

Women in the Livery and High Civic Office in the City

City of London

Women in the Livery and High Civic Office in the City

**including
Lady Masters Association
and
City Consorts**

**A Research Paper
by
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FOREWORD

It's a privilege to be asked to write the foreword for this new paper on Women in the Civic City and Livery.

What started as a short research project in lockdown on the Lady Masters Association has turned into a comprehensive and informative paper on how the role of women in City Civic life has evolved since the Middle Ages.

It's easy to forget how quickly the livery has changed in this regard. In 1983, when the first female Lord Mayor, Dame Mary Donaldson was elected, more than half of the livery companies were not open to women on equal terms as men. At the turn of the millennium, more than a quarter still did not allow equal admittance. Now, at long last, in 2020, all City livery companies and guilds accept women on equal terms with men, making this a timely moment for this research paper to be published.

As the paper reminds us, women have had a long and significant impact in civic and livery life in the last thousand years. Many Medieval guilds were reliant on the skilled work of women and many buildings only came into the possession of the Livery or the City Corporation, such as the former Bricklayers Hall or Columbia Market, through acquisitions and donations from women.

Erica Stary has provided a valuable addition to the history of women in the livery and civic life. As she suggests, if this paper is updated in 2033, on the Golden Jubilee of Dame Mary's mayoral election, I am sure there will be many more accounts of the legacies of many more female masters, sheriffs and Lord Mayors. And I am sure the Lady Masters Association will have played a significant role in the success of more female masterships, shrievalties and mayoralties.

I hope readers enjoy the paper as much as I did.

The **Rt Hon the Lord Mayor** of the City of London
Alderman William Russell
January 2021

PREFACE

This project arose out of “Lockdown” and as a result of a decision to while away a couple of hours (a couple???) - I must have been mad!) writing a short note to explain the background, before we all forgot it, which led to the formation of the Lady Masters Association in 2015. That note quickly expanded into looking at women holding high civic office and gradually into researching the position of women in the livery since the middle ages and the contribution which women have made, and continue to make, to the success of the City Livery movement which in turn supports the Mayoral team and thus “UK plc”.

I soon realised that research was even more difficult during Lockdown than it would normally be due to having to carry out all research on line and being unable to visit Guildhall Library and read original texts. It also became clear that there was not enough information on the web to enable this research paper and its appendices to be as complete as both have become. I therefore began to ask around the livery and the City.

I am hugely grateful to all those liverymen, past masters, prime wardens and upper bailiffs, former sheriffs and lord mayors, wardens, clerks, other friends, company and city archivists, and many, many others who have helped me to track down information. I hope there are no errors, but, if there are, those errors are mine alone.

Apart from each company's website and the material available there, other sources I have found to research for information are listed below either in the Bibliography under Appendix III or else in the endnotes to the main article (which are in the final pages). Much information came via email.

If, dear Reader, you should wish to make any amendments or to add any information, please email me via the clerk at one of my livery companies - City Solicitors, Tax Advisers, Tin Plate Workers alias Wire Workers or the Plumbers. It would be good to be able to complete the obvious gaps and to correct any errors.

It is intended that the work will be made available on the Lady Masters Association website – www.ladymasters.org.uk . It will also be circulated to all those who have made contributions, all livery and guild clerks, Guildhall Library, and anyone and anywhere else considered appropriate.

I've found it fascinating to research, I have learnt a huge amount. It has all been great fun too. I hope you enjoy reading it as much as I have creating it.

I am thrilled that the Rt Hon the Lord Mayor of the City of London, Alderman William Russell, has taken time out of his very busy life to write a Foreword.

Erica Stary

30 January 2021

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Women in the Livery and High Civic Office in the City

Introduction

The paper is essentially an overview: it looks first at the momentous year for women in the City – 1983 and the background to that year, then at the contributions women have made from the early middle ages to the City's prosperity and the background law which prevented them from doing more. It then explains the rationale behind the Lady Masters Association, and the relatively newly created City Consorts group (the members of which are mainly but not entirely women). There is also a short comment about women clerks and the emerging pre-year masters groups. Since a woman attaining high civic office often needs (or at least would think about obtaining, a coat of arms as it is traditional, though not compulsory) it looks at women's lack of rights there. It does not look at the considerable amount of voluntary time and work put in by women (and men) who have been prepared to be and have been elected to serve as common councilmen and aldermen and in due course, if appropriate, as sheriff and/or Lord Mayor.

The 1983 watershed

In 1983 there was an amazing occurrence in the City of London – not only was the Civic City promoting and electing a woman Lord Mayor, but also there was to be the very first woman master of a livery company.

High Civic Office

The Civic City had been working its way towards the Lord Mayor (Dame Mary Donaldson as she shortly became) for some time. She was the wife of the then Master of the Rolls - Sir John Donaldson^{1 2}. They lived in the Temple³, she had time to spare and decided she wanted to fill it⁴. What better than to become a local councillor, or, in City parlance, a common councilman alongside her pre-existing position as a JP and the other voluntary works she undertook with enthusiasm. She took herself to Guildhall to find out how it was done. They were astonished (apparently), saying, "But, you are a woman!" to which she is alleged to have asked, "Is it unlawful for a woman to stand?"⁵. The official then advised her that, of course, she could stand, but she would not be elected. Notwithstanding his prophecy, shortly after (in 1966) she became the first woman ever to serve on the Court of Common Council⁶.

She was a member for the Ward of Farringdon Without, North Side. There were other firsts: once they realised what a “good egg” she was, she was encouraged by the Civic City to stand as Alderman⁷, and became the first woman to take aldermanic office⁸ in 1975 and the first woman Sheriff in 1981.

Oddly, in 1973, some twelve to eighteen months before Dame Mary’s appointment as alderman, another woman, the first ever, was elected to the Aldermanic Court: she was Edwina Coven⁹. Edwina had stood for Dowgate Hill after the then senior alderman moved (apparently by custom) to Bridge Without Ward, leaving a vacancy but, for reasons which have never been disclosed, the Court of Aldermen, as was (the author is reliably informed) its right(!?), and despite the Ward having elected her by a clear majority of 54 to 30, refused to accept her¹⁰. She stood for a second time, and was elected again. Her Ward, which had voted this time 53-20, sent a petition signed by the majority of the voters to the Aldermanic Court supporting her. To no avail, she was rejected again. It is not known why, though Lord (Tim) Beaumont, in an article in the *Spectator*¹¹ at the time, surmised that her face, for whatever reason, simply did not fit. She did, however, in due course obtain the accolade of being the first woman common councilman to be elected Chief Commoner¹².

Despite Dame Mary’s success in 1981, it took a further 18 years (and a day at the polls following a demand for one at Common Hall¹³ in a contested election) before a second woman – Pauline Halliday – was elected sheriff. At the time of writing this (2020) there have so far been five other women sheriffs – Fiona Woolf as aldermanic sheriff, Wendy Mead¹⁴, Fiona Adler, Christine Rigden, and Liz Green¹⁵. The expected eighth, Alderman¹⁶ Alison Gowman¹⁷, has had her potential election postponed due to the Covid 19 pandemic into 2021. To date, there have only been two women Lord Mayors since King John (then residing in the Temple for protection from the Barons) granted the City the right to elect its own Mayor in 1215^{18 19}.

Some say Dame Mary only visited liveryies during her Mayoral year that already accepted women members or undertook so to do^{20 21} but her family is adamant that this was not so. It is also clear that had she only done that, there would not have been many livery dinners to attend...there were still less than half of the companies admitting women on equal terms even a year or so after her mayoralty – see Appendix II. It is clearly a myth. It is known she attended dinners with men only as well as dinners where the women dined separately (as was common in several companies at the time), only joining the men for the speeches.

On another occasion, another woman, Dinah Johnson²², liveryman of the Farriers, organised a dinner for her with other women across the livery. It was apparently very hard to find the other women due to not knowing which companies²³ had women liverymen and on making inquiries was told by at least one respondent “We don’t have any of *those!*”.

Dame Mary herself had a charity box on her desk at Mansion House for fines she imposed on those who called her Lady Mayoress. Her family recalls the occasion when she attended a livery dinner where the paper covers to the candles caught fire. An over-enthusiastic member of staff promptly threw a jug of water over it, soaking her in the process. When she came to speak, she said “You have had the fire, then the flood, and now comes the tempest”!!.

Women’s position within the Livery and the City prior to the 20th Century

One cannot begin to understand the treatment of women in the livery and City in the middle ages and later until one understands the background law. In essence, many of the classical kingdoms and empires based around the Mediterranean basin²⁴ had given women few (if any) rights, the common theme being that women were subjugated to which ever was the appropriate man in their life – such as father, husband, son, brother. The restrictions of the civil and criminal law to which the populace was accustomed also spread into the Church starting about a hundred or so years after that religion began to gain sway.²⁵ This resulted in a secondary pressure which, together with the law carried over from the old Roman Empire across Western Europe, including England after the Norman Conquest²⁶, effectively made it normal for women to be subjugated. Whilst Magna Carta in 1215 gave women some rights²⁷, they were generally treated less favourably than men and that law varied on whether or not they were married. As a result, it was unlikely that a woman would hold any form of livery office as, should she marry, she would no longer be able to hold that office. She was in any event (normally) debarred by law from taking public office²⁸. The effect of marriage in English law resulted in many benefits for her husband including the vesting in him of any real property she might own: these rights survived until his death even if she had died earlier, in exchange for which he was normally required to support²⁹ her within his means (which meant the standard at which he chose to spend). Women did acquire limited rights of inheritance and became entitled to carry out various trades on their own but they were always subject to severe limitations. English law gradually gave more rights than women had in Europe but it was not until the last hundred years or so that women began to acquire rights which gradually put them on a par with men³⁰. Women had many struggles to achieve

parity³¹. Those limitations help to explain the lack of women at senior levels across the livery and in City government.

Women's Contribution

The reports made by the various livery companies show just how important women have been as contributors. Where, for example, would Goldsmiths have built Goldsmiths' Centre if they had not been given a very generous donation of farmlands by Agas Harding, the widow of Robert Harding (a senior warden), in 1514? Their website also acknowledges that the workshop of Eliza Godfrey produced some of the finest quality silver in Georgian England³². Another example was the acquisition of Bricklayers Hall (now alas no longer in existence) from Eliza Dyall, Citizen and Tyler³³. Eleanor Coade, a former linen seller, created Coade Stone³⁴, which resembled Portland Stone. Examples of items made from it are all over London, such as the Lion on Westminster Bridge, Schomberg House in Pall Mall, the Caryatids at the Sir John Soane Museum, to name but a few³⁵ and there are several at livery halls, such as a swan at Vintners. These three women – Eliza Godfrey, Eliza Dyall and Mrs Coade show just how well women ran business, particularly as a *feme sole*.³⁶ It is interesting that Mrs Coade did not marry. The Fan Makers report that recruitment of women ran 50:50 with men in the early days. Fishmongers has had women members “for centuries”. The Fletchers comment that women's smaller hands would have enabled them to fletch the arrows well. Several companies report always having had women members, whether as widows carrying on the family trade, as daughters via patrimony or as women entering via servitude (apprenticeship) or redemption (not qualifying in any other way and thus paying a greater fee for entry). The Needlemakers noted that many women needlemakers were actually freemen of other companies – whose company they had entered by patrimony. Another example of this is given in Virginia Rounding's paper *City Women* where she gives a list of 19 women freemen of the Musicians who by trade are milliners, chartsellers, victuallers, and so on.³⁷ Haberdashers' apprentices were 10 per cent women in the medieval period and there was much greater growth in the 17th century. Merchant Taylors specifically state that women have always played a key role. Even companies which initially thought that they should preserve the trade for the men, such as the Weavers, which initially had provisions preventing women, other than widows of weavers, from weaving, realised how useful it would be to encourage women and had their ordinances amended.

