the arrears of salary for which he had pressed so hard. And when the money was eventually paid to his widow, Ann, instructions were given that she was to ensure removal of a debt by her husband to the Moneyers.[5] In September 1690 arrears of salary were paid to Grezill Bowers, widow of a former Mint engraver.[6] In late March 1697 Neale was ordered to pay Dorcas, Lady Ashfield, James Hoare's salary as Comptroller, for the period between his last payment and his death.[7] Workmen's bills had to be met, sometimes long after the work had been carried out. Thus the workmen who erected a melting house and carried

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1. Slingsby to Treasury, 27 June 1687: Codr. MS. 263, f. 281.
2. Evelyn, IV, 567.
3. Slingsby to Mint, 30 June 1687: Codr. MS. 263, f. 282.
4. Ibid, ff. 284-5v. Their report covered the period between 20 July 1680, the date of his suspension, and 20 April 1686 when he finally gave up his office.
5. The salary arrears received by Ann Slingsby amounted to £2620 5s. 10½d.: Treasury to Mint, 22 Jan. 1690: P.R.O. Mint 1/5, Mint Record Book V, May 1680-July 1727, 8a.
6. Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 813-4.
7. Cal.T.B. 1696-7, 435. Hoare had been appointed Mint Comptroller in 1669: R.M. Newton MSS., I, f. 83, list of Mint officers for 1603-92.

out repairs between 1677 and July 1680 had to wait ten years before their payment of £911 2s. 6d. was actually authorised by Neale.[1]

The Master was also responsible for producing various medals. In March 1689 Neale was ordered to prepare 515 gold medals for the coronation of William and Mary; these were to be delivered to Viscount Newport, Treasurer of the Household, who was to hand them to the Speaker for distribution in the Commons.[2] A further 28 medals, double the value of the first ones, were to be distributed by the Earl of Dorset, Lord Steward, to the Foreign Ministers and other representatives then resident in London, including the Ambassador Extraordinary from Spain, the Dutch envoys, the Emperor's secretary and the Genoese consul.[3] Occasionally approbatory medals were struck by the Mint. Thus late in November 1697 Neale was granted £150 from the Treasurer of the Navy for a chain and medal as a token of appreciation for bravery shown in Newfoundland by Alexander Cumberbatch, ship master.[4] As the monarchs still touched 'for the king's evil', healing medals were struck for distribution during the ceremony.[5] There was also engraving work on seals to be supervised; old seals previously used by James II were to be refurbished, the Roettier brothers being ordered to cut a new Great Seal for William III. When the new one was completed, Neale was to hand it to the King at Whitehall.[6]

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1. Treasury to Neale, 2 Dec. 1690: P.R.O. Mint 1/5, 11.
2. Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 80; Treasury to Neale, 12, 21 March 1689: P.R.O. Mint 1/5, 3a, 4.
3. Treasury to Neale, 19 Apr. 1689: ibid, 4a; Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 85.
4. Captured by a French squadron and taken to Newfoundland, Cumberbatch was put ashore to procure provisions for the French and sent Capt. Norris, then in Newfoundland with a squadron, a disposition of the French ships 'whereby the said Cumberbatch did put his life in great danger, ...': H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1697-9, 348.
5. 3,000 of such medals were delivered from the Mint to the Keeper of the Privy Purse between 2 Sept. and 9 Nov. 1687: Cal.T.B. 1685-9, 1857.
6. Treasury to Mint, 1 May 1689, 16 June 1690: P.R.O. Mint 1/5, 4b, 9a. The Roettiers, for whom see infra, 242-3. received £206 16s. for the work.

But such duties were relatively small beer in comparison with some of Neale's other Mint responsibilities. In October 1686 he and his colleagues considered a petition from John Cock for the post of Mint plumber.[1] Should Thomas Fitch be appointed Weigher and Teller in the Mint, or should the post go to somebody else? Should Thomas Anderson receive an annual allowance of £200 as Mint Engineer?[2] During these years there were two appointments that shook the Mint and laid Neale open to further criticism. Both concerned him directly, and may be seen as a reflection, if only partial, of his competence. On 26 February 1696 Thomas Hall was appointed Neale's Assistant to help with the projected recoinage. The appointment was described as that of:

> A fitt person appointed to be assistant to the Master and worker of our Mint for the better inspecting and carrying on the work of New Coyning the clipt Mony without prejudice to the office of the said Master and worker.[3]

The suggestion for the appointment had come from the King himself, who felt that the Master should have someone to help him out with the colossal work of supervising the recoinage operation,[4] yet another indication of Neale's favoured position.

Such an appointment was far outweighed in odium by that of Samuel Sheppard, appointed as deputy to Neale in August 1690. In making the appointment, Neale expected Sheppard to 'Execute Manage and perform the ... office of Master and worker of all moneys both Gold and Silver', in return for which he was to

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1. Cal.T.B. 1685-9, 969.
2. Ibid, 872; P.R.O. Mint 1/5, 10.
3. P.R.O. Mint 1/5, 25a. For biographical details of Hall, see Appendix E.
4. Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 1434.

> take receive possession and enjoy the ... Fee or yearly Pension of Five hundred pounds and all Edifices, Buildings, Gardens and other Fees Allowances Profitts Priviledges Franchises and Immunities belonging to the ... office.

The arrangement was to last for Neale's life or 'whilst and untill all Monyes due and owing to ... Samuel Sheppard by and from Thomas Neale shall by the profitts of ... office or otherwise be fully paid and Satisfied'.[1]

At some indeterminate point before joining the Mint commission, Neale had become indebted to Sheppard for £8-9,000.[2] When appointed to the Commission, Neale was granted Slingsby's last year of salary and the Commission was to have coinage profits. Of these, 50% were to be shared equally between Duncombe and Hoare, the remaining 50% and the salary to pass through Neale's hands into Sheppard's. The two commissioners maintained that they drew the profits to liquidate loans they had advanced Neale; while denying raising loans from either of them Neale subsequently admitted that he had signed an agreement with them in which he was prepared to surrender the office and at the same time pay them £1,500 apiece. He admitted that he felt compelled to submit to such an agreement, and for some time after his admission to office they drew their share of the profit so that he lost £4-5,000. Only later did he heed the advice of friends who told him that he should not be bound by an agreement 'gained by such undue Meanes and practices'.[3] In his defence he argued that he was simply buying off the devious activities of his fellow commissioners.

By late 1687, according to Neale, he owed Sheppard £1,000; to recoup he assigned him the next two years of his Master's

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1. P.R.O. Mint 1/5, 24.
2. Craig, Mint 180, gives the debt as £8,000. P.R.O. C7/99/17 refers specifically to £8,602.
3. P.R.O. C8/586/38.

salary. A process of escalation now began. Owing Sheppard a further £5,000 he next pledged as security his interests at Shadwell, the Groom Porter's office and a house at Windsor.[1] Pledge followed pledge rapidly. A share in a treasure wreck and a bond in March 1687 were used to secure a further £300 loan; a further £1,000 was secured by assigning a lease at Tunbridge Wells; an additional loan of 1,240 guineas was secured by bond in August 1688. In the middle of that month Neale was so desperate that he assigned to Sheppard money at the rate of 20 guineas a week 'to be taken out of the box kept for him as Groom Porter' and pledged his Mint salary until the entire debt could be cancelled. By late 1690, having appointed Sheppard as deputy at the Mint, and having done little or nothing about actually repaying, Neale took him to the Mint 'the better to introduce him into the said Office'. There he encountered further opposition from Hoare and Duncombe who explained that he was not at liberty to do as he pleased, but would have to comply with their wishes. Then, and only then, did he tell Sheppard of the way in which he had been brow-beaten by the other two.[2] Sheppard remained as deputy until April 1696 when the arrangement was revoked as a result of official pressure and before the debt had been completely eliminated.[3] Early that March Newton, Hall and Sheppard were summoned to the Treasury and agreement reached over revoking the deputyship, in return for proposals from Sheppard for recouping the outstanding money by other means.[4] This was achieved by Neale paying him off from profits arising from the Recoinage,[5] thus removing at least one creditor.

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1. P.R.O. C7/99/17. For the Windsor property, supra, 113 n. 4.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, Mint 1/6, Record Book VI, Feb. 1696-June 1701, 20.
4. Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 1437.
5. Infra, 245.

A major responsibility of course, was supervision of coinage production. In 1662 the Mint had replaced old methods of making coin by hand and hammer with cutting and coining presses, more powerful but risky so that 'few Moneyers were nimble enough to save their fingers indefinitely'.[1] With the King's flight in 1688 Neale was ordered to continue producing coins with the old dies until those 'with our effigies and arms shall be made and finished'. Occasionally coins had to be minted to meet specific payments, as in January 1690 when Neale was ordered to coin £600 of silver and pay Henry Harris, Mint engraver, with it.[2] Over the period during which he was Master, Neale supervised the coining of considerable amounts of money:

Table 11 Money minted during Neale's Mastership

Year	Gold	Silver
1685	£537,337 10s. 0d.	£94,773 6s. 7d.
1686	£617,410 12s. 3d.	£59,814 0s. 11d.
1687	£401,304 14s. 2d.	£250,630 1s. 10d.
1688	£561,309 5s. 7d.	£76,230 14s. 1d.
1689	£128,441 16s. 8d.	£96,572 19s. 1d.
1690	£48,722 9s. 10d.	£1,994 11s. 10d.
1691	£54,496 14s. 9d.	£3,730 13s. 10d.
1692	£114,498 10s. 0d.	£4,159 18s. 3d.
1693	£51, 518 10s. 0d.	£9,276 15s. 3d.
1694	£57,245 10s. 10d.	£159 17s. 3d.
1695	£717,217 12s. 6d.	£62
1696	£138,617 10s. 0d.	£2,511,853 3s. 6d.
1697	£120,446 13s. 4d.	£2,192,196
1698	£471,566 10s. 0d.	£326,628 8s. 0d.
1699	£141,376 10s. 0d.	£60,443 16s. 0d.

(Sources overleaf)

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1. Craig, Newton, 6-7, contains a useful brief description, and illustration, of coin-production.
2. Duke of Shrewsbury to Neale, 15 Feb. 1689, Treasury to Mint Officers, 22 Jan. 1690: P.R.O. Mint 1/5, 3, 8a.

Sources: R.M. Newton MSS., II, f. 256. Figures for 1685-91 also appear in ibid, f. 295, for 1692-9 in ibid, f. 258; and the entire set as given above in ibid, V, f. 57. All years are dated to 21 Dec. and the figures expressed in terms of tale.

Considerable imbalance is revealed between the amounts of gold and silver coins minted. Additionally, while there were fluctuations in gold coinage production, these were nowhere near as marked as those in the minting of silver coinage. There the running down of silver coinage is apparent, followed by the tremendous leap in production during the recoinage years of 1696-9, when the volume of silver money struck was greater than the combined total for the other years of Neale's Mastership.

Coinage production outside England also came within the Mint's purview. Throughout his period of Mint service Neale and his colleagues were asked for advice. The viability of erecting a mint in New England took up considerable time in the late 1680s, when there was protracted correspondence between the Mint and the Treasury on the subject. In mid-January 1685 the Mint reported against the idea. A Mint had been erected at Boston in 1652; the coinage produced was substandard in both weight and fineness. Taking a pessimistic view, therefore, they could not support the idea of a similar institution for New England.[1] Six months later they reiterated their opposition to the proposal, strengthening it with the addition of two precedents - the cancellation of the 1662 grant to Sir Thomas Vyner for producing small silver money in Ireland and the problems Lord Carlisle had encountered in his proposal that Jamaica should have a Mint in 1678.[2] But the Treasury persisted in the idea, and in late October the Mint eventually deferred, informing

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1. Mint Officers to Lord Treasurer, 15 Jan. 1685: Codr. MS. 263, ff. 131-2; Cal.S.P.Col. 1685-8, 266-7.
2. Same to same, 15 July 1686; Cal.S.P.Col. 1685-8, 266. For Carlisle's problems see 291, n. 5.

the Treasury that 'we shall be ready to offer the best rules for it' when the King ordered the setting up of a New England Mint.[1] Nearer home, there were problems related to the proposed Scottish Mint. In April 1687 the Mint officers told the Treasury that Lord Maitland's request for standard pieces of gold and silver for use in Scotland could not be met, since none had been cast since October 1660. They suggested positive action to rectify this deficiency, particularly as Maitland planned to open the Mint on 1 May.[2]

Materials for coinage also affected them. When Phips returned to England in glory with his treasure-laden ships, Neale and his Mint colleagues went down and visited his vessel between 15 and 17 June 1687, weighed all the gold and silver aboard, received the statutory royal 10%, took it back to the Mint and had it coined into money. Then they sent a full report of their doings to the Treasury.[3] A year later they were receiving more treasure, this time taken from Captain Knapman's ship on his return from Jamaica. With this and other amounts they calculated that they had over 29,000 ounces of silver in the Mint, valued at about £7,200, for which they sought urgent coining directions from the Treasury.[4] Thereafter, colonial monetary matters did not concern Neale until the end of his career when, in October and November 1699, he advised the Council of Trade and Plantations about the value of standard gold and silver in the Mint.[5]

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1. W. Blaithwayt to H. Guy, 18 Oct. 1686: Cal.S.P.Col.1685-8, 267; H. Guy to Mint, 19 Oct. 1686, enclosing previous letter: P.R.O. T27/9, 444; Mint to Treasury, 23 Oct. 1686: Cal.S.P.Col. 1685-8, 268.
2. Mint Officers to Treasury, 7 Apr. 1687: Cal.T.P. 1556-1696, 23.
3. Mint Officers to Treasury, 30 July 1687: Codr. MS. 263, f. 237. For a full discussion of the expedition and its significance, see Ch. VII.
4. Same to same, 18 Aug. 1688: ibid, f. 253.
5. Journal of Council of Trade and Plantations, 31 Oct., 27 Nov. 1699: Cal.S.P.Col. 1699, 505, 548.

While colonial matters were peripheral to the Mint, the reverse was true of clipping and coining. Besides clipping money in circulation or coining false money, miscreants bored holes into the sides of new crown pieces, extracted the silver and inserted a substitute metal. In a lengthy report submitted in June 1689 Warden Owen Wynne outlined the basic features of the problem facing the Mint authorities. During the past century, he explained, such activity had proliferated. Legal loopholes only exacerbated the problem. Without two positive witnesses juries usually acquitted; the provision of sanctuary by certain places in London, such as White Friars, Inns of Court, Kings Bench and, ironically, the Mint, caused further difficulties in securing the arrest of debtors and other miscreants and in serving writs. Even when a criminal was taken, he was often snatched back 'by a Riotous number of Lawlesse Malefactors that shelter there in the day, and plunder and Robb abroad in the night'.[1] Those involved were well organised, went to extreme lengths to avoid detection, and were not all necessarily drawn from the lower social orders. While some coiners and clippers operated in isolation, there were also sophisticated networks involving lenders, exchangers, the clippers themselves, and those who would 'put off' the defect coinage. One enterprising Westminster tripeman even constructed a special room under his garden in which to carry out his coining.[2] In some cases large-scale gangs operated in full view of the authorities in London.[3] Participants were frequently 'respectable' members of society, a substantial number of gold and silver smiths for

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1. O. Wynne to Sir H. Goodrick , 19 June 1689: Codr. MS. 263, ff. 318-21.
2. Richard Lapthorne to Richard Coffin, 29 June 1695: Portledge, 206.
3. On 28 June 1672 the King in Council discussed the activities of coiners in London, Middlesex and Surrey, in particular a gang of six operating in Southwark: Codr. MS. 263, f. 65.

obvious reasons, country gentlemen, members of the legal profession and, in the 1690s, at least two vicars.[1]

In law the crime was accounted high treason and those found guilty, unless pardoned, were subject to the dire punishment reserved for that offence.[2] Originally, apprehension and prosecution of clippers had been a sheriff's responsibility, but in the Restoration's immediate aftermath had devolved to the Mint, particularly to the Warden. But this was an unpleasant task and while Warden Wynne undertook it efficiently and thoroughly, Newton was subsequently to admit that during his tenure it so disgusted him that he asked to be spared that part of his duties.[3] To combat the problem the Mint relied on deputised officials, agents, and informers some of whom, having previously coined, found it more profitable to inform upon their erstwhile associates. In January 1686, for example, two Mint officials were deputised 'to go into all or any of the ... Northern Counties and by all lawfull waies and means ... find out discover and prosecute ... such people'.[4] The information supplied by Thomas Atkinson in late autumn 1685 was typical of the reports received by the Mint. In a lengthy statement he incriminated more than two dozen people. A brasier from Yorkshire was frequently coining Elizabeth I shillings,

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1. Portledge, 34, 192-3, 239, 212, 219, 256.
2. G. Miege, The New State of England (1691), pt. III, 126. E.C., (18th edn. 1694), 471, refers to other horrific punishments for the offence.
3. Craig, Newton 21, quoting R.M. Newton MSS., I, f. 438.
4. The deputation, to Henry Young and George Macey, is preserved in Codr. MS. 263, f. 110 and v. They took with them a recommendation to an Exchequer baron and a Northern circuit judge: ibid, MS. 261, pt. 3, 24. Subsequently Macey agreed to accept twelve packs of cotton wool, valued at £25, from the estate of Edward Jackson, an executed clipper, in part payment for his services on behalf of the Mint: H. Guy to Mint, 1 March 1686: P.R.O. T.27/9, 282. Concealment of goods or monies owed to condemned or executed clippers could lead to prosecution: L.G., 2234, 14-18 Apr. 1687.

and money was being lent at interest between relatives for clipping. Rinson Medcalfe, a Kendal tanner, had clipped money and sold the clippings. George Mayson, a Dent shoemaker, 'gave to this Informer ten ounces of Clippings for a silver watch in June last', and so the list continued.[1] Frequently the informers were women. Arabella Reeves, pardoned early in 1687 for possessing coining tools, gave evidence against at least sixteen other clippers.[2] From all parts of the realm reports flowed to the Mint of such activities, from Wales, Yorkshire, Wiltshire, London, Surrey and elsewhere.[3] Mint porters were frequently employed to keep watch on suspected houses and persons, though quite frequently the criminals escaped even then.[4]

Curiously enough, the savage penalties did not deter. Occasionally the authorities used refined methods for punishing offenders, as Thomas Woodcock noted in his diary for 13 November 1682:

> This day ... one Elizabeth Hoke was burnt for clipping; in Bunhill fields, a place never used for that purpose; but the sheriff chose it as a

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1. Codr. MS. 261, pt. 3, 26-8. Other examples are also preserved among Warden Wynne's papers.
2. Ibid, MS. 262, f. 1. The difficulties and risks of informers were amply revealed in Wynne's letter to the Treasury of 9 June 1687. Not the least of the problems was the funding or rewards, a substantial part of which came from amounts extracted from convicts. Wynne's problem at that time was that although about 100 clippers had been apprehended in the previous nine months, the amounts taken from them were insufficient for rewards: ibid, MS. 263, ff. 221-2.
3. Ibid, MS. 262, contains, at the reverse of the volume, Wynne's expenses for apprehending and prosecuting clippers, 1686-9. Twice during 1687 he travelled to Gloucester, Hereford, Monmouth, Radnor and Brecon on such business. In October he was paid £60 for his trouble: Akerman, 165.
4. Even apprehension was no guarantee of security. On 1 Apr. 1697 Stephen Clifford alias Gill, attainted for high treason for clipping and coining, broke out of Derby gaol, a £10 reward being offered for him: L.G., 3287, 10-13 May 1697.

> void and spacious place. When shee saw shee must dye, shee owned God's Justice in bringing her to dye in that place, where many years before shee had buryed a child with a spade in the night, being a bastard born out of wedlock. [1]

A gaol delivery for Newgate late in 1696 included four such offenders, three of whom were condemned for counterfeiting.[2] Contemporary diarists and correspondents frequently noted the punishment of transgressors. For the early part of Neale's Mastership figures survive to show just how serious the problems were for the Mint:

Table 12 Clipping and Coining Offences 1686-1689

	1686	1687	1688	1689
Acquittals	72	86	87	21
Convicted of misdemeanour	-	25	-	-
Convicted of treason and reprieved	7	13	5	-
Died before trial	-	-	-	1
Executed	8	8	0	0
Fined	15	16	4	3
King's pardon	5	-	-	-
Outlawed and fled	52	52	19	25
Pilloried and whipped	9	9	5	2
Seized	9	45	-	-
Suicides	-	-	1	-

Sources: Codr. MS. 262, reverse end of vol., n.f. The figure for 1687 also occurs in ibid, MS. 263, f. 279. Col. I covers only 29 Sept. 1686-19 Jan. 1687 and overlaps Col. II slightly. Col. IV covers the period until Sept. of that year. In Wynne's papers the entries are not in alphabetical order.

The most obvious features were the consistent high number

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1. A.C. Moore Smith (ed.), 'Extracts from the Papers of Thomas Woodcock, ob. 1695', Camden Miscellany, XI (1907), 85-6.
2. P.R.O. S.P. 32/6/82.

of acquittals, substantiating Wynne's criticism,[1] and of those who were outlawed and fled. Those executed were just under half the number of those fined for offences. Despite draconian measures on the part of the authorities, however, the problem persisted. The introduction into the Commons early in 1694 of a bill for the better discovery of clippers was ample proof. Neale did not serve on the committee considering the bill, though his nephew Price did.[2] In 1695 and 1698 the House was again to turn its attention to clippers and methods of dealing with them; again Neale was absent from any of the relevant committees.[3] That the Warden was theoretically in charge of such operations could well explain Neale's absence.

Though not on the committees, Neale was very familiar with the 'work' of William Challoner, the most notorious clipper and coiner of late-Stuart England. Challoner was so bold that he even tried to take on the full might of authority before justice finally caught up with him. Confidence trickster, coiner and resourceful villain, Challoner waxed fat from coining. In 1690 he had been a poor, ill-clothed japanner who in a short time 'put on the habit of a Gentleman took a great house at Knightsbridge and bought some plate'. Expert at coining both French and English money, he narrowly escaped capture when a fellow coiner informed upon him and doubtless drew relish from seeing the informer go to the scaffold. To re-establish himself Challoner now gulled the Exchequer out of £1,000. A reward to that value had been offered for the source of Jacobite literature then circulating in London. Obtaining one of the documents, Challoner persuaded two printers to run off an additional forty copies on some pretext, informed on them to the authorities and promptly pocketed the reward.

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1. Supra, 236.
2. J.H.C., XI, 39, 45.
3. Ibid, XI, 200; XII, 23, 90-1. See also discussion in Ch. V.

A further £200 reward came from the Orphans' Bank; he recommended a fellow coiner 'as a person that could do the Govenment the greatest service by taking up clippers and coiners', and coined busily at Chiswick. In 1696 he made his boldest bid for power by appearing before the parliamentary commission enquiring into Mint affairs and informing members that 'all the Mint were very unskilfull in comparison of himself that he might be made their supervisor'.[1] With aplomb he had already approached both the Privy Council and Montagu about Mint shortcomings and his own discoveries for coin improvements. Having already published his views on Mint imperfections,[2] he subsequently told the committee that the Mint not only produced counterfeit coin but that it needed the supervision of somebody such as himself to improve its efficiency. As evidence of good intentions he submitted two devices against counterfeiting. When the committee instructed Newton to fetch Mint apparatus for demonstration purposes, the Warden steadfastly refused. With the recommendation that the coiner's devices be officially adopted, the patience of both Newton and Neale expired. Newton had Challoner immediately confined to Newgate, in which action he was doubtless encouraged by Neale, for the two men had already gone as far as to threaten Challoner with hanging 'for discovering to parliament the mismanagement of the Mint'.[3] A second parliamentary enquiry followed in March 1698 and eventually Newton was able to demonstrate that what Challoner really intended was not to help the Mint but himself, by securing a Mint appointment to improve his nefarious activities outside. The master coiner had overreached himself. Tried for coining, he was executed in March 1699 to the relief of both Newton and Neale.

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1. R.M. Newton MSS., I, f. 501, memorandum on Challoner.
2. Reasons humbly offered against passing an Act for raising £1,000,000 for making good the deficiency of the Clipt-Money (1695).
3. Minutes of Proceedings of Lords Justices, 4 Sept. 1697: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1697, 351.

Partially true though some of his allegations may have been, Challoner had revealed loopholes in Mint work and had nearly tricked himself into what would have been an impregnable position.[1]

Neale was to encounter a second source of tension in another Mint employee, Henry Harris. Like Challoner he was to appear as a hostile witness before the 1696 committee,[2] having already lowered Mint morale considerably. A grudgeful seal engraver at the Mint, Harris directed most of his resentment towards John, Joseph and Phillip Roettiers, fellow engravers. In 1661 Charles II had brought these three Flemish brothers to England and appointed them Mint engravers for life.[3] For many years their work was satisfactory, and so impressed Neale that in March 1690 he supported the appointment of John Roettiers' son, James, to a vacancy in the Mint.[4] The newly-appointed engraver worked alongside Harris, the two frequently being called to the Treasury for their opinions on new money dies, anti-counterfeiting measures and other matters. But tensions developed over competence and salaries. Summoned before William III in February 1696 Harris showed him puncheons for crowns and half-crowns which he maintained were better than the work of his rival.[5] But by now Neale was having second thoughts about Roettiers. In February 1697 he and Newton informed the Treasury that they felt Harris was competent 'if Mr. Roettiers be turned out'.[6] The parliamentary committee, meanwhile, had roundly condemned the entire family as papists;[7] in late March 1697

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1. Craig, Newton, 19.
2. Craig, Mint, 195.
3. Cal.T.P. 1697-1702, 195. For further details of the Roettiers see H. Symonds, 'English Mint Engravers of the Tudor and Stuart Periods, 1485-1688', Numismatic Chronicle, (1913), 349-77.
4. Cal.T.P. 1556-1696, 106.
5. Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 1434.
6. Ibid, 1696-7, 358.
7. Craig, Mint, 195.

Mint officers impounded the engraver's equipment. In their report Neale and Newton veered yet again, writing favourably of the dismissed engraver's work.[1] Essentially, however, the damage had been done. The parliamentary committee's views seemed substantiated when reports circulated that 'king James was lately seen in Mr. Rotiers apartment in the Tower, upon enquiry it appears to be groundlesse'.[2] Though Luttrell did not explain why the report was groundless, the reason was simple. The person sighted in the engraver's room had not been James II but Neale, there being a strong physical resemblance between the two men.[3]

The quality of coinage produced at the Mint was periodically scrutinised in the ceremony known as the Trial of the Pyx.[4] An ancient ordeal, it was designed to test both weight and fineness of coins. Performed by a jury from the Company of Goldsmiths, it also involved the Lord Chancellor, Privy council peers, officials, Mint officers and not least the Mint's two liveried boatmen, who, with great ceremonial, rowed everything needed for the trial to Palace yard. Before the civil wars the trial was conducted annually; thereafter, however, it was held either when the Mint chest was full or when it suited the Master. While Neale served on the Mint commission the trial was conducted once, in November 1684.[5] During his Mastership it place once, on 19 July 1696[6] and probably only then to ensure that the quality of coin issued during the Recoinage was sound. There was then a break until

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1. Cal.T.P. 1697-1702, 195.
2. Luttrell, IV, 246.
3. Matthew Prior to Charles Montagu, 30 Aug. 1698: H.M.C. MSS. of Marquis of Bath, III, 259. See also Conclusion.
4. What follows is derived from Craig, Newton, 48-9. For a full account, see Craig, Mint, Ch. XXIII.
5. Codr. MS. 263, ff. 150-55.
6. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1696, 275.

1701 when Newton underwent the first trial of his Mastership and of coins produced during Neale's last six months of office.[1] Either the chest was never full at other times or Neale chose to neglect slightly this part of his duties.

During this period the Mint also experimented with different types of coinage. Before 1644 tin farthings had been struck under a state monopoly, but thereafter were replaced by widely circulated private tokens.[2] Early in the 1680s tin coins were again circulated experimentally. But they, like copper coinage, produced problems, in great part because of the metal itself.[3] Experimental use of copper farthings dated from at least the 1670s and was taken earnestly in the 1690s, but copper coinage was not formally introduced until 1717.[4] That experiments were run at all during the 1690s was a sound measure of Mint performance given the pressures under which it was placed.

During 1696 the Mint came under considerable parliamentary scrutiny. In April a committee was appointed to examine alleged Mint miscarriages; in November a second committee was set up to inspect the Mint and report weekly to the Commons.[5] The significant feature of the enquiry into miscarriages was that Newton, and not Neale, was the official Mint witness. Neale was sent for at least once, and his opinion sought on the status of moneyers, whom, he

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1. Craig, Newton, 48.
2. Horsefield, xi.
3. In reports to the Treasury in August 1688 and May 1689 Neale and his Mint colleagues specified further complications with the tin farmers and supervisory work that would have to be carried out by Mint officials in Devon and Cornwall: Codr. MS. 263, ff. 208-208v, 204-204v.
4. A.H. John, 'War and the English Economy, 1700-1763', Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser. VII (1955), 331. R.M. Newton MSS., II, f. 345, contains a note by Newton on costs of copper coinage production for 1694-1701.
5. J.H.C., XI, 589.

informed the committee, he had always looked upon as a corporation.[1] Regardless of the acerbity of both Challoner and Harris,[2] the committee was seemingly unimpressed by Neale's work as Master:

> Mr. Hall, a very careful diligent officer, is the master-worker's deputy, and doth almost all the whole business of the mint in Mr. Neale's absence; hath but £400 salary, and that not paid by the master-worker.[3]

The committee also specified the amount of Neale's debt to his one-time deputy, Sheppard. The latter told the committee that he had obtained 'out of the profits of the master-workers place' £5,996 11s. 1d. between 12 June 1696 and 19 January 1697, which he made use of 'by virtue of a mortgage and an assignment of £10,500 made to him, by the master-worker ... in the Mint in May last'.[4] Once again Neale was not presented favourably.

Time-consuming though the committee's enquiries were, it would be erroneous to suggest that all Mint employees were damned in consequence. One important member of the staff was not even mentioned - Dr. John Francis de Fauquier. A shadowy figure, Fauquier was first employed by the Mint at some time between 1691 and 1696.[5] Though better known as a Bank of England director of the early eighteenth century, his importance in the context of Neale's career is that he is alleged to have been Neale's financial agent.[6] Where, and in what capacity, however, is far from clear. From

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1. R. Ruding, Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain (2 vols. 1840), II, App. VI, 463.
2. Supra, 240-2.
3. Ruding, II, 468. William III had suggested that Neale's assistant should be at crown expense and 'not to take away any part of Mr. Neale's profit': Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 1434.
4. Ruding, II, 468.
5. Miege, pt. III, 212, lists Mint staff for 1691 with no mention of Fauquier. Craig, Mint, 196, states that Neale appointed him as deputy in 1696.
6. Craig, Newton, 34.

1696 onwards he served as deputy Master to Neale, and later as acting Master.[1] To Mint officers the parliamentary enquiry was vexatious; heavily preoccupied with the Recoinage, they resented M.Ps. asking seemingly endless questions.

The late seventeenth century witnessed coinage problems, solution of which took up much parliamentary time.[2] There was no shortage of solutions offered. For the period 1695-6 alone there are at least 250 publications bearing on the recoinage controversy;[3] with allowance for those that have disappeared, the final total is doubtless much higher. Basically the arguments centred round the adoption of either devaluation or restoration.[4] Many of the leading figures, as well as lesser writers, long since forgotten, wrote on the problem. John Locke, leading Whig philosopher and exponent of reason, whose ideas on economics had crystallised by 1680,[5] championed the cause of restoration. Silver, he argued, was short in England only because of the surplus of imports. Restoring the old standard and repairing the trade balance was the obvious solution to the country's problems.[6] William Lowndes, dynamic Treasury secretary, was diametrically opposed to Locke. The standard, he argued, was not a fixed one; rather was it the current shilling, changing in weight if the currency deteriorated.[7] Nicholas Barbon, Neale's fellow projector, Newton, Wren

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1. For biographical details, see Appendix B.
2. Supra, 199-202.
3. Horsefield, 37. This work offers the neatest survey of the vast array of contemporary literature on the controversy.
4. Ibid, Ch. III for an analysis of the problem.
5. Laslett, 379.
6. Horsefield, 58.
7. Ibid, 60. For further details see C.R. Fay, 'Locke versus Lowndes', Cambridge Historical Journal, IV (1933), 143-55.

Sir Dudley North and many others contributed to the growing debate.[1]

To finance so vast an undertaking Parliament decided in late December 1695 that the public should bear the cost with a new tax to be levied on windows. But not until 18 March 1696 was this finally enacted; levied for seven years, on inhabitants as opposed to houseowners, it was expected to produce some £1,200,000.[2] It was rapidly appreciated, however, that valuable time would elapse before any returns appeared from this new revenue source. Hence the attempts to fill the void with Briscoe's Land Bank and the floating of Exchequer bills.[3] As further encouragement for the smooth running of the recoinage, a second Act passed in March provided for the free coinage of all plate taken to the Mint between 4 May and 4 November 1696 and a reward of 6d. for every ounce of plate taken in to be recoined.[4] Later, in November, it was enacted that henceforth all coins were to be acceptable by weight only.[5] In February 1697 a new duty was levied on paper and vellum, again with the intention of encouraging receipt of money by the Mint. In March 1697 the reward for bringing in plate to be recoined was reduced and importers attracted by promises of prompt repayment.[6] In April was passed 'An Act for the

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1. Many of the leading writings were reprinted in London Political Economy Club, A Select Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts on Money (1856) and in W.A. Shaw (ed.), Select Tracts and Documents Illustrative of English Monetary History, 1626-1730 (1896).
2. Tax was to be paid as follows: 2s. on those dwelling houses with under ten windows, 6s. on those with between ten and twenty, and 10s. on those with more than twenty: Ming-Hsun Li, 119.
3. For these two developments and Neale's involvement therein, see Chs. V and VII.
4. Ming-Hsun Li, 119-20; N. de L'Hermitage to States General, 21/31 Jan. 1696: B.L. Add. MSS. 17677, QQ, General Correspondence of Dutch Envoys 1696, f. 231v.
5. For the various conditions imposed by this Act, see Ming-Hsun Li, 120.
6. The reward was reduced from 6d. per ounce to 2d. and payment to be immediate, without importers waiting for the plate to be melted down and assayed: Ibid, 121.

better Preventing the Counterfeiting the Current Coin of this kingdom'. Anyone found making or mending moulds, stamps or like equipment would be guilty of high treason; anyone found hiding such items could be handed over, with them, to a local justice of the peace.[1]

While Parliament was busy making necessary legislative preparations, the Mint was being actively prepared for the huge task that lay ahead. In Parliament Montagu had already stressed that speed was essential for smooth running and ultimate success; soon afterwards £2,500 was spent on new Mint machinery. Late in December 1695 Lowndes enquired about additional space that might be needed in the Tower from the Office of Ordnance.[2] In January 1696 ten furnaces were erected in the Exchequer gardens, where clipped money would be melted into ingots before being carted to the Mint for recoinage.[3] On 23 January the Mint began to recoin.[4] In February Hall was appointed Neale's clerk at William III's personal request.[5] At first, however, matters moved only slowly.

To Neale it was already painfully apparent that the task would be too much for the Tower Mint to handle alone. On 1 January 1696 he had submitted to the Treasury a list of officers necessary for the establishment of a set of provincial mints, together with a costing for such an exercise.[6] Petitions were submitted pleading the cause of certain towns for the mints. From Exeter the mayor and leading local citizenry petitioned that they had enjoyed considerable trade for several years and were only too 'sensible of the great mischiefs occasioned by the abasing

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1. Ming-Hsun Li, 121.
2. Lowndes to Neale, 30 Dec. 1695: Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 1268.
3. N. de L'Hermitage to States General 10/20, 17/27 Jan. 1696: B.L. Add. MSS. 17677, QQ, ff. 216v, 224v.
4. Craig, Mint, 191.
5. Supra, 230.
6. Cal.T.P. 1556-1696, 484.

the coin of the kingdom.[1] Soon afterwards 36 M.Ps. from the northern counties petitioned in favour of York. The recent Act for remedying the ill state of the coin provided for the creation of mints in convenient places; there had previously been a mint at York which had proved 'very convenient for ... subjects in the northern parts'.[2] But the plans matured only slowly; in April and May 1696 Neale and Hall were summoned to the Treasury and instructed to hasten work on them and on the provision of materials.[3] In July a request by Coventry was denied, the town being 'not so considerable for trade', though the public spirit shown by the town was applauded. Hereford was also refused, the Treasury considering that enough provincial mints had been created to cope with the work.[4] Lowndes urged upon Neale the need to send proper officers to Exeter and York.[5] Additional premises had to be secured and necessary conversion and installation work carried out. At York a house was leased by the Mint and then converted.[6] At Chester, rooms were set aside in the castle.[7] John Braint, engineer at the Tower Mint, installed additional machinery at the Tower and then visited each provincial mint in turn. At both York and Bristol he installed new horse mills and other machinery; Bristol acquired a new shilling press. Work at Chester and Exeter totalling c. £770 was carried out; at Norwich the expenses included £147. 19s. 6d.