Considering the centuries which have passed, the regard in general social terms in which women were kept, the fact that many companies did not keep freedom records, only livery, the calamities of devastation such as the Great Fire and the bombing in the two World Wars, it is surprising that there is any documentation to show us what women did. But, from the records which remain, it is clear they ran flourishing businesses, they trained apprentices, they were highly skilled, they assisted their husbands, they made generous donations and are generally held in high regard by those who know about what they did.

Women and City Freedom

The Chamberlain's Court stresses that the City has always granted freedom to women as well as men. Inevitably, historically, there were always more men who were freemen than women. Like men, they were able to acquire it by redemption, patrimony or servitude³⁸. In addition, a widow, whose husband had the City freedom, had the freedom extended to her by courtesy during her widowhood so that she was enabled to continue to run his business without payment of the relevant fees. This is important since Ordinances³⁹ granted to the City in 1319 by Edward II made it impossible to run a trade within the City unless one had also acquired the freedom. The courtesy rule relating to freedom did not apply to widowers in part because a married woman, even if free before her marriage, found her freedom in abeyance during (as lawyers used to say) coverture⁴⁰. Here, the custom in the City followed, as it had to, the limited rights in general law applying to married women⁴¹.

There were other differences too. Whilst a daughter could become free by patrimony via her father, neither her son nor her daughter could become free via patrimony from her. Patrimony was from the father only, as the word implies. Further, she could only apply for freedom by patrimony if she were single – ie not married. It follows that she could apply before marriage, and after the marriage was over, but not during the marriage because of the general background law relating to married women (see above) and the custom (based on background law) of freedom being in abeyance during her marriage. The same also applied (because constrained by the general law) within the livery movement.

The first *honorary* freedom of the City given to a(n unmarried) woman was to Angela Burdett-Coutts⁴² on 18 July 1872 in recognition of her outstanding charitable work and the gift of Columbia Market⁴³ in Bethnal Green to the City of London.

Women as Freemen and Liverymen of Livery Companies

Evidence from livery and City records indicates that most of the established “old” livery companies⁴⁴ had had women freemen and/or liverymen at least by way of courtesy^{45 46 47} as widows of freemen or liverymen members, others also had some or all of: women apprentices, women freemen by redemption, and by servitude, and women (often a widow taking over her husband’s apprentice) who were apprentice masters at various times⁴⁸. As one liveryman put it cynically to the author, this might have happened to ensure that the widow and her family did not need to have recourse to charitable funds from the company. However, other liverymen⁴⁹ say that widows became free in order to carry on the business and also to enable them receive charitable support from the company in terms of a pension and access to their Alms Houses should this be needed. In two cases, which emphasise the charitable nature of the livery, the Tallow Chandlers, concerned about the widow of their Beadle, made her their acting Beadle in 1800⁵⁰; similarly, the Woolmen in 1820⁵¹. More positively, many liverymen regarded it very important to keep the family’s trade in place with its contacts and expertise and treated the widow as having “served her time”, (it being customary to consider the period of the marriage as being the equivalent of a seven-year apprenticeship⁵²): the widow would have been very much involved in the business even if, for example, she did not actually put lead on roofs (as her Plumber husband might have done) but dealt with the finances and/or other aspects of the business. This allowed her to continue her husband’s business, without having to be formally admitted to the freedom (as a freesister⁵³) or livery, plus she was enabled to continue with her late husband’s apprentices so that another apprentice master need not be found for them (and in some cases, the apprentice would in due course after qualifying marry the widow). In some liverymen, this resulted in the widow becoming a liveryman as opposed to a freeman. However, when/if she remarried, she would lose the rights extended to her by courtesy (both from the livery and from the City). Where her new husband was in the same trade, he would be able to take over hers, but, if he were not, he would not be allowed to assume control of the (previous husband’s) business⁵⁴ which, unless there were others able and qualified to take it over, would go into abeyance and any apprentices would need to be found new masters. The former widow would also not be able to continue her late husband’s business as she would cease to have the rights extended to her by courtesy during her widowhood. There was another phenomenon relating to women to which reference has been made above – they were often free by patrimony of their father’s livery but actually ran a different business. He might for example be a mercer, she might

trade as a needlemaker or brewster. And, as we have seen above, the contribution of the women's trading abilities and skills made a huge addition to the wealth of the City.

History does not⁵⁵ tell us who the first ever woman liveryman was in any company. It is, however, clear that, notwithstanding that many women are in their company's records as a liveryman, no woman had ever been master of any of the livery companies or City guilds before 1983⁵⁶ ⁵⁷. One therefore needs to ask whether those women described as liverymen in their company's records were "real" liverymen on equal terms with men even if they had been "clothed in the livery"⁵⁸. The evidence does not appear to support this concept. Scant though it may be in many places due to passage of time, the Great Fire, the Blitz and other calamities, the data collected by many historians indicate that the expression with regard to women would be titular only. They might pay the quarterage, they might be reprimanded for poor work, but, because they would lose their freedom of the City on marriage or remarriage and at the same time their right in existing law to trade in their own name unless their husband ratified their actions, it could not have been appropriate to have them taking part in the running of the particular company⁵⁹.

The Reduction of Livery membership in late Georgian and in Victorian times

During the late Georgian period and in the Victorian era, the membership of most livery companies, both men and women, reduced significantly. In seeking to answer the question as to why, it seems clear that this was due to many factors, including the many Enclosure Acts⁶⁰ in England and the Highland and Islands Clearances⁶¹ in Scotland, which not only caused huge hardship to many of the clansmen, peasants and farm labourers and their families but also impelled them to move in their droves to the towns seeking work⁶²; the impact of the Industrial Revolution, destroying as it did, much of the hand-trade work; the loss of ownership of copyright caused by the 1710 Act;⁶³ the invention of machinery to carry out many trades; the expansion of new towns and cities such as Birmingham, Sheffield and Manchester; the creation of the railway structure with its concomitant discovery of the "joys of commuting" and thus the move out of town to suburbs. The increasing middle classes and their increasing wealth resulted in their wives no longer being required or expected to contribute in any way to the family business or income. An important feature for the livery was the loss in 1835 (as part of the general tidying up of inadequacies of rights to participate in local government occasioned by the changes in national participation by the 1832 Reform Act) of the privileges given to freemen of particular cities - including the City of London⁶⁴ - and towns to trade which were denied to others who could not afford to become free, meant

that one could carry on one's trade with impunity – without joining or continuing to be a member of a livery company. There were many reasons including these which contributed to the changes in the social mores before and during the Victorian period where it became commonplace (except possibly in the working class) that “a woman's place is in the home” or, as the Leathersellers say⁶⁵, “the earlier times when women had taken a more active role in London's trade, commerce and public life were conveniently forgotten...” This massive social and economic change resulted in connexions within the livery which women used to have as freemen (and less frequently liverymen) dwindling if not actually to zero then virtually so. There seems to be no evidence of any positive decision to stop having women, just that, for one reason or another, women were no longer applying, no longer doing apprenticeships, no longer needing to be a member to run their late husband's trade, so that the concept of a woman being a member or some sort of associate disappeared. There followed several generations of male livery before (most⁶⁶) companies began to consider including women again in their membership.

Twentieth Century advances

The notable beginnings of change from the Victorian and late Georgian approach⁶⁷ started after the First World War, initially with the extension of the vote to suitably-qualified women in 1918 and then with the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act 1919 (the 1919 Act)⁶⁸. This has resulted in many (though not all by any means) 20th and 21st century livery company and guild creations having an egalitarian approach from inception save that, as they are restricted in granting membership to persons in the relevant trade, they are only able to have women as members who achieve the relevant qualifications - and apply to join - such as the Honourable Company of Master Mariners⁶⁹ which initially required a member to have a Foreign Going Master Mariner's certificate as a pre-condition – going to sea is still rare for women⁷⁰. The second, the City Solicitors⁷¹, was at the time of its creation also the City's local law society⁷² and one can still only join if one is or has worked as a solicitor in the City (now extended to include Canary Wharf).

The document *Women in the Livery* in Appendix III, is interesting to read as many of the early liversies clearly had women freemen – for example, the Spectacle Makers' first woman freeman was admitted in 1699, and their first liveryman in 1919. They say there was no obvious reason (looking at it in 2020) why women were not made liverymen earlier, but the author considers that the reason would have been the state of the law relating to women before recent times. The first woman to pass their technical exams so as to become an

ophthalmic optician did so in 1898. The fact of a woman becoming qualified to do a “man’s work” caused such a stir that women were promptly barred from taking the exams on the somewhat spurious grounds that, if women could do the work, the value, and thus wages, would fall⁷³.

City Freedom extended to Married Women

In the Civic City, the refusal to grant freedom to married women continued, notwithstanding the 1919 Act, until Lady Parsons, a married woman and a redoubtable engineer⁷⁴, applied, was refused, and objected, quoting the Act. In the result, the City custom was altered to comply with the change in the law. Lady Parsons herself was the third such married woman to be granted the freedom (on 26 July 1923), the first two being Edie Anne Knight and Harriet Ann Sladen⁷⁵ on 20 April 1923. It should be noted that the other customary right – that of freedom by patrimony via female freemen (or freesisters) – was not extended to their children till 1976⁷⁶. Whilst there was no such pre-1976 limitation to children of freemen fathers, daughters could only, before 1923, qualify for freedom of the City by patrimony whilst single or widowed (or divorced).

Women Masters

Despite the 1919 Act and the slow but inexorable rise in the numbers of women entering into the professions and industry, it was not until 1983 that a woman became master of any company – her company was the Chartered Secretaries and Administrators⁷⁷ and she was Sylvia Tutt⁷⁸, lovingly remembered by all who knew her. The second and third was HRH The Princess Royal who became Master Farrier⁷⁹ in 1984 and, in 1986, Master Carman⁸⁰.

At the beginning of 2003, (twenty years later) there had still only been twenty-two women masters (slightly more on average than one per year), despite the fact that all companies bar one (the Bowyers⁸¹) change⁸² their figurehead each year and during that period there would have been (allowing for the Bowyers and new livery companies) an annual average of ninety-nine companies (and thus 1,980 appointments of masters, prime wardens, and upper bailiffs⁸³).

By the beginning of 2013, the average numbers appointed each year had begun to increase – there had now been seventy-nine appointments (still not quite 3 on average each year) of a total of seventy-two women (some have been appointed more than once, such as HRH The Princess Royal who, at the time of writing (January 2021), has been appointed eight times and is also the Permanent Master of the Saddlers⁸⁴ and Dame Fiona Woolf, who has recently

finished her third mastership, this time of the Builders Merchants⁸⁵, (having been both Master Solicitor and Master Plumber).

2013 also saw the second woman Lord Mayor – Fiona Woolf, an outstanding international lawyer who is married to Nicholas, a Chartered Accountant and Past Master Tax Adviser.

When Fiona Woolf was appointed Master Plumber in October 2018, she coincidentally became the 150th female livery master appointment. She became the first non-Royal lady master to have been made master of a livery company three times when she became Master Builders Merchant in 2019. Another Fiona, Fiona Morrison, was the 150th individual female to be appointed as a master when she became Master Actuary in July 2019.