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1696, 23-4.
2. Ibid, 28.
3. Cal.T.B. 1696-7, 1, 10.
4. Duke of Shrewsbury to Mr. Hopkins, 2 July 1696: Cal.S.P. Dom. 1696, 254; same to Mayor of Hereford, 9 July 1696: ibid, 262.
5. W. Lowndes to Neale, 16 May 1696: Cal.T.B. 1696-7, 145-6.
6. The house was to be leased for seven years at £50 per annum: Treasury to Neale, 1 Sept. 1696: P.R.O., T.56/22, Treasury Miscellanea, warrants, 340. At Bristol a sugar-house was taken over: Cal.T.P. 1557-1696, 516.
7. In September 1699 Roger Kirkby, Governor of Chester Castle, was paid £200 for use of the rooms: Cal.T.B. Aug. 1699-Sept. 1700,, 165.

for a Mill.[1]

As 4 May 1696 approached, the last day for legal usage of the clipped money, tension mounted. People began to realise the extent to which they would lose if left with the useless money on their hands. Reports reached the authorities of unrest in Kendal, Derbyshire, Halifax and Staffordshire.[2]

Problems were especially acute in Norwich. A committee of local worthies wrote to the Duke of Norfolk asking him to use his influence to have a provincial mint set up there. They stated that the scarcity of money in Norwich would create peace-keeping difficulties, and that they had been led to understand that enough plate would be brought in from surrounding counties to keep a mill at work for at least one year and probably two, adding as a postscript:

> There is a farre greater quantities of clipt money in the country than was supposed by the Parliament, which if it might be new coined or changed without any losse, would greatly oblige the people. [3]

Their fears and statements were soon confirmed by a private correspondent. From Norwich Humphrey Prideaux wrote anxiously: 'I find the difficultys about the coin to presse hard everywhere all the way I came, but I hope the mint will take care speedyly to remedy this inconvenience'.[4] Though preparations went ahead, their hallmark was slowness. In July it was announced that anyone with clipped or diminished silver coinage could loan it to the Exchequer to help remove sub-standard coinage.[5] Edmund Bohun wrote lengthily from East Anglia:

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1. P.R.O. Mint 1/6, 64a-66.
2. For details of the disorders, threatened and actual, see A. Feaveryear, The Pound Sterling (2nd edn. 1963), 140.
3. Norwich Committee to Duke of Norfolk, 15 May 1696: Cal.T.P. 1556-1696, 510.
4. Prideaux to John Ellis, 1 June 1696: E.M. Thomson (ed.), Letters of Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis 1674-1722 (Camden Soc., 1875), 176.
5. L.G., 3199, 6-9 July 1696.

> In January last there was no silver to be had. All that passed was gold; so that I told my labourers I must pay them in guinees. No sooner was the clipped money cried down, but all the gold was drawen off and small clipped money became so plentifull and was thrust upon us so impudently, that no man knew what to do. The 4th of May and whole year's tax being paid in and passed, out come another sort of money hoarded before, shillings of ninepence, sixpences of threepence, half crowns of about twenty pence apiece. These pass awhile till men, beginning to weigh them, found the defect; and, the king's receivers refusing them, they began to fall to their real value by weight.
>
> Our justices of the peace, in our last sessions, threatned to prosecute all that weighed the silver money; and many were presented. Upon this, the small money stopped, and nobody would take it at any rate. The Londoners sent down the small money in good quantitys; but when it was returned to them would not receive one penny of it.
>
> No trade is managed but by trust. Our tenants can pay no rent. Our corne factors can pay nothing for what they have had, and will trade no more. So that all is at a stand; and the people are discontented to the utmost. Many self-murders happen, in small families, for want; and all things look very black; and should the least accident put the mob in motion no man can tell where it would end.[1]

By late August the situation had worsened: 'Our mint doth not yet work, and the difficultys about the coin grow worse and worse'.[2] Mint officers at Norwich complained of being kept waiting for bullion, though by mid-September work had begun. Once again Mint officers were summoned from the Tower and reprimanded, though to his credit Neale did not flinch before authority. Rather did he retaliate, writing

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1. Edmund Bohun to John Cary, 31 July 1696: S.W. Rix (ed.), The Diary and Autobiography of Edmund Bohun Esq. (1853), 138-9. For an experience similar to Bohun's, that of Mrs. Elizabeth Freke upon her return to West Bilney, Norfolk, see M. Carbery (ed.), Mrs. Elizabeth Freke, Her Diary, 1671-1714 (1913), 44. She and Neale were distantly related through the first marriage of his grandfather, Sir Thomas Neale, to Elizabeth Freake of Dorset.
2. Prideaux to J. Ellis, 24 Aug. 1696: E.M. Thompson, 184.

forcefully to the Treasury in late October to the effect that the country mints were simply waiting for work. From Bristol mint Alexander How, Neale's nephew by marriage and the man in charge of work there, complained in 1697 about the laxness, despite notification, with which the King's Receivers collected recoined money.[1] Complaints were coming in about shortcomings in all the provincial mints; their accounts had to be rewritten, even though Newton had already issued instructions on the way in which accounts were to be submitted for official approval.[2]

Many of the criticisms resulted from staffing problems, with tension among provincial mint staff and between some of them and the Tower staff. Friction was particularly acute at Chester. There, through Newton's influence, Edmond Halley the astronomer had been appointed Deputy Comptroller in March 1696. Trouble followed hard on Halley's appointment. When he and Weddell, the Chester Deputy Warden, reprimanded two clerks, Bowles and Lewis, they found to their horror that the recalcitrant pair were supported by the Deputy Master, Clarke.[3] Having forged a rift, Clarke threatened Weddell with assault and challenged him to a duel. Emboldened by his protector's actions, Lewis assaulted Weddell, then, with Clarke, brought forward all sorts of charges against him and Halley. The astronomer was accused of showing preference over purchasing

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1. Lowndes to Neale, 1 June 1697: Cal.T.B. Apr.-Sept. 1697, 192.
2. Newton to country mints, 16 Apr. 1698: R.M. Newton MSS. II, f. 251.
3. For Clarke and Neale's personal relationship, see Conclusion.

silver, and of professional blunders.[1] Such acrimony depressed Halley who wrote 'I long to be delivered from the uneasiness I suffer here by ill company in my business, which at best is but drudgery, but as we are in perpetual feuds is intollerable'.[2] At the end of 1697 he muttered darkly of resigning:

> ... the Mint at Chester I assure you cannot subsist as it ought, while Lewis governs Clark as he does, and Mr. Neale supports both. Wherfore I begg that Lewis may appear face to face with me, before the Lords, there to answer to his throwing the standish at Mr. Weddell, ...[3] and some other accusations...

Fortunately for Halley the work of the Chester mint was almost at an end, and he had managed to occupy himself in other, more useful, ways while there.[4]

At Norwich, the problems were different. The Deputy Master, Anthony Redhead, encountered financial difficulties with both the government and Neale. He was alleged to owe the Norfolk Land Tax Receiver £2,500 and another £600 to his successor for hammered money. As Redhead was much in arrears by the time recoinage work was completed at Norwich,

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1. E.F. MacPike (ed.), The Correspondence and Papers of Edmond Halley (1937 edn.), 241-2. On 9 Nov. 1697 Lewis was ordered to London by the Treasury to explain his conduct. On 2 Feb. 1698 Neale, Newton and two other Mint officers attended Treasury discussions on the incident. When Newton described Lewis as insolent and quarrelsome, Neale argued in favour of his competence, 'but upon ill names given him is very quarrelsome'. Neale was nevertheless ordered to dismiss Lewis forthwith: Cal.T.B. Oct. 1697-Aug. 1698, 28, 59-60, 236.
2. Halley to Sir Hans Sloane, 25 Oct. 1697: MacPike, 103.
3. Same to Newton, 30 Dec. 1697: J.D. Scott (ed.), The Correspondence of Isaac Newton (4 vols. 1967), IV, 254.
4. For details of Halley's non-Mint activities at Chester see A. Armitage, Edmond Halley (1966), 134-6. Newton had already offered to secure Halley two other appointments, both of which he declined. The work at Chester completed, Halley was given command of the Paramour and left on a scientific expedition to the Atlantic, for which see Armitage, Ch. X and R.P. Stearns, 'The Course of Capt. Edmond Halley in the Year 1700', Annals of Science, I (1936), 294 ff.

Neale took out an extent against him in September 1699. His goods were impounded and Redhead was imprisoned in Ludgate. Five years later he was still languishing there; interested parties and legal counsel realised that the solution of the problem lay with Neale's administrators.[1]

At Exeter Israel Hayes, the Deputy Comptroller, also had financial worries. In November 1698 he attended the Treasury with Neale and other officers about deficiencies in his accounts, and explained that he would have to sue some of his Exeter colleagues. He offered Neale £300 as interim payment, and pledged another £200 payable to him as commissary for a forthcoming expedition to Madagascar.[2] At his death, however, Haynes had still not cleared his accounts.[3]

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1. Material drawn from R.M. Newton MSS., II, ff. 489, 485, 487; Cal.T.P. 1702-7, 103, 143, 311. See also Newton to Godolphin, Jan. 1703: R.M. Newton MSS., II, 481, printed in J.D. Scott, IV, 396-7. Leonard Blofield, the Receiver, had already received his £2,500 and was trying to secure double payment. For criticism of Blofield see Cal.S.P.Dom, 1696, 366.

2. Cal.T.B. Sept. 1698-July 1699, 31, 50. From about 1685 onwards the northern part of Madagascar had been developed as a state, known as Libertalia, by buccaneers and pirates from the West Indies. Among the founders was Thomas Tew who, enriched by the experience, subsequently lived in Rhode Island as a sober citizen: A. Toussaint, 'Early American Trade with Mauritius', Mariner's Mirror, XXXIX (1953), 45. In 1698 an English ship fitted out to cruise upon Madagascar's pirates, inadvertently captured one of the Great Mogul's vessels. The English ship had been commanded by Capt. Kidd who 'seeing a considerable booty in his way, could not forbear returning to his old piratical trade'. The East India Company immediately grew fearful of retaliation upon English subjects in India by the Great Mogul and William III ordered the fitting out of three ships to suppress the pirates. Commissioners were to accompany the punitive expedition, to offer pardons to such as would submit: J. Ellis to Ambassador Williamson, 22 Nov., 25 Nov. 1698; J. Vernon to Lords of Admiralty, 28 Feb. 1699; same to Council of Trade, 21 July 1698: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1698, 419, 117, 364. For the Madagascar pirates see A.G. Course, Pirates of the Eastern Seas (1966).

3. Craig, Newton, 14.

For the staff of provincial mints there were salary problems too. As early as March 1696 Neale had already suggested salary increases to Mint staff for the Recoinage, an idea that was poorly received by the Treasury.[1] That autumn he and a colleague pointed out that salaries were now much in arrears. He explained that he had been engaged to pay £1,160 yearly to deputies in the five country mints, 'towards which hitherto there had been little or no profit'. At the very least, he argued, the previous quarter's salary should be paid.[2] Such were the difficulties that as late as April 1701 Weddell from the Chester mint was only then recouping his salary for part of 1698.[3]

There were problems in the Tower mint as well. Finding the extra accommodation for additional machinery and men was difficult. Applications for additional space occupied by the Office of Ordnance in the Tower exacerbated strained relations. When recoinage was first mooted, the Ordnance and Mint authorities had discussions on additional accommodation that might be needed.[4] Though plans matured for the conversion of a Mint porter's residence into a melting house, the Ordnance Office refused to surrender Martins Tower to the porter. Nor would they remove an Ordnance employee from another house so that it, too, could be converted for Mint use. Entreaties by Neale to the Treasury for the release of the house proved to be of little or no value.[5] Sir Christopher Wren, Master of the

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1. Cal.T.P. 1556-1696, 494.
2. Ibid, 551-2. The Treasury minuted that the first disposable £1,000 from the Exchequer should be earmarked for this purpose.
3. Characteristically, the Mint officers reported that the salary arrears of £30, and other monies due to Weddell, should come from money imprested to Neale for the Mint: Cal.T.P. 1697-1702, 477. For the problems this presented, see Conclusion.
4. Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 1422.
5. Ibid, 1431; ibid, 1696-7, 1; Cal.T.P. 1556-1696, 504, 545.

King's Works, was more amenable, handing over Tower storehouses used by his department to Neale in May 1696.[1] In the following January Neale was still complaining of the need for more space.[2]

Friction and rivalry with the Ordnance Office haunted Neale for the rest of his time at the Mint. Ordnance encroachment and arrogance continued unabated, until they exceeded themselves by demolishing a substantial Mint residence and rebuilding on the site! Such action had serious implications, as Neale and Newton angrily pointed out:

> ... If these things be allowed ... it will be impossible for us to guard our Gates, or guard ourselves from the Guarrison or reduce the Mint any more to good order, the want of which has dammaged the King and the Moniers more thousands of pounds in the late recoynage of the hammerd moneies than all the houses taken from us are worth, and caused the moneys to be wors coyned than it would otherwise have been. [3]

The Tower soldiery also created difficulties for the Mint. Late in June 1697 an inebriate officer broke into a Mint residence, and skewered the occupant's coat-tails with his sword. Pandemonium soon prevailed, quelled only by a file of troops from the Tower. In retaliation Lord Lucas, Lieutenant of the Tower, banned entry of food and drink into the Mint from the Tower. Mint privilege was openly flouted with the arrest of a melting-house employee by the military on a trumped-up assault charge. A gate porter refused a niggardly tip, as unbecoming in the Mint.[4] These and similar incidents were irritants to Neale, as well as impeding the recoinage work.

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1. Cal.T.B. 1696-7, 12, 16.
2. Ibid, 118-19; Cal.T.P. 1697-1702, 4.
3. Neale and Newton to Treasury, 16 June 1699: Bolton and Hendry, 151-2. The Office of Works became involved and after protracted correspondence it was agreed that representatives of all three departments should view the disputed premises on 12 Sept. 1699: ibid, 151-2.
4. Craig, Newton, 15-16.

Friction apart, he made good use of additional space once it had been acquired. The garrison was pushed back into the Tower; a new melting house was built over the Comptroller's garden and additional machinery was installed. Presses were brought to the Tower from as far afield as Wigan and Carmarthen.[1] At least once machinery came from the church, Neale paying the Lord Almoner, the bishop of Lichfield, £100 for a deodand mill.[2] By May the number of horses, necessary for working some of the mills, had risen to 33. The number of men had risen to 160, subsequently to rise again to 500. Working hours were increased to twenty a day, six days a week, necessitating double shifts.[3] Curiosity proved the better of some people who began visiting the Mint to watch the work in progress. Such was the concourse that visiting had to be restricted:

> ... by reason great Numbers of People do daily go to the Mint, on pretence to see the same, and thereby not only obstruct the Dispatch of the present Coinage, but several pieces are likewise lost and carried away, the Work-men not being able to watch all the Pieces; It is Ordered, That none but Persons of Quality, and those concerned with the Coinage, be permitted to enter the Melting-Houses, Mill-Rooms, Press-Rooms, or any of the

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1. P.R.O. Mint 1/6, 57; Cal.T.B. 1696-7, 89, 191-2. The experience of John Jones of Carmarthen was an object lesson to fellow workers. A pewterer, Jones delivered his spoon-making press to the Tower for conversion and use during the Recoinage. In July 1696 he petitioned the Treasury for £83 0s. 10d., the value of the press and cartage charges from Carmarthen to the Tower. In July and Sept. 1696 Neale was instructed to pay him. In Oct. 1699 Jones was still petitioning for his money, pointing out that he had been 'deprived of the best part of his livelihood': Cal.T.B. 1696-7, 214, 222, 256; Cal.T.P. 1697-1702, 332.
2. Cal.T.B. 1697-8, 300. A deodand was an item forfeited to the Crown, to be used in alms, as having caused a human death.
3. Craig, Newton, 13-4.

Rooms where the Silver is working, until after Michaelmas next. [1]

Despite these obstacles, silver ingots poured into the Mint during much of 1696. A note was made of their number and of their clipped money equivalent and then Neale issued a receipt for each delivery. Deliveries to the Tower for most of 1696 are shown below:

Table 13

Ingot Deliveries to Tower Mint: February-October 1696

Month	No. of Ingots	Clipped Money Equivalent
February	1,203	£497,193 11s. 6d.
March	795	£350,752
April	347	£151,935
May	1,086	£452,191
June	1,626	£673,467
July	2,339	£1,007,232
August	1,637	£731,627
September	706	£305,400
October	1,108	£494,382 10s. 8d.
	10,847	£4,664,180 2s. 2d.

Source: P.R.O. T.56/22, passim. Receipts for Dec. 1696-Feb. 1698 are contained in P.R.O. T.56/23, but the deliveries in ingots, parcels of hammered money and assay pieces make tabulation impracticable. Neale's receipts for clipped coins are contained in P.R.O. T.48/13. Monthly entries are totalled.

Activity was greatest during February and May-August inclusive. In February, for example, Neale issued ten

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1. L.G., 3186, 21-25 May 1696. Workers also purloined equipment: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1696, 324, and Supra, 227 n.4. Visits to the Mint took place at other times as well. On 15 Aug. 1690 the Earl of Clarendon, showed four guests round: S.W. Singer (ed.), The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon and of his brother Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester (2 vols. 1828), II, 328.

receipts, two of them on the same day.[1] This contrasted sharply with April, when only two deliveries were made and September when only one consignment arrived.[2]

The rate and volume of work by the Tower and provincial mints varied during the Great Recoinage. In July 1696 Portland informed William III of news that had reached him

> L'argent nouveau commence aussy à se disperser. L'on escrit de Winchester qu'à 3 milles de la à St. Crosse, ou il y a une des plus grandes foires du pais, l'on a vendu pour 20 livres sterling de fromage qui fut tout payé en argent comptant;...[3]

But while the recoined money was coming from the Tower, the provincial mints, as we have already seen, were making only a slow start. Prideaux and Halley wrote of the slowness apparent at Norwich and Chester.[4] But performance was to improve:

> Wee come apace and have already paid of £3,000: but the mony, especially since the last vote of Parliament, flows in upon us, that wee would gladly be permitted to Coine, at least half Crowns, for otherwise all our endeavours will not satisfie the importunity of the Country...[5]

By late November he could write that Mint staff at Chester

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1. P.R.O. T.56/22, 11, 14, 20, 22, 25, 28, 30, 32, 49-51, 55-7.
2. Ibid, 98-100, 109-11; 369-77.
3. Portland to William III, 31 July 1696: Japiske, I, 184. Portland's informant had misled him, for fair rights were never granted to St. Cross. Reference to the fair's importance and large cheese sales indicate that it must have been Weyhill fair, to which cheese was regularly sent from seven counties. See R.H. Clutterbuck, 'Notes on the Fair at Weyhill', Proc. H.F.C., III (1895), 127-42, and E.L. Jones, 'Weyhill Fair', Hampshire Farmer XIV (1959), no. 2, 19-21.
4. See H. Prideaux to J. Ellis, 16 Sept. 1696: E.M. Thompson, 185, and Halley to Sloane, 26 Oct. 1696: MacPike, 99. For a further complaint of slowness at Norwich, see Cal.S.P.Dom. 1696, 366, 372. B.L. Add. MSS. 31043, f. 126 contains a receipt for the delivery of clipped money to Chester mint in Oct. 1696.
5. Halley to Sloane, 2 Nov. 1696: MacPike, 100.

were pressing on 'with all possible diligence', building up a steady momentum, recoining at the rate of £3,000 per week in shillings and sixpences 'and shall be able to double the summ when we coin half crowns as we shall begin to do next week'.[1] Favourable reports arrived from the other provincial mints. At Exeter by mid-May 1697 c. £222,000 had been recoined, Bristol was producing £23,000 per week and the Tower was recoining at the rate of £10,000 per day. The York mint was working tardily. In mid-June 1697 it was recoining at £12,000 a week, while the Tower was maintaining its momentum, producing £63,500 in the week prior to 17 June.[2] The final recoinage figures show a disparity of output, both between the provincial mints and the Tower Mint, as might be expected.

Table 14 Money minted, 1696-1698

	Gold	Silver
Bristol		£458,078 6s. 4d.
Chester		£316,840 6s. 8d.
Exeter		£459,072 10s. 8d.
London	£1,803,759	£5,057,723 11s. 0d.
Norwich		£258,808 0s. 0d.
York		£308,621 13s. 8d.
	£1,803,759	£6,859,144 8s. 4d.

Source: R.M. Newton MSS. II, f. 270. Ibid, II, f. 256 gives the same figures. Slightly different ones are given in the Comptrolment Roll of Thomas Molyneux and Charles Mason, contained in ibid, V, f. 57.

Between them, the mints at Exeter and Bristol recoined more money than the other provincial mints did together. By 1697 more than 90% of the operation was completed. In 1698 the provincial mints ceased work; consequently little money was coined during 1698 and 1699.

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1. Halley to Sloane, 25 Nov. 1696: MacPike, 100-1.
2. Luttrell, IV, 227, 240.

The cost of the Recoinage was estimated at £2,700,000.[1] But costing such an operation was exceptionally complex, involving not only salaries and running costs for the various mints but also the costs of bringing machinery to the mints, repairs, legal fees and other incidentals. At least once serious friction developed over payment; on numerous others, the Treasury deferred endlessly. During May and June 1699 Neale and his Mint colleagues argued with the Provost and Corporation of Moneyers over work carried out during the Recoinage. In May the Provost and his colleagues petitioned the Treasury, enclosing a bill in excess of £4,000 for which they demanded recompense. Neale and his colleagues swiftly reduced this bill, and another for nearly £600; the Moneyers agreed, eventually, to accept £3,900.[2] The Treasury continued to receive claims; in some cases final payments were not made until early in the following century.[3]

Who masterminded the Great Recoinage - Newton, Hall or Neale? Claims have been advanced in favour of both Newton and Hall but not for Neale. Certainly Newton did not shirk his Mint duties, but he was far from totally responsible for the operation. The view that 'He became Warden of the Mint in 1696, and as Warden organised the great recoinage of silver, 1696-9'[4] is fallacious. Such a complex operation required lengthy planning, especially as it was carried out at what was regarded by many as an inappropriate time. As such, it was impossible for Newton to have been totally responsible. His oath as Warden was not administered to him until 2 May 1696,[5] nearly three

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1. Ming-Hsun Li, 138, 140.
2. P.R.O. Mint 1/6, 63, 63a, 65, 65a, 66.
3. Supra, 255+ n.3.
4. C.R. Fay, 'Newton and the Gold Standard', Cambridge Historical Journal, V (1935-7), 110.
5. A.F. Feaveryear, 142; Craig, Newton, 13.

months after the Recoinage had actually got under way. His appointment was to a Mint position that had undergone redefinition in the years before the Recoinage:

> As Warden, he had not been concerned with issues of policy... Financial responsibility had passed to the Master, and the duty of preventing the issue of bad coin lay with the Assaymaster. [1]

Lastly, all the necessary legislation had been enacted, the relevant proclamations issued, and the issuing of new coin started well before Newton was even appointed to the Mint. At the planning and drafting stage he was still a Cambridge professor.[2]

Hall worked hard during the Recoinage. Critics could easily point to the correspondence between the York mint and the Treasury during August 1696 when staff admitted that delays were explained by the fact that they were waiting for orders from Mr. Hall.[3] But Hall had been appointed to assist Neale, which was obviously what he was doing. He accompanied Neale to the Treasury on several occasions when they were summoned for a reprimand and exhorted to work faster.[4] But even that is curious; it was Neale and Hall who went in consort, not Neale and Newton or Hall and Newton. Admittedly the parliamentary committee of 1696 made laudatory noises about the calibre of Hall's work; but would they have necessarily come to the same conclusions if reporting on the situation in 1697 or 1698? It is most unlikely. The working relationship between Hall and Neale, rather like that between Neale and Fauquier, was indeterminable. It was certainly not of the calibre suggested by Craig who argued that it was Hall who did all Neale's work for him, adding that all the latter did was

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1. G. Findlay Shirras and Sir J. Craig, 'Sir Isaac Newton and the Currency', The Economic Journal LV (1945), 230.
2. Craig, Newton, 10-11.
3. Edward Thompson to Treasury, 22 Aug. 1696: Cal.T.P. 1556-1696, 540.
4. Supra, 251.

> contribute an order that all London correspondence should be sent to the House of Commons to obtain his member's privilege of free franking, and launched a lottery for its assistance in May 1696.[1]

The statement is incorrect on both counts.

Neale's contribution to the Recoinage controversy, whether in parliamentary debates, in legislative proposals or in pamphlets hardly bears the hall-mark of indolence. Slothfulness was not one of his personal characteristics. For all his faults, Neale was anything but idle. Promoting yet another lottery, when financial confidence was at low ebb, was not easy, even with all his valuable experience.[2] More credit needs to go to him for his responsibility during the Great Recoinage. He promoted the idea of provincial mints to the Treasury, handled the voluminous correspondence from Lowndes about the progress of the work, the complaints, and the requirements for additional accommodation. It was Neale who was summoned to the Treasury for information and instructions, who receipted the ingots and clipped coins as they arrived, who pleaded for additional salaries, and who tried to sort out various internal problems. In some instances, notably his handling of the friction at Chester and his high-handed treatment of Redhead at Norwich, his actions were none too sound. It must be remembered, however, that his was the ultimate responsibility. He was answerable for Mint conduct to Commons, Treasury, and William III.

Newton complained subsequently that Neale's financial irresponsibility caused a policy change in Mint appointments. When Newton became Master, the appointment was held at pleasure and not for life.[3] If Neale really was irresponsibly indolent, why was he not removed from office? Slingsby's appointment had been for life, but his term of

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1. Craig, Mint, 190, 196.
2. For Neale and lotteries, see Ch. VII.
3. R.M. Newton MSS., I, f. 88.

office had been foreshortened with suspension and eventual dismissal.[1] If it had been done for Slingsby, why not for Neale? The simple answer was that he worked hard, sorting out Mint payments, writing memoranda and letters, defending the Mint in the Commons, supplying the House with information. Given that he performed these duties when heavily involved and committed to some of his projects, his achievements become even more laudable.

Towards the close of his career as Master, Neale may have met Peter the Great. During his stay in England in 1698, the Tsar visited the Mint to study the latest methods of coin production. Such was his enthusiasm that he went on four occasions: 3 February, 13, 20 and 21 April.[2] He certainly met Halley and they discussed naval and scientific matters.[3] It has been argued, unconvincingly, that Newton received the Tsar at the Mint.[4] But this seems unlikely; such a high-ranking visitor would have been met by the Master, the more so as on two of the visits the Muscovite ruler was accompanied by Montagu. Neale was certainly in London, was in good health and very active, serving on eight parliamentary committees during the Tsar's visit to England. A meeting of the two must remain conjectural at present. Peter the Great was certainly impressed by what he saw at the Mint. On returning to Muscovy he instituted a new mint which was soon in full spate.[5]

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1. Supra, 223, 224.
2. L. Loewenson, 'Some Details of Peter the Great's Stay in England in 1698: Neglected English Material', Slavonic and East European Review, XL (1961-2), 431-43. For the visit to England in general see I. Grey, Peter the Great: Emperor of All Russia (1962), Ch. XIII.
3. MacPike, 7-8, citing from a memoir of Dr. Halley.
4. Grey, 458, n. 20 states that it is 'most probable' that Newton received the visitors, adding that no record of their meetings exists 'unless among Newton's unpublished papers'. His Mint papers make no mention of the visit but Craig, Mint, 195, does.
5. During 1700, the first year of production, the new Muscovite mint struck 2 million coins: S. Graham, Peter the Great (2nd edn. 1950), 121.

III

Was Neale successful and conscientious as Master of the Mint? If just Newton's word is taken, then the answer must be firmly negative. For perspective, Neale should be placed alongside previous occupants of that important office. Slingsby, intelligent and cultured, was woefully negligent; when forced from office he owed large sums, much larger than those owed by Neale to Sheppard. Neale was not negligent; by comparison with some of his fellow Mint officers he appears a paragon of virtue. Anthony St. Ledger, Mint Warden 1660-80, hardly exerted himself in the execution of his duties. Thomas Folvele, a Mint clerk, outlined his activities in a report to Newton. Since his appointment, St. Ledger

> came very Seldom to the place and did not anything of Service more than to come and Ask how the Affaires of the Mint were and that was all and soe went his way. [1]

And yet he held office for two decades, certainly not carrying out duties as defined in the 1696 report.

Newton, Neale's successor as Master, was not over-conscientious in his duties. He carped when first appointed about unfairness in the treatment accorded him, especially about the Master's apparent encroachment upon the Warden's rights and privileges. Early on he complained:

> the last Winter the Master and Worker was empowered by a clause in another Act of Parliament to incorporate new Moneyers into the Mint without the Wardens consent and soon after formed a Project of erecting Mints in the Country without any Warden at all, and lately has rejected the Warden's judicial power by endeavouring to have differences referred to the Warden and himself. [2]

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1. R.M. Newton MSS., I, ff. 21-3, quoted Craig, Mint, 171.
2. R.M. Newton MSS., I, f. 8. Memorandum on 'The State of the Mint', 1696.

What really irked was not that Neale proposed erecting provincial mints without a Warden, but that he had formulated the idea at all. Admittedly Newton was to achieve much at the Mint,[1] but his efforts should not be allowed to belittle Neale's solid contribution.

Throughout his term as Master Neale carried out his duties to the best of his abilities. Naturally, he was at his busiest during the Recoinage. Although some of his responsibilities appeared trivial, they were nevertheless of utmost importance for the smooth, satisfactory running of the Mint. Unlike St. Ledger, who visited the Mint infrequently, or Newton who did most of his Mint work at home, Neale carried out his tasks efficiently at the Mint. Despite the bitterness of his critics, who lampooned him in both prose and verse, Neale was an asset at the Mint. He issued orders, wrote copious letters, answered enquiries,[2] attempted to contain the expansionist desires of the Office of Ordnance, successfully liaised with the Office of Works and the Treasury. But it must also be remembered that his official capacity extended beyond the jealously-guarded confines of the Mint to the Commons. There he defended Mint policy vigorously, explaining his actions to less well-informed M.Ps. Unlike Slingsby or St. Ledger, he was anything but negligent, though he did leave problems for others to solve.[3] Running through his time of office as Master one feature predominates. If he really was so inefficient and untrustworthy, why was he retained in the post? An appointment for life did not always guarantee secure tenure,

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1. See Craig, Mint, 199.
2. In spring 1693 Pepys noted: 'Confer with Sir James Houblon, Mr. Neale, Master of the Mint, ... about the different par of our moneys compared with common commodities in different ages': J.R. Tanner (ed.), Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes (1926), 297.
3. See Conclusion.

as Slingsby found to his cost. He had been forced to renounce his office, which he did grudgingly and gracelessly. In stark contrast, Neale was allowed to remain in office, a fact his critics overlooked.

Chapter VII

PROJECTS AFTER 1688

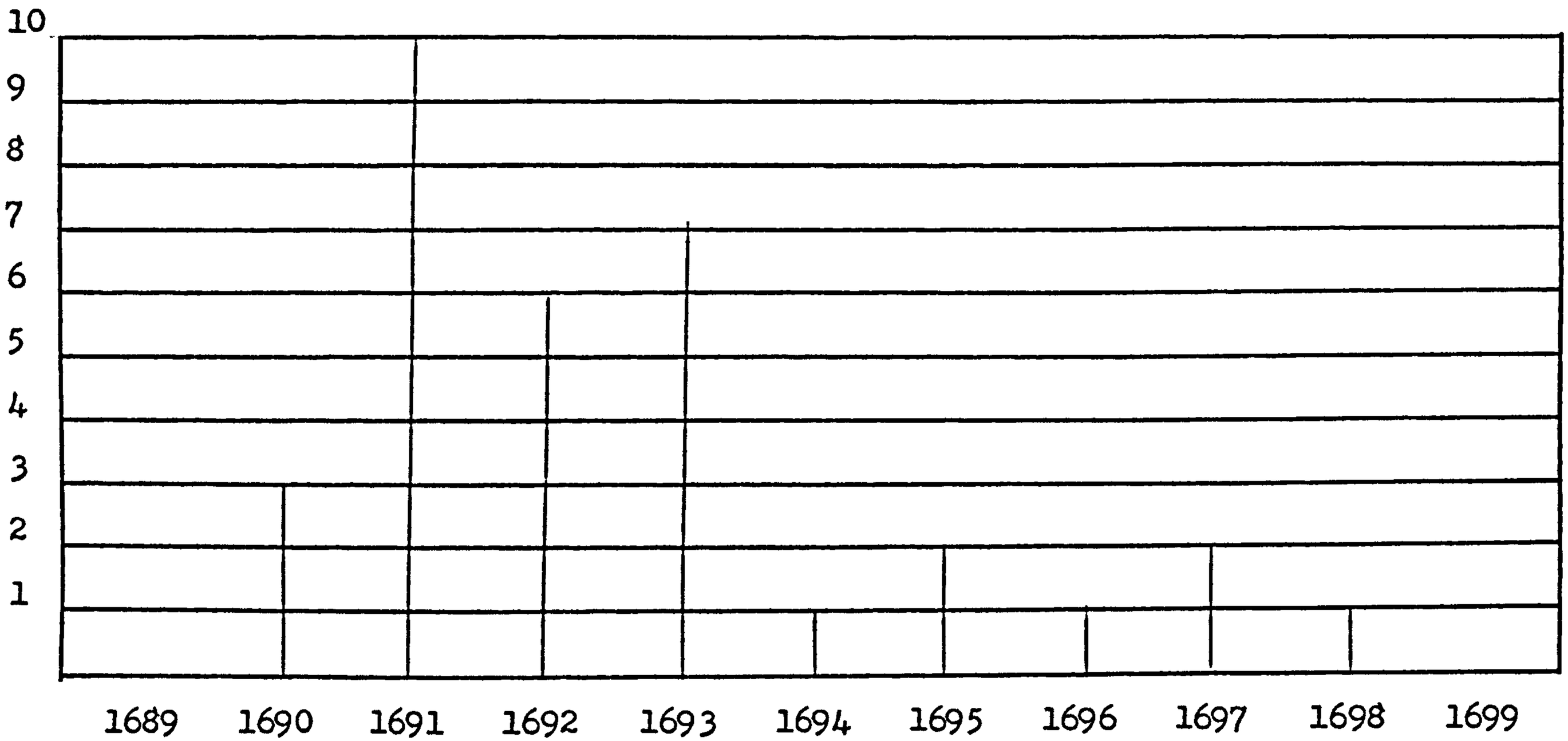
After 1688 Neale was at his zenith as projector, working on gaming improvements, promoting lighting companies and new industrial processes, developing property and promoting important financial innovations. His ingenuity, powers of application, time, finances and spirit were all taxed to the full. Just as the projects were legion so, too, were the individuals involved. It is important to know how, when and where Neale first met fellow adventurers. We also need to gauge the originality of his ideas, and the extent to which he was well-informed before promoting a project. Unlike the earlier projects, those after the Revolution included developments outside England - in Ireland, the American colonies and the West Indies. Consideration must be paid to Neale's financial state, often cited as a major motive behind a new project. After 1688 Neale was involved in 39 projects:

Table 15 Neale's Projects 1688-1699

Dredging	1
Exchequer Bills	1
Fishing	1
Gaming	2
Land Drainage	1
Lotteries	7
Mining	3
Postal services	2
Production processes	9
Property development	4
Salt duty	1
Street lighting	1
Wreck recovery	6

Analysed chronologically, they reveal a different pattern as set out overleaf in Table 16.