The Lady Masters Association

The history relating to the creation of the Lady Masters Association (LMA) is set out in full in Appendix I, suffice to say it started as a friendship group from a few women who met up when they were all masters at about the same time and wanted to stay in touch. They did not, however, create a formal group until 2015, which was started as a result of encouragement from Dame Fiona Woolf and (whilst she was non-aldermanic sheriff) Fiona Adler.

Its impact on the City has been primarily the encouragement it gives to women wardens by running regular events to enable them to “Ask all the questions I wish I had known before I became master” and to build up connexions and knowledge before taking up their respective offices. The Lady Masters have also been involved in two floats in the Lord Mayor’s Show. The first in 2013 to support the second woman Lord Mayor was not formally run as such by the LMA ⁸⁶ which did not then exist, but by the City Livery Club. The second was to celebrate the centenary of (some) women being granted the vote. More details are in the historical article in Appendix I.

Admission of women into Livery Companies⁸⁷ in modern times

It clearly took many companies, both ancient and modern, quite some time to make up their minds to admit women on equal terms with men. For example, one livery company master managed to persuade its court that women should be admitted, but the decision was considered so controversial that no-one felt able to propose any woman for the next four or five years. Another company was in effect forced into granting women membership as a result of a liveryman’s daughter, who wished to become free of the City by patrimony, finding she was thwarted – to be admitted by patrimony meant using the same route as her father, ie via membership of his livery company. It was only when threatened with press

coverage that they caved in – happily, she in due course became master of that company, so the company concerned clearly became very pleased with the decision.

Another company, having persuaded itself to allow women in, gave livery to one woman, and within twelve months made a new decision that only “women of great distinction” should be admitted. It took some twenty years before a review of that decision, coupled with the need to have more members, resulted in women being admitted on the same terms as men.

There are many similar stories. To save their blushes, no names are mentioned here, but they will know who they are. The writer observes that it was really the same in the professions and in industry⁸⁸. It took time before women began to be seen as being as competent and as useful, witness how long it has taken to have more than token numbers of (very able) women⁸⁹ as partners in City practices and women on the Boards of FTSE 100 companies. And it was the result of a change in social structure arising from and after the Second World War.

The statistics produced from the livery company survey *Women in the Livery*⁹⁰ shows that there are seven (ancient) companies which offered livery before 1970 and, in the case of six of them, continued so to do throughout their history and so have not had the (at times) agonising discussions as to whether to extend livery to women which others have had (but, as seen above, it would not have been until the background law changed that women would have been able to be on equal terms with their fellow male liverymen), ten which opened livery to women in the 1970s, seventeen in the 1980s, thirteen in the 1990s and the balance this century, most of the 21st century extensions to women were around or shortly after Gavyn Arthur⁹¹ and his civic team made it clear that they would not be visiting any livery company which did not provide equal access men and women. There is one company which has not yet provided any specific livery information but clearly it accepts women as it has had a women master⁹². All the modern companies save three have been open to women from the start, though, in the case of the Solicitors, not until the law changed in 1919 (though it is fair to add that they were not tested by any applications till the 1970s...). The younger guilds and companies without livery plus the two ancient non-livery worshipful companies are all open to both sexes on an equal basis. See Appendix II for a simple breakdown.

The survey shows that there is now no City livery company or guild which does not accept women on equal terms with men. What is normal in the 2020s was certainly not so in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s⁹³.

What the survey does not show is the significant contribution made by various individual women in modern times, including of course those spending significant time serving on the Courts of Common Council and Aldermen, and/or in high civic office. There are also others who have spread their energies widely. Mentioning names at random and with apologies to those many not specifically identified here, typical examples are Judy Tayler-Smith⁹⁴, who was born in the City, lives in the City, and has presided over a huge number of groups such as livery companies and ward clubs. Another is Mei Sim Lai⁹⁵, who came to London from Malaysia in 1970 to study and stayed. She has done so much to foster both women, via the City Women's Network, and the livery and charitable activities in the City. Mei Sim Lai is a firm believer in empowering women. She says:

“Women have got to be courageous and put themselves forward for top jobs, even though they might not succeed the first time. They have to stick their heads above the parapet. Unless they apply, they are not going to stand a chance of getting shortlisted. Women should do more because you can't wait for the men to decide they are going to appoint you⁹⁶.”

Mei Sim and Judy are just two of countless women in the City who are the embodiment of that quote, many of whom those of us involved in the City will know well, such as Victoria Russell⁹⁷. Adèle Thorpe (*infra*) and Venetia Howes⁹⁸, the list is long. Here is not the place to list all, alas.

City Consorts⁹⁹

Another major change which has taken place gradually over the last fifteen to twenty years is the visibility and activity of livery company consorts – where in the past they might be invited to one or two events, today they run their own consorts' events, and are frequently invited with the master to other livery company events. Increasingly, they have their own separate consorts' year association¹⁰⁰. The result is that men and women in the livery include not only those who are liverymen, freemen or yeomen etc of their companies, they also include the spouses, etc. of officers. Whilst many consorts in the 21st century will be liverymen in their own right, others have no specific link apart from their spouse, partner, sibling, friend, parent, etc., for whom they are acting as consort. The author considered this article, though originally intended to be about women liverymen, women masters and women in high civic office, would not be complete without looking at what has happened in the area of consorts, where the majority have hitherto been women, despite there being, as a result of the increasing numbers of women masters, increasing numbers of men becoming consorts.

In the livery year 2015-16 the wife of the then Master Chartered Accountant, Von Spofforth, looked critically at what consorts could contribute. She realised that many were painfully unprepared for their year “in the limelight”¹⁰¹. In many cases, they had merely had a late handover from their predecessor, whom they might not even really know. Perhaps they had not been involved in the livery company while their spouse was progressing towards the master’s year. Clerks of the companies, she realised, did not have the time to help, they were far too busy doing their jobs. She set about finding a solution.

Gathering a group of like-minded consorts, she created City Consorts (known familiarly as C²). The Society was greeted with huge enthusiasm from past consorts, current consorts and those on the way. Further, many livery officers – masters, wardens – and the Civic City, such as the Mayoralty, were very enthusiastic and actively supportive. There was clearly a hitherto unmet need.

City Consorts had its first AGM in 2018, attended by (*inter alia*) the then Lady Mayoress, Samantha Bowman. It quickly acquired well over 200 members and runs a very active social programme designed to be fun, informative and to prepare those women and men whose other halves¹⁰² are working their way into the master’s position in their own livery. It allows the consort to feel confident about that livery company, to know what clothes to wear at what function, how to deal with the loving cup, sung grace, the rose bowl, and so on; and it gives them a whole range of information about the City, its history, pageantry, and the place of the livery within that. It has had a very positive and beneficial effect which can only be of benefit to the whole livery movement and the City¹⁰³.

City Consorts has found that future consorts who join approximately two years before their year, or when their spouse is a warden, derive the most benefit. Most of the events C² holds are social and every event has a livery theme. Future consorts can learn from members who have already served as consort and from those currently in post. It is particularly useful to get to know other consorts who will be in their year group. By the time they become consorts themselves, they will always see a familiar face at an event. Often the consort knows more of their peers than the newly-installed master.

City Consorts’ website and private social media pages are all about sharing experiences and offering events to attend, where members – future consorts – can gain confidence and knowledge before their year. Von, and many others, are delighted that C² has firmly

established itself in the Square Mile and has earned support from so many quarters. All look forward to watching it grow and grow.

Informal Year Groups Pre-Advancement to Master

There has, also, been a tendency in the last two or three years for an informal year group¹⁰⁴ of probable¹⁰⁵ masters to be set up one to two years prior to the expected year of office. This enables them to get to know others whom they are likely to meet, in advance of their year. It forges camaraderie. It exchanges knowledge. And the informal groups also link with C² which, as stated above, enables the prospective consort also to make his or her own friends and contacts around the livery. It is to be hoped that these informal groups, which are currently driven by the enthusiasm of individuals who are in the frame for master in their own company, continue as it can only be of benefit to the City and livery as a whole.¹⁰⁶ The author of this paper has just (January 2021) been approached to see if, as well as running a pre 2021-22 prospective masters group, she were also running a consorts group for their consorts as the prospective consort concerned wanted to meet up with her opposite numbers on a less “formal” basis in addition to being a member of C2. Steps are being put in place. There is clearly a need.

Livery Company Clerks

Another area where there has been a massive change in the last forty years has been the increase in women clerks. The first two appear to have been appointed in 1985, though several companies had female assistant clerks earlier. The longest (female) appointment to date is 33 years¹⁰⁷. Over fifty worshipful companies have had women clerks, most for periods in excess of 3 years and at least fifteen companies have had more than one. It is known that there was at least one company which felt unable at the time (during the 1980s) to promote a very able woman assistant clerk. Another ancient company which appointed a woman assistant clerk in 1971, were so impressed that they not only elevated her to clerk but in due course she became their first woman master¹⁰⁸.

The database used by the author to extract the details about clerks is Nigel Pullman’s *magnum opus*¹⁰⁹, it contains much fascinating detail – where else would one have discovered easily that there are nine companies which each have runs of one family clerks for over 100 years, and many others had clearly relied on one family providing their clerks for significant periods. Unfortunately, it seems that the Fellowship/Livery Committee has created its own database and has, so the author is informed, “instructed” clerks to remove their data from

Nigel's. Which seems a shame, especially as it is very hard, if not impossible, to access their database if one is not a clerk. It is to be hoped that they see the error of their ways and allow for the continued updating of the City's own resource of full details available to the livery, the clerks and the public alike.

Grant of Arms

A problem, which is not limited to livery and City, but which affects especially those women who obtain high civic office, is that relating to the granting of arms (coats of arms). These come from the College of Arms here in the City on Queen Victoria Street.

One might have thought in the 21st century that in a thriving, pulsating, thrusting, modern City there would be nothing reminding us of our past when women were, as described by John Stuart Mill, "*bondservant[s]... no less so... than slaves commonly so called*"¹¹⁰. But one has to consider the College of Arms, a Royal Corporation. Whilst it is accepted that arms were used by knights in battle so that they could be identified at a time when it was relatively rare (but there are examples¹¹¹) for women to be involved, thus the customs which prevailed clearly applied to men, those granted to women in 21st century, admittedly for a lower fee, are shrouded in sex discriminatory rules.

Should any woman (save for Royalty), whether of the City or elsewhere, be she freeman, liveryman, master, sheriff, common councilman, alderman or lord mayor, high sheriff (in the counties), judge, professor and so on, wish to apply for a grant, she will discover that something of the experience of being a chattel creeps back into her life.

In the City, the tradition is that the sheriffs and lord mayors have their own coat of arms. The shrieval coat is left on display with all other sheriffs' grants in the Old Bailey¹¹². Any woman who succeeds in being elected sheriff will find herself paying a visit to the Queen Victoria Street premises unless, a rare case, she has inherited her father's arms - which brings up other complexities relating to for example, inheritance by her children, how her husband, if he is armigerous, displays hers on his coat, and so on.

What will a woman desirous of or needing a coat of arms be able to have? First of all, she will not be entitled to have a helmet and crest - these being martial devices, are clearly not befitting the "weaker sex". Second, she has to have a lozenge (naturally, she does not need a shield, she doesn't go into battle), unless married to an armigerous man (one who has his own coat of arms). If she has children, they will not be entitled to inherit the arms from her unless her husband, their father, is also armigerous and the children are their legitimate offspring –

adopted children and those born out of wedlock may not inherit. If her husband is not armigerous, the children cannot inherit her arms.

It goes further, if she is unmarried, divorced or widowed there are heraldic devices placed on her arms to signal her status in a way that no man is required to display on his arms – her “availability” must be signalled to potential suitors. Once again, a woman’s status and rights are contingent on her marital status and the standing of her husband... and this in the 21st century!

Following receipt of a letter querying the treatment of women in the granting of arms, Garter, Principal King of Arms - whose advice to the Monarch is ministerial in nature, setting out his various responses to the queries made - stated, as recently as 31 January 2019, “What is universal is a wish by many to preserve, cherish and understand [the archaic rules relating to women’s rights in the grant of arms].”

This “universal” ‘wish’ is certainly not universal in the usual meaning of the term, which would mean there were no objections to it at all. Even Garter realises that when he adds the limitation of “many”. The author, whilst having sympathy with the fascination of delving into the historical technicalities and the reasons why, would suggest replacing his word “many” with “a few scholars of the arcane”. Many people object to it. The College is, of course, governed by Royal Prerogative rather than the normal route of legislation and searches in legislation in an attempt to see whether discrimination laws extend to the College of Arms have produced no obviously helpful result, though there are those who believe the discrimination falls within the Equality Act 2010 but nothing has as yet been proved¹¹³, There have been recent changes made to accommodate same sex marriages, this was, it seems, as a result of pressure caused by legislation. There are those who think change is slowly coming, but how slow is slow? Sadly, as yet, there are no changes for women as such who, statistics tell us, comprise 51 per cent of the population – it should have been covered by the Equality Act and, if, as the author believes, it is not, it could be brought within that Act if the relevant government minister laid a suitable statutory instrument before parliament to bring the College within it. Other heraldic authorities have better ways of dealing with women’s coats of arms, and readers should note that the rules are different in Scotland.

It’s extraordinary. We have women in all walks of life throughout the country. Many of them represent the country abroad. Many are also in senior posts in the Armed Forces. We have had women Prime Ministers and a woman President of the Supreme Court. We have

appointed many women to the House of Lords. But each one of their grant of arms and the rights of inheritance of those arms, is dependent on whether she is a “chattel” wife, and, totally inappropriately, her arms indicate her marital status.

Conclusions: The Present Position of Women in the Livery

First, and most importantly, it is understood that all companies now accept women on equal terms with men.

Second, by the close of 2020, there have been 192 appointments of 178 different women as master of their livery and several more have held other positions of eminence in the City such as being masters of guilds, president of the City Livery Club and of the City Freemen’s Guild. Many companies have had several women masters, only 28 (out of now 110) have had none, and, of those, some have been frustrated by the pandemic (such as the Vintners and the Tin Plate Workers alias Wire Workers¹¹⁴ which had both planned to have their first woman master in July 2020 now to be 2021 due to extending the office of their 2019-20 master by a further twelve months).

Third, it is expected, from research by the author (though it must be admitted that not all livery companies condescended to reply and one enigmatically stated (admittedly now some months ago so that position may have changed) that “we have no women members at present”), that by 2033 (the golden jubilee year of the first woman master) the numbers of companies which have not had women masters will have reduced to no more than two (and may, reasonably remotely but hopefully, even be one or none). There are now also more women aldermen and common councilmen. Both City and livery are actively supporting and encouraging women as well as men and women from ethnic minorities from which sector there have been several masters and civic appointments¹¹⁵. No-one now “bats an eyelid” over the idea of having two, or more, women masters in a row¹¹⁶. It is clear¹¹⁷ that, across the livery, companies are very positive towards women and ethnic minorities and keen to find ways of encouraging them first to join and then to become seriously involved¹¹⁸.

Fourth, City Consorts is now a very important part of the livery movement, and it is hoped that the informal likely pre-master year groups (and also pre-consort year groups) will be encouraged to continue in order to supplement and support and expand what City Consorts has so far achieved and to enable those in line for high office in their livery have the same opportunities for discussion and exchange of information as their consorts do via C² as expanded by their own year consort groups.

Fifth, for those women obtaining high civic office and wishing to acquire coats of arms, there remain inequalities between what a woman is able to have and have her children inherit, as compared with a man.

Finally, it should be recognised that, as the Lady Masters Association is City of London based, its membership is currently limited to those who have held high office in the Civic City, in liveries, ancient and modern companies without livery¹¹⁹, city guilds, and in the City Livery Club – it does not even, oddly, include the foreman of the Guildable Manor of Southwark which has been owned by the City since 1327¹²⁰. There have been discussions on-going from before the LMA started about how far membership should be extended to women leading other trade guilds or liveries, such as the Welsh Livery, the York and the Glasgow Guilds, etc. But, at present, the association considers it needs clear guidance from the Civic City before it opens membership to equivalent bodies country-wide¹²¹.

Erica Stary^{122 123}

January 2021

APPENDIX I

The Lady Masters Association, History of its Formation

The background

The first Lady Master, Sylvia Tutt, was appointed in 1983. Over the next thirty years, there were some seventy-nine appointments of women by various companies, some women, most notably HRH The Princess Royal, having been appointed more than once, there were seventy-two women who had been accorded that honour. In the early years, there were often only one, two or no women appointed, by the end of the first decade of the 21st century, it was clear that the numbers each year were slowly rising.

Lady Masters Network

A group of women, who were mainly those who served together as masters during 2009 and 2010, started meeting together for coffees and the like to share experiences. This small initial group of around eight people was joined rapidly by a few others from earlier years and subsequently by those made masters in later years. They held a lunch at the Lansdowne Club on 14 January 2011 – eleven people attended for which Helen Auty¹²⁴ made the arrangements. As numbers grew, the group was called by its members *The Lady Masters*.

In her year as Aldermanic Sheriff, Fiona Woolf invited a dozen lady masters, the president of the City Livery Club, their consorts and others to join her for dinner at the Old Bailey¹²⁵ on 8 September 2011 to discuss the setting up of a more formal group. Those attending also included Sylvia Tutt (*supra*) and Vice Admiral Sir Tim Laurence¹²⁶. The issue of who was qualified for membership of such a group other than masters, prime wardens and upper bailiffs and senior civic officers was (and continues to be) much discussed. It was also suggested that there might be an annual “Sylvia Tutt” luncheon in Sylvia’s honour.¹²⁷

Out of the meeting at the Old Bailey, the Lady Masters Network (LMN) was formed. Adèle Thorpe¹²⁸ had previously researched and created a database of females who had served as master, which Elisabeth Hobday¹²⁹ volunteered to maintain and to email those in the group who had said they wanted to hear about events. Lis also acted as secretary, treasurer and co-ordinator. She invited new female masters to join. In addition, she designed, organised and ordered badges (pink) for all who joined. Members made suggestions of where to meet. The LMN continued to grow and some members took part (*qua* LMN members) in the 2013 Lord Mayor’s Show¹³⁰.

The float in the Lord Mayor's Show in November 2013 was organised by member Mei Sim Lai¹³¹ via the Women in the Livery section of the City Livery Club. Several fascinating events were organised from January to September to raise funds for it, including a Malaysian dinner with Jimmy Choo¹³², a cybersecurity talk and an Islamic finance event. Fiona Woolf, whose show it was, was thrilled, and insisted it had pride of place as float no 3 (the first float after the opening salvos) and as the first-ever all female float in the Show. (The second all women's float – which was the first organised by the Lady Masters Association - was in 2018 to celebrate 100 years of the vote. The LMA chairman was interviewed by the BBC outside the Mansion House as part of its live coverage^{133 134}.) Both were very exciting days.

Lady Masters Association

Now that they had begun to get to know other women (past) masters from outside their own years in office, the women wanted to continue the networking and the friendships. They were encouraged to become more formally associated by Fiona Adler¹³⁵. At a reception in the Old Bailey hosted by her when she was Sheriff in 2014 for members of the Lady Masters Network, she suggested that a committee should be created to investigate how the progression of the association should develop.

Many people volunteered to help steer this. The initial core group settled on was six, as more were thought to make it unwieldy, and, at the first meeting, Venetia Howes¹³⁶ was elected Chairman. After a few meetings, it was agreed to propose the creation of a more formal organisation with its own bank account, constitution etc. The papers for this were prepared and all members of the old group and other new prospects were invited to a meeting in April 2015. At this meeting, the formal Lady Masters Association was born with Adèle elected the first Chairman, Venetia and Valerie Boakes¹³⁷ as Vice-Chairmen, Maureen Marden¹³⁸ the Treasurer, Pamela Goldberg¹³⁹ as Membership Secretary and Sandra Worsdall¹⁴⁰ as Secretary. The Constitution¹⁴¹, which had been proposed by the working group, was also adopted¹⁴².

In the first year, Adèle invited HRH The Princess Royal to become Patron and she confirmed her acceptance on 13 March 2015 (and has since renewed her patronage¹⁴³). The Association created its own email addresses and website¹⁴⁴. Through Venetia and Valerie, a new logo was designed and adopted in late 2015 to be used on everything and new badges were ordered, replacing the original pink badges, which Lis Hobday had organised earlier. However, it was suggested that existing members could, if they wished, stay with the original badges.

The Association was admitted to the Association of Past Masters Associations with LMA representatives attending the annual meeting for the first time in March 2016. Details of the organisation were included for the first time in the Blue Book 2015¹⁴⁵ (sadly now discontinued due to the complexities arising post GDPR¹⁴⁶) and later in the White Book¹⁴⁷. The Chairman ensured that any new female master was congratulated in her first month of office¹⁴⁸ and was invited to join, resulting in almost every one so doing. A quarterly newsletter was issued telling of future events organised by the group and news of members.

The Association made a presentation to its first member to become Sheriff since formalising the Association (Christine Rigden¹⁴⁹) on 24 November 2015. (When member Liz Green¹⁵⁰ became Sheriff, the Association made a donation to her shrieval badge appeal.)

Although there had been seated dinners, for example, in Guildhall after the first meeting to create the Association in April 2015, the first formal black-tie event was in the House of Lords in February 2016 through the kind offices of member Baroness Garden of Frognal¹⁵¹. Adèle presented a formal Chairman's badge to the group and populated the website in 2016.

The first event for Wardens was held in October 2015 answering the question "Things I wish I'd known before I became Master"¹⁵². This event has been held at regular intervals and proved very popular.

Erica Stary¹⁵³ took over as Chairman in the AGM in April 2017 and Ann Buxton¹⁵⁴ in 2019.

In 2019, the 100th member joined the association.

APPENDIX II Statistics

Set out below are the figures, extrapolated from the information given in Appendix III *Women in the Livery*, showing how the livery gradually extended full rights to women.

The 1970 figures exclude those companies which stopped having women members in the late Georgian period and throughout the Victorian era. Generally, this can be said to have occurred at some time during the period 1835 to 1910. The later periods gradually add companies back as they take the decision to have women liverymen.

Readers need to know that there were no new livery companies from 1848 to the 1920s. Pre 1900 companies are known as ancient livery companies and post 1920 as modern livery companies. There are 77 extant ancient livery companies and, as at January 2021, 33 modern livery companies, obtaining livery between the mid 1920s to the mid 2010s. There are other potential livery companies known as guilds or companies without livery.

All the modern companies save 3 were, at least theoretically, open to women from the outset. Theoretically, because, in many cases, no woman applied to join for several years, so that the stance of the company concerned to the concept of having a woman member was not tested.

Taking the position at 10 yearly intervals to 2020 from a date when there were reasonable figures to consider, and looking also at the mid 80s to see the impact of having a woman Lord Mayor, this is how the livery opened up to women. The significant increase during the 2000s was in part due to the mayoral team of the late Gavyn Arthur which made it clear that a livery company which did not accept women equally could not expect a Mayoral or Shrieval visit during his mayoralty.