Table 16 The Chronology of the Later Projects



With 33 accurately dated, a high concentration is revealed between 1691 and 1693. This energetic outburst, and the slackening off after 1694, require explanation. Had Neale worn himself out by then or is there another reason? Do wartime effects on the economy provide any clues? Is the fact that some projects predated 1688 significant? During 1696, probably England's most critical year of the century, Neale is shown torpid and this, too, deserves explanation. To answer these questions, the projects will first be analysed under five headings: those for gaming and lotteries, colonial projects, property development schemes, financial innovations, and the remainder. In some cases only bare details are available. Knowledge of capital formation and final outcome are, in many instances, sadly missing.

I

The gaming projects date from the early 1690s, and result from Neale's activities as Groom-Porter.[1] Working knowledge of gambling and games of skill, coupled with an insight into high and low life, led to a patent in September 1690 for an anti-cheating device called 'Mathematicks'.[2] This was followed, in 1691, by a petition for developing dice and a new type of gaming table.[3] That there were only two such projects may be explained by other demands on Neale's time and lack of relevant ideas.

The small number of gaming projects was more than offset by Neale's many projects for lotteries. In the seventeenth century these novel creations were promoted for ventures as diverse as developing Virginia and bringing water to London. In 1660 Captain Thomas Gardiner had proposed one for

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1. Supra, 110-114.
2. The device was developed with the aid of a Dutchman: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 128.
3. Ibid, 515, 555; J. Carswell, England 1688-1775 (1973), 45.

ransoming slaves from Algiers, Tunis, or Ottoman galleys. In 1682 Prince Rupert's jewels were disposed of by lottery.[1] Neale had advanced his ideas on lotteries as early as 1683, when, in a petition to Charles II, he demonstrated that licensing and suppression of games had always been within the Groom-Porter's purview, and that the Royal Oak and Dice lotteries were controlled by others and damaged his office by at least £4-500 annually. The King should suppress the other lotteries or attach them to the Groomportership at an annual rent of £1,000 which could then be settled on the Royal hospital, Chelsea.[2]

A decade passed between the petition and Neale's first successful lottery, announced in August 1693. 50,000 tickets were to be sold at 10s. each, with 250 prizes ranging in value from £3,000 to £20. Neale was to deduct '£10 per cent for his management' to cover expenses.[3] The lottery was drawn at Cornhill on 1 November 1693:

> Yesterday morning Mr Neales project was open'd at Freemans yard in Cornhil, in the view of the multitude of spectators; the lotts were drawn out of 2 boxes by two blew coat hospital boyes and after open'd, view'd, and read by the governours, and then publish'd aloud whither blank or prize: there have not been above 20 tickets benefitted drawn; the biggest drawn was £2000, in which 18 persons were concerned; 'tis beleived they will not be drawn in a fortnight.[4]

The lottery aroused great interest. Queen Mary ventured

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1. J. Ashton, A History of English Lotteries (1893), passim; C. L'Estrange Ewen, Lotteries and Sweepstakes (1932), passim.
2. P.R.O. S.P. 29/423/31, n.d., but c. March 1683; Cal.S.P. Dom. Jan.-June 1683, 138. Proclamations for the 'better Regulating of Lotteries' and 'Securing the Patentees of the Royal Oak and all other Lotteries' were issued 21 June 1665 and 19 Dec. 1687: Steele, 3423, 3854.
3. L.G., 2901, 28-31 Aug. 1693; Luttrell, III, 160-1, 12 Aug. 1693.
4. Luttrell, III, 219, 2 Nov. 1693; L.G., 2916, 19-23 Oct. 1693.

£500.[1] Lady Northampton bought two tickets, Lady Faulkland ten, the Earl of Ailesbury ten and the Earl of Derby sixty. Other investors included Lord Lainsebury and Ladies Chomley, Belasyse, Dalton, Gee and Haree, knights, doctors and ordinary folk.[2] The lucky prizewinners were just as diverse. Sir Basil Firebrace's maid won £1,500, Ladies Popham and How each won £20.[3] Evelyn noted dourly: 'Sir R. Haddock, one of the Commissioners of the navy had the greatest Lot, 3000 pounds, my Coach man 40 pounds'.[4] Newton was informed:

> ... Now soe it is, that the late project (of which you cannot but have heard) of Mr Neale the Groom-Porter his lottery, has almost extinguised for some time at all places of publick conversation in this towne, especially among men of numbers, every other talk but what relates to the doctrine of determining between the true proportions of the hazards incident to this or that given chance or lot.[5]

But the lottery also provoked criticism and hostility, particularly from the farmers of the Royal Oak lottery who 'pretended a right to Mr. Neales project'.[6]

This first venture's success, wartime need for money, stimulation of public interest and Neale's advocacy in the Commons,[7] led to a second venture, born on the tide of

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1. Luttrell, III, 213, 24 Oct. 1693.
2. Hoares, Ledgers D. 2, 1692-5, ff. 257-60, gives a complete list of subscribers with no mention of the Queen, though an agent probably purchased for her.
3. Ibid, ff. 257, 258.
4. Evelyn, V, 158. Luttrell, III, 222, also notes the win.
5. Pepys to Newton, 22 Nov. 1693: J.R. Tanner (ed.), Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys 1679-1703 (2 vols. 1926), I, 73. R.G. Howarth (ed.), Letters and the Second Diary of Samuel Pepys (1932), 237, also prints the letter.
6. Luttrell, III, 221, 4 Nov. 1693.
7. Bonnet to Court of Brandenburg, 6/16 Feb. 1694: von Ranke, VI, 238-9.

expediency. In 1694 the Million Adventure or Million Lottery was floated. It was controlled by 21 commissioners, many of them leading figures from the business and financial world, men such as Sir John Houblon, Sir Samuel Dashwood, and Sir Peter Paravicini.[1] Money came in from late March 1694:

> Yesterday they began to bring in money on the million lottery, and there is about £40,000 already brought in; Mr. Neale is register thereof, and is to have 4 clerks there.[2]

Once again 50,000 tickets were lotted at £1 each. The main difference was 'greater advantage to the Adventurers than his i.e. Neale's last in 1693' in the shape of increased benefits on winning tickets. Prizes totalling £49,300 were allocated, and fifteen men were nominated to receive 'the Money, and to pay the Fortunate their Benefits'.[3] By late August it was reported that the project 'fills apace, and will at last be drawn in the week after Michaelmas';[4] in mid-September Neale announced that the commissioners would attend for 'the Cutting and Rowling up of the Blank and Benefit Tickets' on 2 October.[5] Luttrell noted on 6 October 'Mr. Neales lottery was finished this night, and the £4000 ticket fell to himself'.[6] A few days later drawing began:

> Yesterday the million lottery began to be drawn at Guildhall, the commissioners attending from 9 til 3 in the afternoon: there were drawn about 2000 tickets, 48 whereof were prizes, but none above £100, except that first drawn, which was £150, and fell to a cobler.[7]

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1. Each commissioner received £200. For commissioners and payments see Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 552-3, 983.
2. Luttrell, III, 287.
3. L.G., 2997, 30 July - 2 Aug. 1694.
4. Ibid, 3005, 27-30 Aug. 1694.
5. Ibid, 3009, 10-13 Sept. 1694. Ibid, 3007-8, 3-10 Sept. 1694 contain comments about when the drawing was likely to take place.
6. Luttrell, III, 380.
7. Ibid.

Summer 1695 saw Neale float his third lottery. Entitled 'Noble Adventure to the Fortunate', it offered 10,000 lots at £5 each and 541 prizes, ranging in value from £6,000 to £50, that totalled £51,500. By now lotteries gripped him maniacally. In October 1695 he again offered 50,000 tickets at £1 each, £50,000 in prizes and odds against winning of 20:1.[1] Spring 1696 saw a different type of lottery, designed to take in clipped money: 'whoever payes 10s. shall be sure to have a milled crown, besides the chance of a prize'.[2] This time 200,000 tickets were offered, two of which would go to everybody bringing in 40oz. of hammered silver money or standard plate before a given date. One ticket would provide the bearer with £10 in new money 'to be Paid at the Mints on Demand', the other a chance in the lottery. In the advertisement Neale set out the benefits and explained why two tickets were offered:

> Note, By dividing the Tickets, and giving out one for the £10 and the other for a Chance, the Millions worth of Hammer'd Silver Money and Plate is immediately turned into so much New ready Money, for the use of the Owners, and good of the Publick...; and by giving up another Ticket to the Owner of every such 40 Ounces of Hammer'd Silver Money or Plate, or a Chance for a Benefit: It gives him an opportunity to keep it, or ... sell it as he pleases.[3]

The implicit aims of restoring confidence in both coinage and the lotteries themselves was duly reported by L'Hermitage to his masters in the States General.[4]

In 1697 lotteries were extended to embrace duties on malt.

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1. L'Estrange Ewen, 165, quoting The Post Boy, 28 Sept.-10 Oct. 1695.
2. Luttrell, IV, 58. Proclamations for calling in clipped money were issued 19 Dec. 1695, 4 Jan. 1696 and 17 Apr. 1696: Steele, nos. 4164, 4167, 4193. See also Ch. VI.
3. P.R.O., S.P. 32/6/85, A Second Profitable Adventure to the Fortunate. Additional copies are located in Ibid, S.P.32/6/86-7.
4. L'Hermitage to States General, 10/20 Jan. 1696: B.L. Add. MSS. 17677, QQ, f. 216.

In April Parliament passed appropriate legislation; in May workmen started building an office in Star Chamber 'for Mr. Neals mault lottery'.[1] The Act proposed granting William III a duty of 4s. a quarter on malt 'for the use of the War, and the necessary Expence of his Household'. The money was to be raised by selling 140,000 tickets at £10 each. 3,500 prizes, totalling £56,000 were offered, and a list of winners was to be published once drawing was completed. Neale and ten others were named commissioners, the Treasury appointing goldsmith receivers for the money and plate.[2] But the progress of this lottery was not trouble-free:

> The way which was taken of applying that Fund- Malt- to a Lottery gives Us great trouble, for nothing comes in by Contributions and Wee can not dispose of the Tickets till after the 24 June. I was allways fearfull of the successe of a new Lottery when the old Tickets were not pay'd but Wee must make the best wee can of it.[3]

There were problems of comprehension with the tickets and merchants would not 'medle with them for Exchanges'.[4] The draw took place at Guildhall on 10 August 1697, the tickets 'being well mingled in a Glass, ... Drawn and Registred'.[5] Neale did not participate unless he purchased tickets through an intermediary.[6] Late in 1698 Neale

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1. Luttrell, IV, 207, 228.
2. The receivers were Sir John Johnson and Messrs Hoare, Smith, Shale, Mompesson, Wharton, Shepherd and Coggs: L.G. 3285, 3-6 May 1697; 3287, 10-13 May 1697.
3. Montagu to Blaithwayt, 25 May 1697: B.L.Add. MSS. 34355, f. 27.
4. Same to same, 2/12 July 1697: ibid, f. 39.
5. A Just and True Account of the Malt Lottery Tickets (1697), 2. This 21-page pamphlet is appended to the front of P.R.O. Adm. 49/66, Register of lottery tickets for 1694, 4-21 of which contain a list of prize-winners.
6. One commissioner, Dalby Thomas, purchased £550 worth of tickets in the lottery: P.R.O. Adm. 49/66, 66, 219, 419, 585, 586. Whether Neale bought tickets remains unknown as the ticket register for 1695, contained in P.R.O. Adm. 49/67, consists of blanks.

floated his last lottery, offering 20,000 tickets at a guinea each. Over 6,500 prizes were offered, ranging from £30 to £3,000,[1] with chances of winning set at 2:1 against. On this occasion opinion was more favourable.[2]

Neale's involvement with lotteries was censured on several occasions. Twice in 1696 he was accused of cheating people into poverty:

> And we our selves this year shall be
> Turn'd to a Million Lottery,
> where for two Thousands that get Plums
> Ninety-eight Thousands suck their Thumbs.[3]

The author of another squib was much more devastating, referring to Neale's ruination and his intention to 'level the whole nation to his size' by his promotion of lotteries.[4] But such swingeing criticism needs assessing. Although lotteries involved risk, they obviously offered rich pickings for fortunate prize-winners. And this, of course, was an age when men were prepared to take a gamble on virtually anything.[5] Providing a fresh much-needed, additional source of governmental income, lotteries were clearly not to be sneered at in time of war.[6]

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1. Luttrell, IV, 449.
2. See Lord Somers to Duke of Shrewsbury, 9/19 June 1698: W. Coxe (ed.), Private and Original Correspondence of Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury (1821), 539. Set for Valentine's Day 1699, the drawing of the lottery was postponed until the following April: L'Estrange Ewen, 173.
3. 'Upon Neale's Projecting New Taxes', lines 9-12: Bodl. Rawl. MSS. Poet 173, f. 128v.
4. On Squire Neale's Projects (1696), line 33: Cameron, 495. See infra, 337, for lengthier extract.
5. In September 1698 a non-juring parson dealt in insurance policies upon James II's restoration; 'He pays a guinea to receive fifty, if King James, or his Son, be restored on the throne, by Michaelmas next': James Vernon to Duke of Shrewsbury, 22 Oct. 1698: James, II, 204.
6. For a different view, see Farewell to England (1697), lines 1-8: Cameron, 521.

The New World with its vast mineral wealth, especially after the fabulous discoveries at Potosi, was a great lure to sixteenth and seventeenth century Europeans. They were drawn not only to the mainland but to the Caribbean as well:

> ... the Wild West of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, promising far more in the way of glamor, excitement, quick profit and constant peril than the prosaic settlements along the North American coast. ... And if they were not readers, the English pioneers still heard ample tales about the gold and pearls that had been found in these isles and stories of Spanish cruelty, English robbery, and Indian and Negro slavery. They associated the Indies with incredible wealth and amazing savagery. Everything was larger than life. The English colonists expected - and rather hoped - that outrageous things would happen to them, and they armed themselves with a code of conduct that would never be tolerated at home.[1]

While the islands allowed Englishmen to wax rich on sugar and slavery, they drew hungry fortune-seekers of another kind. Although few would emulate the activities and achievements of Piet Heyn, there were many who tried to acquire some of the fabled mineral wealth in another way - by recovering treasure from vessels wrecked on their return journey to Spain. That there was treasure for the taking was well known. The authorities in Bermuda, for example, reacted swiftly following a wreck in July 1656. Within another two years considerable treasure was recovered from Abaco, one of the Bahama cays.[2] Without doubt, however, it was the highly successful, much-acclaimed venture of Captain Phips to Hispaniola in 1686-7 that started the seventeenth century treasure-rush.

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1. R.S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713 (1972), 9-10.
2. J.H. Lefroy (ed.), Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands 1511-1687 (2 vols. 1877-9), II, 77-8.

The return of Captain William Phips to London in Autumn 1685 from a West Indian treasure-hunt was cardinally significant.[1] While launching a euphoric search by many for the much-rumoured riches that lay beneath Caribbean waters, it emphasised to the Crown the importance of casual revenue and royal dues from such enterprise. Christopher Monck, Duke of Albemarle, a reckless profligate, 'necessitous and ambitious, ... had sufficient entrée at court to procure a warrant from James II,...' and sent Phips back to those waters on an organised basis. With indecent haste the expedition left England on 12 September 1686, Phips doing his best to give a purely speculative venture the semblance of respectability. The news of his triumphant return to England the following year, with 34 tons of silver worth over £207,000, spread like wildfire. Albemarle's ducal share of booty exceeded £43,000. Not the least of the good captain's rewards was a knighthood, bestowed at Windsor on 28 June 1687.[2]

Such phenomenal success was the talk of summer 1687, diarists and correspondents making much of the recovery of a marine eldorado. In May Sir Hans Sloane wrote lengthily and excitedly about Phips' recent arrival, of the finding of 'an enamelled pair of silver stirrups with coral growing on them to a pretty length', of pieces of eight 'brought up by the thousands' and of the sharing of

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1. The following account is derived from two main sources: R.H. George, 'The Treasure Trove of William Phips', New England Quarterly, VI (1933), 294-318, and C.H. Karraker, 'Spanish Treasure, Casual Revenue of the Crown', Journal of Modern History, V (1933), 301-18. For further background on the expedition see E. Ward, Christopher Monck, Duke of Albemarle (1915), 234-70. A journal of the first voyage is contained in B.L. Egerton MSS. 2526; of the 1686-7 voyage in ibid, Sloane MSS. 1070, ff. 99v-90v, 88v-67, 60, 58v.

2. Phips was presented to James II by Albemarle: L.G., 2256, 30 June - 4 July 1687. Sir William Phips served as Governor of Massachusetts 31 Dec. 1691 - 31 Aug. 1697: L.W. Labaree (ed.), Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors 1670-1776 (2 vols. 1935), II, 803.

the booty.[1] Opinions varied about the value of the treasure to the point of incredulity.[2] Some of the treasure found its way to Robert Boyle's house, where James Yonge was shown '.... coralled pieces of eight that were taken up lately in the gulph of Beham with great treasure to the value of £200,000'.[3] Neale and his Mint colleagues spent 15-17 June weighing all the gold and silver, recording their findings. The expedition had brought back 65,441 lbs. of gold and silver, 10% of which was taken back to the Mint.[4]

But the acquisition of such tremendous wealth was merely the beginning of a long saga. Spain's ambassador to England demanded immediate restitution of the treasure,[5] technically the property of his august royal master. Emboldened by his first venture, Albemarle decided upon a second,[6] as notable for failure as the first was for shining success. The £12,000 retrieved, barely sufficient to recoup the venture's cost, was only one facet of this expedition. Ready accessibility and egregious interlopers were sufficient to remove the bulk of the treasure. Scores of vessels visited 'Phipps Rack' profitably between the captain's triumphant return and his second Albemarle-backed venture, much to the fury of Governor Stede of Barbados and his officials, entrusted with the superhuman task of collecting the appointed royal share. The chance of huge

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1. Sir Hans Sloane to Sir Arthur Rawdon, 21 May 1687: E. Berwick (ed.), The Rawdon Papers (1819), 388-91.
2. See E. King to Lord Christopher Hatton, 9 June 1687: E.M. Thompson (ed.), The Hatton Correspondence (2 vols. Camden Soc. 1851), II, 67-8; Ellis, I, 294-7, and Sir H. Sloane, A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, St. Christopher and Jamaica (2 vols. 1707-25) I, lxxix.
3. Poynter, 200 and n.
4. Codr. MS. 263, ff. 237-9, 244-5.
5. The ambassador submitted a memorial that 'he could prove by the stamps or marks that it was once his master's; and further that his master might let his money lie as long at the bottom of the sea as he pleased': Sloane to Rawdon, 21 May 1687: Berwick, 390.
6. James II provided Turks Tiger for the expedition. Arrangements can be followed in Bodl. Rawl. MSS. A.189, ff. 370-5.

dividends for a small outlay fired the public imagination. Scheme after scheme was promoted, though the bulk produced little or no return.[1] Many stratagems were employed to cheat the crown. Those used by John Smith, agent to the Earl of Monmouth, and by Thomas Baker, captain of the Elizabeth,were typical.

In 1687 the Earl employed John Smith, a London scrivener, to locate potential partners for such a venture. Neale was approached, and after much cajoling, persuasion and a £600 loan, agreed to join. But when Monmouth's vessels returned with holds bereft of the greatly-anticipated treasure, Neale could find no proof that Smith had actually ventured the money for him, although Smith had begun to press for repayment and was attempting to besmirch his name with others in the world of business and finance.[2] Nor was Neale's second endeavour in this direction any more successful. Quick to seize an attractive speculative possibility, Neale entered as a partner in the Elizabeth, a pink sailing in a similar venture off Hispaniola, and leaving before Albemarle's second grant. Though the partners convinced Governor Stede that they would pay their allotted share to the Crown, and although the Elizabeth and an accompanying sloop raised more than 800 lbs. of silver from the wreck, they reckoned without Captain Baker. With distinct coolness he returned £500 as the treasure recovered and sailed off to Virginia to enjoy the other £59,500![3] Clearly two such disappointing episodes must have coloured Neale's attitude towards treasure-hunting.

After 1690 Neale busied himself with several treasure recovery projects. He received a grant of wrecks along

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1. For the failure of these early schemes see the perceptive comments in Sloane, I, lxxxi.
2. P.R.O. C5/548/97, Neale v. Smith, 1692.
3. Governor Stede to Treasury, 21 March 1687: P.R.O. T.64/88, Blaithwayt's Journal as Surveyor and Auditor General of Plantation Revenues, 298-9; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1687-9, 170; Cal.T.B. 1685-9, 1830.

the south-west coast of England to the Scillies; to ensure receipt he had already purchased half the rights from an impecunious Quaker merchant, Philip Ford, for £100.[1] In March 1691 Neale sought a grant for the retrieval of silver from ships which had foundered before February 1688 within 10 leagues of Broadhaven Stages, with 10% to go to the Crown.[2] Later that year he applied for a grant of treasure from Armada wrecks.[3] In all probability the projects were developed; such experience as Neale gained was then put to good use in his major recovery project off the coast of Bermuda.

Eight hundred miles north of the Caribbean, six hundred off the American coast, Bermuda was brought under royal governance in 1684, following annulment of its charter.[4] To many in the seventeenth century Bermuda was but one step from Elysium. With a lower population than many of the Caribbean islands,[5] it was 'free from Indians, insects, gold mines and international rivalry, a setting for escapism, solitude and innocent beauty'.[6] To the Spanish it was the Isle of Devils, its coral reefs viewed as so many sharp teeth waiting to rip open the hulls of passing vessels, for Bermuda was on the homeward run of the flotas. Taking in stores and cargo the Isthmian flota would leave Cartagena in January, round Cape San Antonio and shelter at Havana. In February the Mexican flota would leave Vera

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 477. On 29 March 1692 passes were issued for John Holland and William Combs to go to the Lizard and the Scillies 'to work on the wreck in the sea thereabouts' and then return to London, both men being recommended by Ford: ibid, 1691-2, 206.
2. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 325; CalT.B. 1689-92, 1125.
3. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 523; Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 1464.
4. P.S. Haffenden, 'The Anglican Church in Restoration Colonial Policy', in J.M. Smith (ed.), Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History (1972 edn.), 184.
5. A demographic analysis of Bermuda for 1698-9 gives a population of 5862, 3615 white and 2247 negro: B.L. Sloane MSS. 2902, f. 102. Figures for 1690 show Barbados with 68,000, Jamaica with 40,000 and the Leewards with 25,000: Dunn, 312.
6. Dunn, 14.

Cruz, beat against the trade-wind, heading for Havana and rendezvous a month later. Refitting and revictualling over, the combined flota would sail through the Florida channel and then stand off to the north, picking up a westerly wind ready for the Atlantic crossing. More than a few craft were driven onto Bermudan shores, making it a more attractive spot for treasure-hunting than the Bahamas, beleaguered by pirates lurking among the cays.[1]

But attractive though Bermuda was for treasure-recovery projects, the English authorities felt the need for strict control. With Captain Baker's leger de main still fresh in the minds of many, Blaithwayt, as Surveyor and Auditor General of plantation revenues suggested that the commander-in-chief of the Bermudas, '... or any other Person Your Lordships shall Appoint, may be permitted to Inspect the fishing upon the ... Wreck'.[2] Successful in his grant, Neale was also to receive all treasure trove in Ireland, an island off Bermuda, as a reward for 'good and faithful services'.[3] Part of summer 1692 was spent securing crown approval of the scheme, in return for a £450 payment to the Exchequer, and in canvassing widely for financial support with an account of the supposed treasure.[4] Spanish ships running aground had resulted in 'very great quantities of Bullion Coyne, both gold and silver', being buried in Ireland. Returning Spaniards were 'from among the rocks shot at by the English, and supposing no inhabitants there, were very much frighted', and said 'twas the Devil that guarded the Treasure, and went home without it...'. Richard Long, when a captive in Algiers 'had a Relation

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1. Material drawn from J.H. Parry, The Spanish Seaborne Empire (1973 edn.), 120-2. See also M. Craton, A History of the Bahamas (1962), chs. VIII and IX.

2. P.R.O. T64/88, 328, opinion of 1 Oct. 1690.

3. Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 832, 836-7, 844, 1497, 1656.

4. What follows is derived from Bodl. Rawl. MSS. A 305, ff. 10-11, 'An Account of the Summers Islands'. Though not written in Neale's hand the memorandum, dated 2 Aug. 1692, was initialled by him.

thereof given him by an old Spanish Slave'. A Mr. Hughes and Captains Coleman and Custos knew much about the matter; the latter had set out to recover some of the wealth 'but was by some accidents hindred'. In addition, explained Neale, 'every Bermudian you'l meet with, is Convinct of the truth of this thing' a fact which had more than encouraged his application for the grant. But this was not his main reason for finding investors:

> This Treasure so to be found and taken Mr Neale wanting present money extreamly, and being willing that others if they please may be partners with him, and depending what shall be found of it after one fifth first paid to the King, into ten equall parts, and each Tenth into 100 Shares, which will make in the whole 1000 shares.[1]

Of these, 100 would go to the Governor of the Bermudas, 100 would help defray expenses, 100 would go to 'such persons as shall be employed in those Islands about this Affaire' and a further 100 for himself. Of the remaining 600, half were to be sold at one guinea each and half at two guineas. Following share disposal a meeting of the Adventurers would decide how to proceed with the recovery operation.[2]

By March 1693 an agent, John Dudgeon,[3] had left England with instructions to survey Ireland, take affidavits from persons of 'Repute and Antiquity', copy letters for despatch to England, keep a financial account of the operations, and maintain contact with the Governor.[4] But now the project encountered serious difficulties in Bermuda itself. Despite issuing an order upholding Neale's rights to wrecks off Bermuda and other conciliatory actions, Governor Richier did his best to impede progress. He imprisoned one agent, Thomas Walker, confiscated another's ship and

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1. Bodl. Rawl. MSS. A.305, f. 10v.
2. Ibid, ff. 10v-11.
3. For biographical details of Dudgeon see Appendix B.
4. Bodl. Rawl. MSS. A.305, ff. 12-13, dated 14 March 1693. A draft of the first fifteen items is contained in ibid, ff. 14-14v.

then attempted to court-martial both men.[1] But when Dudgeon left England his instructions were given him not by Neale but by Samuel Weale, fellow projector, and himself an agent for at least two other treasure recovery ventures.[2] The transfer of Neale's grant to Weale within eight months suggests at least three possibilities. Neale had second thoughts, which is unlikely, or only a passing interest, or, most likely, he acted as broker for the initial promotion of the project, using his widespread contacts and influence to good effect. This may well be true also of the grant for wrecks located between Cartagena and Jamaica or either place and Havana,[3] again on the flota's homeward route.

Early in 1693 his enterprise moved northwards when, with John Tyzacke, he was granted all wrecks within 30 miles of the Isle of Sables. Better known as Sable Island, this was a barren sandy waste located 90 miles eastward of Nova Scotia out in the storm-tossed Atlantic. It had served as a short-lived colonial base with convict settlers under the Marquis de la Roche between 1598 and 1603.[4] Quite why Neale should have requested such a grant remains unclear. Nova Scotia, or Acadia as it was then known, was a base for French fur traders and Jesuit missionaries. Thinly populated in the early 1680s, Acadia depended mainly on New England for imported goods rather than France or Canada. Effectively, it was under the sovereignty of the Abenaquis, Malecite and Micmac Indians.[5] Perhaps the intention was

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1. Governor Goddard of Bermuda to Lords of Trade and Plantations, 10 Jan. 1694: Cal.S.P.Col. 1693-6, 228-9; Petition of Anthony Rowe and others to same, 13 Dec. 1696: ibid, 1696-7, 251. For Walker see Appendix B.
2. Bodl. Rawl. MSS. A. 336, f. 34, D. 916, ff. 198, 200-1. For Weale see Appendix E.
3. Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 1665, 1717-8. The grant was made in return for a £450 payment to the Exchequer.
4. A.H. Clark, Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760 (1968), 9, 77, 78n.
5. W.J. Eccles, France in America (1972), 12, 65-6, 88, 122.

to act as scavenger, recovering the occasional wreck from the New England trade,[1] the few ships sailing to and from France bringing small amounts of money to the colony, the occasional vessel sailing from Acadia with copper,[2] or the odd Spanish galleon blown wildly off course? An indication of the crown's apprehensiveness about the venture's outcome may be discerned from its willingness to trade its mandatory 20% share with Neale for an immediate lump sum of only £200.[3]

Soon after 1660 the government realised the benefits to be derived from developing an efficient postal service to the American colonies and between the various colonies themselves. As part of James II's plan for a confederation of New England states Edward Randolph was appointed postmaster. The fall of Governor Edmund Andros necessitated replacement of Randolph's postal system.[4] Developments in England such as William Dockwra's introduction of a penny post in 1680 and the able, and not altogether unexpected, use of the Post Office as an intelligence centre by the arch-plotter John Wildman,[5] presented distinctly advantageous possibilities. It should come as no surprise, therefore, to learn that proposals for a new network emanated from Thomas Neale. One of Wildman's last acts before his dismissal in February 1691 for inefficiency, was to consider Neale's petition for a fourteen-year grant 'to carry letters to and

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1. New England vessels took to Acadia iron products, textiles, sugar, and spices, shipping out furs, feathers, grain, livestock, meat and wooden products: Clark, 180, 181. As much of this trade was by barter there would have been slim pickings for wreck recovery.
2. B.L. Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 327.
3. Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 50.
4. W. Smith, The History of the Post Office in British North America 1639-1870 (1973 reprint), 3, 8. For further details of Randolph see M.G. Hall, Edward Randolph and the American Colonies 1676-1703 (1960).
5. For whom see M. Ashley, John Wildman, Plotter and Postmaster (1947).

from their Majesties Plantations'.[1] In this Neale pointed out that lack of an efficient postal network had sorely hampered successful development of both inter-colonial trade and trade with England.[2]

On 17 February 1692 Neale was granted a patent for establishing post offices in each chief colonial port. Empowered to act as postmaster, either in person or by deputy, he was to enjoy a monopoly and provide an efficient service. To fix postal charges he could apply the rates established by a 1660 Act or come to an arrangement with colonists. In return for this very generous farming of privilege, Neale was to pay into the Exchequer 6s. 8d. annually.[3] After three years, he was to submit an account of establishment costs and profits to the Treasury and permit inspection of relevant books and papers.[4] The grant was followed by a review of the project by various colonial assemblies. Late in October 1692 the New York general assembly approved the proposals.[5] During winter 1692 and spring 1693 Neale's project, and his proposed deputing of Andrew Hamilton as agent, were considered at length by the Massachusetts and Virginia Councils. Eventually they were passed, Neale being granted additional powers in Virginia to establish ferries.[6] It must be admitted that much of what was achieved would have been impossible but for the energetic and reliable Hamilton.

An Edinburgh merchant, Hamilton left Scotland in 1685 or 1686 for the colonies. Having served as deputy-governor of Pennsylvania, he was Governor of New Jersey in

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1. Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 917, 1093.
2. W. Smith, 8.
3. Ibid, 8-9; L.F. Stock (ed.), Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America (5 vols. 1924-41), III, xiv.
4. Cal.T.B. Apr. - Sept. 1697, 279.
5. Cal.S.P.Col. 1689-92, 727.
6. Ibid, 1693-6, 5, 63 (Massachusetts); 4,109 (Virginia).

1692.[1] Energetic and able, he used his position as Governor of New Jersey to conciliate the other sensitive colonial legislatures and win them over to Neale's project. It was a mark of Hamilton's endeavours that '... to him ... the colonies were indebted for their first effective postal system'.[2] Appealing to the various councils he stated that they should 'ascertain and establish such rates as should tend to quicker maintenance of mutual correspondence among the neighbouring colonies and plantations,... that trade and commerce might be better preserved'. Draft bills were submitted to each legislature, providing for a general post office in each main town. Rights granted varied between colonies and infringement would be followed by serious penalties. In Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania, mail carriers were permitted free passage across the rivers and ferries dotting their routes. Appropriate legislation was passed for New Hampshire, but in Virginia and Maryland the results were less spectacular. By a law passed in April 1693 Neale was allowed to create a postal system in Virginia, but entirely at his own expense.[3] An impressive network was created, linking the bulk of the colonial settlements. Some 5-700 miles long, it ran west and south-west from New York into Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Virginia. Eastwards it ran the length of Long Island and then north into Connecticut, Rhode Island, 'full of people ... a receptacle for people of severall sorts and Opinions',[4] Massachusetts and on into New Hampshire stretching some 70 miles beyond Boston to the town of Portsmouth.[5] Neale subsequently considered

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1. Dictionary of American Biography, 180-1. For further details of Hamilton see Appendix B.
2. W. Smith, 9.
3. Ibid, 9-13.
4. B.L. Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 407.
5. Cal.T.P. 1702-7, 488; Neale to Treasury, n.d.: G.P.O. Post 1/2, Treasury Letter Book Jan. 1692-Apr. 1699, 252; Report of Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Thomas Franckland to Treasury, 27 Apr. 1699: ibid, 256-7.

a 400 mile link between Newcastle, western Pennsylvania, and Jamestown, Virginia,[1] but whether this materialised remains unclear. Such a system obviously offered innumerable advantages to the early settlers.

Practical realisation of this scheme was achieved in the face of considerable difficulty, dating from late 1696. When the first three years had elapsed, the Post Office Governors reported to the Lords of Trade about the Massachusetts system, enclosing a draft of a new Act for that colony.[2] Neale outlined the problem in mid-December 1696:

> By patent from the King and Queen I obtained the right to set up a postage in ... the Colonies .... I have just begun to settle the same, and at great expense, and in order to the settling thereof the Assembly of New England sent an Act home for confirmation, which Act was referred first to the Postmasters, upon whose report an Act was drawn. This Act was then submitted to the Attorney-General, who added a clause which made it wholly dependent on the Postmasters here, and by advice of the Council of Trade the New England Act was disallowed. I beg that you will approve of the other Act drawn here, keeping the rates of postage as fixed by the New England Act, that it may go back to New England, the well sealing of it tending much to the King's service.[3]

Within a month their Lordships had agreed to Neale's request and despatched the draft to Massachusetts.[4] By August 1697, however, the Treasury had grown alarmed and ordered Randolph to make an inspection. No accounts had been presented and officials had been informed that 'people

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1. Cal.T.P. 1697-1702, 289. Hamilton estimated the cost of this proposed extension at £300 a year, and that two to three years would be required to balance the books: G.P.O. Post 1/2, 258.
2. Cal.S.P. Col. 1693-6, 637, 647.
3. Ibid, 1696-7, 256.
4. Ibid, 303, 340. For subsequent difficulties in Massachusetts see the Earl of Bellomont, Governor, to Lords of Trade and Plantations, 28 Aug. 1699: Cal.S.P. Col. 1699, 413.

employed there are committing abuses in management'.[1] Clearly something was awry, as an examination of the financial side of the operations reveals.

The postal charges levied[2] created severe problems for Neale. By December 1698 he complained of carrying the entire colonial postal deficit for 1693-7, as a result of which he was 'out of pocket by his expenses in that affair' by £2360 8s. 8½d.[3] Though a near-balancing of books was achieved in 1699 Hamilton's salary was in arrears. Accordingly Hamilton sailed to England and joined Neale in discussions with postal and Treasury officials about the scheme's future and compensation. The two men pointed out benefits they had provided - increased intercolonial and transatlantic trade, private mail facilities, and rapid wartime diffusion of intelligence. But, they asserted, there were two repercussions. Postal charges would have to rise. Additionally, unless they were granted the whole, rather than part, of the overseas postage, they might abandon the undertaking completely. To improve the system and partially recoup losses, they intended stopping letter collection at English coffee-houses, substituting a system of sealed bags collected from local post offices by English shipmasters. While providing additional security, such a scheme would give Neale a near monopoly of all outward Atlantic postage. Neale made one further offer. Should the King wish to assume control of the system at any time he would surrender his patent 'upon payment of £5,000 or £1,000 Per annum for life or for the remaining Tearme of the Pattent'.[4]

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1. Treasury warrant to Randolph, 4 Aug. 1697: Cal.T.B. Apr.-Sept. 1697, 279.
2. G.P.O. Post 1/2, 254-5.
3. Ibid, 256. A detailed breakdown is contained in ibid, 265-6. Cal.T.B. Sept. 1698-July 1699, 216, gives the deficit as £2360 3s. 3½d.
4. Memorial of Hamilton and Neale to Treasury, n.d.: G.P.O. Post 1/2, 254-5; W. Smith, 15-16; Cal.T.B. 1698-1699, 91.