	Old company numbers	Old open to women equally***	New company numbers	New open to women equally	Total companies	Total open	Percentage
By 1970	77	7	7	3	84	10	11.90
By 1980	77	17	15	13	92	30	32.61
By 1985	77	30	18	17	95	47	49.47
By 1990	77	34	21	19	98	53	54.08
By 2000	77	47	22	22	99	69	69.69
By 2010	77	72	31	31	108	103	95.37
By end 2020**	77	77*	33	33	110	110	100

*One company was unable to say when it began to accept women on equal terms, but it has had a woman master (in 2015) so the earlier figures are potentially distorted by not knowing when it extended equal rights to women.

** All guilds, companies without livery and the two non-livery ancient worshipful companies (the Parish Clerks, and the Watermen and Lightermen) accept women on equal terms with men.

*** Some companies initially had limits on women members. They have now all been removed. The figures do not indicate those imposing initial limits as the limits were not reached during the period considered.

APPENDIX III
WOMEN IN THE LIVERY – DETAILED BY COMPANY

The Appendix III research paper sets out in simple tabular format

- 1 The precedence number of the company
- 2 The name of the company
- 3 The year livery is first known to have been given to women and/or women were given the same rights as men in that livery
- 4 The relevant dates relating to the company - creation (where known), grant of livery, the initial Royal Charter (some have had several)
- 5 The year the first woman was made master and the number of women masters to end of 2020
or, if relevant and italicised, the expected/hoped for year of the first woman master
- 6 Whether the company has or has had one or more women clerks
- 7 Any other information thought by the creator of the spreadsheet to be of interest to the reader

[REDACTED] Any shaded cell indicates that the information is not currently available.

The research is part of the background research for the main paper on Women in the Livery and High Civic Office in the City

Please note that not all companies mentioned are livery companies, some are ancient companies without livery, some are modern companies which are in process of becoming a livery company, others are guilds at the outset of that process

Please note also that the term master includes the equivalent position in those companies which call their chairman prime warden or upper bailiff

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
91	Actuaries	from inception	1979	2016/3	Y	One of the earliest women would have been Monica Allanach who became a fellow of the Institute in 1951 and another Pat Merriman. It is believed that Robert Thomas (Master 2006-07) and his wife Joanna (Master Glass Seller) were the first husband and wife to be masters at the same time. Later pairings include Richard (Goldsmith) and Lesley (Fletcher) Agutter, and Andrew (Vintner) and Wendy (Information Technologist) Parmley.
81	Air Pilots	from inception	1929/L1956/ RC2014	2014		Like the Master Mariners, the Air Pilots has been given the title "The Honourable Company of..."

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
58	Apothecaries	1980s	1617	2002		Records show that widows and daughters were able to be apothecaries by virtue of having been deemed to have done an apprenticeship, such as the Widow Wyncke, whose husband died in 1628, and who also had apprentices. This petered out in Victorian times as apothecary shops became pharmacies. The company voted to admit women freemen in 1949. There is no evidence that any woman became a liveryman until the 1980s. The society received its livery in 1630. See also note to the Grocers below. People such as Elizabeth Garrett-Anderson were not members, they "merely" took the Apothecaries exams. The Apothecaries emerged from the Grocers as they became more specialised; See Hunting. Also for wider interest www.sciencehistory.org/distillations/womens-business-17th-century-female-pharmacists . It would appear that the Apothecaries are the only livery <i>society</i> as opposed to company.
93	Arbitrators	from inception	1981 / RC2012	2001/4	Y	
22	Armourers & Brasiers	June 2004	1322/ RC1453	2021		The first charter was granted to brothers and sisters of the craft, widows also were admitted, and daughters by patrimony. The A+B have a huge freeman base. Women are known to have been able to become free in modern times from the 1980s. But it can then take a long time for a freeman to obtain the livery, due to the limited livery number (150) so it took many (26) years after opening the company to women on equal terms before the first freewoman "made it" to the livery. Having said that, their first female master is scheduled, subject to election, in the near future.
110	Art Scholars	from inception	2005/L2014/ RC2019	2019	Y	
19	Bakers	2006	1155	2026		The Bakers comment that there have always been women running bakery businesses, certainly from the 19 th C and probably earlier
17	Barbers	2005	1308/RC1462	2022		The company is an amalgamation of two, dates are for the first in time. They were unified by statute in 1540. The surgeons broke away to form what is now the Royal College of Surgeons in 1745. From earliest times, they have had boy and girl apprentices, women have been admitted by patrimony and have had apprentices. Likewise widows. Women were not clothed until 2005. Sidney Young's <i>Annals</i> of 1890 records 1 freewoman. "From the earliest times the custom has prevailed to admit women to the freedom, mostly by apprenticeship, but also by patrimony, and these freewomen bound their apprentices, both boys and girls, at the Hall; of course, the ladies were not admitted to the livery, but otherwise they had the same privileges as freemen so far as the same were compatible with their sex..."

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52	Basketmakers	1983	1569	2006/2	y/3	<p>No women are recorded before 1711, there were 4 women during the 121 years to 1832. The next two were admitted as honorary freemen when their husbands were masters (1917 and 1925) after which in 1936 the Court ruled women were not eligible, save for women members of the Royal Family. After 1973 women were made eligible by patrimony, which was later extended to "patrimony" where their fathers had been members for over 25 years. They then linked with the Basketmakers Association who were mainly women and 4 were appointed in 1981. Shortly after that, they admitted their first woman to the Livery. The first woman court assistant was appointed in 1996.</p>
40	Blacksmiths	2004	1299/RC1571	2025	Y	<p>Historically, blacksmithing has been a male activity although the original fraternity did include wives (as well as farriers and loriners). The religious fraternities of the early days were abolished with the Reformation. Their hoped-for earlier woman master did not materialise, in the event.</p>
38	Bowyers	2020	1363		Y	<p>The Bowyers had 9 women apprentices between 1685 and 1746. They also had widows who ran their husbands' trades and took on apprentices. Their last freesister (by patrimony) died in about 1843. Their charter makes it clear they are open to women. New membership is currently in abeyance whilst a complete review of the requirements for joining is in process. They also have an annual match with the Fletchers, in the Tower moat. They believe they were founded shortly after the great victory in the Battle of Poitiers in 1356 which proved the effectiveness of the War Bow (known also as a longbow - usually about 6ft long with which an arrow of about 3ft would be used - those found when the <i>Mary Rose</i> was raised (which date from later) are between 6ft 2in to 6ft 11in).</p>

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	Brewers	several hundred years ago	1406/RC1438	2023		<p>The Brewers had a number of women members in the early days - especially between 1418 and 1440 where it is recorded that about a third of the membership were women, single, widows and married. Research indicates that some people regarded brewing as women's work by the mid 1400s (this being an indirect consequence of the devastation caused by the Black Death introduced to the UK in 1348). It is not possible to be a Brewer unless one is one. A few were said to wear the livery, most did not. Interestingly, due to lack of potable water, many households round the world used a lot of beer, which tended to be produced by women. In Europe, brewing slowly became male-dominated. There is a fascinating article in Wikipedia on <i>Women in Brewing</i>.</p> <p>There is no record of women apprentice Brewers. The records of the then clerk shows that about a third of those paying quarterage between 1418-1440 were women (See CLC/L/BF/A/021/MS05440 at Guildhall Library). See also <i>Ale Beer and Brewsters in England, Women's Work in a Changing World 1300-1600</i> (Judith M Bennett).</p>
48	Broderers	2010	13th century/ RC1561	c2024-25		<p>The Broderers had several women in the early days but none after 1764. Nothing in the Charter or Bylaws prevented women from joining. Embroidery has remained an important art over the centuries, with many prominent men who were professional broderers, and the company has continued to have active embroiderers as members. For instance: the Royal Wardrobe (which was in the City hence such names as "St Andrew by the Wardrobe") used to have a full-time broderer.</p> <p>As an example of the superb quality of workmanship, see the main decorative embroidery on the Bacton Altar Cloth (Elizabethan embroidery) displayed at Hampton Court after its restoration in early 2020. (The funding for the renovation came in part from the respective charities of the Tin Plate Workers and the Gold and Silver Wyre Drawers.) https://www.hrp.org.uk/hampton-court-palace/whats-on/the-lost-dress-of-elizabeth-i/#gs.qlpd7m or https://www.hrp.org.uk/hampton-court-palace/whats-on/the-lost-dress-of-elizabeth-i/#gs.qroyxk</p> <p>A large number of women joining the company now are in fact highly skilled, there being great demand for high quality embroidery today, for example in furnishings, fashion, and for the church, indeed many cathedrals have their own teams of broderers.</p>
88	Builders Merchants	from inception	1961/L1977/ RC2012	2014/3	y/2	<p>There is nothing in their original ordinances which forbids women members. The first was clothed in 1982. They have kept strictly to their entry criteria, which is: being active in the industry. The numbers of women members are steadily growing.</p>
24	Butchers	1984	1331/RC1605	2010/2		<p>Their first woman liveryman (via patrimony) was their second woman master, the first being HRH The Princess Royal.</p>

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
77	Carmen	1997	1517/RC1605/ L1848	1986/2		The trade (carters) did not naturally attract women although there have been a few prominent women in the business. The company now embraces other otherwise unrepresented transport services of railway and inland public transport services which are also not great bastions of female representatives but numbers are rising. The Carmen hold an annual cartmarking ceremony in Guildhall Yard, which is well worth attending – the 2021 event is scheduled for 10 July, 10.30. The ceremony dates from more than 500 years ago. They have a beautiful stained-glass window in St Lawrence Jewry. Since 1920 there have been eight Lord Mayors.
26	Carpenters	2004	1271/RC1477	2017		The Carpenters' Boke of Ordinances 1333 refers to both brothers and sisters though it is unlikely the sisters did carpentry rather other necessary work for the running of the business such as timber dealing. Increasingly they became more active in their own right. They were apprenticed, they became freemen, they ran the family business - Eleanor Coade (not a member of the company), eg, ran a successful business making ornamental stone which looked like Portland stone - the company's coat of arms in their Hall is in Coade stone (Carpenters' Broadsheet no 57). By the end of the 19 th C women were increasingly joining, mainly by patrimony. The first woman hon liveryman was Queen Juliana of the Netherlands in 1966 [Carpenters Hall is near the Dutch Church] and the first woman hon freeman was Mary Woodgate Wharrie in 1917, a generous benefactor.
86	Chartered Accountants	from inception	1975/L1977/ RC2012	1993/3		
98	Chartered Architects	from inception	1985/L1988/ RC2019	1996/4		
87	Chartered Secretaries	from inception	1976/L1977/ RC2006	1983/5	Y	The company has the distinction of being the first livery to have a woman master - Sylvia Tutt.
85	Chartered Surveyors	from inception	1977/RC2012	1999/4	Y	

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
61	Clockmakers	From inception	RC1631/ L1766	2005/2	2019 they also have a much treasured assistant clerk	<p>The company has been run for nearly four centuries in accordance with its Charter and By-Laws of 1631 and 1632. The first female apprentice was apprenticed on Christmas Day 1660. The first freewoman was in 1692. Many girls have been apprenticed. Several wives had other trades. There has never been any discrimination imposed against women. Livery was not granted by the City until 1766, at which time the fine to be imposed was ordered to be £10, and the livery limited to 60. Only the wealthy could afford to acquire livery. Subject to that, the livery has always been open to both sexes.</p> <p>There have been several important women clockmakers, such as Mariane Viet, one of whose elaborate trade cards is exhibited at the British Museum and a magnificent walnut longcase of hers is in a private collection in the USA.</p> <p>Officers must be or have been professional clockmakers (as widely defined). Many women clockmakers continued their trade during marriage [they would have needed their husband's support and consent]. Women freemen had apprentices.</p> <p>The Antiquarian Horological Society has full details of all female apprentices of horology country wide - see www.ahsoc.org/resources/women-and-horology/ The company's own apprentices list is currently found at http://www.clockmakers.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/CCMASTERSFINAL-amended-31May13.pdf but the website is under restructuring and the link may not be preserved. The information is all available on the AHS link and can be filtered for the Clockmakers.</p> <p>The curator of the Clockmakers Museum (in the Science Museum) is also female.</p> <p>Finally, the AHS Women and Horology project discovered a huge resource relating to women in many different aspects of horology. In addition, there is an interesting article on a milliner freesister in Wikipedia – search for Eleanor Mosley on their site.</p>
12	Clothworkers	1994	1155/RC1528	2017		To celebrate their first 14 women liverymen the company commissioned a portrait which now hangs in their library. The Clothworkers are aiming at 50:50 male:female parity.
72	Coachmakers	1977 the first actually being 1980	RC1677	2011/2		The consensus by 1977 was that anyone who met the criteria for joining should be welcomed, regardless of gender. Prior to that the honour of freedom appears to have been awarded as appropriate, eg to Baroness Burdett-Coutts to thank her for the work she had done for the Coachmakers; several wives of liverymen were also granted freedom on the deaths of their spouses.
99	Constructors	from inception	1976/L1990/ RC2010	2009/3		

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35	Cooks	2003	1170/RC1482	2021		The Cooks had a formal grade of freemaids which was open to daughters of freemen and liverymen who were entitled to patrimony. In 2003 all existing freemaids were offered livery, and the term for freedom for both sexes became freemen. There is some evidence of widows of liverymen being notionally treated as liverymen in order to carry on their husband's business in medieval and Tudor times. The records are sketchy. The Cooks are the smallest livery (75) and are the only one which has two masters (Master and Second Master, the latter being more than a warden and normally succeeding the Master) at any one time.
36	Coopers	July 2000	1298/RC1501	2021/22		Following a decision in 1999 to allow women equal rights with men the first woman was clothed in the livery in 2000. Records indicate that women were free of the company in the middle ages and that the Charters refer expressly or implicitly to both sexes. Many were widows, and thus enabled to carry on the family cooperage business, but it also entitled them to support out of the charitable funds should it be necessary. The earliest record of widow freesisters is 1487. The first woman liveryman joined as a freeman in 1991. Many women have been admitted as freemen since WW1. They report that for the period to May 2018 only 3 ladies who were freemen prior to 2000 have taken the livery whereas of the 51 women who took the freedom between 2000-2018, 33 have been granted livery. There may be more wanting to apply for livery but Covid has rather slowed things down. The membership split is currently (2020) 22%:78% f:m. They are delighted with the momentum and enthusiasm of their women members. They also have close connexions with the Coopers and Coburn School in Upminster and with Strode's College where the students are encouraged with annual awards of "paper" apprenticeships, also obtaining an early knowledge about the company and the livery.
27	Cordwainers	2002	1272/RC1439	2023	Y	Lady freemen had been members of the company in the early days but they were mainly widows, who had carried on their husbands' businesses, however, they had not been invited to join the livery. As fewer members of the company followed the shoemakers' trade even fewer ladies became members of the company. It was not until 1960 that freeborn daughters of liverymen were invited to apply for the freedom of the company, which many did, thus also conferring the right of freedom on their freeborn children in turn.
29	Curriers	2002	1272/RC1605	2019		The first woman clothed in the livery was Mary McNeil who became the first woman master in 2019. In earlier times, the Curriers admitted daughters by patrimony. After a gap, they began to admit women freemen in the 1960s, usually past masters' wives.
18	Cutlers	2011	1344/RC 1416	2020		Their first woman liveryman is their first woman master. Freedom was opened in 2006. In the past, they had a few women freemen, mainly widows running the family business.

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
69	Distillers	1997	RC1638 L1672	2027/28		The company was founded as a result of pressure by a distinguished emigré Huguenot medic, Sir Theodore de Mayerne. Many women distilled with licences to trade. None of them was a freesister as such of the company.
3	Drapers	2002	1364	2012		There have always had female Draper freemen (the Company's full title detailing Brethren and Sisters) with women being admitted to the freedom and taking apprentices (though often as not in the medieval and early modern period this was because their husband had died and it was the husband who had been the Draper. Women were not clothed in the livery until 2002.
13	Dyers	2019	1471			There were women, mainly widows, in the Dyers in earlier times and there is nothing in their regulations which prevents this. Some widows took apprentices and there is evidence of this from the mid 1700s; also of membership by patrimony.
109	Educators	from inception	2001/L2014/ RC2017	2003/5	Y	150 members were admitted, about half being women, when livery was granted.
94	Engineers	From inception, the first being in 1988	1983/RC2004	2016	Y	The first lady liveryman of the Engineers Company was Beryl Platt, later Baroness Platt of Writtle. She worked in the aircraft industry during and after WW2. Later she was a County Councillor, Chair of the Equal Opportunities Commission, Chancellor of Middlesex University and a non-executive director of British Gas. She was instrumental in setting up Women In Science and Engineering (WISE). There are short biographies of other lady members at http://www.engineerscompany.org.uk/2020/our-women-engineers/

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
97	Environmental Cleaners	from inception	1972/L1986	1986/4	Y	<p>Women are highly influential right across every aspect of this diverse industry. We established an annual 'Ladies Banquet' to remind all our members and their guests that, in our earlier days as a Livery, we may have had fewer women as members than men, but our industry is and remains heavily dependent upon them.</p> <p>We have also recently introduced a new non-freemen membership category of "Pathway" to provide a route for any individual new into the industry or building their career to engage with senior industry leaders within our industry and have one of our members become their mentor.</p> <p>Also, and this final point probably better confirms that we have always been an equal opportunities membership organisation. Our first master as a City livery company was a woman, and currently we have had 4 women masters, one twice! [Maureen Marden, who was also their clerk for several years.] We have 6 women court assistants out of 20, with 2 of them on the progression list. There are at least 6 other women members who would like to progress to the court as and when vacancies emerge, which also fit with their business and personal circumstances.</p> <p>Importantly, as a meritocratic and inclusive membership organisation, the company has never had to operate a positive discrimination policy to change the gender or other profile within the company because we encourage and support our members' full engagement in our all activities.</p>
76	Fan Makers	2005	Guild earlier. RC1709/ L1809	2030		<p>Recruitment is currently about 50:50. In the early days, membership was low, but by 1747 there were well over 800 members. At the peak about 20 apprentices were qualifying each year. In the 1700s many 100,000s cheap fans were imported from Canton by the East India Company. The period from 1750-1800 was the highpoint of fans being fashionable. Despite their best efforts, people preferred French fans so that at the 1851 Great Exhibition there were no English fans. Membership dwindled to 31 by 1877. Helene Alexander was made an hon liveryman after she had created the Fan Museum in Greenwich in 2006.</p>

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
80	Farmers	1976(H)/79	1947 / L1952 RC 1955	1993/4	Y	<p>The right of women to join was raised in 1948 following an application from a woman. At that time the court accepted a recommendation that the company's membership should be limited to men. After a further application in 1971, the clerk sought advice from the Clerk to the Chamberlain's court, who advised that women had always been entitled to freedom of the City (except during marriage until 1923). In 1972 the court took the decision to bar women save possibly by honorary appointment but noted that the decision might have to be reviewed. HRH The Princess Royal was made Honorary Liveryman in 1976. In 1977 the court decided <i>nem con</i> to accept women on the same terms as men. The first non-Royal women freemen were admitted at the September 1978 court - Ann Wheatley Hubbard (AWH), Lady Robson of Kiddington and Elizabeth Creak.</p> <p>AWH, an independent farmer from the age of 19, breeding the oldest herd of Tamworth pigs in England, who was passionate about her herd of shorthorn cattle, and was one of the first to use a mechanical potato harvester, epitomises the contribution of women to modern agriculture. She was clothed in the livery in June 1979 and became master in 1993. It is believed that she, and her son Thomas who was Master Farmer in 2015-16, were the first mother and son both to be masters of livery companies. The Farmers also had the first mother master to have a daughter master (and also sheriff) - Baroness Byford (2013) and Liz Green (Framework Knitter 2016-7 and Sheriff 2018-9)</p>
55	Farriers	1975	1356/RC1674	1984/4	Y	<p>The first lady liveryman was Diana Pagan JP who later became their first woman non-Royal master in 1997. The first woman freeman in their records was in 1762, being Mrs. Hester Mills, who kept the New Castle Coffee House at St Mary at Hill, where the company's meetings were then held. The company is the mother company of HRH The Princess Royal.</p>
63	Feltmakers	1990	complex early history then RC1604/ L1733	2009/3		<p>Queen Elizabeth I, journeying to Tilbury in 1588, was met by a cheering crowd of men wearing polished beaver hats. They were journeymen hatters. On hearing this, she said "then such journeymen must be gentlemen". That title "gentleman" stayed till well after WWI. There were said to be 7,000 feltmakers in 1604. Wills at the Public Records Office show several wealthy Feltmakers.</p>
103	Firefighters	from inception	1988/L2001	2013/2	Y	<p>Frances Blois, the second woman master, is a former Lord Mayor of Westminster, and an honorary alderman of Westminster. A mathematician, she worked for BP. She is an honorary steward of Westminster Abbey, and a member of the Valuation Tribunal. Their first woman master Beryl Jeffery was also a local councillor, this time for Wandsworth, where she had served as Mayor. She was the Boroughs' representative on the London Fire & Civil Defence Authority (LFCDA) for a number of years.</p>

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	Fishmongers	2005	RC1272	2017		The company has had women freemen for centuries - the latest quarterage book (which dates from 1840) shows many freewomen throughout via patrimony and redemption. Earlier quarterage books are now held at Guildhall so available for research there. They have women members currently at all levels.
39	Fletchers	from before 1519, then January 1976	1371	2013/2	y/2	The company is unusual in that it was created by prescription. It has only just applied for a Royal Charter. Essentially, they have no apprentice records but believe there would have been girls as well as boys as this was common practice. Their quarterage records surviving from 1519 show many women, many of whom were widows, who paid the same quarterage as the men. Widows took over their husband's position so would have been, where appropriate, liverymen. Fletchers had many family members, wives, daughters etc. eg there was a daughter apprenticed to her livery mother in 1771. In Thomas Cromwell's time (early 1500s), widows and single women were clearly invited to join. Many women were members for a very long time which indicates a successful business. There was no date accorded to any clothing of men or women but by the end of the mid 16 th C there was a separate widows section.
33	Founders	2005	1365/RC1614	2027		The records show many widows, some freemen, several apprentices, in the early 1500s. They included sisters and journeymen strangers (mainly refugees from France). In recent times, three women were admitted to the freedom by patrimony in 1973.
64	Framework Knitters	1976	1589/LP1657/L1713	2003/5		The company is unusual since it is one of only two livery companies granted the equivalent of a Royal Charter during the Commonwealth. Admitting women stopped the Ladies Dinners - where they would dine in a separate room from the men.
45	Fruiterers	1758	pre 1300/RC1606	2012/2	Y	The earliest recorded was Ann Gibson, followed by Sarah Squibb in 1767. Women have been members for many years.
95	Fuellers	from revival	1981/L1984/RC2014	2016/3		The history shows that the Fuellers were an ancient company which surrendered its Charter in 1667. It was revived in 1981 as an open company welcoming all eligible.
83	Furniture Makers	1985	1951/L1963	2008/2	Y	Women were first admitted in 1980 and, after some drawn-out discussions, three women were clothed in 1985, one of whom, Margaret Miller, became their first woman master in 2008. The company obtained livery status in March 1964 and was the 6th livery company to obtain (in 2006) its own (first) hall since the 17 th C. See also the company's "A Short History".