During the discussions a division of opinion became apparent. The postal authorities favoured royal control of the mails, emphasising that this would command greater respect from the colonies.[1] The Treasury was unready to assume control of the network. The system, they maintained, should remain in Neale's hands and Governors be instructed to co-operate with his agents. Only on the basis of prolonged experimental running would they feel confident to approach William III about making a final agreement with Neale. As he owed Hamilton £1,000 in salary, Neale now offered to resign his patent in favour of Hamilton who would then be able to secure reimbursement of expenses.[2] This device was adopted and on 21 August 1699 Neale assigned all his interest in the scheme to Hamilton.[3] The following June Hamilton and an associate, Robert West, who had earlier put £200 into the scheme at Neale's request, successfully petitioned for a renewal of Neale's grant.[4] In February 1707 the crown reclaimed the patent, in return for compensation of £1,664 to Hamilton's estate.[5] In 1711 full crown control was introduced with the General Post Office Act.[6]

While promoting wreck-recovery and postal projects Neale also fostered colonial mining interests. In late summer 1691 he petitioned for two grants, for a 31-year lease to sink and work gold and silver mines in Virginia and Maryland,

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1. Report of Cotton and Franckland, 27 April 1699: G.P.O. Post 1/2, 256-7.
2. Cal.T.B. 1698-1699, 96, 100; W. Smith, 16.
3. G.P.O. Post 1/3, Treasury Letter Book July 1699 - Dec. 1705, 69.
4. Ibid, 66-7; A.P.C. 1680-1720, 355-6.
5. Cal.T.P. 1702-7, 488.
6. Stock, III, xiv.

and for general mining rights.[1] Both applications were successful; in September 1691 approval came for grants in Virginia of gold, silver, lead, copper, tin and quicksilver for 31 years. All mined gold and silver was to be shipped to London; accounts were to be kept and a profit shown within three years. In the following March Blathwayt reported that reducing the term to one year would oblige Neale to apply himself 'with more speed and industry' to achieve results.[2] The 51-year grant awarded in August 1692 for mining rights in the 'Plantations and Colonies in America, excepting the colonies of New England, Virginia and all parts northward of Carolina' empowered Neale to enter any of the workings begun by Albemarle. Lack of progress by September 1693 would necessitate cancellation of the grant.[3] Whether mines were even sunk remains unclear. These two projects should be seen as an extension of Neale's activities as Master of the Mint.[4] Consideration of proposals, such as that for a New England mint in 1686,[5]

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 470; ibid, 1691-2, 98. Neale argued for rights similar to those previously granted to Albemarle, whose default of which, he maintained, had meant no crown profit. For Albemarle's grant see Cal. T.B. 1687, 1231-2.
2. Ibid, 1689-92, 1304; P.R.O. T.64/88, 373-5; Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 561-2.
3. Ibid, 1689-92, 1760.
4. Supra, Ch. VI.
5. Mint Commissioners to Lord Treasurer, 15 July 1686: Cal. S.P.Col. 1685-8, 266. Using precedent in their report the commissioners cited the case of Lord Carlisle, refused permission for a mint in Jamaica because of difficulties of maintaining the weight and fineness of money to English standards. The problems of the two colonies were not unrelated on this matter. As early as 1662 Jamaica had requested a mint of her own. Ten years later the island's governor, Sir Thomas Lynch, hoped that Jamaica's trade with New England could be reduced as the northern colonists were taking money out. Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, appointed Governor in 1678, found that the islanders still feared an outflow of coinage to New England: C. and R. Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624-90 (1972), 330, 410. The Earl was Neale's cousin.

formed part of his official responsibilities. In a similar fashion he was to provide the Council of Trade with details of standard gold and silver in the Tower Mint.[1]

A world away from the colonies, literally and metaphorically, was late-Stuart London's phenomenal transformation. Contemporaries were awe-struck:

> The Dwelling Houses raised since the Fire be generally very fair, and built much more convenient and uniform than heretofore. Before the Fire, they were most Timber Houses, built with little regard to Uniformity; but since the Fire, Building of Bricks has been the general Way, and that with much Art and Skill in Architecture,... [2]

The intensity of enthusiasm may be gauged from the inclusion of St. James's Square, with its pervading genteel air as a 'must' for early sightseers.[3] As well as squares, more and more streets were laid out to be named after their enterprising developers: Frith, Panton, Wardour and others. The speculative builder made his first appearance, with his many leases, patchwork of small building plots, quick turnover and large profits.

During the years after 1688 Neale worked on three main property development projects. Sustained development of Shadwell, with its many facilities, thriving population and Thames-side frontage, remained close to his heart although, as has already been demonstrated, he had to part with direct interest to his brother-in-law Sir John Garrard.[4] Where Shadwell was marked by size, development of Seven Dials

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1. Journal of Council of Trade and Plantations, 31 Oct., 27 Nov. 1699: Cal.S.P.Col. 1699, 505, 548.
2. Miege, Pt. I, 283-4.
3. F. Colsoni, Le Guide de Londres (1693), (ed.) W.H. Godfrey (1951), 16. For the Square see A.I. Dasent, The History of St. James's Square (1895).
4. Supra, 128-9.

was characterised by novelty and the desire to emulate. The third project - for development of part of Piccadilly - failed to materialise. Besides these, his other property developments were minor, consisting of extensions and improvements to houses, or a longer lease for this or that residence. Though Neale's development of Seven Dials was both enterprising and exciting, he was to be accorded belated recognition of his efforts.[1] To examine the development it is proposed to consider the houses built, the financial aspects, the builders, and the social and aesthetic considerations.

Known originally as Marshland Close, the area to become the Dials lay in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields. In 1650 it was largely undeveloped, except for a conduit supplying water to the Exchequer Office and a few tenements. Further development was controlled by a Privy Council proclamation of 1671.[2] In January 1690 Neale, attracted by the fact that the land had originally been leased with building permission, petitioned for a lease of the Close. More than two years of wrangling followed, halted only by William III's personal intervention and his announcement that he wished Neale to have the lease. Though Neale eventually gained the Close in June 1692,[3] he had been making preparatory moves. A plan of the projected layout had been drawn up in 1691 and in March 1692 he had agreed that he or his assigns would, within two years, build 'so many good Substantiall Brick houses according to a certain Scheme or Modell'.[4] As a result at least 200 new houses

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1. King Street in the Seven Dials was subsequently renamed Neal Street by the London County Council: J.E. Gover, A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, The Place-Names of Middlesex (1942), 119. G. Bebbington, London Street Names (1972), 230, is to be treated with caution, crediting Neale with a knighthood and describing him as 'a Groom Porter'.
2. N.G. Brett-James, The Growth of Stuart London (1935), 343.
3. The sorting-out of the Marshland tangle can be followed in Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 389, 447, 752, 779, 852, 993, 1195, 1618, 1656-7. See also C.L. Kingsford, The Early History of Piccadilly, Leicester Square, Soho (1925), 36-7.
4. H.C.L. Local Deeds Collection, Map M10C; P.R.O. C5/614/105, Jennens v. Stracy, 1702.

were built,[1] and what was to become both a temporarily fashionable area and an object of curiosity, was laid out. The very design attracted curiosity and attention, as well as provoking frustration. Whereas St. Albans had worked with the concept of a fashionable piazza onto which luminaries' houses would look, Neale worked with the idea of a number of streets meeting at one central point.[2] After a visit in early October 1694 Evelyn noted:

> I went also to see the building beginning neare St. Giles's where seaven streetes make a starr from a Doric Pillar plac'd in the middle of [a][3] Circular Area.

The streets were to be named Great and Little Earl Streets, Great and Little White Lion Streets, Great and Little St. Andrew's Streets and Queen Street. The pillar was to be capped by sundials, one facing each street.[4]

Neale divided the land neatly into plots and then let them. Houses facing White Lion Street on the south-western side of the scheme were built on rectangular plots each measuring 37 feet from east to west and approximately 15 feet from north to south. All the tenants agreed to erect brick houses with tiled roofs and proper glazing. Elsewhere in the scheme there were variations of plot size. George Dorrell agreed to build one or more houses on a plot measuring 65 feet by 70 feet, whereas Ralph Swaine built on one 17 feet by 14 feet facing Monmouth Street. Morgan Pierce built on the corner of King and Queen Streets, on a

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1. The numbering on building plots in the development ran to at least 203: Abstract of deeds in possession of Comyn Ching and Co., London, kindly made available by A.F. Kelsall.
2. For the originality of projects, Infra, 322-6.
3. Evelyn, V, 193.
4. Brett-James, 393. Neale appears originally to have had 6 streets in mind: H.C.L. Local Deeds Collection, Map M 10 C. The plan is reproduced in F.H.W. Sheppard (gen. ed.), The Survey of London V, pt. II. The pillar was taken down in 1773 and re-erected at Weybridge, Surrey, in 1822 to the memory of Frederica, Duchess of York.

plot 17 feet by 30 feet, again to be occupied by one house.[1] Two and three-storied houses, each with a cellar and sub-divided attics were built as part of the development,[2] along with stables and yards. The standards laid down for post-1666 building would have produced a two-storied house at about 18 feet high and a three-storied at about 29 feet with, in each case, allowance added for roof height.[3] The rows of houses were to be pierced by streets forty feet wide.

Ground rents paid by builders at Seven Dials varied. Neale envisaged the construction of sufficient houses to raise a ground rent of £1,200, calculated on the basis of 5s. to 8s. a foot frontage, save for those houses fronting King Street, Monmouth Street, St. Andrew Street and Earl Street, where the range was to be between 8s. and 12s.[4] There was also variation in rents paid, between 2s. and £7, all plots being let out for a standard 61-year term. In all cases rent was to be paid quarterly, and as landlord Neale was protected by two distraint clauses for non-payment, one for a fifteen-day lapse and the other for 21 days.[5] The device was designed not only as protection but as a disincentive to would-be lax tenants.

Financing the development was made possible by a £16,000 loan over three years, using Marshland as security. Should the principal remain unpaid over this period then the lenders could subsequently sell the premises 'to anybody and with the money that would come from the sale satisfy themselves of the sum' and the interest, paying any surplus

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1. H.C.L., Local Deeds Collection, documents 120, 726, 62, 43, 89, 70.
2. C. Dickens, Sketches by Boz (1901 edn.), 56-7. Gardens may also have been envisaged in the 1691 plan.
3. 19 Charles II. c.3.
4. P.R.O. C5/614/105.
5. H.C.L., Local Deeds Collection, documents 89, 70.

to Neale.[1] Four men put up the money - James Ward and Edward Herrys, both merchants, Thomas Lathwell, gentleman, and William Morris, master apothecary.[2] As agent they employed John Adams, a London scrivener.[3] Having spent the bulk of the loan, Neale found it to be

> farr insufficient to compleat the ... Buildings and having contracted and agreed with ... Builders and others to allow amongst them the farther Sume of Five Thousand Pounds to furnish the ... Buildings

raised this additional sum from Richard Spencer of London, a Levant merchant.[4] In return Spencer was to receive all Neale's right and title to the Marshland premises.[5] During his career as projector Neale built up a distinct retinue of agents, men upon whose services he could confidently rely.[6] It is all the more surprising, therefore, to find that for this novel speculative venture he called upon an untried agent, Godfrey Woodward, whom he nominated to actually receive the property for him and who is tersely described as 'gentleman'.[7] The services of a scrivener would have been required and here Neale may have retained John Foche, with whom he had already had business dealings.[8]

At least fourteen men were involved in building the houses. Three were bricklayers - Dorrell and Robert Geary, both of St. Giles in the Fields, and Ambrose Searles of St. Martins in the Fields who took on four adjoining plots facing White Lion Street. Ralph Swaine (jun.),

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1. P.R.O. C5/614/105.
2. For further details of the consortium see Appendix E.
3. H.C.L., Local Deeds Collection, doc. 100. For further details of Adams see Appendix E.
4. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1696, 99. For further details of Spencer see Appendix E.
5. P.R.O. C5/614/105.
6. For details of all Neale's known agents see Appendix B.
7. Cal.T.B. 1689-92. See also Appendix B.
8. P.R.O. C7/245/58, Neale v. Dashwood, 1691.

carpenter, and James Sellway, joiner, came from St. Andrews Holborn. Two were not builders by trade. William Buckland, scrivener, rented at least two plots facing White Lion Street, and two smaller ones nearby; Morgan Pierce was a baker from St. Clement Danes. Of the other seven - Edward Rathband, Bartholomew Rowland, John Syrett, Sampson Strode, Alexander Williams, John Stephens,[1] and Mr. Broadhurst - little has come to light, except that Broadhurst and Sellway were accounted the 'principal builders'.[2] Between July 1693 and October 1694 houses were built in Monmouth and Little Earl Streets; four were erected in Great St. Andrew Street between September 1693 and August 1694 and subsequently sold by the builder, Sellway, to John Brewer of Grays Inn.[3] Some builders made their permanent homes in the Dials; Rathband and Dorrell were still living there in 1701, Buckland as late as 1708.[4]

When securing initial agreement with Neale, each builder was subjected to stringent regulations. All the new houses were to be kept in good repair, the windows, pavements and gutters kept clean. Additionally they were each to contribute towards 'the repaireacon emptying and of amending the comon sewer there intended to be made'.[5] Biennial or more frequent inspection visits would be carried out by Neale, his associates and workmen. The builders were also to abide by a second set of regulations covering the social

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1. H.C.L., Local Deeds Collection, documents 120, 726, 629, 43, 89, 70; P.R.O. C7/210/76, Le Neve v. Searles, 1696.
2. J. Parton, Some Account of the Hospital and Parish of St Giles in the Fields (1822), 124.
3. M.R. Middlesex Deeds Registry, Bundle 598, memorial 266, dated 5 March 1734.
4. G.L., MS. 8674/2, Hand-in-Hand Fire Insurance Policy Register 1701-3, 37, 53.
5. H.C.L., Local Deeds Collection, document 120, indenture dated 22 Jan. 1693. Neale had already served three times on Commissions of Sewers, for Hampshire in 1671, Middlesex in 1672 and 1689: Supra, 61; P.R.O. C181/7, 626; B.L. Harl. MSS. 7020, f. 6.

development of the Dials, agreeing not to lease their houses 'to any person ... who shall exercise therein ... the trades or misteries of a Comon Brewer Butcher Melter of tallow Soapboyler or a tobacco pipe maker ...' without first obtaining written approval from Neale and his associates.[1] The intention was two-fold - to minimise fire risks and noxious odours, while making the area primarily residential with inhabitants of an 'acceptable' nature.

The subsequent composition of Seven Dials must be examined if the success of these regulations is to be evaluated. Dickens penned evocative sketches of later dwellers in the 'maze of streets, courts, lanes, and alleys', the brick-dust-spotted bricklayer's labourers who could be seen on Sunday mornings in their drab or light corduroy trousers, blucher boots, blue coats, and great yellow waistcoats, the shabby-genteel man from the back attic and the carpet-beater who extended 'his professional pursuits to his wife'.[2] But was there a half-way stage between these and the people whom Neale had originally hoped to attract to the Dials, or were his stipulations cast like chaff before the wind? Most famous of the early residents was an as yet unknown young Scot, John Law, who lived there in his early twenties until his ill-fated duel with the high-living Beau Wilson in April 1694.[3] Thomas Matthew, merchant, formerly of St. Martins in the Fields, moved to the Dials with his second wife, where they resided in Queen Street.[4] Their immediate neighbours included Roger Reeve, gentleman, who lived there briefly before his death in 1696,[5]

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1. H.C.L., Local Deeds Collection, document 120.
2. Dickens, 55-6, 57.
3. H.M. Hyde, John Law: The History of an Honest Adventurer (1948), 21-9.
4. Armytage, Vicar, 245; Fitch, 273.
5. P.R.O. Prob. 11/434, f. 192, will of Roger Reeve dated 10 Aug. 1696.

Captain John Cannon and Edward Kinaston, gentleman.[1] Residents of Monmouth Street included Giles Riddle, grocer, William Phillips, distiller, and Richard Edds, victualler. In King Street lived George Cox, victualler, and William Wheatley, carpenter.[2] William Wells of St. Mary le Bone, gentleman, owned two houses on the north side of St. Andrews Street in June 1697. Other residents were to include Thomas Thompson, a St. Sepulchres timber merchant with two houses, and two people who clearly bought with investment in mind. In March 1700 Robert Winter, a wax chandler from St. Martins in the Fields, owned five in the street, some of which he let out. In May John Brewer insured a block of nine on the north side. Winter owned another five on the west side of King Street; during 1700 John Taylor, gentleman from St. Clement Danes, insured three on the west side of the same street, two in Queen Street and another two in Earl Street. Houseowners in that street from summer 1699 onwards included Matthew Hopkinson of the Middle Temple, Charles Armistead, haberdasher, John Fowell, gunsmith, and George Barnes a local hatter who owned three, one of which was 'known by the signe of the Flower D'Lewis'.[3]

Within a short time, however, the air of seeming social respectability was to change. The inhabitants of the Dials in 1701 and 1702 were different in character.[4] In St. Andrews Street four houses belonged to Christopher Davenport of New Inn, one being run by Philip Phillips as the 'Goat and Golden Ball'. William Thomas, clothworker,

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1. M.R., Freeholders Books, I, Nov. 1696-Oct. 1703, 14, 68. These books list all those freeholders qualified for jury service under the 1696 Act (7 and 8 William III c.32).
2. M.R. MR/FB, Freeholders Books, I, 15, 111, 247, 298.
3. C.U. Hand-in-Hand Fire Insurance Policy Register 1697-1701, passim. In May 1700 John Brewer was described as of West Farleigh, Kent.
4. Except where otherwise stated, what follows is based on an analysis of fire insurance policies taken out on houses in the Dials between 30 July 1701 and 29 July 1703, contained in G.L. MS. 8674/2.

owned a building divided and let as two tenements. Peter Holmes, a St. Giles ciderman., was an owner-occupier. On the south side of Earl Street Armistead owned four houses all rented out, one to William Snelling, merchant. Another four further west on the same side were owned by Joseph Jolly, stone merchant of St. Brides. Between these two blocks stood the 'Crown', owned by Evan Jones, gentleman of St. Giles, and run by Richard Raynalls. Charles Shelley, goldsmith, owned three houses; Davenport owned one on either side of the street. Of the houses on the north side, one had been converted by William Buckland, the previous occupant, into the 'Rose' and was being run by his son William Buckland(jun.).[1] At least one on this side was owned by George Bell, a local victualler. Houses on the southern side of Monmouth Street were owned by George Hunt, coachmaker, John Marriott, bricklayer, and John Wood, tailor. Richard Gates, salesman, had lived at the 'Two Cats' since at least 1698.[2] In King Street William Newman, painter-stainer, owned two houses. A local paviour, John Tucker, owned three bordering Neale's Court, located between St. Andrews Street and Queen Street. Thomas Cooper, a St. Giles carpenter, owned a brick house on the south side of this court 'being Coach Houses and Stables with rooms over them' which he let to Edward North. In Queen Street Bernard Babb, pewterer, rented out two houses to widow Crouch and Richard Heath. John Vanderbanck a local tapestrymaker lived in his own, more substantial, house, as did Norwich Salisbury, a harnessmaker-turned-coachmaker who had lived in the Dials since at least late 1696.[3]

Obviously the 'genteel' element was being slowly outnumbered. While Neale's aping and emulating did not

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1. The younger Buckland was described as brewer in 1713: M.R. Middlesex Deeds Registry, Bundle 59, memorial 85, dated 25 Jan. 1713.
2. M.R. MR/FB, Freeholders Books, I, 111, 194, 247.
3. Ibid, 14, 68.

attract residents comparable to those of St. James's Square - the ambassadors, ministers, royal mistresses and peers - it did little to permanently 'fix' the social tone of the new development. Witness, for example, the number of men following the proscribed occupations who were nevertheless permitted to go and live in the Dials. And there were other signs of a declining social tone. In February 1702 White's house in Queen Street was occupied by a cook; in March 1703 a London clothworker insured a 'Brickhouse with a workhouse backward' on the south side of Monmouth Street.[1] In 1706 an apprentice, Thomas Wrenn, was freed from his master Edmund Juby, an Earl Street feltmaker, who with his wife 'had so unreasonably beat him that he went in danger of his life'.[2] Extra rates were applied for to repair the local roads in 1719 and 1721.[3] Slowly the character of the Dials was changing, a transformation which might be considered complete in the report of an incident there in June 1732. As part of his punishment for perjury John Waller was pilloried in the Dials, and after about three minutes

> ... in which Time he was most furiously pelted with Colliflower-Stalks, large Stones and Pieces of Bottles, by which he was very much cut in his Face and Head; a Chimney-Sweeper jump'd up to him and pulled him down from the Pillory, and tore all his Cloaths off, leaving only his Stockings and Shoes on. After that they beat him, and jump'd upon him as he lay on the Ground till they had actually kill'd him.[4]

Clearly, this was far removed from Neale's original enlightened intentions.

At present it is impossible to say whether Neale repaid his original loans, let alone made a profit from developing

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1. G.L. MS. 8674/2, 418.
2. W.J. Hardy, 306.
3. M.R., 'Calendar of Middlesex Sessions Books 1719-21' (typescript n.d.), 32, 114.
4. The London Magazine, I (1732), 150. For events leading to the incident and its aftermath see ibid, 93-4, 203.

Seven Dials. For many the Dials soon became equated not with Neale but rather with confusion and less seemly elements. Thus John Gay wrote in 1716:

> Where fam'd Saint Giles's ancient Limits spread,
> An inrail'd Column rears its lofty Head,
> Here to sev'n Streets, sev'n Dials count the Day,
> And from each other catch the circling Ray.
> Here oft the Peasant, with enquiring Face,
> Bewilder'd, trudges on from Place to Place;
> He dwells on ev'ry Sign, with stupid Gaze,
> Enters the narrow Alley's doubtful Maze,
> Trys ev'ry winding Court and Street in vain,
> And doubles o'er his weary Steps again. [1]

Curiously Gay does not associate the area with the gentility on horseback or in their coaches, but rather with the world-weary peasant. What was initially held as novel was clearly later labelled as poor design. These factors, coupled with the development of other more 'attractive' areas such as Piccadilly, New Bond Street and generally to the west of St. Martins Lane, help explain why so ambitious and novel a project was so relatively short-lived.

Where novelty and success marked the Dials, the reverse was true of Neale's third property developing project. By 1690 Neale owned some houses on the western side of Stratton Street.[2] Quick to see an opportunity when it presented itself, he approached Sir Thomas Clarges, former army physician, brother-in-law of Monck, fellow M.P., and himself no mean developer, about land that he owned nearby, between

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1. J. Gay, Trivia: or the Art of Walking the Streets of London, book II: V.A. Dearing (ed.), John Gay Poetry and Prose (2 vols. 1974), I, 73. The author of Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus subsequently gave as the birth-place of his hero a 'point common to all the seven streets: which must be that on which the Column is now erected. And it is with infinite pleasure that I since find my conjecture confirmed by the following passage in the codicil to Mr. Neale's will: 'I appoint my executors to engrave the following inscription on the Column in the centre of the Seven Streets which I erected: 'LOC. NAT. INCLYT. PHILOS. MAR. SCR.' But Mr. Neale's order was never performed, because the Executors durst not administer': Wheatley, III, 235. No such provision was ever made in Neale's will.

2. Greater London Record Office, Ref. 0/10/1 and 0/10/2. I am indebted to Miss E. Mercer for this information.

Hyde Park and Piccadilly.[1] Neale agreed to pay an annual rent of £100 and spend £10,000 developing the land. Instead, however, he deliberately kept it waste and allowed eight years' rent arrears to accumulate.[2] As though propelled by unseen forces Neale was, at the same time, busy extending his property interests elsewhere. He had a house near Whitehall;[3] in June 1692 he offered £1,200 for a lease or £1,500 for the fee of the ground behind Wallingford House and a £1,000 fine for a lease of houses and ground by Hyde Park and Knightsbridge.[4] Less than a year later he was anxious to buy Monmouth's Soho house 'at the rate it is really worth'.[5] And while this would have taxed the mind of many a man stronger than Neale, he was also busy promoting financial innovations.

The 1690s were critical for England. Excitement, likelihood of quick profits and heavy war strain pervaded the air. The war effort produced great strains: soldiers and sailors had to be equipped and provisioned, money remitted abroad, sick and wounded personnel cared for. In the absence of reliable credit devices, the government tried many novel methods in an attempt to raise funds. The Bank of England, founded in 1694, was soon making cash advances in excess of its original loan, and the rapid deterioration of state credit only worsened matters. The Bank's early days were certainly parlous: 'Of all the gambles in this reign of gamblers, the Bank of England was

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1. Part of the land in question is now covered by Clarges Street.
2. J.P. Malcolm, Londinium Redivivum (4 vols. 1803-7), IV, 328-9; E.W. Brayley, Londiniana (4 vols. 1829), IV, 317. M.C. Borer, Mayfair: The Years of Grandeur (1975), 39, credits Neale with being engaged by Sir Walter Clarges to develop the property. See also Conclusion.
3. Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 133.
4. Ibid, 1707.
5. Ibid, 1693-6, 162; Cal.T.P. 1556-1696, 292.

the most risky'.[1] As the demand for remittances rose the circulated £1¾ millions of paper money and the cashed £1 million widened, and the Bank soon became dependent upon reputation. It over-issued notes and 'of any regular cash backing for these notes their was neither theory nor practice'.[2] In May 1696 the Bank weathered its first crisis. The Recoinage operation[3] was in difficulties, and the Bank's shortage of cash, combined with other factors, led to a run on 4 May 1696. Cash payments were partially suspended, Evelyn noting on 13 May: 'Money still continuing exceedingly scarse, so as none was either payed or received, but on Trust, the mint not supplying sufficient for common necessities:...'.[4] The run on the Bank, the failure of the malt lottery hard on its heels, and state credit at low ebb, in great part because of excessive reliance upon short-term borrowing, marked 1696 as one of the gravest years financially. Foreign exchanges moved against England. Credit was waning. Naval contractors demanded payment as the price of co-operation. By early 1697 fifteen tax funds were deficient. But by September a stalemate was reached in the war; financial attrition was biting hard. Across the Channel France's finances were even more precarious and Louis XIV was anxious for respite. With the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick England could draw breath again. Investment picked up; Bank stock rose to a healthy level. English public finance had undergone a baptism of fire.[5]

Neale played an important role in the development of two financial devices - the salt duty and exchequer bills.

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1. D. Ogg, England in the Reigns of James II and William III (1955), 421.
2. Clapham, I, 34.
3. Supra, Ch. VI.
4. Evelyn, V, 242.
5. For a masterly summary of the problems involved see P.G.M. Dickson and J. Sperling, 'War Finance, 1689-1714' in New Cambridge Modern History, VI, Ch. IX.

While the first has already been considered in the context of Neale as Member of Parliament,[1] both require examination as projects. In December 1693 he drew up a memorandum on a proposed new salt duty, in which he demonstrated how it could be used to finance the war effort. Modification of his original proposals for impositions, which he had suggested to Parliament in 1692, would

> raise £140,000 or £150,000 per annum, £140,000 to be granted for fifteen years would bring in a Million; i.e. a million of money would be paid in to receive after the rate of 14 per cent for fifteen years. [2]

Parliamentary and royal approval led to the imposition of new duties, to be levied for four years. Salt prices were to be set, provision made for salt losses at sea and for managing, farming and collecting receipts. No Member of Parliament was to be involved save for Treasury, Excise and Customs commissioners, land tax commissioners and

> Provided always, That Thomas Neale Esquire may be employed by their Majesties as they shall think fit, in the ordering or managing the several Recompences and Advantages hereby given to the Contributors upon this Act;... [3]

The most startling feature about the imposition of this new duty was the absence of any organised opposition to it; indeed, in spring 1696 the government tried to raise a £2½ million loan in the event of salt duties being doubled.[4]

Initially, Neale's calculations concerning income from this new duty proved wide of the mark, with returns of c.£81,000 and c.£62,500 during the first two collection

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1. Supra, Ch. V.
2. P.R.O. S.P. 32/5/46, ff. 91-2v. For the earlier suggestion Supra, 188, 189.
3. 5 William and Mary c.7, s.57; Hughes, 177.
4. Hughes, 178, 185.

periods.[1] By summer 1697, however, the situation had improved, allowing Montagu to use salt tallies as security for a Dutch loan and causing him to admit that '... the Salt Tallys that carry 7 per Cent are a better Deposite then Ticketts that carry but 3...'.[2] But this improvement was only temporary, for during 1698-9 more than half the gross receipts disappeared in fishing drawbacks and export bounties, and there were increased suggestions about mismanagement.[3]

Formal administration of the salt duties was vested in the Transfer Office,[4] created in May 1694. Neale was appointed to run it with a salary of £1,200, the lion's share of funds allocated to the new concern, as is illustrated below:

Table 17 Transfer Office Funds in 1694

Neale's salary	£1,200
Office rent	£100
Housekeeper	£100
Deputy	£150
Chief Clerk	£100
Underclerks	£150
Total	£1,800

Source: Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 626.

His grant as chief officer was passed 22 February 1696 and confirmed him for the remainder of a sixteen-year term.

Involvement in the prolonged continental war led to the development of a sophisticated public borrowing system,

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1. Production of salt between 25 March 1694 and 25 March 1695 showed a balance of £80,830 17s. 9¼d. For the period 25 March - 29 Sept. 1695 the figure stood at £62,434 2s. 1d.: P.R.O. T.48/88, 341, 343.
2. Montagu to Blaithwayt, 7 Sept. 1697: B.L.Add. MSS. 34355, f. 53.
3. Hughes, 185.
4. The premises, consisting of two rooms, were located in Lombard Street: Cal.T.P. 1708-14, 517.

permitting expenditure vastly in excess of taxational revenue.[1] The Commons would not countenance the concept of a long war, or of spreading its costs, and consequently frequently over-estimated yields from new taxes imposed to service much-needed loans. In 1696, as we have already seen,[2] there were strong indications that the war machine was likely to judder to a halt. The unhealthy state of the coinage, the Assassination plot against William III and an invasion scare emphasised England's predicament. It was in such an environment that Exchequer bills were launched, amid circumstances of fear, tension and necessity, as part of the scheme for the government's National Land Bank, a proposal that was to fail so abysmally.[3]

An issue of £1½ millions in bills, with 4.6% interest was authorised in April 1697, and a further £1,200,000 three months later.[4] Although the bills bore interest, there were fears about Exchequer ability to redeem them, which did little to bolster up wilting morale. The bills were forced into circulation via recourse to a group of trustees who subscribed to a fund for encashing the bills and handled matters relating to them.[5] Heavy running costs hampered initial success, but by summer 1697 their acceptability was receiving recognition. By late March 1697 over £98,000 worth of bills had been issued,[6] to increase with the passing months. Soon the bills were used to discharge a greater part of the floating debt as well as partially

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1. P.G.M. Dickson, The Financial Revolution in England (1967), 9.
2. Supra, Ch. VI.
3. Supra, Ch. V.
4. Steele, 4223, 4229, dated 23 Apr., 30 July 1697.
5. The trustees were Mordecai Abbot, Sir William Ashurst, James Bateman, Bartholomew Burton, George Dodington, Francis Eyles, Sir Henry Furnese, Gilbert Heathcote, Sir Joseph Herne, Sir Thodore Jansen and William Sedgwick: L.G., 3282, 22-26 Apr. 1697.
6. B.L. Harl. MSS. 1282, f. 39, 'Observations on Exchequer Bills to 26 March 1697'.

paying loan interest. Even so, there were problems and most of the early issue was cancelled. A second issue, bearing a higher rate of interest, was more successful.[1]

The new bills were widely used; purchasers included Sir Ambrose Crowley the ironmaster, numerous Londoners, a Worcester bookseller, and people from Hampshire, Derbyshire and Newcastle.[2] Promotion of the bills was not, however, problem-free. Opportunities for malversation arose, epitomised in Charles Duncombe's prosecution for falsely endorsing bills when Excise Receiver.[3] Nor was he alone in his misdeeds. During summer 1698 many people were tried and imprisoned for possessing counterfeiting plates or circulating forgeries.[4] The unpopularity of the bills was explained by an anonymous critic:[5]

> If the consequence of Exchequer bills were seriously considered they might be found more destructive to the trade and manufactures of the nation then any one of the unhappy projects that have decoyed soe much of the trading money of the Nation into Lotteryes and publique funds to the ruine and driveing thousands of the manufacturers out of the Kingdom

Even their use was suspect:

> They are so gilded over with Intrest for a day and payable at a call that they are more esteemd then gold and Silver but the Snake that lies in the grass is Whilst the people are pleasd with thees bills forraigners carry out of the Kingdom the Specie of gold and Silver it is to them great part of the publick debts are owing which they bought at Low rates from such as by mistaken measures had runn out their stocks from trade into publick loans.

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1. Dickson and Sperling, 291.
2. Based on losses and thefts of bills reported in L.G. between 5 July 1697 and 7 Feb. 1698.
3. Duncombe's case may be followed in Cal.S.P.Dom. 1698, 43-4, and Cobbett, V, 1170-1. For the Attorney General's speech on the bills and their value see R.G. Howarth (ed.), Letters and the Second Diary of Samuel Pepys (1932), 147-52.
4. For examples see Cal.S.P.Dom. 1698, 349, 342, 371, 247, 297, 302.
5. B.L. Add. MSS. 28091, f. 170. Undated, the item is endorsed (f. 171v.) 'Against Exchequer bills'.

The expedient of using paper money he considered dangerous, given that England was heavily in debt abroad.

Development of Exchequer Bills has nearly always been hailed as a triumph on the part of Montagu as Chancellor of the Exchequer. His earliest biographer and the standard biographical reference work claim them as such.[1] Clapham stated that 'Montagu , who had never believed in the Land Bank, had the Exchequer Bill policy in reserve', to check the gap left by the Bank's failure. He did, however, point out that the idea had been suggested to Montagu by Neale.[2] It was, after all, common for the Treasury to receive fund-raising suggestions from private individuals.[3] Is it fair, therefore, to give Montagu all the credit for the development? The Chancellor had reservations, verging on fear, as he confided in summer 1696:

> Wee are now come to the experiment of our Exchequer Bills, for when the 24th of June is over the fear of having clipt money poured in upon us is over, and wee must set our shoulders to it, to make them pass, tis a terrible prospect, and I have yet no comfort, nor hopes of being successfull, for all credit is so entirely destroyed by the fatal project a new Bank coming at the same time with the deficiency of species that wee know not how to turn ourselves.[4]

In May 1697 he wrote again:

> The Exchequer Bills do as well as could be expected from so new a thing, under a great opposition, but Wee are almost at the end of our Tedder in them, and how Wee shall find Remittances on any other fund is as yet to be tryed.[5]

However, improvement was soon discernible; the bills rose in value and prospects seemed brighter.[6] Throughout this

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1. The Works and Life of the Right Honourable Charles, Late Earl of Halifax (1715), 43-4; D.N.B., XIII, 665-70.
2. Clapham, I, 38.
3. See Baxter, 57-8; Plumb, 121.
4. Montagu to Blaithwayt, 23 June 1696: Quoted Dickson, 367.
5. Same to same, 25 May 1697: B.L. Add. MSS. 34355, ff. 27-27v.
6. Same to same, 18/28 June 1697: ibid, f. 35v.

correspondence the impression is given that Montagu alone was responsible for the scheme, use of the plural form explaining the tantalising reference to 'our Exchequer Bills'. But this was not the whole story.

The initial proposal for floating Exchequer Bills may be found in Neale's For Supplying Five Millions of Money, published in October 1696. He wrote of raising £5 millions in paper credit by issuing bills 'to such as shall please to accept them' and to make the bills acceptable 'one Moyety of all Bonds, taken by the King's Officers for Customs or Excise, should (For some Years at least) be all positively paid in these Bills'. There would be great advantages:

> The Bills ..., will very much outdo any other yet ever set out and ... be much more desired than Money, since such as shall ever have any Money, can never so well lay it out, as in buying these Bills, and therefore 'tis not to be feared, but that these Five Millions of Paper Money, may this way be convenient and easily Raised, and supply the now wanted species of Money, as well as real Money it self.

Furthermore, he pointed out, various experiments had already been carried out with the bills:

> A Specimen of the Bills, and how to be tryed, have two Sessions together been Printed, and are herewith Re-printed again, with this only Difference, that in those the Interest was made payable half yearly, and in this it is Yearly only. [1]

It was this proposal that Parliament debated and eventually sanctioned. The fact that they were introduced in legislation covering the Land Bank may well explain why Montagu has hitherto been accredited with their development.

Fourteen projects remain to be analysed. Nine relate to production processes, and are tabulated overleaf:

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1. P.R.O. S.P. 32/6/83a. A manuscript version, endorsed 'from Mr Neale', is contained in ibid, S.P. 32/11/359-60.

Table 18 Projects for Production Processes, 1688-1699

Date	Project	Successful/Failed
Aug. 1691	Verdigris manufacture	S
Aug. 1691	Tapestry Corporation	S
Sept. 1691	Brass plates for kettles	S
Sept. 1691	Corinthian Steel	S
May 1692-Mar. 1693	Imitation Russian leather	S
Sept. 1692	Making white, brown and blue paper without rags	F
Nov. 1692	Soldering and joining glass	F?
June 1693	Lead casting	F?
June 1693	Making wire screens and cloth	S

Sources: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 445, 467, 497-8, 544; ibid, 1691-2, 298, 401, 405, 456, 503; ibid, 1693, 183, 239; N.R.L.S.I., Specifications of Patents, Old Series, 1676-92, nos. 270-3, 309.

The bulk concerned mineral processing and production, and were concentrated in a two year period from August 1691 onwards. That Neale rarely worked alone[1] on these projects strengthens the view that he was engaged as broker or middleman for promoting a project. With Court contacts, high office and powerful friends, he epitomised the 'respectable' agent, the very man who could perhaps secure for interested parties what they wanted. In an age when contact counted for much, Neale was well placed to argue the case of such projects.

The most successful of the ventures was the tapestry-making corporation. In the petition for this, presented to William III in August 1691, it was pointed out that tapestry works had been erected at Mortlake, and that Ralph, Earl of Montague was willing to resign his interest there. Accordingly a new tapestry corporation was created, with

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1. For further details and comment on involvement, Infra, 314-21.

the Earl as governor, a deputy governor, and Neale and 26 others as assistants.[1] Revitalised, the undertaking was successful; in April 1693 a sale of 1,000 pieces was advertised for May and items were exhibited in London. In 1694 Houghton described the corporation's products as 'pretty adornment for gentlemen's second and third rooms and for ordinary folks' first rooms'. Some years later, however, the company found it less profitable to operate the Mortlake plant and the works were accordingly allowed to run down.[2]

Success apart, involvement and inspiration for the projects also warrant explanation. New methods of verdigris production, thereby reducing French imports, were important for dyeing and calico printing, a new process in itself and very fashionable. Use of English raw materials was also stressed in the proposed production of brass plates. New methods of tanning skins and converting them into leather would have similarly beneficial effects on home production. Though the application for a paper making patent failed,[3] it was obviously inspired by an early interest in the family paper mill at Warnford.[4] Developing a method of making paper without rags was important; its success would have meant avoidance of plague contamination of raw materials and thus eradication of a major source of temporary lulls in the paper industry. Nothing more was heard of the requested patent for glass production. The proposed lead casting process resulted directly from his own mining interests. In July 1691 he had sought a lease of Denbigh

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 544.
2. Scott, III, 119, and sources cited there.
3. D.C. Coleman, The British Paper Industry 1495-1860 (1958), 61.
4. Supra, 49.

manor, having been told that there was a lead mine on it.[1] At some unspecified point he made a composition with the proprietors of Tearshall lead mine, Tearshall, Derbyshire.[2] In July 1692 Neale, William Campion, John Tyzack and others applied for a charter of incorporation for lead mining. In late June 1693 a warrant for incorporating a company for working English and Welsh lead mines followed; objections from the Society of Mines Royal were taken into account. In this venture Neale was appointed Deputy governor.[3] The project for making wire screens and cloth could well have been another result of this venture.

Two of the remaining four projects were for Ireland. In August 1691 he and Charles Caldwell sought a grant for the incorporation of a fishery, under Lord Nottingham's mastership.[4] The resultant corporation, chartered that November under the name of the Royal Fishery of Ireland, was empowered to build, man and dispatch vessels to fish off the Irish coast, and to erect storage and other facilities. Moreover, Neale and two others, Sir John Edgeworth and Richard Barry, were added to the company's committee at the expense of removing three earlier appointments.[5] In May 1692 Neale sought a patent for erecting street lights in Dublin and elsewhere.[6] The interest of this venture, the results of which are

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1. Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 1217, 1405.
2. B.L. Add. MSS. 6680, f. 68, n.d.
3. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1691-2, 386; ibid, 1693, 207; Scott, II, 441. Lord Chandos, Neale's rival in the Constantinople embassy election, was Governor of the venture. A newsletter to the Earl of Derwentwater, dated 7 Sept. 1693, refers to the incorporation and Neale's part in it: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1693, 317. Neale's step son-in-law, Sir Paul Whichcot, was partner in a 1694 lead mining venture in Cardigan: B.L. L.R. 305 a. 7, 5. Neale also had interests in coal mines: in Aug. 1697 he and Michael Thompson gained a 31-year lease on coal mines in the Lampton Hills, co. Durham: Cal.T.P. 1720-8, 456-7.
4. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 502.
5. Ibid, 1691-2, 3-4; Viscount Sydney to Lords Justices, 30 Jan. 1692: ibid, 117.
6. Ibid, 297.

unchartable, is twofold. It was a proposed extension to Ireland of English practice, there being three contemporary street lighting companies in London. Two of these, the Convex Light and Light Royal companies, battled in the mid 1690s for rights in London.[1]

There were also two isolated projects, one for land drainage, the other for dredging. Early in October 1691 he petitioned for an area of crown lands called the Lery near Plymouth. He sought a 99-year lease on the land, intending to drain it and grant 20% to the crown. What use was intended for this drained land is unknown. Neale was certainly confident of success, for he paid £1,000 for the grant.[2] In July 1693 he was involved in a scheme for dredging stretches of the Thames. A 31-year grant was sought for taking up sand and delivering it to nearby wharves, paying a rent of twenty marks.[3] Several benefits were possible from this project: ships' passages would have been eased and the dredged sand could have been put to other uses.

II

The projector's <u>modus operandi</u> has received only scant attention. While we know much of the projecting fervour of the 1690s, of projectors, and of the types of projects advanced, we know little about four important elements. How did the projector make his contacts? To what extent was he well-informed? How original was he? To what

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1. For the dispute see <u>Scott</u>, III, 52-60. Neale paid more than £1,000 for a share in the Convex Lights company: <u>H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1693-5</u>, 543. The dispute became merged with an enquiry into the alleged favourable terms on which John, Marquis of Normanby had obtained a concession of land from the City. Among those parties whom he had approached had been Neale: <u>Cobbett</u>, V, 949-50.
2. <u>Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1</u>, 541; <u>Cal.T.B. 1689-92</u>, 1343; <u>H.M.C. Finch</u>, III, 411.
3. <u>Cal.S.P.Dom. 1693</u>, 222.

extent was plagiarism used? As an active projector, Neale was probably the exception rather than the rule. Even so, clearer understanding of how he worked should enable us to understand more about his fellow projectors.

With contacts based on a useful introduction here, a chance remark there, garbled conversations in lobbies or leisurely exchanges in coffee-houses, plotting such developments is not easy. During this period Neale worked with a galaxy of associates, drawn from all walks of life and levels of society. Who were these associates? Was there a solid core? How did he meet them? Table 19 lists his known partners and associates, and is important for several reasons. The wide range of his contacts with the business and financial worlds is revealed. Sixteen men participated with Neale in two projects, and two - Thomas Maule and John Tyzack - in at least three.[1] The table is also important for what it conceals. Thus one man who was extremely close to Neale, both financially and personally, John Francis de Fauquier,[2] took no apparent part in any of the projects.

Table 19

Neale's Projects 1688-1699: Associates and Partners

Date	Project	Associates and Partners
Sept. 1690	Dice development	Unnamed Dutchman.
1690-2	Bermudas Venture	Samuel Weale.
Oct. 1691	Tapestry Makers of England	Earl of Montague; Dean Monteage; Robert Monkton; Thomas Maul; Henry Harris; John Watson; Hugh Redman; John Holland; Ebenezer Dunwell; Newdigate Owsley; James Moyer; ? Andrews; Thomas Owsley; Edward Nelson; John Monteage;

1. Those men who took part in two or more projects are underlined in the table. For biographical details see Appendix E.
2. For Fauquier see 245 and Appendix B.

Table 19 continued

		Thomas Williams; Henry Fendall; Peter White; Francis Baker; John Chambers; Samuel Foot; Abraham Wright; Nicholas Cutler, Thomas Chambers; John Smith; Peter van Cittard; Peter Hudson; ? Carpenter; Nathaniel Molineux.
Nov. 1691	Company of Royal Fishery of Ireland	Earl of Nottingham; Sir Joseph Herne; Sir Michael Wharton; Sir James Caldwell Bart.; Sir James Hayes; Sir Thomas Cooke; Sir Thomas Estcourt; Sir Stephen Evans; Sir John Edgeworth; Sir John Houblon; Sir Henry Furnese; William Bridgeman; Arthur Champneys; Charles Caldwell; Benjamin Overton; Robert Monckton; Thomas Maule; Richard Warre; Ralph Bucknall; Richard Goodall; Samuel Guillym; James Waller; William Muorson; Thomas Offley; Arthur Moore; William Stawen; Henry Cornish; Thomas Powell; Charles Horde; John Miller; Thomas Porter; John Smith; Champion Ashby; William Perkins; Samuel Ongley; William Steward; Mordant Abbot; Andrew Bourne; Thomas Clerke.
1691	Marshland Close, London	Godfrey Woodward; William Morris; James Ward; Edward Lathwell; Richard Spencer.
May 1692	Street Lights, Dublin	
May 1692	Imitation Russian Leather	John Tyzack; Robert Doughty; Tobias Le Gros; Richard Barry; James Mell.
Sept. 1692	New way of making paper	Richard Frith (jun.).
Feb. 1693	Colonial Postal Service	Andrew Hamilton.
Feb. 1693	Wrecks off the Isle of Sables	John Tyzack.

Table 19 continued

June 1693	New way of casting lead	John Fowler.
June 1693	Wire screens and wire cloth	John Tyzack.
June 1693	Company for Digging and Working of Mines	Lord Chandos, governor; Thomas Wharton; Edward Russell; Sir Henry Bellasis; Sir Thomas Travell; Sir Thomas Estcourt; Sir William Gore; Sir William Scawen; Thomas Felton; James Chadwick; William Campion; William Munson; Thomas Maule; Anthony Row; Thomas Crud; Ralph Bucknall; George Boune; Arthur Champneys; William Sedgwick; Henry Cornish; Francis Tyson; Edward Harris; John Stayneau; John Foche; John Bowles; Thomas Dewey; John Carter; John Holland; Thomas Powell; Arthur Moore; Dean Mounteagle; John Burrough; Thomas Doughty; Tobias Wynne; John Blunt; Michael Cope; Samuel Brigg; Samuel Weale; Thomas Porter.
Feb. 1695	Million Adventure Lottery	Charles Bertie; Sir John Houblon; Sir Thomas Cooke; Sir John Morden; Sir Peter Paravicini; Sir William Gore; Sir Samuel Dashwood; Sir Thomas Lane; Sir Charles Cotterell (jun.); Alvarez de Costa; Christopher Montague; John Pulteney; William Lowndes; Dalby Thomas; Henry Ashurst; Frederick Herne; Peter Hume; Nicholas Fenn; John Isham; Solomon de Medina.
1 Apr. 1697	Malt Lottery	Christopher Montague; Richard Trevor; John Isham; Nicholas Fenn; John Packer; William Glanville; Peter Hume; John Thrale; William Congreve; Dalby Thomas.

How did Neale meet his associates? His positions as Groom Porter, Master of the Mint and of the Transfer Office made him an enviable and desirable figure. At one level he had access to a sympathetic royal ear, William III's support for him being amply demonstrated. At another, the safety of his Court position meant that his credit was good, and, in turn, he could afford to speculate. At the same time, and most important of all, to lesser mortals, men anxious to gain an entrée to Court, preferment in their career or simply more money, Neale appeared as somebody to be accommodated. Men would be prepared to go out of their way to meet his needs, not least because there was the hope that he might be able to secure concessions for them. There is no clearer proof of this in Neale's career than his ease at raising interminable loans. Safety and a silvery tongue opened to Neale many doors barred to others. With a safe platform from which to work, Neale met and cultivated people from at least six walks of life.

Many associations were formed within the confines of the semi-mysterious yet powerful world of the Royal Household. It was there that Neale met at least seven men[1] who were to be associated with many of the later projects. Nicholas Fenn served as Sewer in Ordinary to all three of the late Stuart kings. Peter Hume, at Court before Neale, was a Wardrobe official for thirty years. Thomas Maule made a career in the Yeomen of the Guard. Through the influence of Sarah, Duchess or Marlborough, he became a Bedchamber Groom to Prince George of Denmark in 1692, and a commissioner of the Prince's revenues. Dalby, later Sir Dalby, Thomas, was another Court contact. He probably met Neale in about March 1690 when he was appointed a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. Subsequently the two worked together on lottery promotion and proposed taxes

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1. For full details of associates see Appendix E.

> of the wildest sort, such as two shillings a week on beds to yield £8,000,000 a year, a tax on pictures and graven images to yield another fabulous sum (with the added advantage that pictures and graven images were condemned by Holy Scripture).[1]

Subsequently he made a name for himself in the annals of the Royal African Company. Anthony Rowe, whose return for Stockbridge in 1693 Neale had successfully influenced[2] and who was to be involved in the Bermuda treasure project, was a royal stables official.

Important though such contacts and relationships were, they do not explain fully the strength of Neale's position. By many he was viewed as a means to an end. His name added substance to an application for a royal grant; in some cases this may have been the only reason why it was there at all. This, in turn, explains why nothing further is heard about some applications; in the request for a patent to cover paper-making improvements, for example, his name was linked with that of Richard Frith.[3] If Neale really was so intent on securing such a grant, why were no further requests made? In view of his own interest and experience, it can only have been because he was attempting to secure the grant for Frith.

While he commanded great influence at Court, Neale was similarly placed in the City. As Master of the Mint he had dealings with many of London's merchant princes. As a result the later projects are marked by the participation of leading businessmen. Sir Henry Ashurst, prominent nonconformist, puritan and whig merchant, with interests in the West Indies and New England, participated. So, too, did Sir Samuel Dashwood, Tory merchant prince with interests in the East India, Levant and African trades. Sir Stephen Evans, commissioner, army contractor, goldsmith and merchant

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1. J.R. Moore, Daniel Defoe, Citizen of the Modern World (1958), 288.
2. Supra, 212-13.
3. For Frith, see Appendix E.

with interests in India, Africa, Canada and New England,[1] was involved in the fishery project. Richard Goodall, financier and East India Company agent, was one of the few associates with whom Neale worked both before and after 1688. Sir Joseph Herne, involved in two projects, was a powerful East India merchant, as well as Governor of the Merchant Adventurers trading to the North West part of America. Samuel Sheppard, merchant, interloper, naval contractor and banker, also took part. Coffee houses, banks, and the meeting halls of the great commercial companies were all likely meeting places. The London Gazette regularly carried details of where businessmen were to be found, so that Neale could either go in person or send one of his agents to search them out.

The later projects, in particular, clearly demonstrate Neale's basic and abiding interest in technology. But time and his many other responsibilities prevented too deep an involvement by him in some projects. More likely is it that artisans conceived and nurtured an idea, then approached Neale to secure its promotion. In the strictest sense, therefore, it may even be misleading to accredit Neale with all the projects, especially as the charge of plagiarism was levied against him more than once.[2] It must have been in such a manner that Neale encountered John Tyzack, John Fowler, Richard Frith, John Draper, and Samuel Weale. Several of them were projectors as well as artisans. Tyzack's mental agility, like Neale's, was phenomenal. A Wapping glassmaker, merchant and projector, he developed a diving engine, an anti-burglary device and other novel schemes. Doubtless Neale encountered Fowler and Draper in a similar fashion. In Frith's case there may have been a further avenue of contact - the East India

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1. His papers, contained in P.R.O. C111/50, are not available for examination.
2. For an examination and discussion of the element of plagiarism, Infra, 322-6.

Company.[1] But some projectors with whom Neale associated were not necessarily artisans. John Holland, merchant, founder of the Bank of Scotland and adept projector, was just such a man. Without doubt the most colourful of these associates was Weale, to whom Neale subsequently made over his Bermuda treasure-recovery project. Like Neale, he epitomised the hyperactive projector, spewing forth proposals for enlarging charity funds, wreck recovery, mines, raising the value of lands and many others. Irrepressible, he bombarded everybody of influence, either for promotion of his projects or for his release from the Fleet for debt. Surviving the rigours of the Fleet at 83, he was still living in London in 1712.[2]

Public life offered Neale ample opportunities for establishing associations. The Royal Society, of which he had been a Fellow for many years,[3] provided a point of contact between Neale and technically-minded artisans. Approach through the Society was feasible, especially if an aspiring artisan had an aristocratic or learned patron who was also a Fellow. Effecting an introduction or mentioning a name could have been done with ease. His long years of service in Parliament would have helped; membership would have given added respectability and credence to the development of a project that might require parliamentary sanction. His work as a J.P., for both Middlesex and Westminster, and as a local commissioner of sewers,[4] would have given him added opportunity to rub shoulders with others of similar interests.

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1. On 21 Nov. 1690 Richard Frith (jun.) of St. Margarets, Westminster, gent., was security, with his father of the same name, in £1,000 for Charles Frith, presumably a relative, as factor for the East India Company: I.O.L. B/40, East India Company Court Minutes 1690-1695, 36b.
2. Bodl. Rawl. MSS. D. 808, passim.
3. Supra, 137.
4. He was appointed for Middlesex in April 1681, and for Westminster in the following month: P.R.O., 'Justices of the Peace 1642-1700', computer print, n.p., located Press 21/130B; Supra, 297, n. 5.

The extent to which Neale was well-informed before promoting his projects is closely allied to the issues of originality and plagiarism. In some cases it is impossible to separate them. From Neale's employment of reliable, well-informed agents, from his many friendships and widespread family connections, as well as his own rich experience, he was clearly au fait with major developments. For information on colonies he could rely on the friendship of Sir Peter Colleton and the other members of the West Indies sugar lobby at Westminster.[1] Neale's uncle and cousin, successive Earls of Carlisle, with plantation and other interests in Jamaica, were a further important source of information. As a leading courtier Neale would be privy to those grants likely to fall due. Thus when he applied for colonial mining rights he was able to use precedent, citing the example of Albemarle's lapsed grant. With a keen eye for what caught the public imagination and pandered towards royal interest, he promoted treasure-recovery projects, safe in the knowledge that the phenomenal success of Phips had whetted the public appetite. Colonial trading expansion convinced him of the value of developing a postal network for the American colonies. Twenty years' service as Groom Porter gave him enviable insight into high and low life and an unchallangeable working knowledge of games of skill and chance. Thus he was eminently suitable to promote gaming tables, dices and lotteries, even though others might object. Associations with prominent businessmen and membership of the Commons would convince him of the necessity of certain projects. He would know when the government required a particular sum of money, the men likely to be most helpful in raising such sums, and, therefore, could be a ready-made middleman.

But by virtue of being so well-informed, Neale was not necessarily totally original. In some ways this is only

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1. For Colleton and his significance see Ch. IV; for biographical details see Appendix E.

to be expected. Could a man with such onerous, wide-ranging duties and responsibilities hope to be wholly original every time he promoted a project? After all part of the essential projector was to cash in on some development or idea to which the general public had already warmed. In that case, how could overlap be avoided? Finesse and experience enabled him to adapt from the ideas of others, perhaps too freely in some cases. Lotteries and exchequer bills were reputedly based on European precedent. Treasury acceptance of fund-raising schemes from all and sundry under the strain of war meant that an original idea submitted one day, could well become public knowledge the following. As 'Mr. Double' explained to 'Mr. Whiglove' his colleague, it could take less time:

> All these Transactions made me very well known to the Treasury, and every Morning by eight I was whispering Projects in some of their Ears, which they by one a Clock the same day open'd to the House of Commons, as Schemes... of their own forming:... Other services I did; 'twas I put Tom Neal upon the Million-Lottery. F-t O-w would never have thought of his leather-Tax but for me. [1]

And so he continued, regaling 'Whiglove' with other examples.

What could be more natural than for a man to conceive and develop an idea, approach Neale to secure its promotion, only to find that Neale then borrows it and freely promotes it as his own. It was into just such a trap that John Draper unwittingly stumbled with regard to the new salt duty. In May 1694 his grumblings were being heard by Treasury officials,[2] for reasons that were made clear when he petitioned the crown in November 1695.[3] At considerable cost he had evolved a way of raising money by a salt duty, and told Neale of his proposals, on the condition that they be kept secret. Instead, claimed the irate Draper, Neale

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1. C. Davenant, The True Picture of a Modern Whig (1701), 25.
2. Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 609.
3. P.R.O. S.P. 44/238, Petition Entry Book, 33-4; Cal.S.P. Dom. 1695, 106-7.

made use of them himself, waxed rich and deprived him of any royal reward for effort as a result. In applying for a patent to cover new fool-proof dice and gaming tables in summer 1690, Neale maintained he had developed the dice with a Dutchman's aid. That nothing more is heard of this helpful soul, and that the grant went to Neale alone[1] raises the obvious question of whether the Dutchman had been similarly treated.

Yet again, the most novel aspect of Seven Dials was considered to be the streets meeting at one central point, a fact which impressed contemporaries greatly. Perhaps Neale hoped that public memory was short, for both Wren's and Evelyn's plans for rebuilding London in 1666 had involved developing a central piazza in Fleet Street, into which eight streets would feed and meet.[2] Was, therefore, the Dials project totally novel, or was Neale trying to give substance to the dreams of others? After all Neale knew both Wren and Evelyn, as well as the masterful Hooke whose plans for London's regeneration was eventually adopted. What more natural than to borrow freely, adapt here, adjust there, and then promote the idea as his own? Indeed, it may well have been more than innate curiosity that drew Evelyn to the Dials in 1694.

In the promotion of Exchequer bills, in contrast, it was as if the plagiarist was out-plagiarised - by Montagu . Only three authorities had taken up the idea of Neale developing Exchequer bills, Dr. W.A. Shaw,[3] Sir J.H. Clapham[4] and, more recently, W.J. Cameron, who wrote that Neale

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 128, 515, 555.
2. The two plans are reproduced in C. and R. Bell, City Fathers: The Early History of Town Planning in Britain (1972 edn.), 71. The projected piazza would have been built, in both cases, on the site where Chancery Lane now enters Fleet Street.
3. Introduction to Cal.T.B. 1695-1702, cxl.
4. Supra, 309.

'proposed an Exchequer Bill to rival the 3 per cent Bank Bills;...', adding that in late 1696 he also proposed a 2% compulsory, or 6% voluntary, currency bill to rival the 8% available on tallies. This, in turn, he suggested, had been derived from a similar proposal in Holland.[1] So why, then, should credit for the achievement have gone almost exclusively to Montagu? As Master of the Mint and Montagu's alleged confidential adviser at the Treasury, Neale was well placed to supply Montagu with such a suggestion. But the Chancellor's papers, such as they are, make no mention of Neale.[2] Given the venture's novelty, which he was the first to admit, Montagu was perhaps trying to minimise Neale's contribution in order to reap more glory for himself? Being Chancellor of the Exchequer would not have precluded him from such action; indeed, it might very well have encouraged him. Alternatively, he drew from Neale's fertile brain without seeming to be associated with him in public life. With Neale's shaky personal financial reputation, it would hardly have done for the Chancellor to advertise widely that he was retaining him as confidential adviser. Rather than shore up Montagu's public image, such a disclosure would have damaged it. For these reasons, therefore, and others that remain hidden for the present, Montagu minimised Neale's role in promoting the bills. After all, if Montagu really did envisage himself as England's self-styled financial saviour, he would have been reluctant to share the glory with anybody else, particularly with so mercurial a character as Neale.

But how original was Neale's thinking on the bills, or had he, in turn, borrowed from elsewhere? Though his

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1. Cameron, 492.
2. J.P. Carswell, The South Sea Bubble (1960), 7. Dr. Carswell gives no source for his statement. Lengthy researches have failed to produce substantive evidence. The National Library of Scotland holds one volume of Montagu's papers concerning banking schemes (Adv. MS. 31.1.7). No reference is made therein to Neale.

original proposal for the bills says nothing about origins, at least three are possible. Firstly, that he developed the entire idea himself; this is unlikely, given his many other commitments. Clapham felt that Neale may have derived the idea from Gilbert Heathcote who had already suggested a temporary paper issue to bridge the currency gap resulting from recoinage.[1] With Heathcote's Bank of England connections, and Neale's interest in rival banking ventures, such borrowing is unlikely. More likely is it that Neale drew from Dutch experience.

III

To what extent were Neale's personal finances tied to his projects? During these years he derived his income in the main from his offices, supplemented by other means as the opportunity arose. His basic income was substantial, as the table below shows.

Table 20 Neale's Annual Income from official posts:

1690s

Groom of Bedchamber (Pension)	£500
Groom Porter	£550
Malt Lottery Commissioner	£110
Master of the Mint	£500
Master of Transfer Office	£1,200
Million Adventure Commissioner	£200
	£3,060

While each office was financially well rewarded, there were, as has already been outlined, many additional fruits and profits to be had.[2] As Groom Porter he was an impregnable figure in Court circles, able to reward friends and servants and perhaps win a few supporters as well. The salary was for life, as was the pension for the Bedchamber groomery.

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1. Clapham, I, 35.
2. Supra, Ch. III.

Mastership of the Mint was also Neale's for life. The Mint was exempt from certain legal jurisdictions and its personnel from some taxation,[1] so that on those grounds alone it could be an attractive proposition. Prescribed profits on all coinage work were the Master's as well, so that the Great Recoinage would have meant increased income for Neale.[2] Samuel Sheppard had clearly indicated the scale of fruits when he told parliamentary committee members of deriving nearly £6,000 from the office in just over six months.[3] And as the Recoinage was then still in full spate a final estimate would have been much higher. To a man such as Neale this must have seemed like nirvana.

The remaining official salaries resulted directly from involvement in lottery promotion. While the fees as a commissioner for the Malt and Million lotteries were only temporary, the salary as Master of the Transfer Office was to be permanent. Even so, payment was not always regular, a Treasury minute of 24 April 1695 noting 'My Lords to speak with Mr. Neale about his petition for half his salary as a Commissioner of the Transfer Office'.[4] In February 1696 it was agreed that, funds permitting, his allowances and fees would be paid quarterly.[5] To these basic sources could be added two generous windfalls - his £10,000 reward from William III in 1690[6] and, in October 1694, a £4,000 prize in one of his own lotteries.[7] But whereas such

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1. Income tax was levied on Mint staff during 1690-5: Craig, Mint, 181.
2. Craig, Newton, 26, states that Neale was 'only saved from bankruptcy by the Great Recoinage'. It is clear that because of his many problems Neale derived only partial financial benefit from the Recoinage.
3. Ruding, II, 468.
4. Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 1369.
5. Bodl. Rawl. MSS. A.241, ff. 235-6. J.H.C., XII, 179, under date 26 March 1698, refers to subsequent difficulties over the payment of annuities.
6. Supra, 183.
7. Luttrell, III, 380.

boons would have enabled most people to solve financial problems, these two income injections simply gave Neale the means and scope to commit further financial excesses.

After 1688 his property interests, smaller than before the Revolution, were concentrated in London. Shadwell continued to provide some income, though rent payments were to be in trust for Thomas Neale (junior). Property further west was also acquired; his daughter Elizabeth was to receive 'the Estate and Market (I hope £200 yearly) by Whitecrosse Streete already Settled upon her'.[1] He also had leases on several London houses, mortgaged for unspecified sums.[2] Outside London, Duchy of Lancaster rents of assize on property in Stockbridge, Hampshire, amounting annually to £5 10s. 11d. had been farmed to him at 1s. a year for 30 years from late March 1689. Typical of his assiduity was that he had drawn the Duchy authorities' attention to concealment of these rents; equally typical was his failure to pay them.[3] Some income was also derived from 16 acres of coppice wood - Marland coppice - exempted out of the sale of the Hampshire property in 1678 and placed in trust for his son, Thomas.[4]

During these years he rearranged his banking and investment interests. Two accounts were opened with Hoares, one for the 1693 lottery, the other a personal account, standing at only £40 in May and June 1695.[5] His directorship of Briscoe's banking venture[6] had been accompanied by a £3,000

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1. P.R.O. Prob. 11/465, f. 120, will of Thomas Neale dated 30 March 1697.
2. P.R.O. Prob. 5/2697, probate inventory of Thomas Neale, dated 21 Aug. 1701.
3. P.R.O. D.L. 42/26, Miscellaneous Books, ff. 8-9.
4. P.R.O. C9/221/31, Price v. Garrard and others, 1704. To this day there is a Marlands Farm on the outskirts of West Meon.
5. Hoares, Ledger D. 2, 1692-5, ff. 257-60; Ledger No. 2, 1694-1700, f. 68.
6. Supra, 197.

subscription to the venture.[1] He continued to avoid the Bank of England and, more significantly, the Million Bank. Directly spawned by the 1693 and 1694 Million lotteries it handled a combination of lottery tickets, annuities and straight banking business.[2]

Whereas his portfolio of investments had been full in his early years,[3] after 1688 it remained empty. Though holding no stock in either the old or the new East India company,[4] Neale nevertheless retained an interest in trade with the East. Early in April 1692 Treasury Secretary Henry Guy wrote to the Company pointing out that money was due to the King and Queen 'for reserved parts of Fines and Forfeitures' and that Neale wanted a grant to prosecute for the recovery of such sums. The Company considered the matter twice in May, replied to Guy's letter and there the matter ended.[5] But his spirits were not dampened by rejection. In October 1695 he participated in the mounting pamphlet war about the Company's future, contributing a four-page work entitled To Preserve the East-India Trade.[6] This contained the distillation of his thoughts and contribution to parliamentary debates on the matter.[7] He proposed that eastern trade be settled by Parliament with a £1,400,000 stock managed by twenty-four persons, six to be chosen by Parliament. The new venture

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1. D.N.B., XIV, 148.
2. The records of the Million Bank, contained in P.R.O. C46/1, C114/9-23, were searched, but no reference was found to Neale. For the bank and its connections with the Million Lottery, see F.G. Hilton Price, A Handbook of London Bankers (1890-1), 116-7.
3. See Ch. IV.
4. I.O.L. B/39-43, East India Company Court Minutes April 1687-April 1702, and MSS. EUR.D774, list of stockholders for 15 Apr. 1690, contain no reference to Neale holding stock.
5. I.O.L. B/40, 108b, 113b, 116a.
6. What follows is derived from the pamphlet, located in C.U.L. at Sel. 3 233, no. 52.
7. See Ch. V.

could be linked to one month's tax revenue, to be cleared off by any profits made over running costs of 5%. Profits would then be divided between stock-holders and landowners, 'in proportion to their Estates, as rated to the single Months Tax'. By such means stock could easily be enlarged, to outstrip all other companies. Potential objections were countered with the view that

> if we never Trade to the Indies, the advantage thereof will be all taken by others, great part of which otherwise might probably be taken by us ...

He suggested that both the Royal African Company and the Fishery 'for which Subscriptions are taking' adopt similar devices, reminding readers that the recent loss of two East Indiamen underlined the need for deeds rather than words.

Unfortunately, precise evidence is available on the financial outcome of only two projects. On the 1693 lottery Neale made a small profit. Between 10 August and 30 October he took £1,983 for 10s. tickets; in late November he paid out £1,535, showing a profit of only £448.[1] On the American postal project he lost heavily. By December 1698 he was complaining of carrying the full postal deficit for 1693-7, stating that he was, as a result, 'out of pocket by his expenses in that affair' by £2360 8s. 8½d. Though the situation improved, he was still forced, as we have already seen, to resign his patent in order to pay off salary arrears to Hamilton.[2]

Further light can be shed on Neale's financial situation by considering his lifestyle. His principal residence was in Portugal Street in the parish of St. Martins in the Fields.[3] The house was spacious, consisting of fifteen

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1. Hoares, Ledger D.2, 1692-5, ff. 257-60.
2. Supra, 290.
3. The house was assessed at £120 during 1691-4 and £100 during 1695-1700. Information derived from St. Martins in the Fields Rate Books, and kindly supplied by K.G. Harrison, City Librarian, Westminster. What follows is derived from P.R.O. Prob. 5/2697.

rooms and coach-houses. Several rooms were tastefully furnished. The yellow room was hung with four pieces of tapestry depicting Apostolic history. There were two pieces in the crimson room, four in the second gaming room depicting various equine scenes, and a further six in his niece's lodgings. It is tantalising to think that these might have been the product of his involvement in the tapestry venture. There were seventeen paintings, suggesting that he was a modest collector. In the yellow room a painting hung above the fireplace; in the crimson room were four more. A landscape hung over the chimney-piece in the closet and the dining room. In the second play room, a portrait of Charles II stared down at the proceedings. Doubtless Neale returned the glance wistfully, mindful of the substantial preferment he had gained under that monarch. In the supper room pictures hung above the doors and over the fireplace. Elsewhere hung 'A large picture for a Chimney peice, A large picture of a Naked Woman, A small picture for A Chimney peece', a portrait of the Countess of Salisbury,[1] a painting of some sheep and a small landscape. A small picture, set in gold, sitter unknown, completed the collection. With no artist specified, it is difficult to determine whether Neale envisaged himself as a connoisseur or whether he viewed works of art as investments or decorations.

Books played but a small part in Neale's life, contrasting sharply with his father's predilection for them. Just thirty-seven were in his house. None is named, and they are simply categorised as 22 folios, 9 quartos, and six 'small bookes'. He owned considerable amounts of plate, sets of brass candlesticks, a silver dice dish with lid valued at £2 9s. 3d., a large looking glass tastefully embossed with silver and amounts of brass and pewter. His substantial furniture combined old and new. Gaming tables, symbols of Neale's tools in trade, stood in the gaming room

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1. Unless he possessed two portraits of her, it was this painting that Neale instructed was to be placed in his coffin with him.

and supper room. Sets of chairs and stools were covered in yellow damask; there were nine 'Turkey worke Chaires', five Dutch chairs, inlaid cabinets and a six-leaf gilt leather screen. Smyrna carpets covered the floors. In the coach house was stored more furniture. Of Neale the man of fashion we are afforded only a few glimpses. The coat and muslin neck-cloth found in his house hardly betoken sartorial elegance. Nevertheless, he did believe in external appearances, wearing diamond buttons, amassing a collection of rings,[1] and, in the 1680s at least, retained a coloured servant for whom he had a collar made.[2] Though comfortable, therefore, such a lifestyle hardly reflects substantial opulence.