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
66	Gardeners	1974	1345/RC1605	2003/5		<p>The first woman liveryman was Honorary - Princess Alice, Duchess of Gloucester. Dame Mary Donaldson (as she became) was admitted as a liveryman on 12 February 1975 having become a freeman by redemption on 31 October 1974.</p> <p>Earlier they had widows as freesisters. There is no evidence that the freesisters took any active role in the City.</p> <p>The company became dormant in the 19thC but was revived in 1891.</p> <p>It granted honorary freedom to the gardening author the Hon Alicia Amherst in 1896.</p> <p>In 1974 when the decision was made to extend livery to women, there were strict limits on numbers, those limits were removed in 2000.</p>
23	Girdlers	June 2012	1327/RC1449	2026		<p>Pre 1350 records indicate 89 men and 1 woman. She was Alice Walkeleyen. The first woman liveryman post 19thC was clothed in 2012.</p> <p>They have some stunning cartoons in their hall!</p>
71	Glass Sellers	1983	RC1664	2005/2	Y	<p>The company had women freemen as far back as 1664, but not many.</p> <p>Hon freedom was given in 1974 to the wife of a past master, thereafter the next was in 1979 who was clothed in 1983 and became their first lady master. They now have (October 2020) 72 women liverymen.</p> <p>See also the note under Actuaries. Joanna Thomas (now Emms) was, it is believed, the daughter in the first father and daughter to be masters - father in 1964-65, daughter 2005-06, and maybe also grandfather who was master in 1921-22.</p>
53	Glaziers	In modern times livery first was in 1981	1328/RC1638	2005/2	Y	<p>There were women in the craft - there is evidence of apprentices, and women traders who were regulated by the company. The Ordinances of 1749 clearly include women. Notwithstanding, when an entertainment was organised in 1713, it was made clear that women were not invited!</p> <p>See also Ashdowne's <i>History</i> which makes it clear that women glaziers were regulated by the livery.</p>
62	Glovers	from inception	1349/RC1638	1999/3	y/2	<p>Have always had women liverymen eg 1675-78 quarterage book shows 66 men and 25 women in the livery, eg Katherine Clowes is first named in 1676 but there would have been earlier women. Likewise, in Victorian times - see <i>Leather Trade Review</i> from 1890s. The Glovers, like many others, struggled to survive in the 19th century as membership shrank but slowly regrew in the 20th. Its charity, which is glove-related, recently gave a prosthetic arm to a young teacher born without a forearm see eg https://www.irishnews.com/magazine/daily/2020/06/23/news/-super-teacher-receives-advanced-bionic-hero-arm-1983427/</p>
74	Gold and Silver Wyre Drawers	1703 but probably much earlier	1623/RC1693/L1780	2023		<p>1703 is the first year it can be proved due to loss of records. The company still has copies of the relevant freedom certificates.</p>

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Goldsmiths	1978	RC1327	2017		<p>Goldsmiths have always had women freemen and apprentices. They have some excellent pieces from early women silversmiths. They also discouraged their male goldsmiths from behaving inappropriately to their wives (there is evidence of fines imposed for failure). They have inherited significant bequests from widows of goldsmiths.</p> <p>They also allowed widows to have a company connexion by courtesy and for women to have, where appropriate, a maker's mark (in a lozenge) and to have apprentices. Research shows that there were, eg, some 168 girls apprenticed to goldsmiths between 1576 and 1800. Not all took up their freedom at the end.</p> <p>No women were admitted after 1845 until Ida Cane became free by patrimony in 1961. The next was Gillian Packard by redemption in 1971 followed by Wendy Cook, by service, in 1983. Dame Rosemary Murray was the first women liveryman, and Dame Lynne Brindley the first on the Court of Assistants in 2006.</p>
2	Grocers	1347 (1800s gap) 1983	1345/RC1428	2026/28		<p>The first female was Isobel Osekyn in 1347. Another was Lettice Waddesworth/Oo, who traded as an apothecary and was listed as a Grocer in December 1400 (see Bibliography for article). Most women were widows of liverymen and remained members unless they remarried someone from another livery. This continued until the company, like others, was no longer a "mystery" but became more of a gentlemen's club.</p>
73	Gunmakers	1996	RC1637	2018		<p>Had many widows running their husbands' businesses. It is the company's responsibility to proof guns sold in the UK, a responsibility it now shares with the Birmingham proof house. All gunmakers of ability have always been respected, whether male or female. There are records of payments to those, members and widows, who had fallen on hard times. Since 1996 there have been at least 20 women clothed in the livery, including the archivist's wife, their first American woman.</p>
8	Haberdashers	1880 x 1 then 1999	1371/RC1448	2012/2		<p>The Haberdashers admit apprentices. The first lady liveryman was admitted in 1880 but that was an exception. Women were only really admitted in 1999. The Haberdashers' <i>History</i> comments that about 10% of apprentices in the medieval times were women and the 17thC showed great growth in women apprentices.</p> <p>Their first woman master was the first woman to achieve such office in the Great Twelve. Their <i>History</i> shows a great camaraderie between their women members and many gifts from them.</p>
104	Hackney Carriage Drivers	since re-forming	Re-formed after dormancy in 1990/L2004	2006/2	y/3	<p>The fellowship lay dormant from 1654. On revival, the licences issued that year included those passed to widows of HC drivers though the women did not themselves drive.</p> <p>It was in 1967 that the first woman was issued with a HCD licence.</p>

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54	Horners	1978	1284/RC1638	2012/2		Although the company was technically open to women, their records show only 3 out of 1430 available to view. The grandfather of the first woman master was Lord Mayor in 1949 and master of the Horners in 1935. There was a statute limiting the export of raw horn from the City or within a 24 mile radius dated 1465.
100	Information Technologists	from inception	1985/L1992/ RC 2010	1992/4	y/3	The portrait of the foundation guild meeting (held at Gresham College) in the Court Room at IT Hall shows Dame Stephanie Shirley at the table. The company as at 2020 has had 4 women masters and more are in the wings. Dame Stephanie also made a significant donation towards the acquisition of their Hall (as indeed did many others in the company).
32	Innholders	From inception but in reality 2003	1473/RC1514	2015		The company has very few of its old records. The original charter embraced both men and women. There is no evidence of any woman being admitted -- save as spectators -- at events.
92	Insurers	1982	1979/RC2015	2019	y/2	Always open to women. Apart from having had a woman master, they have six women on their court. Their livery includes the first lady president of the Chartered Insurance Institute (Lilian Boyle), the first lady CEO of the CII (Sian Fisher) and the first lady CEO of Lloyds (Dame Inga Beale). They also boast their own alderman (Sue Langley, who is very proud of having the Insurers as her mother company).
106	International Bankers	from inception	2001/L2004/ RC2007	2013/2		
10	Ironmongers	2003	1300/RC1463	by 2032		From its Charter in 1463, members' widows and daughters, being active in their husbands' and fathers' trades, were also members before 1831 when the last woman was admitted, as the trade connexion was ceasing at the time. The last woman so far known to have been admitted before 2004 was Elizabeth Ballant, admitted 29 April 1831. See in more detail www.celebratingcitywomen.co.uk . The company was originally known as the Ferroners.

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41	Joiners and Ceilers	2007	RC1571	by 2033	Y	The first mention of a woman in connexion with the Joiners is Agnes Samon in 1502, the precise nature of her relationship with the Joiners is unknown although by 1518 she gave land for the building of a Hall. The company has admitted women to the freedom and apprenticeship since the 17 th century and there are records of at least 640 women in the company between 1660 and 1820 engaged in the craft often as widows or on behalf of a male spouse. Precise numbers are not known owing to the destruction of records during the Great Fire. Membership during this period was in the region of 3000 to 4000 and it is believed that women would comprise 1% to 2% of this figure. During the 19 th century as membership of the company fell so did that of women - participation seems to be restricted to a Lady's Banquet at which the ladies present would receive a small gift from the company. However, the practice of admitting women to the Freedom and Apprenticeship revived in the latter part of the 20 th century and women were admitted to the livery from 2007. There are currently 10 lady liveryman out of 145 livery and 27 lady freemen out of 73.
89	Launderers	from inception	1960/L1978/ RC2010	2003	y/2	Women began to join after the Princess Royal attended a dinner and chivvied the then master.... (This was the occasion of the first Ladies Banquet held on 18 May 1983. HRH The Princess Royal was the principal guest.)
15	Leathersellers	1400s to 1700s, then 2004	RC1444	hoped by 2025/6		The Leathersellers admitted women freemen via patrimony, servitude and redemption from their earliest days. Whilst early records are lost, it is known that Elizabeth Cockeram was free in 1489. Many women were apprenticed, and many were apprentice-masters, at least 9 between 1612-29. In the 1600s and 1700s at least 47 women were made free, 20 after being apprenticed, 18 by patrimony and 9 by redemption. Figures are not complete. After 1800 only 2 women became free (by patrimony). There followed a gap to 1952 after which 4 women were admitted before 1962 by patrimony, all from the same family. The position changed in 2002 after which time numbers joining have slowly equalised. The company rarely admits to the livery persons over 40 years of age. There is reference to women being "clothed" eg Janet Nightingale in the 1480s, Elizabeth Deane, a trunk maker and widow, 1608 applying for more apprentices and Rebecca Chamlett in 1641. It is believed there were many more. See their <i>History</i> . They hope to have their first woman master in the next 3-4 years.
96	Lightmongers	from inception	G1967/L1984/ RC2012	2003/2	Y	The information source states that whilst the Ordinances and Byelaws, etc, used "persons", there were very few senior women in the industry. It was as a result only in the 1990s that women began to apply, to the delight of the company.

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57	Loriners	1988	1261/RC1711	1992/4	Y	The company flourished in the early days, then almost died. It has had many Lord Mayor and Sheriff members. One of their early freemen members, Edwina Coven, was the first woman to be elected, in 1973, to the Aldermanic Court, which rejected her! See p2 for more details .
75	Makers of Playing Cards	2004	1628/L1792	2022-23	Y	Women were not given the opportunity to be liverymen after the grant of livery in 1792 though they did retain their connexions eg as widows/following apprenticeships, etc . However, the company's <i>History</i> makes it clear that women have always been members. Since women were allowed to be clothed in the livery, their numbers have increased to about 10% of the membership. Whilst in modern times the first woman court assistant was appointed in 2016, there are records showing that in 1648 Barbara Byworth (believed to be the widow of George) was a court assistant; this is the only example so far discovered by the MPM informant before the 20 th C [and also by the researcher of this paper].
105	Management Consultants	from inception	1992/L2004/RC2008	2011/3	y/4	
90	Marketors	from inception	1975/L1977/RC2010	2010/4	y/3	In the early days there were no women largely due to the fact that there were so few women in senior posts. One of the earliest was Margery Hurst, the founder of Brook Street Bureau.
30	Masons	2003	1356/RC1677	2020	Y	The company believes that daughters and widows were enabled to run the family business but, whilst they thought it unlikely that there would have been girl apprentices due to the heavy nature of the work, they are beginning to trace women in the trade. Women are known to have worked on medieval construction sites and the company's records show that in the 17 th C and 18 th C they were admitted as freemen and bound as apprentices, but there is no evidence that any became liverymen. By 1830 the court was of the view that women were not entitled to the freedom at all. Their records are in the London Metropolitan Archives.