Legal costs and continued participation in politics helped stretch his already strained resources. Surprisingly, Neale was involved in less litigation than before 1688. Whereas those years had seen him constantly resorting to the law, the decade after 1688 shows him involved in only eight suits. Two were brought during 1689-91, four during 1692-4 and the last two between 1698 and 1699. The absence of any legal tussle during 1695-7 is explained by pressure of Mint duties during the Great Recoinage.[3] Unless legal costs soared, or unless he lost all his cases, his legal bill must have been nowhere near as high as during the years before the Revolution.[4] To these, may be added the expenses involved in staying in political life. Before the parliamentary dissolution of 1698, for instance, he sent his agent Richard Fransham to Ludgershall with £50 and instructions to 'sweeten' the local electorate.[5]

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1. Neale's signed and sealed receipts for clipped coins coming into the Mint show that he possessed at least fifteen different rings: P.R.O. T.48/13, receipts for period 29 Jan.-28 Dec. 1696.
2. In March 1683 Neale paid 3s. for 'mending the Blacks Collar': Childs, Ledger for 1682-8, f. 181.
3. Supra, Ch. VI.
4. Supra, 169.
5. Supra, 214.

Neale's debts showed no signs of declining from their pre-1688 heights.[1] What was different, however, was their pattern. Instead of owing many sums to many creditors, Neale now owed larger sums to fewer individuals as the table overleaf indicates.

At least two men - Dashwood and Sheppard - had been creditors before 1688.[2] Neale continued to treat Dashwood shabbily over repayment, to the latter's fury. By August 1690 all but £3,000 of an £8,000 debt to Sheppard had been cleared. The balance was removed by grant of a Mint deputyship so that Sheppard could receive the salary of £500. Repayment completed, the deputyship was revoked by April 1696.[3] Why loans of £7,000 and £5,000 were raised from Robert Price and William III respectively is unknown. At the least they are revelatory about Neale's relationships. With Price it was a matter of borrowing from his nephew, though this may not have been easy given the lawsuit that had recently rocked the family.[4] That the King lent Neale such a considerable sum is proof of a continuing relationship.

The largest debts were those owed to the business consortium for financing the Seven Dials project, and to Spencer for the additional £5,000 to complete it.[5] Property development, or rather its lack, explains the £800 debt to the estate of Sir Walter Clarges, an eight-year accumulation of unpaid annual rent. But where the consortium allowed Neale money at 6%, John Smith was more wary, naturally avaricious, or familiar with Neale's reputation for repayment. To raise a 50 guinea loan from him, Neale had to execute a £100 bond. When Neale found

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1. Supra, 172.
2. Supra, 173, 231-2.
3. P.R.O. Mint 1/6, 23a, 24.
4. For the case and its impact, Supra 21-2.
5. P.R.O. C5/614/105.

Table 21 — Neale's Debts 1688-1699

Creditor	1689	1690	1691	1692	1693	1694	1695	1696	1697	1698	1699
Sir W. Clarges				£100	£100	£100	£100	£100	£100	£100	£100
Thos. Dashwood		£3,925	£3,941								
Andrew Hamilton											£1,000
Edward Herrys, Thomas Lathwell, William Morris and James Ward					£16,960						
Robert Price											£7,000
Samuel Sheppard		£500	£500	£500	£500	£500	£500				
John Smith		£52	£200?								
Richard Spencer						£5,000					
William III											£5,000
Annual Total		£4,477	£4,641?	£600	£17,560	£5,600	£600	£100	£100	£100	£13,100

Sources: P.R.O. C5/614/105; C5/548/97; C7/245/58; T.H.C.L., Local Deeds Collection, Deed 280, Cal.T.B. 1709, 202.

himself pressed for £200, Smith obliged him, only to spread a rumour that Neale owed him £1,000.[1] This was, in fact, the sum that he owed Hamilton, his deputy in the American postal project, and he paid this off by resigning his patent in Hamilton's favour. Thus although the creditors were fewer, they had reason enough to harry Neale given the amounts involved. While the true burden may never be known, that it was substantial was made amply clear by Neale's niece, Frances How, who was to state later that her uncle's debts 'far exceeded any reall or personall estate wherewithall to pay the same'.[2]

During the 1690s Neale's indebtedness, his favourite project, law suits and his son's shortcomings became inextricably bound together.[3] The lawsuit between young Thomas Neale and his cousin Robert Price, caused by the former's moral turpitude, resulted in Price being awarded damages of £1,518.[4] To pay these, young Neale promised to assign to Price the Shadwell property, valued at about £1,000 a year, and already placed in trust for him with his two uncles Sir John and Sir Samuel Garrard. But rather than pay the damages, he incurred another £800 or £900 in debts, which he attempted to defray by granting further rights in Shadwell to Sir Samuel Garrard. In return, Garrard was to allow him 10s. daily and one or two other considerations until the debts had been cleared off. But, according to Price, the arrangement broke down; Garrard not only failed to honour his nephew's debts but failed to make him the agreed daily allowance. In addition, Garrard calmly forgot to pay him considerable arrears of Shadwell rent. With Price's legal experience, reputation and powerful Exchequer position it is difficult to believe that he was exaggerating, let alone distorting, the events. While Garrard admitted knowing about the damages, he denied

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1. P.R.O. C5/548/97.
2. P.R.O. C10/431/73.
3. What follows is derived from P.R.O. C9/221/31, Price v. Garrard and others, 1704.
4. Supra, 21, n.2.

all knowledge of the proposed arrangement for defraying them. He claimed that the property had been made over to him legally; moreover, he could never remember his nephew Neale asking for any Shadwell accounts.

For Neale the episode assumed nightmarish proportions. Three members of his family were having serious differences; his son was still smarting from his recent legal defeat at the hands of Price. Neale was forced to see Shadwell, on which he had lavished so much time, effort and money, traded away, initially in trust for his son. At the very least, he hoped that his action might help restore harmony in the family. Instead it did the reverse. Having been promised payment of the damages, Price waited, and waited. To young Neale a promise given was not necessarily a promise honoured. Not only did he renege on the damages, but he began emulating his father. Between August 1690 and February 1697 young Neale borrowed at least twenty-six times. Small loans of £3 or £4 grew; two £50 loans were raised from Martin Elkins in November 1693 and February 1694, £100 from a Mr. Duliver in April 1693. With interest charges to June 1703 they amounted to £1,046 2s. 7d. Small wonder, therefore, that he was to be so anxious to claim what little patrimony his father left him. Rather than becoming a cherished asset the young Thomas Neale became a liability to his father, who had more than enough financial worries of his own.

At the close of his life Neale's finances were in a chaotic, complicated state. As a Member of Parliament and Master of the Mint he enjoyed dual privilege, though characteristically he did so in a way calculated to cause further annoyance rather than easing his own path. In April 1698, for example, he complained of a breach of

parliamentary privilege when bailiffs appeared at his house 'he being between £30 and £40 in arrear for taxes' and was further incensed when they refused his generous offer of repayment in Exchequer bills![1] By sending his Mint correspondence to Westminster to obtain member's free franking he unwittingly gave his critics further cause for complaint.[2]

Contemporary opinion of his financial reputation was far from laudatory. On Squire Neale's Projects (1696) may be taken as just one example:

> As the old monkey who his tail had lost
> Did the convenience of bare buttocks boast;
> Advise his friends to the same amputation
> As the most useful and becoming fashion;
> So Neale (who long since threw his lands away,
> His wife's exchequer, prince's boons, at play;
> Has been his own executor and heir,
> And sunk his desparate ruins past repair;
> Whose life all parts of Fortune's wheel hath seen
> And a mere bubble in all senses been)
> To level the whole nation to his size
> Cries up the advantage of blank and prize.
> Loudly proclaims the only way to baffle
> The French, is to put all estates in raffle.
> Trust chance with what you have already got,
> Draw lots whether you shall eat bread or not,
> Whilst he like State-Groom-Porter holds the stakes,
> And out of all events a living makes.

And this was only one of several similar statements. Among Neale's many achievements was the receipt of a bad press for most of his life.

IV

Neale's later projects demonstrate clearly mental agility, application and phenomenal risk-taking. Leather production, treasure recovery, lotteries, property development and financial innovations were just some of his disparate interests. While many people envisaged him as a saviour

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1698, 195.
2. Craig, Mint, 196.
3. Lines 23-40: Cameron, 494-5.

from their problems, to others he appeared as a gad-fly, buzzing round everybody with offers of assistance, a promise that the matter would reach the King's ear, that contacting a particular person would guarantee success for a venture. The potential of office and value of contact were ably demonstrated during his career. Yet such gains as he made bore a high price, not the least of which was years of unremitting labour. During his last ten years he was a well known public figure, driven on by the desire to win. With an attendant train of creditors he hoped, even at the last, for salvation in the form of the Countess of Salisbury. It must be admitted that his was a difficult role - that of the eternal go-between - and it is much to his credit that he acted it out on the stage of public life for three of the most crucial, exciting decades of the seventeenth century. These demands would have exhausted many a lesser man than Neale. Eventually, the strain became too much for his frame and mind. He succumbed.

CONCLUSION

By late July 1699 Neale had fallen seriously ill, as a result of the strain of the Recoinage and his many other activities. Since that February he had no longer been a Member of Parliament, and this, after thirty years, was a shock to his system. In June he had formulated a final, desperate, plan to win the Countess; suffering in both mind and body, he saw this as a last opportunity to rise socially and rid himself of the grudge nurtured over the years at not having received his viscountcy. Though not yet sixty, he had aged prematurely, as Prior commented:

> I faced old James and all his Court the other day at St. Cloud. Vive Guillaume! You never saw such a strange figure as the old bully is, lean, worn and riv'led, not unlike Neale the projector;...[1]

Ill health had dogged Neale throughout his life. With his protruding eyes he probably suffered from exophthalmic goitre, caused by iodine deficiency and associated with overactivity of the thyroid gland.[2] Prudently, he had already made out his will. His son Thomas was to receive £1,000 from Recoinage money due at Bristol, the Shadwell estate, and the reversion of the Groomportership. Elizabeth, cared for since her mother's death by the sister of Thomas Clarke, whom Neale had appointed Mint deputy at Chester, was to receive £500 and certain property interests. Clarke and his sister were each to receive £100. Frances

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1. Matthew Prior to Charles Montagu, 20/30 Aug. 1698: H.M.C. MSS. of Marquis of Bath, III, 259. Sir H. Ellis (ed.), Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (1843), 255-6, also prints the letter.

2. J. Liggett, The Human Face (1974), 235. J.K. Lavater, Essays in Physiognomy (1772), stated that the spirit of projecting - want of wisdom and brutal boasting - wrinkled the face: Liggett, 193. I am indebted to Mrs. B. Merson and Mrs. B. Collings for helpful conversations on Neale's health.

How was to receive £200 for looking after her uncle; her husband was to have £100. Samuel Malines a Temple barrister, was also left £100, on condition that he assist Neale's executorship. Neale's remaining estate was left to the Countess, whom he appointed executrix. Should she decline the 'honour' she was to receive £10,000 instead.[1] Given his mental state at this time, this final generous act should be seen as an aberration rather than one of intent. That his son was not named executor may be explained his recent amatory escapade, the fact that he was already adding to his father's financial worries and that he probably had but low regard for Neale's own emotional stability. After a prolonged illness, during which the advice of many doctors was sought,[2] Neale died on 17 December 1699. Two days later Shrewsbury, the Lord Chamberlain, was tersely informed 'On Sunday, Mr. Neale, the Groom Porter, died,...'.[3]

I

With Neale's death came a flurry of activity. His son immediately applied for the Groom Porter's office, only to be thwarted by his uncles, Sir John and Sir Samuel Garrard. As they were 'such near Relations' and so trusted by his father, the Groom Porter's patent had been entrusted to their safekeeping. When young Neale approached them for it, however, he was fobbed off; as they were lending out large sums of money on the patent's strength it could not

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1. P.R.O. Prob. 11/465, f. 120. The Countess was pre-occupied with problems. She was suffering a serious attack of smallpox, from which she was reported to have recovered by Feb. 1700. She did not return to England until July 1703: John Jackson to Samuel Pepys, 15/25 Dec. 1699: Howarth, 293; Charles Hatton to Lord Hatton, 6 Feb. 1700: E.M. Thompson (ed.), The Hatton Correspondence (2 vols. 1878), II, 248; Luttrell, V, 323.
2. P.R.O. C10/431/73, Frances How v. Dean of St. Paul's, 1700.
3. Sir J. Stanley to Shrewsbury, 19 Dec. 1699: H.M.C. Buccleuch, II, 631.

be returned. On other occasions they maintained that he was simply incapable of looking after it. To reinforce their fraudulent position, asserted Neale, they concluded an agreement with Shrewsbury.[1] No doubt the Garrards felt perverse satisfaction in depriving their nephew of a revenue source that was so important to him. Perhaps they were bent on some campaign of revenge? They doubtless felt incensed at the way in which their brother-in-law had misused, if not squandered, the fortune their sister had brought him at marriage. To add insult to injury, it seemed likely that their nephew was adopting his father's spendthrift habits. In despair, the young man appealed to William III; an embarrassing incident followed:

> Mr Neal's son attended the King in his father's place on twelf Day and he so strong of Brandy that His Majesty could scars baire it [2]

The effect of the interview may be gauged by William Rawley's admission as Groom Porter on 31 January 1700.[3] But young Neale's plans to sue for the office were cut short by his premature death from fever in May 1700.[4]

Frances How, the projector's niece, executrix to both his estate and his son's, had most difficulties. She found that Neale's estate was being preyed upon by a confederation of creditors seeking redress. The problems dragged on for some years. In June 1709 she and Dame Elizabeth Clarges petitioned the Treasury for assistance. At long last they had managed to sort out Neale's affairs,

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1. Material drawn from P.R.O. C9/456/143.
2. Nancy Nicholas to Elizabeth Verney, 9 Jan. 1700: Margaret, Lady Verney (ed.), Verney Letters of the Eighteenth Century (2 vols. 1930), I, 69.
3. P.R.O. L.S. 13/198, Miscellaneous Book, 1688-1701, f. 97v.
4. Luttrell, IV, 650. Shrewsbury, anxious to resign as Lord Chamberlain, was torn by compassion for young Neale and a wish to console Rawley for the recent death of his son: D.H. Somerville, The King of Hearts (1962), 179.

and knowing that he owed the crown £5,000 they pressed for a bill to vest land in trustees so that a start could be made on paying off the debts. First priority, they maintained, should be payment of the £800 rent arrears owed by Neale to the Clarges family for the abortive Piccadilly project.[1]

There was also much activity at the Mint; Dr. John de Fauquier held office temporarily as Master until Newton could be sworn in.[2] Even at Neale's death Newton could not forbear one caustic parting shot: 'Mr. Neale is dead and much in arreare to the Crowne by reason of his Office'.[3] Not until Neale's Mint accounts had been passed in summer 1711 could his sureties begin petitioning for the return of their original bonds, given so many years before. In July 1711 nephew Robert Price requested his; in March 1713 it was the turn of Robert Chaplin. Their cases were still being heard in June 1714.[4]

II

The projector's passing was not mourned. Rather did the satirists and lampooners step up their venomous attacks. For many his death was a pleasing release from imminent financial ruin, so complex and ramified was his web of financial dealings. An Elegaick Essay Upon the Decease of the Groom-Porter, and the Lotteries (1700) pointed out that Neale had fulfilled his mission:

> That is, to teach the Great Ones and the Small,
> How to get Money, and to Spend it all.
> Two such Extreams ne'er met in Man, but He,
> As Avarice and Prodigality.
> None more sollicitous to hook it in,
> Or let it plentifully out agen,...

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1. Cal.T.B. 1709, 202.
2. Cal.T.B. Aug. 1699-Sept. 1700, 34, 249; Luttrell, IV, 597.
3. R.M. Newton MSS., II,f489.
4. Cal.T.B. 1711, 352; ibid, 1713, 151; ibid, 1714, 290.

For all his faults, claimed the writer, Neale merited regard:

> But stay; Bold Muse, pray whither do you run?
> Consider! This is He wh'Oblig'd the Crown;
> Oppos'd th'Audaciousness of Petty Duns,
> And answer'd Publick Debts by Million Funds.
> His Loyalty deserves to be Rewarded,
> And in the Rolls of Endless Fame Recorded. [1]

Money certainly loomed large throughout Neale's life. The impact of late Tudor and early Stuart inflation, many Neale daughters, his father's flightiness and his grandfathers' guardianship made his financial state parlous from the start. The need for money grew and became a vicious circle, a circle from which a wealthy wife could offer him only temporary respite. Even then, the cost of her succour was to be two step-daughters; their marriages were to be the beginning of his financial undoing.

During his early years in Hampshire he had been considered a young man of remarkable potential, the more so after successful tenure of a collection of local and county offices. Entry to Parliament had been followed by much committee work and much cultivation of the right people. Even now the services he rendered Charles II are unknown. Assiduous cultivation of Danby resulted in an entrée at Court; there he slowly built a secure position for himself. Over the years he was to make his position invulnerable, adding office after office. Strong at Court, strong as Master of the Mint, he also entered the vibrating business world. He mixed with the high and low. Friend of two monarchs, he also consorted with leading politicians, merchant princes, factors and artisans. To many he became indispensable.

From his safe vantage point he launched himself upon a career of promoting projects. Some, such as the

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1. An Elegaick Essay...., lines 9-14, 31-36.

development of Tunbridge Wells and Seven Dials, were successful. Others, such as the ballast shore in the Tyne, or his new method of soldering glass, remained paper dreams. The number of his ventures, the need for money, and the phrenetic atmosphere of the age in which he lived encouraged him further. But for the 1690s when England was involved in such a costly war effort, Neale would probably have remained a modest projector. That the administration needed vast sums of money unwittingly encouraged a larger-than-life gambler such as Neale.

That he became prominent was also due, of course, to innate personal qualities. Determination, ambition, liberality and tenacity were just some of his assets. What he lacked in health he compensated for with an obsession for risk-taking, made slightly easier because it was done with other people's money. Neale was the projector par excellence, the man who could put his talents and the money of others to good use. To succeed it was necessary to have influence and to survive. In both respects, Neale was supremely adept. Not the least of his achievements, after all, had been to survive the strains and trauma of 1688-9. Circumstances forced Neale to drive himself hard, especially during the 1690s. But his frame, like a watchspring, could only take so much strain. In the last analysis he pressed too hard, with the inevitable result.

Neale lies buried in a London churchyard.[1] The bulk of his immediate family rest at Warnford in Hampshire and at Monnington-on-Wye in Herefordshire. Regrettably the village that was for so many years the home of this frenetic courtier, official, public figure, entrepreneur and gambler, contains no lasting memorial to him. But a short distance from Warnford church is the site of his house, now nonchalantly grazed over by black sheep. Of Thomas Neale the projector there is little visible trace - an overgrown

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1. Research failed to verify an assertion that Neale is buried in Bunhill Fields.

pond near the village bears silent testimony to an ambitious drainage project. In the church the entrance to the family vault is marked by an imposing ring set in the chancel floor. Monuments stand on either side of the altar, one to his great-grandfather, William Neale, who brought the family to Hampshire, the other to his grandfather, Sir Thomas Neale. On the former monument are inscribed the words

Quid caro? quid vita haec?
flos, pulvis, et umbra.

APPENDIX A

P E D I G R E E O F T H E N E A L E F A M I L Y

FAMILY OF JOHN NEALE

John NEALE m. Elizabeth PARKER

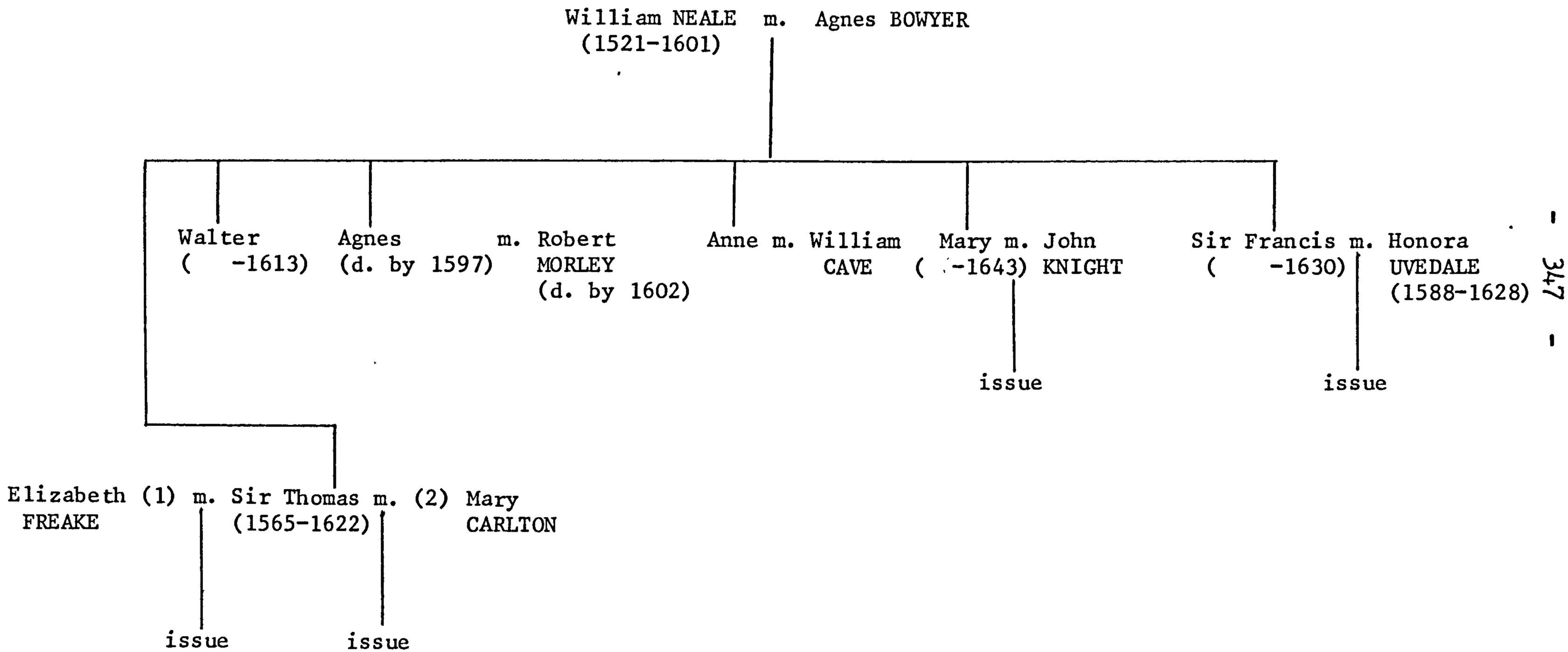
Agnes BOWYER (1) m. William m. (2) Anne CULVERWELL, née HOPKINS
(d. by 1593) (1521-1601) (-1598)

Denise m. William DIXE
(-1603) (-1596)

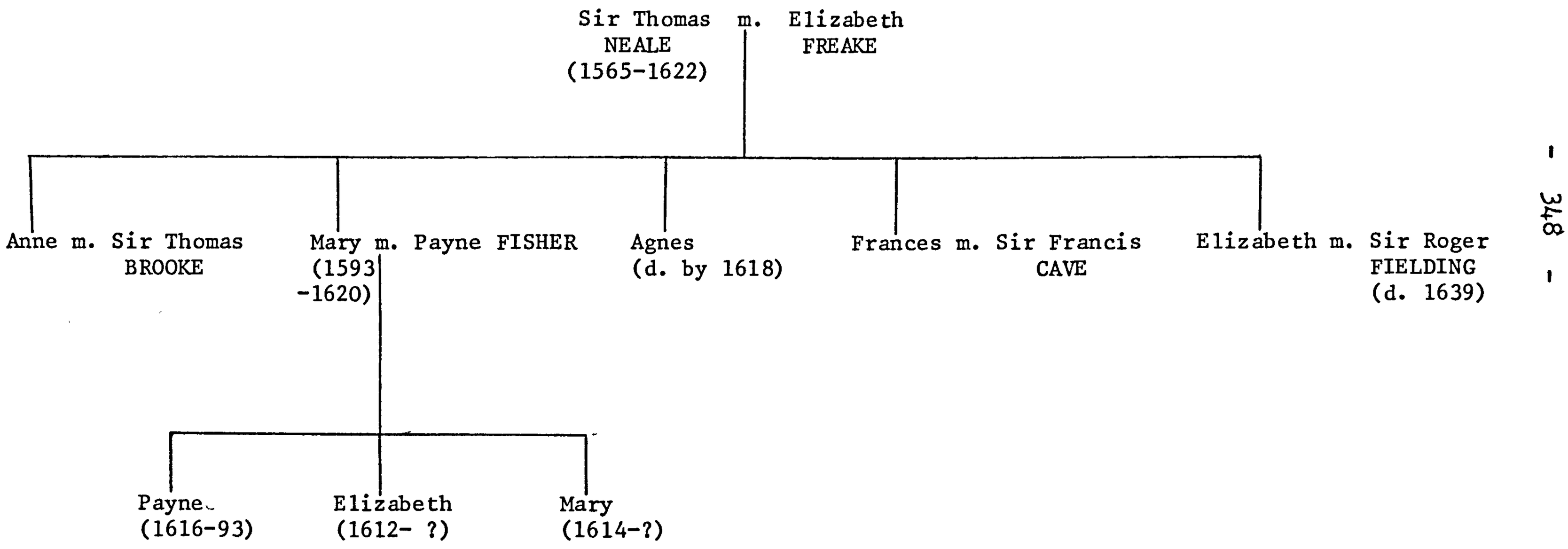
Walter

Sources: indicated in text

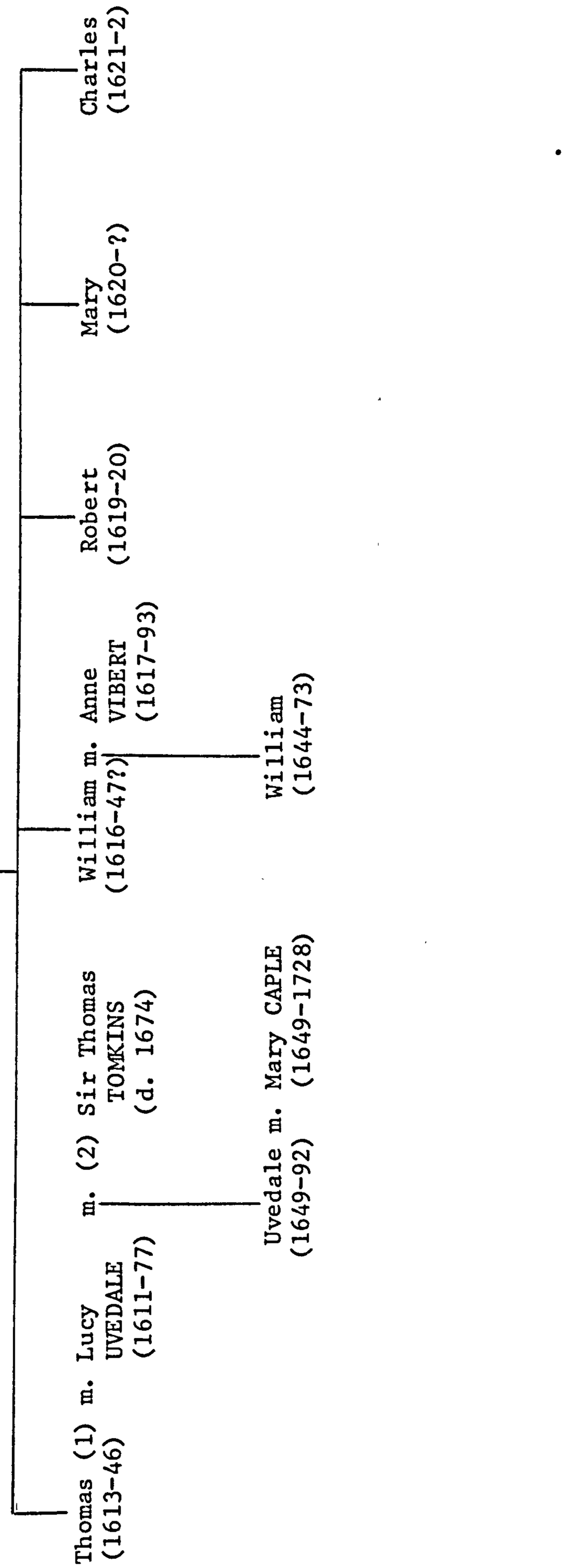
FAMILY OF WILLIAM NEALE



FAMILY OF SIR THOMAS NEALE AND ELIZABETH FREAKE



FAMILY OF SIR THOMAS NEALE AND MARY CARLTON

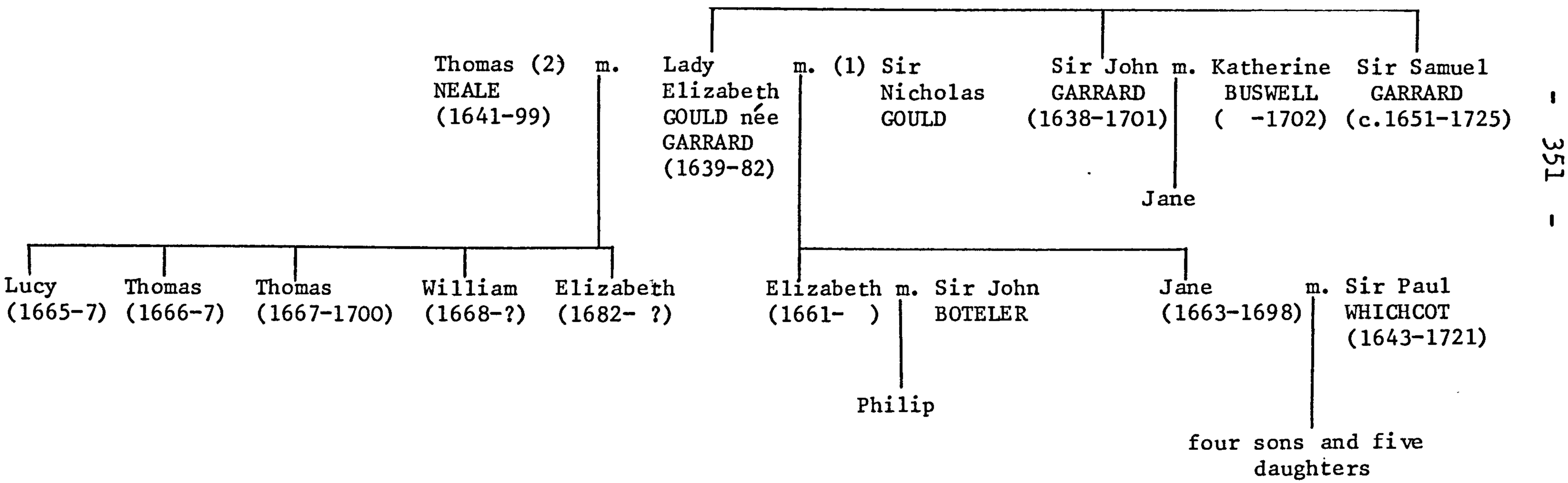


FAMILY OF THOMAS NEALE (1613-46)

Thomas NEALE (1613-46) m. Lucy UVEDALE (1611-77)

- Elizabeth m. GARRARD (1639-82)
- Thomas (1641-99)
- Anna Sophia (1642-91) m. Robert RODD (-1681)
  - Lucy (1663-?) m. Robert PRICE (1654-1733)
  - Anna Sophia (-1737) m. William WARDOUR (-1699)
  - Frances (1667- ?) m. Alexander HOW
- Frances (1646-) m. Sir Philip HONYWOOD (-1685)
  - Frances (1668 - ?) m. George SAYERS
    - John (1687)
    - George (1690-?)
  - Philip (1672)
  - Philip 1673

FAMILY OF THOMAS NEALE 1641-99



FAMILY OF CORBETT AND HOWARD

Thomas NEALE (1613-46) m. Lucy UVEDALE (1611-77)

Victoria (-1679) m. Sir Richard CORBETT (1640-83)

Sir Charles BERKELEY (1) m. Elizabeth (1646-1696) m. (2) Edward HOWARD 2nd Earl of CARLISLE (c.1636-1692)

Lucy

Uvedale m. Mildred daughter of James, Earl of SALISBURY

Elizabeth (1666)

Victoria m. Sir Charles LLOYD Bt.

Diana m. Thomas ROCH

Anne (-1706)

Charles, 3rd Earl of Carlisle

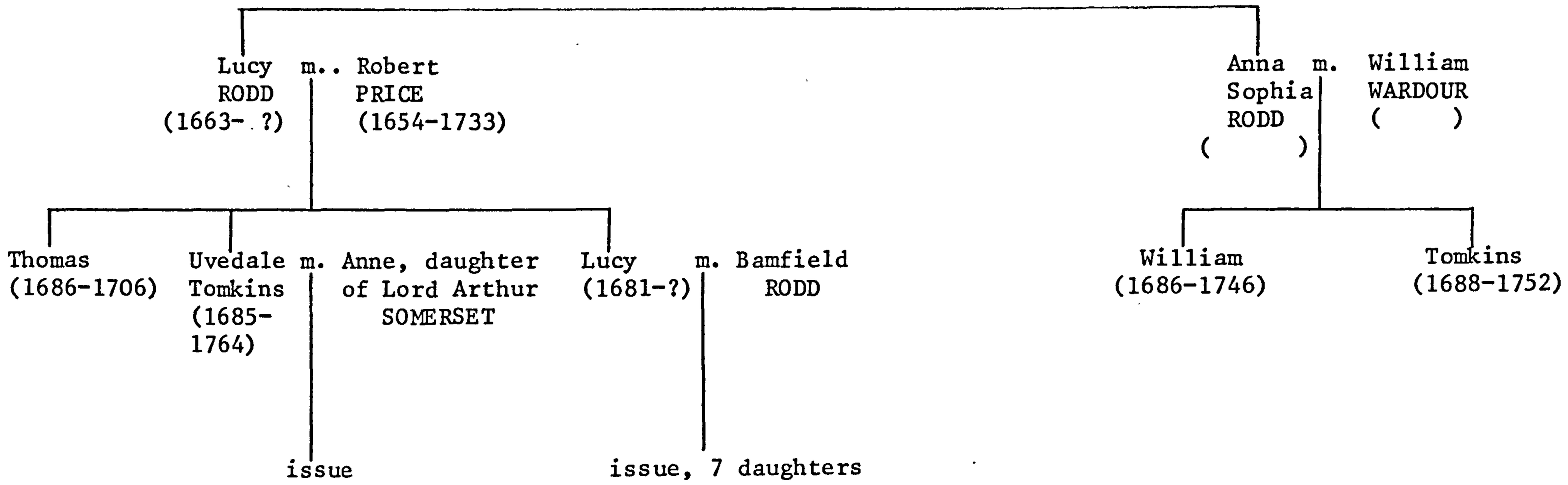
Hon. Edward

Lady Anne (1668-85)

Lady Mary (-1694)

Hon. William (-1701)

FAMILY OF PRICE AND WARDOUR



FAMILY OF SIR FRANCIS NEALE

Sir Francis NEALE (-1630) m. Honora UVEDALE (1588-1628)

- William (1610-?)
- Mary (c.1608-?) m. Thomas BROOKE
- Thomas (1612-?) m. Frances BOYSE
- Francis (1614-?)
- Humphrey (1614-66?)
- John (1615-?)

APPENDIX B: THOMAS NEALE'S AGENTS

This Appendix provides biographical details on Thomas Neale's agents. For convenience the material has been marshalled under the following headings:

1. Place and date of birth.
2. Place and date of death.
3. Place(s) and date(s) of residence and property interests.
4. Parentage and paternal status.
5. Name(s) of bride(s), place(s) and date(s) of marriage(s).
6. Career, occupation, status.
7. Investments, wealth, financial and banking interests.
8. Honours.
9. Civic, county and local offices; Parliamentary career.
10. Capacity in which employed by Neale.

In some cases birth details have been calculated from stated age at marriage or death, and thus may be subject to error. Counties, months, and the word 'Company' have been abbreviated. References are given in the same order as the notes on each individual. Sources that have supplied more than one piece of information are not repeated.

Besides those sources listed in the Table of Abbreviations at the beginning of this study, the following are listed solely by author's surname:

W.M. Acres, The Bank of England from Within, 1694-1700 (2 vols. 1931).

C.T. Carr (ed.), Select Charters of Trading Companies, A.D. 1530-1707 (1913).

J. Carswell, The South Sea Bubble (1960).

K.G. Davies, The Royal African Company (1957).

J.R. Foster, London Marriage Licences 1521-1869 (1887).

D.V. Glass (ed.), London Inhabitants within the Walls, 1695 (1966).

H.P.R. Hoare, Hoare's Bank: A Record 1673-1932 (1932).

J.C. Hotten, The Little London Directory of 1677 (1863).

G.W. Marshall (ed.), Le Neve's pedigree of Knights (1660-1714) (1873).

W.A. Shaw, The Knights of England (2 vols. 1906).

1. ARTHUR BOLD.

Born 1603 or 1604; buried, Petersfield, 22 May 1677. House in Petersfield, 1669. Arthur and ? . Gentleman. Barrister, 1634; Inner Temple Bencher, 1658. Tenant, Mapledurham manor, near Petersfield, 1670-7 and land in Buriton. Burgess, Portsmouth 1661; declined Recordership, 1673. Alderman, Southampton, 1663. Petitioned for Stewardship, New Forest, 1667; Commissioner for Sewers, 1671. Recusancy Commissioner, Hants, 1672. M.P., Petersfield, 1660, 1661-77. Neale's bailiff.

Foster, I, 144; Hants R.O., Petersfield parish registers, II, 1667-1757 (microfilm); P.T.H. item 27, entry 8; F.A. Inderwick (ed.), A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records (3 vols. 1896-1901), II, 215; Hants R.O. 6M56/26-31; 21M64, Box VIII; East, 356; H.M.C. Corporation of Southampton MSS., 55; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1667, 135; P.R.O. C181/7, 584; Cal. T.B. 1672-5, 697; Official Return, I, 515, 528.

2. THOMAS BONHAM.

Baptised West Meon, Hants., 11 May 1634. Thomas and Anna Bonham; yeoman. Married Alice Young of Buriton, Hants., at Buriton, 27 Nov. 1671. Farmer, with extensive West Meon interests 1660-1675. Neale's bailiff.

West Meon Parish Registers, I, n.p., II, 25, 35; A.J. Willis, Hampshire Marriage Licences 1669-80 (1963), 36; Hants. R.O. C.C.C.P., C/7/A-3/1.

3. CHARLES BULLOCK.

Alive 1698. Employed as Neale's agent at Ludgershall.

J.H.C., XII, 498.

4. THOMAS CHRISTIE.

Buried St. Paul's, Bedford, 1697. Bedford, 1668-97. Married (1) Alice - (2) Anne -. Attorney, 1668. Gentleman, 1697. Endowed almshouse, St. Paul's, and provided for parish poor there and in St. Mary's, Bedford. Gave Bedford 'two small water-engines for quenching fire'. M.P., Bedford borough, 1685, Convention, 1689-90. Described, Dec. 1677, by Earl of Ailesbury, as '...my friend at Bedford, Mr. Christie, ...'. Employed by Neale to sell Beds. property.

V.C.H. Beds., III, 25, 32, 33, II, 58, 59; P.R.O. C6/222/39; J. Godgber, History of Bedfordshire 1066-1888 (1969), 323; Ailesbury to William Bridgeman, 4 Dec. 1677: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1677-8, 489.

5. THOMAS CLARK(E).

St. Brides, 1700(?). Customs officer at Yarmouth, 1690(?). Possibly in Mint employment 1696. Neale's political agent at Stockbridge, 1693.

Fitch, 83; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 184; J.H.C., XI, 36.

6. JOHN DERBY.

Alive 1698. St. Martin, Ludgate, London 1695 (?). Neale's political agent.

J.H.C., XII, 499; Glass, 87.

7. JOHN DUDGEON.

Married by 1693, son in Barbados; London, 1693; Bermuda, Aug. 1693-1700; Bahamas 1701-4. Merchant, described in 1700 as 'a sort of stock jobber for 30 years'. Held forty shares in treasure recovery project; property and whaling interests Abaco island, Sept. 1699. Secretary and Marshall of Bermuda, 1698-1700; Deputy Registrar of Bahamas, 1701-4. Neale's agent for treasure trove in Bermuda.

Bodl. Rawl. MSS. A. 305, ff. 39, 12, 44, 38; B.L. Sloane MSS. 2902, f. 100; Cal.S.P.Col. 1701, 385; B.L. Sloane MSS. 3321, f. 134; Cal.S.P.Col. 1700, 136; ibid, 1699, 447; ibid, 1696-7, 627.

8. JOHN FRANCIS DE FAUQUIER.

Born Clairac, near Bordeaux, France; died 22 Sept. 1726, buried St. Andrew Undershaft, London. Rich's Court, Lime St., London, 1702-26. John and Katherine Fauquier. Married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Francis Chamberlayne of St. Lawrence Pountney, London, 1694-1702. Employed at Royal Mint by 1696. Naturalised by Act, 1698. Sufficient Bank of England stock, March 1710, to be Governor, Deputy-Governor or Director. Director 1716-20, 1721-4, 1725-6. At death: £10,000 stock, Bank of England, £25,000 stock and £12,000 annuities, South Sea Co. Neale's financial agent.

R.W. Wollaston, 'The Family of Fauquier', Proceedings of Huguenot Society of London, XIII (1927), 340-55, esp. 341-2; J.H.C., XII, 134, 135, 142, 149, 174, 177; B.L. Egerton MSS. 3359, f. 59; Acres, II, 616.

9. SIR JOHN FOCHE.

Born c. 1640-1; died 30 Apr. 1701, at his house in Clapham, Surrey. St. Mary, Abchurch, London, 1669; St. Margaret, Lothbury, London, 1695; Clapham, Surrey. Married (1) Anne, daughter of William Panton, of St. Giles Cripplegate, London, at same, 27 July 1669 (2) Elizabeth - , died 13 June 1693 (3) Jane - before 1695. Scrivener. Commissioner of Excise Oct. 1689 - July 1698. Assistant, Co. for Digging and Working of Mines 1693; Hoare's 1698. Knighted, Guildhall, 29 Oct. 1692. Lieutenancy of London, 1692. Sheriff 1694, but paid fine instead. Neale's scrivener.

Foster, col. 496; J. le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana 1700-1715 (1717), 33; Strype's edn. of Stow, II, 55; Glass, 109; Cal.T.B. 1689-92, passim; J. Haydn, The Book of Dignities (1851), 502; Luttrell, IV, 401, II, 603, III, 365-6, 368; Carr, 239; Hoare, 71; E.C. (17th edn. 1692), pt. II, 278.

10. RICHARD FRANSHAM.

Alive 1698. Employed by Neale as agent at Ludgershall.

J.H.C., XII, 498.

11. ANDREW HAMILTON.

Born Scotland; died 26 Apr. 1703, of a 'hectic fever', at Perth Amboy, New Jersey. Edinburgh, pre-1686; New Jersey, 1686-92. Married (1) ? (2) Anne, daughter of Thomas Rudyard, a former deputy-governor of East Jersey (3) Agnes ? . Merchant, 1692. Appointed Governor, New Jersey, 1692. Deputy Governor, Pennsylvania; deputy Postmaster-General, America. Named as Neale's agent and deputy in America, 1692.

Dictionary of American Biography, 180-1; Index to Register of Deeds preserved in the General Register House, Scotland, Vol. XXV, 1685 (1959), 105; Stock, III (1930), xiv; W. Smith, The History of the Post Office in British North America, 1639-1870 (1921/1973), 9; Cal.T.P. 1697-1702, 289.

12. EDWARD HEMMINGS.

Died 1684 (?) Basinghall, Street, Blackwell Hall, 1676. Broker and factor, 1676. Merchant, 1683. Neale's broker.

P.R.O. Prob. 11/378, f. 147; Hotten; P.R.O. C8/232/52; C5/451/16.

13. SIR THOMAS JANSON.

Born c. 1648, Louvre, Paris; died 28 Dec. 1707, buried Tunbridge Wells. St. Martins in the Fields, 1682; house at Tunbridge Wells by 1686; estate of New Bounds, Kent, 1701. Sir Henry Janson, 2nd Bt. and Mary, née Elmes. Married Dorothy, 5th daughter of William and Emma Rokeby of Ackworth Park, c. 1696, at Oulston, Lincs. Was to have been admitted Groom of the Great Chamber in Ordinary to Queen, Aug. 1673. Band of Gentleman Pensioners, 1684, with fee of £100.

Chief Master of the Kings Sports and Chief Ruler and Keeper of the Bandogs and Mastiffs, 1687-1696(?); Customs House Waitership assigned to him 1687. Succeeded to baronetcy c. 1684. Neale's agent for Tunbridge Wells.

G.E.C., III, 13; J.W. Clay II, 592; K.A.O., U749, T2; L.G., 2174, 16-20 Sept. 1686; Hasted, V, 237; P.R.O., L.S. 13/197, f. 7v, entry struck through; E.C. (15th edn. 1684), unnumbered page inserted at end; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1686-7, 392; P.R.O. L.C. 3/30, 79; P.R.O. L.C. 3/31, 109; Cal.T.B. 1685-9, 1196.

14. JOHN NELSON.

St. Clement Danes, 1661(?); Newmarket, 1680. Married Priscilla Brome of St. Giles in the Fields, widow, at same, St. Peter, Paul's Wharf, London, 31 Oct. 1661. Register keeper of sports, Newmarket, 1680. Employed in Groom Porter's office, 1680.

Foster, col. 962; L.G., 1486, 12-16 Feb. 1679.

15. GEORGE PRIMROSE.

Westminster, 1686. Deputy and Comptroller for Groom-Porter, 1686-7.

L.G., 2134, 29 Apr.-3 May 1686.

16. JOHN SHARPLES.

St. James's Haymarket, 'next the Golden lyon', 1686. Deputy and Comptroller for Groom-Porter, 1686-7.

L.G., 2134, 29 Apr.-3 May 1686.

17. RICHARD SPARROW.

Alive Sept. 1695. Servant to Groom-Porter 1695, attending House of Lords and waiting on Prince of Baden.

Cal.T.P. 1557-1696, 454; Cal.T.B. 1693-6, 1193.

18. THOMAS WALKER.

Alive 1702. Chief judge of Admiralty, Bahamas, 1702; arrested and imprisoned, Bermuda, 1691; allegedly inciting there, and tried for murder of Henry Fifield, 1693. Neale's agent in Bermuda.

Cal.S.P.Col. 1702, 19; ibid, 1693-6, 120-1, 228-30; ibid, 1696-7, 374; Bodl. Rawl. MSS. A.305, ff. 27-8.

19. JEFFERY WILLAN.

Alive Sept. 1678. London, 1678. Neale's rent collector for Warnford, 1669, and London financial agent, 1678.

W. and G. A./G., E1/257; P.R.O. C8/520/27; Hants. R.O. 47M48/24b.

20. GODFREY WOODWARD.

Born c. 1640; died after Nov. 1709. St. Mary, Woolchurch, London, 1695. Married Sarah Hubbert of Putney at Putney, 8 Dec. 1667. Lawyer, M.Temple 1667; Inner Temple, 1702. London property, 1702: Angel Court, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Michael Cornhill, St. Dunstan-in-the-East, All Hallows Barking, St. Mary in Aldermanbury. Commissioner, 1695, tax on births, marriages and burials, St. John the Baptist and St. Mary, Woolchurch, London. Nominated by Neale to receive Marshland Close, on which Seven Dials was built.

Foster, col. 1505; P.R.O. C5/614/105; G.L. MS. 8674/2, Hand-in-Hand Fire Insurance Policy Register 1701-3, 3496-3506; Glass, 327; Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 752.

APPENDIX C: NEALE AND MEMBERSHIP OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES

This shows, by parliamentary session, those committees of which Thomas Neale was a member. It may be subject to some revision in that from Dec. 1696 there was a second member named Neale in the House. On 31 Dec. 1696 Henry Neale, a cousin of Oliver Cromwell,[1] entered the House as county member for Bucks. in the interest of Lords Bridgwater and Wharton.[2] As committee nomination usually entailed reference to 'Mr. Neale' some error is inevitable, though wherever possible other material has been used in conjunction with J.H.C. to identify positively the member in question. The confusion has appeared at least once in print, where Thomas Neale is alleged to have 'attempted to secure his return by offering bread to those who would vote for him' in Coventry.[3] This was Henry Neale, whose return for Coventry in the 1701 Parliament was amended 24 Feb. 1702, Sir Christopher Hales Bt. being elected in his stead.[4]

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1. M.D. Harris, 'Memoirs of the Right Hon. Edward Hopkins, M.P. for Coventry', E.H.R., XXXIV (1919), 496 and n.1.
2. Luttrell, IV, 163. Henry Neale had served as sheriff of Bucks. in 1691: Cal.S.P.Dom. 1691-2, 37.
3. G.L. Cherry, 'Influence of Irregularities in Contested Elections upon Election Policy during the Reign of William III', Journal of Modern History, XXVII (1955), 109-24, esp. 113.
4. Official Return, I, 597.

Session of Parliament	Date	Nature of Committee	J.H.C.
7th, Charles II, 10 Oct. 1667-9 May 1668	11 March 1668	Uniting of Southampton Parishes	IX, 65.
8th. 19 Oct.-11 Dec. 1669			
9th. 14 Feb. 1670-22 Apr. 1671	14 Feb. 1670	Privileges and Elections	IX, 122.
	19 Feb. 1670	Lady Lee's Estate	IX, 124.
	21 Feb. 1670	Shadwell Church	IX, 125.
	25 Feb. 1670	Additional Bill - Rebuilding London	IX, 127.
	19 March 1670	Lord Strangford's Estate	IX, 143.
	2 April 1670	Bishop of Rochester's Charities	IX, 152.
	9 April 1670	Searching of Wines	IX, 157.
	26 Nov. 1670	Sir John Dawes' Petition	IX, 172.
	4 Jan. 1671	Employment of Poor	IX, 187.
	23 Feb. 1671	Knight's Estate	IX, 208.
	7 March 1671	Preventing Export of Wool	IX, 214.
	15 March 1671	Preservation of Game	IX, 219.
	30 March 1671	Harlakenden's Estate	IX, 227.
	30 March 1671	Houses Burnt in London	IX, 227.
	31 March 1671	Intestates' Estates	IX, 228.

10th. 4 Feb.-29 March 1673	7 Feb. 1673	Privileges and Elections	IX, 249-50.
	13 March 1673	Repairing Highways	IX, 268.
	25 March 1673	Hanham's Estate	IX, 277.
11th. 27 Oct.-4 Nov. 1673	30 October 1673	Privileges and Elections	IX, 284.
12th. 7 Jan.-24 Feb. 1674	14 Feb. 1674	Portsmouth Streets	IX, 309.
13th. 13 Apr.-9 June 1675	27 April 1675	Repairing Highways	IX, 325.
	19 May 1675	Kellshall Charities	IX, 341.
	20 May 1675	Moor Burning	IX, 342.
	27 May 1675	Suppressing Popery	IX, 346.
14th. 13 Oct.-22 Nov. 1675	21 October 1675	Supply Bill	IX, 361.
	21 October 1675	Illegal Exactions	IX, 361.
	4 Nov. 1675	Custom Fees at Outports	IX, 367.
	8 Nov. 1675	Ascertaining Measures	IX, 369.
	11 Nov. 1675	Hawkers and Peddlars	IX, 373.
	20 Nov. 1675	Lord Maynard's Estate	IX, 381.
	20 Nov. 1675	Lindsey Level	IX, 381.
15th. 15 Feb. 1677- 15 July 1678	26 Feb. 1677	Berkeley's Estate	IX, 388.
	1 March 1677	Hemp and Flax Sowing	IX, 390.
	3 March 1677	David's Naturalisation	IX, 391.

14 March 1677	Relief of Poor Prisoners for Debt	IX, 399.
15 March 1677	Hawkers and Pedlars	IX, 399.
22 March 1677	Hearth Money Abuses	IX, 403-4.
22 March 1677	Exporting Coal	IX, 404.
24 March 1677	Creditors of Merchant Adventurers	IX, 405.
2 April 1677	Westminster Court of Conscience	IX, 412.
2 April 1677	Moreland's Pumps	IX, 412.
2 April 1677	Compton's Estate	IX, 412-3.
12 April 1677	Coke's Estate	IX, 418-9.
14 April 1677	Lady Mordant's Estate	IX, 421.
12 February 1678	Thompson's Estate	IX, 437.
16 February 1678	Wool Trade	IX, 440.
19 February 1678	Ways and Means	IX, 442.
15 March 1678	Gresham's Estate	IX, 454-5.
3 June 1678	Mulso's Estate	IX, 486.
3 June 1678	St. Martin's in the Fields Church	IX, 487.
5 June 1678	Creditors of Merchant Adventurers	IX, 489.
6 June 1678	Vale Navigation	IX, 489.
10 June 1678	Williams's Estate	IX, 492.
17 June 1678	Gresham's Debts	IX, 496.
19 June 1678	Stannary Laws	IX, 501.

	1 July 1678	Executors and Administrators	IX, 508.
	3 July 1678	Delays in Suits	IX, 509.
	8 July 1678	Passages to Lincolns Inn Fields	IX, 510-11.
	9 July 1678	Platyr's Estate	IX, 511.
16th. 21 Oct.-30 Dec. 1678			
Parliament of 1679 1st. 6-13 March 1679			
2nd. 15 March-27 May 1679	10 May 1679	Post Office	IX, 618.
Parliament of 1680 21 Oct. 1680-10 Jan. 1681			
Oxford Parliament 21-28 March 1681			
1st, James II 19 May - 2 July 1685	4 June 1685	St. James' Parish	IX, 727.
2nd. 9-20 Nov. 1685			
Convention 1st. 22 Jan.-20 Aug. 1689			
2nd 19 Oct. 1689-27 Jan. 1690	3 Jan. 1690	Judgements on Scandalis Magnatum	X, 324.

2nd Parliament, William III			
1st.			
20 March-23 May 1690	3 April 1690	Paper Manufacture	X, 365-6.
	8 May 1690	Exporting Coin	X, 408.
2nd.			
2 Oct. 1690-5 Jan. 1691	6 November 1690	Bullion and Exportation	X, 462.
	17 November 1690	Clandestine Marriages	X, 473.
3rd.			
22 Oct. 1691-24 Feb. 1692	1 Dec. 1691	Making Saltpetre	X, 570.
	16 Dec. 1691	Campion's Will	X, 589.
	1 Jan. 1692	Irish Forfeitures	X, 605.
	8 Jan. 1692	Fishery Concern	X, 616.
	21 Jan. 1692	Making Saltpetre	X, 635-6.
	8 Feb. 1692	Halford's Estate	X, 656.
	10 Feb. 1692	Shadwell Water Works	X, 660.
4th.			
4 Nov. 1692-14 March 1693	18 Nov. 1692	Book of Rates	X, 706.
	19 Dec. 1692	Exporting Copper	X, 747.
	21 Dec. 1692	Browne's Will	X, 759.
	31 Dec. 1692	Wake's Estate	X, 766.
	9 Jan. 1693	Royal Mines	X, 772.
	16 Jan. 1693	Osbaston's Estate	X, 778-9.
	4 Feb. 1693	Making Sea-water Fresh	X, 804.
	10 Feb. 1693	Pitt's Estate	X, 809.

5th.			
7 Nov. 1693-25 Apr. 1694	7 Nov. 1693	Privileges and Elections	XI, 1.
	7 Dec. 1693	Petition: Land Bank and Fishery	XI, 22.
	15 Dec. 1693	Axe Bridge	XI, 31.
	3 Feb. 1694	Preventing export of bullion	XI, 78.
	7 Feb. 1694	Disabling Stockbridge borough	XI, 82.
	8 Feb. 1694	St. John of Wapping parish	XI, 85.
	10 March 1694	Encouraging Privateers	XI, 123.
6th.			
12 Nov. 1694-3 May 1695	12 November 1694	Privileges and Elections	XI, 171.
	17 December 1694	Relief against Sherriffs	XI, 188.
	22 December 1694	Thames Locks and Weirs	XI, 192-3.
	2 January 1695	Apothecaries' exemption	XI, 195.
	26 January 1695	Bankrupts' Estates	XI, 215.
	18 Feb. 1695	Thames Locks and Weirs	XI, 236.
	26 Feb. 1695	Pitt's Deed of Trust	XI, 247.
	8 March 1695	Howland's Estate	XI, 259.
	3 April 1695	Preventing Counterfeiting	XI, 291
	13 April 1695	Preventing Correspondence with France	XI, 302.

3rd Parliament, William III.

1st.			
22 Nov. 1695-27 Apr. 1696	12 December 1695	Regulating coinage of silver coin	XI, 359.
	31 Dec. 1695	Preventing export of Wool	XI, 373.
	23 January 1696	Halfpence and farthings	XI, 408.
	27 Feb. 1696	Avon Navigation	XI, 469.
	7 March 1696	Jones' Estate	XI, 495.
2nd.			
20 Oct. 1696-16 Apr. 1697	20 October 1696	Privileges and Elections	XI, 566.
	26 October 1696	Guineas and the Mint	XI, 568.
	12 December 1696	Clothing Trade: Payment by bank bills	XI, 624.
	11 January 1697	Wool Markets	XI, 657.
	14 January 1697	Recoinage	XI, 662.
	8 Feb. 1697	Ormond's Lands	XI, 695-6.
	3 March 1697	Tinners of Cornwall	XI, 725.
	4 March 1697	Preservation of Fish	XI, 727.
	13 March 1697	Poor Law Defects	XI, 738.
	6 April 1697	Victualling Commissioners	XI, 769.
3rd.			
3 Dec. 1697-5 July 1698	14 December 1697	Estimates and Accounts	XII, 9.
	30 December 1697	Guardianship and Marriages	XII, 19.
	8 Feb. 1698	Clipping Coins	XII, 90-1.
	4 March 1698	Southwark Victuallers	XII, 143.
	14 March 1698	Hythe Navigation	XII, 157.

	17 March 1698	Hereford Poor	XII, 162.
	29 March 1698	Woollen Manufacture	XII, 182.
	6 April 1698	Employments and Trusts	XII, 195.
	14 April 1698	Cleansing of Ports and Harbours	XII, 204-5.
	20 April 1698	York Mint	XII, 240.
	28 April 1698	Davis's Estate	XII, 245.
	2 May 1698	Mints and Coinage	XII, 250.
	5 May 1698	Prevention of Gaming	XII, 255.
	12 May 1698	Garon's naturalisation	XII, 267.
	13 May 1698	Shaftesbury Workhouse	XII, 268.
	14 June 1698	Tarrant Preston Manor	XII, 310.
	15 June 1698	Walrond's Lands	XII, 313.
	21 June 1698	English Ships	XII, 323.
4th Parliament, William III. 1st.			
6 Dec. 1698-4 May 1699	17 December 1698	Exportation of Wool	XII, 358.
	21 January 1699	Better provision for poor	XII, 446.
	28 January 1699	Leeds Clothiers	XII, 463.

APPENDIX D: THOMAS NEALE'S PUBLISHED WRITINGS

This Appendix recites the known published writings of Thomas Neale. It does not include contemporary writings about him. Date and place of publication are given, but press-marks, annotations and endorsements are not. The reprinting of at least two items suggests a considerable demand for his writings. As yet, however, beyond entries in listings of private libraries,[1] it is impossible to determine what circulation his works enjoyed.

Two sources were used: British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books to 1955 (263 vols. 1965-6) and J.K. Horsefield, British Monetary Experiments 1650-1710 (1960). The first credits Neale with authorship of An Abstract of the Sea-Laws, as Established in most Kingdoms of Europe; but more particularly in England and Scotland (1704). It is doubtful whether this 67-page work, divided into 29 chapters, was even published posthumously to pay off Neale's debts. It is dedicated to Marlborough's brother, Admiral George Churchill (1654-1710), who became Vice-Admiral of the Red in March 1702 and Admiral of the Blue that May.[2] A dedicatory epistle refers to the 'particular esteem a person of some Note in my Family, whilst living, entertained for you,...'. Several candidates present themselves for authorship of the work:

(1) Thomas Neale (c. 1651/2-1704).

Born at Blythburgh, Suffolk, the son of Thomas Neale, gent. of Walpole, Bramfield and Saxmundham. Educated Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 1667, Grays Inn, 1668,

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1. J. Harrison and P. Laslett, The Library of John Locke, Oxford Bibliographical Society, New Series, XIII (1965), 195.

2. O. Browning (ed.), The Journal of Sir George Rooke (1897), 147, 148. For Admiral Churchill see D.N.B., IV, 313, and J. Charnock, Biographia Navalis (6 vols. 1794-8), II, 42-7.

LL.D, 1681. Married Mary, daughter of Thomas Else.[1] Appointed a deputy lieutenant of Suffolk, 11 Aug. 1702.[2] Described as 'one of the Best Magistrates in his Time', he died 17 February 1704 and was buried in Blythburgh church. His tomb, his father's and his daughter's all bear the same coat of arms as that granted to the Neales of Warnford.[3]

(2) Thomas Neale (? -1717).[4]

Son of the above and the most likely author. Mr. Whitaker's accounts as Solicitor to the Admiralty and Navy, vetted 25 Nov. 1702, included payment to a Mr. Neale as a Gentleman of the Common Law,[5] possibly this man. In the above dedication he could have been remembering his recently-departed father, or, given the heraldic similarity, Neale the projector. He could have been either of the Thomas Neales resident in the City in 1695. One lived with his wife and daughter in St. Andrew Undershaft, the other with his wife, son and daughter in St. Michael, Queenhithe.[6] This man, his father, or the projector could be the Thomas Neale Esq. who received three £50 Admiralty rewards on 27 Jan., 19 Apr. 1697 and 28 June 1699.[7]

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1. J. Venn, Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College 1349-1897 (3 vols. 1897-1901), I, 430.
2. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1702-3, 393.
3. Blythburgh Church, monumental inscription. For the 1579 grant of arms to the Suffolk Neales see J. Corder, A Dictionary of Suffolk Arms, Suffolk Record Society, VII (1965), col. 311. A funeral sermon for this Thomas Neale, by Nathaniel Parkhurst, was published 1705. A copy has not been located. For Parkhurst see F. Haslewood, 'Notes on Yoxford Church; Monuments in Yoxford Church; Vicars of Yoxford', Proceedings of Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History, VIII (1894), 47, 49.
4. B.L. Add. MSS. 19143, f. 45.
5. Cal.S.P.Dom. 1702-3, 315-6.
6. Glass, 212.
7. P.R.O. Adm. 49/31, Abstract of Contracts, 1696-1702, 33, 40, 118.

(3) Thomas Neale (? - ?).

Clerk of the Council of Nevis, 1698, and member of the Council of Barbados, 1702.[1] He could perhaps have been a son of the projector's second cousin, Thomas Neale the engraver.[2] He could have been attempting to bathe in the reflection of his more illustrious, but distant, relative.

1693

The Prizes drawn at the Profitable Adventure to the Fortunate, in Freeman's-Yard, Cornhill, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 1, 2, and 3 of this instant November, 1693. (F. Collins, London)

1694

A Profitable Adventure to the Fortunate, and can be unfortunate to None. Being a proposal raising one million of money. (29 January)

The Profitable Adventure to the Fortunate. Erected by Thomas Neale. (19 June, London)

The Profitable Adventure to the Fortunate: lately begun by Thomas Neale, having been reported...to be stopt...; for undeceiving all persons...therein concerned, the contrary is published. (24 July, London)

Another edition (22 August, London)

A Proposal for Raising Two Millions.

A Way how to Supply the King's Occasions with Two Millions of Money, on a Fund of £120000 Yearly...
(Reprinted December; February 1695)

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1. Suspended from duty 6 Sept. 1698: Cal.S.P.Col. 1697-8, 417; ibid, 1702, 330.

2. For whom see 40-1.

1695

A Way Humbly Proposed on a Fund of £200000 Yearly... to take in One Million of the now Current Clipt Money...
(6 February)

Another edition (9 April)

A proposal, showing how clipt money may pass, in an adventure now set out by T.N. (London)

To preserve the East-India Trade. (10 October, London)

About mending the Coyn. (4 December)

1696

The National Land Bank, together with Money...
(24 February)

A Proposal Concerning the Coin.

A Second Profitable Adventure to the Fortunate, and which unfortunate can be none, being, A Proposal by way of lottery, of advantage... to such as shall bring in the first millions worth of standard plate to be coined.
(London)

A Way to make Plenty of Money for all sorts of Occasions...
(10 December)

1697

The best way of Disposing of Hammer'd Money and Plate... As for Raising one Million of Money in... 1697 By way of a Lottery. (4 February; reprinted 20 February, amended; 18 March)

Fourteen Hundred Thousand Pounds made into One Hundred and Forty Thousand Bills... to be Raised on a Duty on Malt...
(3 April)

with Dalby Thomas

1695

The Second Drawing of the Blank tickets of the Million Adventure. (An advertisement) (London)

A further account of the proposals made by T. Neale and D. Thomas ... for exchanging the blank tickets in the Million Adventure. (London).

APPENDIX E: NEALE'S BUSINESS ASSOCIATES

The same criteria have been used as in Appendix B, with the exception that the final entry is used to indicate relationship to any of the other figures.

1. JOHN ADAMS.

Budg Row, London, 1684, 1693. Scrivener, agent for lending consortium, Seven Dials. Worked with James Ward on at least one other occasion: Turner's Bill, 1698. Additional joint security for E. India Co. factor, in £500, 22 Feb. 1695. Warrant for payment of £101 6s. 3d. by Co., 16 Oct. 1695. Lieutenancy Commission of London, 1694(?).

Cal.T.B. 1681-5, 1207; H.M.C. House of Lords MSS. 1692-3, 288-90; P.R.O. C5/614/105; H.C.L., Local Deeds Collection; O.C. Williams (ed.), 'The Minute Book of James Courthope', Camden Miscellany, XX (1953), 23-25; I.O.L. B/40, 296b, B/41, 62; E.C. (18th edn. 1694), 596.

2. SIR HENRY ASHURST.

Born 1645; died 13, buried 28 Apr. 1711, at Waterstock, Oxon. St. John Street, Clerkenwell, 1677; Clapton, Hackney, Middx.; Waterstock 'which cost me the labour of my life'. Henry and Judith, née Reresby; merchant. Married Diana, 6th daughter of William, 6th Lord Paget of W. Drayton, Middx., 1670. Merchant, W. Indies trade; Excise Commissioner, Oct. 1689-Apr. 1691. Member of New England Company, 1681. Hoare's: 1699. Knighted 1688; created baronet 21 July 1688. Deputy lieutenant, Middx., 1692, Middx. and Oxon., 1701. M.P. Truro, 1681-95, Wilton 1698-1700, 1701-2. Prominent nonconformist, puritan and whig.

Woodhead, 19; W. Kellaway, The New England Company, 1649-1776 (1961), 289; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1691-2, 163; Hoare, 63; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1700-1702, 225, 255.

3. GEORGE BARON.

Born 1625 or 1626; died late 1685 or early 1686. St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London, 1671; Garlick Hill, St. James, Garlickhithe, London, 1677-1685 or 6. Married Elizabeth, daughter of Jeffery Howland of Streatham, Surrey, at Streatham (?), 15 Apr. 1671. Merchant, importing Turkey wares from France, March 1675; lader of the John and Sarah, 1675. Petitioner, July 1660, for post as Customer of King's Lynn, Norfolk, and for patent as searcher of bricks. Admitted to freedom of E. India Co. 27 Oct. 1675; £500 stock, June 1682. Brother-in-law of John LETTEN.

Foster, col. 85; Ridge, 1686-93, 17; Hotten; Cal. T.B. 1672-5, 711; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1675-6, 125; ibid, 1660-1, 156, 385; Sainsbury, 1674-6 (1935), 231; I.O.L. B/37, 15b.

4. EDWARD BOVEY.

Merchant. In Levant Co. factory at Aleppo, 1662. Mint surety for Neale in £500, 1686.

H.M.C. Finch, I, 183; Cal.T.B. 1685-9, 851.

5. RALPH BUCKNALL

St. Sepulchre, London, 1670; St. Giles in the Field, 1684; Drury Lane, 1696, 1697; Lord of manor of Petersfield, Hants., 1700(?). Married (1) ? (2) Elizabeth, daughter of John Birch of Whitburne, Heref., 30 Apr. 1670. Brewer, Dec. 1690. Recommended as a supervisor for leather duty, April 1697. Licence, 1675, to erect York House water-works, London; Company for Linen and Paper making in Channel Islands, 1691; Committee, Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691; Governor, Co. of Salt Petre Makers, 1692. Assistant, Co. for Digging and Working of Mines, 1693. Commission of Sewers for Westminster and part of Middlesex, 1689. M.P., Petersfield, 6 Jan. 1700-28 Nov. 1701(?).

Foster, cols. 210, 1084; M.R., MR/FB, Freeholders Books, I, 13, 68; E.A. Minty, Some Account of the History of Petersfield (1923), 24; Cal.T.P. 1557-1696, 148; Cal.T.B. 1697, 137; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1696, 106; ibid, 1690-1, 463, 474-5; ibid, 1691-2, 4, 249; Carr lxxx, cxxvi, 239; B.L. Harleian MSS. 7020, f.6.

6. ARTHUR CHAMPNEYS.

Born 1657 or 1658. Love Lane, London, 1688; Devon(?). Married Hannah, daughter of Sir Arthur and Lady Ingram, at St. Benet Fink, London, 13 Feb. 1688. Politician (?) Assistant, Glass Making Co., Oct. 1691; Assistant, Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691. Assistant, Co. for Digging and Working of Mines, 1693. Deputy Lieutenant, Devon, 1701. M.P., Barnstaple, 1695, 1698, 1700. Signed Association 1696. Whig.

Foster, col. 262; F.T. Colby (ed.), Visitation of the County of Devon, 1620 (1872), 52; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 540-1; ibid, 1691-2, 4; Carr, 239; Cal.S.P. Dom. 1700-1702, 251; Cobbett, V,1184; Browning, III, 199.

7. ROBERT CHAPLAIN.

Dead by June 1714. Merchant. Mint surety for Neale, in £3,000, 1686.

Cal.T.B. 1714, 290; ibid, 1685-9, 851.

8. SIR PETER COLLETON.

Baptised, St. Mary Olave's, Exeter, 17 Sept. 1635; died 24, buried 26, March 1694, St. James, Westminster. Golden Square, Westminster, 1693. Sir John Colleton, Bt., and Lady Katherine, née Amy. Married in or pre-1669 Elizabeth, widow of William Johnston. Employed in Barbados, by Royal Adventurers to Africa, before 1664. Governor of Barbados, 1673-4. Keeper of the Public Accounts. Charter for Bahamas, 1667; joint proprietor, Carolinas, and interests in Barbados, 1666. Subscribed to Hudson's Bay Co., Nov. 1667;

Committee 1670-2; £300 stock 1676. £1,000 stock, Royal African Co. July 1674; Assistant 1677-9, 1683-5, 1688-90. Succeeded to baronetcy, 1666. Elected F.R.S. 13 Dec. 1677. M.P., Bossiney, Cornwall, 1681, 1689-94. Deputy lieutenant, Middx. 1692.

E.E. Rich (ed.), Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1671-4 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1942), 218, xxi, 219; P.R.O. T.70/75, Minute Book 1664-72, 14; Rich (ed.), Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1679-84 (1945), Pt. I, 307, P.R.O. T.70/185, 1; Davies, index; R.R.S., 383; Cal.S.P. Dom. 1691-2, 163.

9. HENRY CORNISH.

Born 1659 or 1660; d. 25 May 1724; '... near Blackwell hall', 1692; St. Lawrence Jewry, 1695; Sherrard St, Westminster, after 1688. Henry and - Cornish; factor and merchant, executed for part in Rye House Plot. Married Catherine daughter of Sir Robert Henley, M.P., of the Grange, Northington, Hants., at Northington, 7 Apr. 1688. Army contractor for Ireland, Jan. 1690. Commissioner for duties on vellum and parchment, May 1694. Agent to 2nd Troop of Guards, under Ormonde, Nov. 1695. Receiver of duty on houses for London, Westminster and Middx., 1696. Commissioner for Stamp duties, 1698, 1700. Army clothier, 1714. Director, Bank of England, 1695-7, 1699-1700. Retaining stock March 1710. Involved with Co. of Glassmakers of London, 1693. Committee, Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691. Assistant, Co. for Digging and Working of Mines, 1693. Hoare's: 1700. Lieutenancy commissioner, London, 1694. M.P., Shaftesbury, 1698. Removed Feb. 1699.

Glass, 73; Sedgwick, I, 580; L.G. 2767, 16-19 May 1692; Woodhead, 52; Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 354, 524; ibid, 1693-6, 618, 103, 124, 129, 624, 1232; ibid, 1696-7, 67, 302; ibid, 1697-8, 450; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1700-1702, 154; Cal.T.B. Jan.-July 1714, 14, 141; Acres, II, 614; B.L. Egerton MSS. 3359, f. 58v; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1693, 27; ibid, 1691-2, 4; Carr, 239; Hoare, 68; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1694-5, 21; E.C. (18th edn. 1694), 751; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1699-1700, 58.

10. MARK COTTLE.

Born c. 1634; died Jan. 1682. East Greenwich, 1665-82, in 'a very pretty house, and a fine Turret..., with windeing stairs, and the finest prospect I know about all Greenwich, save the top of the hill...'. Married Ursula Dobbins of St. Martins in the Fields, at All Hallows or St. Mary, Stayning, London, 20 Nov. 1663. Lawyer, Inner Temple, 1663. Granted reversion of Remembrancership of First Fruits and Tenths in Exchequer, Jan. 1663. Registrar of the Prerogative Office, 1665-82. Receiver of Crown revenues for Berks. and Oxon. 1667-70.

Foster, col. 336; Ridge 1676-85, 86; Pepys, VI (1972), 339; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1663-4, 16; Evelyn, II, 559n. 2; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1666-7, 539, 366; Cal.T.B. 1667-8, 594; ibid, 1669-72, 517, 1162.

11. CHRISTOPHER CRATFORD.

Born in Oxon. c. 1622. St. Clement Danes 1669-76; St. Giles in the Fields 1678-1700. Charles and - Cratford of Broadwas, Worcs.; gentleman. Steward, Lamer Estate, Herts., 1659; Steward/Agent to Dean and Chapter of Westminster 1663-4 (?); Agent to Lord Conway Dec. 1668 - July 1683; Agent to Duke of Beaufort, July 1685. Paid £1,402 6s. 2d. by E. India Co., Apr. 1682.

J. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses (4 vols. in 2, 1968 reprint), I, 346; Herts. R.O. Garrard MSS. 27144; Abel Smith (Woodhall) Collection, 4281; W. and G. A./G., E1/134; Herts. R.O. Accession 1236; Garrard MSS. 27177, 27180; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1668-9, 102; ibid, July - Sept. 1683, 23; M.H. Nicolson (ed.), Conway Letters: the correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their friends 1642-84 (1930), passim; Cal.S.P.Dom. Feb.-Dec. 1685, 245; I.O.L. B/37, 4a.

12. ALVAREZ DE COSTA.

Merchant, trading in coral to Surat and in diamonds. Found guilty of trading clandestinely by E. India Co.,

July 1680. Exporting silver pre-1690. Commissioner, Million Lottery, 1694. £500 stock, E. India Co., Dec. 1678; transferred £200 worth to Sir Thomas ESTCOURT, 3 June 1692. Sufficient Bank of England stock, March 1710, to be chosen Governor, Deputy Governor or Director.

I.O.L., B/36, ff. 84a, 134a, 18b 68b, 69a; O.K. Rabinowicz, Sir Solomon de Medina (1974), 79, 17; I.O.L. B/35, 126; ibid, B/40, 124a; B.L. Egerton MSS. 3359, f. 59.

13. SIR SAMUEL DASHWOOD.

Born 1643; died 12, buried 14 Aug. 1705, St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, London. St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, 1670, 1705; Rowney, Somerset. Francis and Alice, née Sleigh; Turkey merchant. Married Anne, daughter of John Smith of Tidworth, Hants., 17 May 1670, St. Dunstan-in-the-East, All Hallows, Barking, or Trinity, Minories. Merchant. Excise Commissioner, Oct. 1689-1696. Committee, E. India Co., 1684-6, 1690-5, 1698-1703, Dep. Governor 1700-2; Assistant, Levant Co., 1680-91; Assistant, Royal African Co., 1672-4, 1677-9, 1682-4, 1687-9, 1692-3, 1698-9, 1701-3, 1705; City and London property, land in Surrey, Bucks, fee farm, Durham; Hoare's: 1699. Knighted, Windsor, 30 July 1684. Alderman of London; Sheriff 1683-4; Lieutenancy commissioner, London, 1688, 1692, 1694, 1702; Lord Mayor 1702; M.P., London, 1685-7, 1690-5. Tory. Brother-in-law of John SMITH.

J. le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana 1700-1715 (1717), 106; Woodhead, 56-7; Foster, col. 379; A.B. Beaven, The Aldermen of the City of London (2 vols. 1908-13), II, 109; Cal.T.B. 1689-92, passim; E.C. (17th edn. 1692), 203, 278; I.O.L. B/41, 552; B/43, 430; Davies, index; Carr, 187; Hoare, 69; Shaw, II, 260; Cal.S.P. Dom. 1694-5, 21; P.R.O., Lists and Indexes, IX, 206; F.H. Ellis (ed.), P.O.A.S., VI, 453n.

14. SIR RICHARD DEREHAM.

Bapt. 10 Apr. 1644, W. Dereham, Norfolk; died in Jamaica. 2nd son of Sir Thomas Dereham and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Gargrave. Baronet. Married by 1678 Frances, first daughter of Robert Wright. House in Pall Mall, 1682. Reversion of Customs Comptrollership, King's Lynn, Jan. 1679; Receiver General, Poll money, London, Westminster and Middlesex, 1678; Receiver for Recusants' estates beyond the Trent, 1679; Mint surety for Neale in £1,000, 1686. Succeeded to baronetcy, May 1682.

G.E.C., III, 206-7; L.G., 1806, 8-12 March 1682; Cal.T.B. 1676-9, 1193, 952; ibid, 1679-80, 72; ibid, 1685-9, 851.

15. SIR THOMAS ESTCOURT.

Born c. 1645 or 1646; died 1702. Chelsea, 1678. Sir Thomas and Lady Estcourt; Master in Chancery. Mary, daughter of Sir Vincent Corbet, Bt. of Morton Corbet, Salop., 11 Feb. 1678. Master in Chancery. Admitted to freedom of E. India Co. by redemption, 27 May 1691; £300 stock, 3 June 1692; Committee, Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691. Assistant, Co. for Digging and Working of Mines, 1693. Knighted, Whitehall, 15 Sept. 1674. High sheriff of Wilts. 1692-3, with licence to live outside county. Deputy Lieutenant, Wilts., 1701. M.P., Bath, 1695. Tory.

Foster, col. 456; le Neve, 53; Marshall, 5, 128, 127, 292; I.O.L. B/40, 70a, 124a, b; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1691-2, 4; Carr, 239; P.R.O., Lists and Indexes, IX, 155; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1693, 45; ibid, 1700-1702, 253.

16. SIR STEPHEN EVANS.

Committed suicide by shooting under mistaken belief he was bankrupt. ? Evance of New England. Unmarried. Goldsmith. Commissioner of Excise, Oct. 1689-Apr. 1691; Commissioner for wine sale licences, 1690.

Army contractor, May 1692. Receiver for duties on Salt Act, 1694. Jeweller to William III, in place of Sir Francis Child. Assistant, Royal African Co., 1692-3, 1696, 1703, 1707, 1710. Part-owner of Orange and Sampson, vessels trading to the East, 1695. Applied for mining rights, New England, 1691; Mineral prospecting interests, Canada; involved with Co. for recovering wrecks, Aug.-Sept. 1691; Governor Hollow Sword Blade Co., 1691. Committee, Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691. Assistant, Co. for Digging and Working of Mines, 1693. Hoare's: 1699. Knighted, Kensington, 14 Oct. 1690. Commission of lieutenancy, London, Feb. 1694. M.P., Bridport, 1695.

Marshall, 435; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 485; Cal.T.B. 1689-92, passim; L.G., 2601, 13-16 Oct. 1690; Cal. T.B. 1689-92, 1635; L.G., 2961, 26-29 March 1694; Luttrell, IV, 228; Davies, index; I.O.L., B/41, 20, 50; 1690-1, 485; Carswell, 30; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 505, 522; ibid, 1691-2, 4; Carr, 239; Hoare, 70; Shaw, II, 266; Luttrell, III, 269; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1694-5, 21.

17. NICHOLAS FENN

Courtier and Public official. Sewer in Ordinary to Charles II, James II, William III. Supernumerary serjeant of Woodyard to James II. Pre-1689 naval victualler. Commissioner for wine sale licences, 1690, 1701. Housekeeper to Excise, 1692. Deputy Teller, Exchequer, by 1700. Treasurer of Customs, March 1700.

P.R.O. LS.13/197, f. 95v, L.S.13/198, f. 25; L.C., 3/28, 12; James II to Ormonde, n.d.: H.M.C. Ormonde, VII, 415; J. Nichols, A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations (1790), 404; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1689-90, 348; Portledge, 65; L.G., 2601, 13-16 Oct. 1690; Cal.S.P. Dom. 1700-1702, 473; Luttrell, II, 494, IV, 621.

18. RICHARD GOODALL.

Alive July 1694. St. Michael, Cornhill, London, 1674. London 1676-94. Perhaps Richard and Dorothy, née Whitrents; gentleman. Merchant-taylor and loan agent 1676. Granted reversion of King's waiter, London port, March 1679. Admitted to freedom of E. India Co. by redemption, 30 June 1682; £300 stock July 1682. Perhaps an agent, as frequently involved in stock transfers 1682-88. Supplied stationery to Co. 1683-4. Listed, Dec. 1691, among those to be 'security to make good the value of the Companies stock'. Of £744,000, Goodall answerable for £8,000. Committee, Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691. Associated with Salt Petre Co., 1692.

P.R.O. C8/548/83; G.J. Armytage (ed.), Allegations for Marriage Licences issued by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1669-79 (1892), 122; G.J. Armytage (ed.), Allegations for Marriage Licences issued by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, 1558-1699 (1886), 28; P.R.O. C8/520/27; Cal.T.B. 1676-9, 1298; I.O.L. B/37, 19a, 20a, passim, 141b; B/38, 3a, passim, B/39, passim, B/40, 95b, Cal.S.P. Dom. 1691-2, 4; Carr, lxxx.

19. THOMAS HALL.

Died 1717. Mint employee: King's Chief Clerk, 1691, Neale's assistant 1696-9; Chief Clerk 1703-17. Agent for Royal African Co. stock, 1680-7. Assistant, 1696, 1700; admitted to freedom, E. India Co. by redemption Feb. 1683, purchasing £450 stock. Left £42,000 at death.

Craig, Mint, 191; Miege, pt. III, 212; Cal.T.B. 1703; P.R.O. T.70/176, Transfer book, 1677-87, n.p.; Davies, index; I.O.L. B/37, 106a, 107a.

20. SIR JOSEPH HERNE.

Born 17 Apr. 1639; died 26 Feb. 1699 'with a bleeding of the nose'. St. Olave Jewry, 1672; Old Jewry, 1677. Nicholas and Sarah/Susan, née Ironside. Married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Frederick, St. Alphage

or St. Peter-le-Poor, 22 July 1672. Merchant. One of twelve trustees for advancing money to circulate Exchequer Bills, 1697. £300 stock, E. India Co., 1676; £12,938 stock, 1691; Committee 1678-86, 1687-93, 1698-9; Governor 1690-2. Governor, Co. of Merchant Adventurers trading to N.-W. part of America, 1691. Governor, Co. of Copper Miners in England, 1691. Governor, Glass Making Co., Oct. 1691. Deputy-Governor, Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691. Involved with Co. of Copper Miners in England, 1691; Assistant, Co. for Digging and Working of Mines, 1693. Hoare's: 1696. City property. Knighted, Kensington, 15 Sept. 1690. Lieutenancy commission, London, Feb. 1694. M.P., Dartmouth, Nov. 1689-90, 1690-5, 1695-8, 1698-9. Tory.

Woodhead, 88-9; Foster, col. 671; Marshall, 292, 433; L.G., 3282, 22-26 Apr. 1697; Sainsbury, 1674-6, (1935) 406; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 527, 540; ibid, 1691-2, 4; Scott, II, 430; Carr, 217, 239; Hoare, 73; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1694-5, 21.

21. EDWARD HERRYS.

Alive July 1709. Edmonton, Middx., 1690. Merchant. Assistant, Co. of Merchant Adventurers trading to N.-W. part of America, 1691.

M.R., Middlesex Deeds Registry, bdle 54, memorial no. 114; G.J. Armytage (ed.), Allegations for Marriage Licences issued by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury 1687-1694 (1890), 145; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 527.

22. JOHN HOLLAND.

Died 1722, buried Brewood, Staffs. Estate in Ashdown Forest, Sussex. Married Jane, daughter of Walter Fowke, M.D., of Brewood and Little Wyrley, Staffs. Merchant, 1691. Founder and first Governor of Bank of Scotland, 1695. Warrants for payment by E. India Co., 1690. Involved with Co. for recovering wrecks, 1691, and Co. for improving Hampstead conduit; Assistant, Hollow Sword Blade Co., 1691; Assistant, Co. of

Tapestry Makers, 1691. To Lizard, 1692, to work on wrecks(?) Promoted Co., 1693, for manufacture of Colchester baizes. Assistant, Co. for Digging and Working of Mines, 1693.

D.N.B., IX, 1044; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 536; S.G. Checkland, Scottish Banking: A History, 1695-1973 (1975), 18, 27, 33-4; I.O.L. B/40, 6, 35b, 75b; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 505, 522, 544; ibid, 1691-2, 206; Scott, III, 5, 173; Carr, 239.

23. SIR JOHN HOUBLON.

Died 10, buried 18, Jan. 1712, St. Lawrence Jewry. St. Christopher, 1671, 1684, 1695; Threadneedle Street, 1677. James and Mary, née Ducane; merchant. Married Mary, daughter of Isaac Jurin. Merchant, 1660, 1677, trading to France and Spain; Lord of Admiralty, 1694-9; Commissioner for victualling navy, 1702. Governor, Bank of England, 1694-7; Director, 1694-9, 1700-12. Co. Assistant, Levant Co., 1691-5; Director, New E. India Co., 1700-1; Committee, Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691. Knighted, Whitehall, 29 Oct. 1689. Sheriff of London, 1689; Lieutenancy Commissioner, 1694; Lord Mayor, 1696. Contested London, 1701. Whig.

Woodhead, 93; Glass, 155; Acres, II, 613; B.L. Egerton MSS. 3359, f. 59v, 61v; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1691-2, 4; Marshall, 424; W.H. Rylands (ed.), Grantees of Arms (2 vols. 1916-7), I, 191; P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, IX, 206; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1694-5, 21; Haydn, 262.

24. PETER HUME.

Died Dec. 1707. Thomas and - Hume; Household official, admitted as Page in Ordinary, Removing Wardrobe, 5 May 1642. Household and public official. Sworn youngest page, in father's place, 12 Dec. 1668. Eldest groom, Jan. 1678, salary £128; Same post and Wardrobe Keeper, St. James's, 22 March 1688. Yeoman of Removing Wardrobe, 14 Jan. 1693 - Jan. 1698. Receiver of

Taxes, Whitehall, 1692. Commissioner for Million Lottery, 1695, Malt Lottery, 1697. Appointed to examine tellers' receipts, Treasury, 1697. Inspector of cash at Exchequer, 1699-1700.

Luttrell, VI, 242; P.R.O. L.C. 5/201, 303; L.C. 3/24; L.C. 3/30, 55, n.p.; L.C. 3/31, 42; L.G., 3357, 10-13 Jan. 1697; Cal.T.B. 1689-92, 1561; ibid, 1696-7, 417; ibid, 1697, passim; ibid, 1699-1700, passim.

25. JOHN ISHAM.

Born 4, baptised 10, Aug. 1659 at Lamport, Northants; buried there 20 Oct. 1746. Ormond St., London. Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd Bt. and Vere, daughter of Thomas, Lord Leigh of Stonely, Hunts. Married Frances, daughter and coheir of Sir Richard Ashfield, Bt., at St. Edmund the King, London, 10 July 1705. Secretary to Earl of Nottingham, 1693; Commissioner for Million Lottery, 1695, Malt Lottery, 1697, Irish forfeitures, 1700. Bank of England stock, 1710.

H.I. Longden (ed.), The Visitation of the County of Northampton, 1681 (1935), 253; W. Betham, The Baronetage of England (3 vols. 1801-3), I, 303; Luttrell, III, 81, IV, 628-9; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1700-1702, 87; B.L. Egerton MSS. 3359, f. 59v.

26. THOMAS LATHWELL.

London, 1693; St. Antholin, London, 1695. Married (1) Susan Phelps, 10 Oct. 1670 (?), (2) Sarah -, pre-1695 (?). Gentleman. Member of Seven Dials loan consortium.

P.R.O. C5/614/105; G.E. Cokayne and E.A. Fry (ed.), Calendar of Marriage Licences Issued by the Faculty Office 1632-1714 (1905), 54; Glass, 180.

27. JOHN LETTEN.

Baptised 26 March 1624, St. Gregory, Norwich, Norfolk. Died 20 Sept. 1688, buried Southwark. Turnwheel Lane, London, 1677; St. Mary Bothaw, 1687/8. John and - Letten of Norwich. Married Susan, daughter of Alderman

Geffrey Howland of Streatham, Surrey. Merchant. £3,100 stock, E. India Co., 1682; Committee, Hudson's Bay Co., 1680-2; Owed money by Royal Adventurers to Africa, Apr. 1668; Assistant of same, Jan. 1669. £500 stock, Royal African Co. 1671. Alderman, Queenhithe Ward, London, sworn 1, discharged 19 July 1687, paying £520 fine. Brother-in-law of George BARON.

Woodhead, 108; Hotten; I.O.L. B/37, 94a, b; Rich, 1679-84 (1945), Pt. I, 52, 180; P.R.O. T.70/75, Minute Book 1664-72, 73, 87; Beaven, I, 194.

28. THOMAS MAUL(E)

Born Dublin, 1645; died 8 Feb. 1714, buried All Saints, Edmonton, Middx. Edmonton. 5th son of Thomas and - Maule; Surveyor General of King's Customs in Ireland. Unmarried. Ensign, Yeoman of the Guard, 1686-90; Lieutenant, 1690 - May 1704, when he sold place, worth £500 per annum, to William Feilding. Groom of Bedchamber to Prince George of Denmark, 1692, through influence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, and one of three Commissioners of Prince's revenue. Assistant, Co. of Tapestry Makers, 1691; Co. of Fishery of Ireland, 1691. Assistant, Co. for Digging and Working of Mines, 1693. Hoares: 1697.

F.T. Cansick, A Collection of Curious and Interesting Epitaphs relating to Middlesex (2 vols. 1869-75), II, 154; Le Neve, 282; P.R.O. L.C.3/30, 5; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1686-7, 113; ibid, 1689-90, 56; P.R.O. L.C. 3/57, 5a; L.C. 3/31, 4, 5; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 189; Luttrell, V, 427; E.C., (17th edn. 1692), 181, 184; (18th edn. 1694), 272, 274; J.M. Beattie, The English Court in the Reign of George I (1967), 164-5; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 544; ibid, 1691-2, 4; Carr, 239; Hoare, 77.

29. SIR SOLOMON DE MEDINA.

Born Bordeaux, c.1650; died 15 Sept. 1730, buried Ouderkerk burial ground, Amsterdam. Bordeaux, c. 1650-1656; Amsterdam, 1656-72; London, 1672-1702;

Great St. Helens, London, 1674-7; Richmond, 1699-1702, where William III dined with him; Amsterdam, 1702; the Hague,1711-27. Francesco de Medina and Gracia, née Pereira. Married Ester d'Azevedo, probably in Amsterdam. Merchant, factor, financier and contractor. Trading in cotton goods, 1674, Newcastle coal, 1696. Factor of Machado and Pereira, 1690. Million Lottery Commissioner, 1695. By 1697 owed £73,000 by government. Principal army contractor, 1707-11, providing bread and bread waggons. Loss of £80,000 in 1709 which 'broke my Back' and in which 'he is really running madd, having... taken upon him to furnish the Dutch army as well as the English, by which he may be undone,...'. Bank of England stock: 1694: £1,000; 1701: £28,325; 1727: £1,000. E. India Co. debt written off June 1679. Admitted to freedom of Co. by redemption, 18 Sept. 1691. Business turnover per annum: 1670: £9,600; 1674: £44,800; 1692: £16,000. Knighted, Hampton Court, 23 June 1700, first Jew to be so honoured.

Rabinowicz, passim; Marlborough to Godolphin, 31 May 1709: H.L. Snyder (ed.), The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence (3 vols. 1975), III, 1259; I.O.L. B/35, 234; J. Picciotto, Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History (1875), 50.

30. ROBERT MONCKTON.

Exile in Holland during James II's reign, returning 1688; Cavil and Hodroyd, Yorks. Sir Philip and Lady Anne Monckton, née Eyre; landowner and former M.P. for Scarborough. Married Theodosia, daughter and coheir of John Fountaine of Melton-on-the-Hill, Yorks. Commissioner of Trade 1706 - Sept. 1714. Assistant, Co. of Tapestry Makers, 1691; Assistant, Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691. Hoare's: 1710 (?) Deputy Lieutenant, E. Riding of Yorks., 1699, E. and W. Riding and York City, 1700-1702. M.P., Pontefract, 1695, Aldborough, 1700-1717(?). Moderate Court Whig.

Burton, Riley and Rowlands, 24 and n.; Sedgwick, II, 264; D.N.B., XIII, 612; Haydn, 178; Cal.T.B. Jan.-July 1714, 136; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 544; ibid, 1691-2, 4; Hoare, 78; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1699-1700, 310; ibid, 1700-1702, 31, 249, 253; ibid, 1702-3, 394; E. Hamilton, The Backstairs Dragon (1969), 161.

31. ARTHUR MOORE.

Born Monaghan, Ireland, c. 1666; died 4 May 1730. St. Bride's, 1696; Leatherhead, Surrey, 1730; house, Grimsby; mansion, Fetcham, Surrey, 'but his profusion consumed all'. Father was gaoler, or publican at prison gate. Married (1) Susanna, daughter of Dr. Edward Browne, St. Bride's, 17 March 1692; ob. 23 Feb. 1695. (2) Theophila, daughter of William Smythe, in Westminster Abbey, 4 Nov. 1696. Economist and politician. 'A rich miser', Aug. 1698. '... had risen up from being a footman, without any education, to be a great dealer in trade,...'. Comptroller of army accounts, 1704. Commissioner of trade, Oct. 1710 and 1713; agent of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. Paymaster, Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, 1720. Committee, E. India Co., 1698-1701, Director 1706; Assistant, Royal African Co., 1709-10, Director 1710; Director, South Sea Co., July 1711-April 1713, when expelled for clandestine trading. Assistant, Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691. Petitioned, June 1692, about improvement to street lights. Assistant, Co. for Digging and Working of Mines, 1693. Deputy Lieutenant, Surrey, 1702. High Steward, Grimsby, 1714-1730. M.P., Grimsby, 1695, 1698, 1701-15, 1721.

D.N.B., XIII, 787-8; Chester, 34; Luttrell, IV, 411, V, 434; Burnet, IV, 325; Carswell, 282; Cal. T.B. Jan.-July 1714, 136; Haydn, 178; E. Hamilton, 261; I.O.L. B/41, 552, B/43, 1,430; Davies, index; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1691-2, 4, 328; ibid, 1702-3, 393; Carr, 239.

32. WILLIAM MORRIS.

Born c. 1655. St. Margaret's Westminster, 1688(?) Married Mary, daughter of Michael Randall of Gravesend, at St. Clement Danes, 11 Oct. 1688. Master Apothecary, with service in Ireland and Flanders, 1692. Gentleman, 1693. Member of Seven Dials loan consortium.

G.J. Armytage (ed.), Allegations for Marriage Licences issued by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury 1687-94 (1890), 83; Cal.T.P. 1557-1696, 412; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1691-2, 253; H.C.L., Local Deeds Collection, doc. 89; P.R.O. C5/614/105.

33. RICHARD ONSLOW.

St. Dionis Backchurch, London, 1670. Married Mrs. Anne Reynardson, daughter of Lady Ellinor Reynardson, Tottenham High Cross, 16 Aug. 1670. Fishmonger. Mint surety for Neale in £500, 1686.

Foster, col. 995; Cal.T.B. 1685-9, 851.

34. SIR PETER PARAVICINI.

Born Italy, 1637; died 29 Jan., buried 5 Feb. 1697, St. Dunstan-in-the-East. St. Botolph, Aldgate, 1666; Fenchurch Street, 1677; house in Mincing Lane; St. Dunstan-in-the-East, 1694. Peter and ?; tailor. Married Rebecca Fountain(e) of East Greenwich, Kent, at Greenwich or Charlton, Kent, 28 Nov. 1666. Merchant 1666, trading to France; £500 stock, E. India Co., 1678; Committee E. India Co. 1694-6; £500 stock, Royal African Co., 1683; Assistant, 1683-5, 1694. Knighted, Windsor, 19 June 1687. Commissioner for Lieutenancy, London, 1688.

Foster, col. 1014; Woodhead, 125; A.W. Hughes Clarke, R.H. D'Elboux and W. Ward, The Register of St. Dunstan-in-the-East, London (3 vols. 1939-58), III, 111; I.O.L. B/35, 49, B/40, 251a; P.R.O. T.70/186, Transfer Book 1677-87, n.p.; Davies, index; Shaw, II, 263.

35. THOMAS PORTER.

Born c. 1649. Shadwell, 1679, 1691. Married Martha Couchman of Shadwell, at St. Christopher-le-Stocks, or Stepney, 19 Apr. 1679. Scrivener, 1679, 1691. Applied for mining rights, New England, Aug. 1691. Schemes for American dystuffs, making glass and food preservation, 1691. Assistant, Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691.

Foster, col. 1077; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 485, 492-3; ibid, 1691-2, 4.

36. THOMAS POWELL.

Born c. 1648 or 1649. Gt. St. Bartholomew, London, 1671, 1684; Windmill Street, London, 1696. Married (1) Elizabeth Marsh of Dunstable, Beds., 6 Oct. 1671 (2) Mary Bucknall of St. Giles in the Field, 30 July 1684. Mercer 1687; merchant 1692. Warrant for payment by E. India Co., 28 Sept. 1688; sale purchase of 160 pieces of 'Cuttannees plain', 23 Sept. 1690. Committee, Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691. Assistant, Co. for Digging and Working of Mines, 1693. Son-in-law of Ralph BUCKNALL.

Foster, cols. 1083-4; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1696, 206; ibid, 1686-7, 352; ibid, 1691-2, 148, 4; I.O.L. B/39, 167b, B/40, 18a; Carr, 239.

37. ANTHONY ROWE.

Dead by 5 Sept. 1704; Yeoman purveyor and granitor, Royal Stables, March 1675; Avener and Clerk-Martial to Master of Horse, 1692-4; Purveyor, Queen's Stables, 1692-4; Board of Green Cloth, May 1694; Ranger of Hyde Park, 1702-3. Contractor for Hearth money, 1678; patent, 1693, with John Calvert, for two new types of carriage; committee of assignees for Bermuda treasure-recovery patent. Involved in assassination plot against Duke of York, 1683, warrant for arrest 1685. Deputy Lieutenant, Middx 1692. M.P., Penryn, in

Convention; Stockbridge, 1693, but election declared void; double return for Mitchell, Cornwall, 1695 and 1701.

Luttrell, V, 462; P.R.O. L.S. 13/197, f. 38v.; E.C. (17th edn. 1692), 139, 140, 169; ibid (18th edn. 1694), 245; Luttrell, III, 303, V, 144, 293; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1679-80, 92; ibid, 1693, 192; Cal. S.P.Col. 1696-7, 251; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1683, 280, 308; ibid, 1685, 231; ibid, 1691-2, 163-4; Official Return, I, 558, 568, 572.

38. SAMUEL SHEPHERD.

Born 1648; died 1719, buried, St. Magnus, London. St. Magnus, 1673, 1689, 1695; St. Michael's Lane, 1677, Bishopsgate, 1708(?). Joshua and ? ; Saddler, Master of Co., 1659. Married Mary, daughter of Edward Chamberlayne of Princethorpe, Warws., 1673. Merchant: Mediterranean, Newfoundland, Spain, interloper, E. Indies, wine (1683). Naval contractor for oil and wine. Recoinage commissioner, 1697. Banker, floating loan for Prince Eugene, 1706, and banker to Harley. Described, 1710, 'an excellent merchant for shipping, and for trade by far the first in England, but no banker...'. Sufficient Bank of England stock, March 1710, to be Deputy Governor or Director; Admitted to freedom, Muscovy Co., Apr. 1699; Director, New E. India Co., subscribing £35,000 to stock; £1,000 stock, Royal African Co., June 1691; Assistant 1695-8; Dir. South Sea Co., July 1711 - Oct. 1713; Dep. Governor, Oct. 1713-Feb. 1719. Sheriff of London, 1698-9. M.P., Newport, Isle of Wight, 1701, London 1705-8. Guilty of 'ill and indirect practices' in attempting to gain election at Bramber, Sussex. Whig.

Woodhead, 147; Sedgwick, II, 420; Glass, 264; Luttrell, I, 266; Carswell, 283; J.M. Price, 'The Tobacco Adventure to Russia', Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. LI (1961), 109; B.L. Egerton MSS. 3359, f. 60v; G.L. MS.11, 741/3, Minutes of Muscovy Co. 1699-1707, f. 2; I.O.L., B/42, 15, 262; Luttrell, IV, 403; P.R.O. T.70/187,64; Davies, index; Luttrell, IV, 401, V, 27.

39. JOHN SMITH.

Born 1655(?); died 30 Sept. 1723, buried 2 or 4 Oct., S. Tidworth, Hants. John and - Smith. Married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Strickland, 2nd Bt., M.P., of Boynton, Yorks., at St. Paul, Covent Garden, Middx., or ... 7 Nov. 1683. Politician. Lord of Trade, May 1694-Nov. 1699; Privy Council, 23 May 1695; Treasurer of Exchequer and Commissioner of Prizes, 1695; Chancellor of Exchequer Nov. 1699-March 1701; Speaker, Oct. 1705-Nov. 1708; Commissioner for Union with Scotland, 1706; Chancellor of Exchequer, Nov. 1708-Aug. 1710; Teller, Oct. 1710-July 1712, Nov. 1715 - death. '... a man of clear parts, and of a good expression...'. Director, Bank of England, 1694-9, 1703-5, 1706-10, 1711-13; Assistant, Royal African Co., 1694-7. Assistant, Co. of Tapestry Makers, 1691; Co. of Royal Fishery of Ireland, 1691. Deputy Lieutenant, Hants., 1699. M.P., Ludgershall, 1678-9, 1680-1, 1688-9, Beeralston, 1691-5, Andover, 1695-1713, E. Looe, 1715-23. Whig.

D.N.B., XVIII, 485; Sedgwick, II, 427; Foster, col. 1247; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1695, 83, 112; Burnet, IV, 102; Acres, II, 613; B.L. Egerton MSS. 3359, f. 60v.; Davies, index; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 544; ibid, 1699-1700, 235, 254.

40. RICHARD SPENCER.

Died 13 Jan. 1698. St. Helen, London, 1695. Connections with Nottingham, 1696. St. Botolph, London, at death. Richard and Martha, *née* Briggs; Turkey merchant. Unmarried, 1695(?) Mr. Spencer: Minories; Newington Green, 1677. Turkey Merchant, 1696. Member of Seven Dials loan consortium. Assistant, Co. for Digging and Working of Mines, 1693.

P.R.O. C5/614/105; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1696, 99; Woodhead, 154; Hotten; Glass, 275; Carr, 239.

41. SIR DALBY THOMAS.

Born 1649 or 1650; died Cape Coast, Africa, 1711. St. Anne's, Westminster, 1697; Essex, 1703. Married Dorothy Chettell of Blandford, Dorset, parish church or Chapel of Rolls, May 1673. Courtier and civil servant. Gentleman of Privy Chamber, 7 March 1690. Glass duty commissioner, Sept. 1695. Commissioner for paper, parchment and vellum duties, March 1697. £200 stock, E. India Co., March 1683; Promoter of Hampstead Aqueduct Co., 1692; Assistant, Royal African Co., 1699-1703, Governor-General, Guinea, 1703-6, Agent-General, Cape Coast, 1706-11. Proposal, with Dr. Hugh Chamberlen, for a General Fishery, 1693. Purchased 9 tickets, Malt Lottery, 1694. Knighted, Windsor, 1 Aug. 1703. Feb. 1699 punished for 'scandalously reflecting' upon M.Ps.

Foster, col. 1329; Davies, 226, 245, index; M.R., Sacrament certificate, 11 July 1697; Shaw, II, 273; P.R.O. L.C. 3/31, 20, L.C. 3/32, 20, 120; Miege, pt. III, 144; L.G., 3114, 12-16 Sept. 1695; Luttrell, III, 521; Cal.T.B. 1696-7, 424-5; ibid, 1697, 240; I.O.L. B/36, f. 221; Scott, III, 5; J.R. Moore, Daniel Defoe, Citizen of the Modern World (1958), 142; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1700-1702, 581; P.R.O. Adm. 49/66, passim; Luttrell, IV, 487.

42. JOHN TYZACKE.

Glassmaker, 1691, 1695. Merchant, 1694. Projector: '... one of the leading inventors of the period,...'. Engine for oiling and dressing leather, 1691; Diving engine, 1691; Anti-housebreaking device, 1694; Glass in imitation of Rhenish window glass, 1695. Invested in North Blyth Co., with a capital of £10,000, 1693. Customer of the Million Bank, 1695. Permitted one third of money and goods belonging to pirates, executed for Avery's piracy, June 1699.

N.R.L.S.I., Specifications of Patents 1676-92, no. 271; Cal.S.P. 1695, 103; ibid, 1694-5, 17; Scott, II, 487; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 466, 484, 544-5; E. Hughes, 'The 'New River' Water Supply for Newcastle upon Tyne,

1698-1723', Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th ser. XXV (1947), 117; P.R.O. C114/9, Cash Ledger A, 1696-1722, ff. 33, 34; Cal.T.P. 1697-1702, 139.

43. JAMES WARD.

Died 9 Jan. 1717(?). Merchant: Kings Arms Yard, Coleman St. and Oxford Court, Cannon St., 1677. Member of Seven Dials Loan consortium. £200 stock, E. India Co., Feb. 1679; Assistant, Royal African Co., 1679-80.

Historical Register Chronicle, VI; Hotten; P.R.O. C5/614/105; I.O.L. B/35, 154; Davies, index.

44. SAMUEL WEALE.

Alive 1712. St. Dunstan-in-the-West, 1693. Gentleman. Customs official at Plymouth, Truro, and Fowey, Cornwall: Surveyor pre-1672, Collector 1672-6, when dismissed for misdemeanours. Petitioned for reinstatement, Feb. 1688. Projector: Patent with others, 1681, for draining mines. Petitioned about a diving engine, Sept. 1691. Machine for beating, stamping and pounding, 1692. New preparations for dyestuffs, 1693; Petitioned Treasury for post, May 1694, on strength of having been the 'first to propose raising money by way of tonnage'. Assistant, Glass Making Company, Oct. 1691.

Bodl. Rawl. MSS. D. 808, ff. 73, 246; A.305, ff. 18-19; Cal.T.B. 1669-72, 1055; ibid, 1672-5, 352; ibid, 1676-9, 319; ibid, 1685-9, 1782; N.R.L.S.I., Specifications of Patents 1676-92, no. 215; Cal. S.P.Dom. 1690-1, 514, 524, 540; ibid, 1691-2, 14, 29; ibid, 1693, 270; Cal.T.P. 1557-1696, 364.

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53M63 Pink and Arnold Collection.

21M64 Hylton MSS.

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