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
78	Master Mariners	since inception	RC1926/L1932	2005		<p>The original and only qualification for entry was a Foreign Going Master's Certificate but there are now other mechanisms. In reality, it is not a woman's choice of job and as a result the first woman freeman appointed was not until 1992 and the first clothed in 2011. Young women tend to obtain their experience in the cruising industry where the officers are likely to be both male and female as opposed, say, to bulk carriers.</p> <p>As the industry no longer supports their staff to become master, most people would not wish to put themselves forward for election as warden till they are reaching retirement so that it is believed it will be many years before they have a non-Royal woman master.</p>
1	Mercers	2002	RC1394	2014/2	Y	<p>Alice Bridenell is the earliest recorded woman freeman and was admitted to the freedom in 1428 (fine 20 shillings). Thereafter there were other women including by servitude until 1797. The next woman admitted was in 2002. Full details in www.londonroll.org</p>
6/7	Merchant Taylors	1993	1200s/RC1327	2020		<p>Women have played a key role in this company at least since the 1400s as freemen and benefactors</p>
50	Musicians	1983	1350/RC1469/. L1500/ RC1604(revoked)/ RC1950	2008/3	Y	<p>www.londonroll.org shows that the Musicians had several women freemen between 1750 and 1834, also women apprentices, and widows who took on their husband's membership "by courtesy" or in their own right after his death. Some were free by patrimony, some by servitude and some by redemption. Many took on apprentices, and there were many women apprentices.</p>
65	Needlemakers	1982	LP1656/RC 1664	2011/3	Y	<p>Between 1592 and 1950 44 women are recorded as freemen, widows or apprentices, by patrimony and 2 were honorary. Women served apprenticeships and were masters of apprentices. The Needlemakers has never restricted its members to needlemaking . Since 1982, they have clothed at least two women each year in the livery.</p> <p>The company is one of only two livery companies having Letters Patent awarded during the Protectorate by Oliver Cromwell. See also www.celebratingcitywomen.co.uk</p>

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	Painter-Stainers	Sept 2004, theoretically 1945	1283/RC1581	hope before 2033		<p>The original ordinances mention women. Whilst it was unusual to have women members, there is some evidence. For example, Mathilda de Mymms who died of black death bequeathed her painting utensils to her apprentice. Many painters left their painting equipment to their wives.</p> <p>In 1922 the court debated whether Mrs Swynnerton, the first woman to be elected as an associate of the Royal Academy since 1768 should be a member.</p> <p>Increasingly women began to win prizes and at least one asked for the freedom in 1950, five years after the court had agreed in principle to grant livery to women. It was rejected as it would change the nature of the company.</p> <p>Finally, four were admitted in 2004. A. Borg <i>The History of the Worshipful Company of Painters Otherwise Painter-Stainers</i>.</p>
n/a	Parish Clerks	n/a	RC1442	2018	Y	<p>Originally the Parish Clerk would have been in Holy Orders. The role changed after the Reformation and the clerk became a layman.</p>
70	Pattenmakers	1969 (with hiatus from 1971-1994)	RC1670/ L1717	2003/3		<p>The company has had women throughout most of its history. Admittedly not huge numbers in their own right, and also widows running the family business, having apprentices etc.</p> <p>After the abeyance in the 19thC and early 20thC, the company resolved to admit women in 1969 and their first lady liveryman (but by no means first freesister) was clothed in the livery in January 1970.</p> <p>There was then a hiatus for various reasons until 1994. The company has since had two women masters (2003 and 2009) with more in the pipeline.</p> <p>Women now (2020) make up about 17% of the membership.</p> <p>One honorary freedom was awarded in 1943 to the daughter of a past master. In 1991 it was agreed to offer honorary freedom to widows of court members.</p>
56	Paviors	Early 1980s	1479/RC2004	2019	They have an assistant clerk	<p>Had widows as members who ran their husbands' businesses. The company diminished in size when its control over street works and industry practices was lost but was revived in 1889. Their hoped-for first lady master died before taking office. She was also their first woman liveryman. The company believes they never as such stopped having women members.</p>
16	Pewterers	1996	1348/RC1473	2017		<p>The records are sketchy on women, as they only record liverymen which until recently women were not. In 1633 Katherine Westwood, daughter of a pewterer, was sworn and made free by the testimony of the Master and Wardens of the Merchant Taylors and two silk weavers that she was a virgin and 21 years of age. She paid the usual patrimony fine of 9s 2d. A rare instance of a female being admitted to membership. The company has records of women being pursued for misdemeanours such as quality standards.</p>

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46	Plasterers	2002	RC1501	2013/3	Y	There were women members in the middle ages. The first charter is addressed to "Brothers and Sisters". There were a few women freemen in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It now has both male and female apprentices. The elaborate plasterwork in the Mansion House was the work of two Plasterers who late became masters of the company. No <i>History</i> has as yet been written.
31	Plumbers	1920	1315/RC1611	2015/2		Countess Bathurst was clothed in the livery in 1920 thereafter no women till 1982. In earlier times the Plumbers occasionally granted freedom by patrimony, and by courtesy to widows. They also had a "shopkeeper" class which paid £40, and allowed apprenticeships. There is at least one record of a freedom by patrimony in 1724 to Sarah Sergeant. Her mother, a widow, had had at least 4 (male) apprentices. The Plumbers' charity ia supports Village by Village in Ghana, providing safe systems for villages without mains drainage, WaterAid, and Providence Row as well as providing plumbing apprentice bursaries. In addition, they are one of 32 livery companies supporting the NHS Livery Kitchen Initiative. They also are linked to another charity The Plumbers' Museum Workshop Trust at Amberley, Arundel. Their hall used to be in the area now occupied by Cannon Street Railway Station. They therefore now have a statute commemorating their Hall which they had had there for several hundred years. The statue is of the Plumbers' Apprentice and is on the concourse. It is a "talking" statue.
34	Poulters	1995	1299/RC1504	2022	Y	The company's second woman liveryman (a 5 th generation Poulter) is projected to be their first woman master in 2022. They started a charitable activity in 2005 – the pancake races, which are now held each year on Shrove Tuesday in Guildhall Yard. The proceeds go to their charity and to the Lord Mayor's charity. Other liveries also help – such as the Glovers who ensure that the appropriate gloves are worn by those racing, the Clockmakers, who time the winners, the Gunmakers who fire the guns, and so on. The 1504 charter is lost – recorded as having been lodged for safekeeping at the Bank of England. Margaret Thatcher and the late Duchess of Devonshire were also honorary liverymen as is HRH The Princess Royal.
25	Saddlers	1966	c 1160 RC 1272	2013		Records show names of freewomen and Wills indicate that normally they were widows though there is at least one saddler in her own right. Women decorated and embroidered many early saddles. The company began to accept women by patrimony in 1923. HRH The Princess Royal is the Permanent Master. Their annual head is a Prime Warden. The Saddlers had limits on the numbers of women freemen they could have (50) but after obtaining a supplemental Royal Charter in 1995 the distinction between freemen and freewomen disappeared.

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	Salters	2003	1394/RC1559	2020		Although low in numbers, women are certainly present in the Salters' history. The earliest surviving records show 54 freewomen between the 1650s and 1900, some 145 female apprentices between 1600-1800 and between 20-30 freewomen who took apprentices between 1659 and 1776. Their numbers began to rise after the 19thC. Several of their women took apprentices and some had and/or were apprenticed to other trades, eg wire drawer, woollen draper, or milliner. See www.londonroll.org for more detail. Interestingly, they boast two Nobel prize-winners, alas neither is female.
84	Scientific Instrument Makers	from inception	1955/L1963	2025	Y	The first woman member was an outstanding candidate who initially worked at an electron microscopy manufacturer, now owned by Zeiss. Although always open to women, the first to apply for livery was in 1977. It is hoped their Royal Charter will be granted shortly.
44	Scriveners	1976	1333/RC1617	2006/4		<p>The first woman to be admitted to the company was Elizabeth Billingsley in 1665. She was apprenticed to James Windus (Master, 1669). There were other female apprentices and also daughters of liverymen entering by patrimony.</p> <p>The company has long been associated with the profession of notary. There are several firms of scrivener notaries (as they are called) established in the City. The company sets the examinations to practise as a scrivener notary and regulates apprenticeships. There are currently 39 scrivener notaries and several apprentices in practice.</p> <p>The first woman to qualify as a scrivener notary in the City was Eleanor Fogan in 1976. Jessica Reeve, who was the third female to qualify as a scrivener notary in the City, became the first lady Master in 2006. Ruth Campbell, who became the third woman master in 2010, was the fourth female to qualify as a scrivener notary.</p> <p>In addition to its notarial role, the company has long had connexions with experts in calligraphy as well as with heraldry and genealogy. Members of the College of Arms, including Heralds and a Garter Principal King of Arms, have served in recent years as masters of the company, as has the Queen's Calligrapher, Donald Jackson.</p>
108	Security Professionals	from inception	1999/L2008/RC 2010	2003/2	y/2	
59	Shipwrights	1980s	1100s/L1782	2022		<p>Shipwrighting is not a natural female job but many widows would have continued their husband's trade. In more recent times the company has frequently given the freedom <i>honoris causa</i> to wives of Masters, Second Masters and, latterly, Prime Wardens, to thank them for their contribution during the year. One such was Lady Parsons who was granted freedom in 1922 (see more about her in the main research paper above). Provided that they are themselves also in the trade, ladies granted the freedom <i>honoris causa</i> would be entitled to progress to the Livery.</p> <p>The company was originally recognised by prescription (before 1189) and there are records back as early as the 13C where people are described as Citizen and Shipwright. Many records are lost.</p>

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6/7	Skinners	1991	RC1327	2013/3		The Skinners had women members by patrimony and via apprenticeship throughout their history - 95 freewomen between 1496-1966 and 119 apprentices. Freewomen also helped on committees and charities. The first women to join the Court was in 2000. The first six who were clothed in the livery had worked on committees for the company for many years.
79	Solicitors	believe from date of livery status	1909/L1944/ RC 1958	2006/3	y/2	The company was, until 2007, the City of London's local law society so anyone practising as a solicitor in the City would have been entitled to join whatever their sex. However, that was only the case after the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act 1919. Before then, (the company was founded in 1909) as women were not in law permitted to be lawyers (due to being held not to be a "person"), they would not have been qualified to join. The first woman solicitor dates from 1923. It is thought no woman applied till the 1970s.
60	Spectacle Makers	1919	RC1629/L1809	1990/3	Y	Dame Laura Rebecca Marshall was the first to be given livery, she was the wife of the then master. The first liveryman in her own right was Elizabeth Maud Weston who was clothed on 1 December 1921. There is no obvious reason as to why these were the first women to be clothed in the livery. The company has always been open to women members and had its first recorded in 1699 though there are earlier records showing women paying quarterage and training apprentices. The first woman to qualify after taking the Spectacle Makers exams was in 1898. See more in the main research paper above, and Virginia Rounding in Bibliography, below.
47	Stationers		1403/RC1557	2015		www.londonroll.org shows several freesisters, widows, apprentices. The last noted before 1900 was a widow in 1858. The company's hall has been undergoing major refurbishment over the last 15 months which makes it very difficult for them to provide information. However, they have clearly accepted women on equal terms since they had a woman master in 2015.
21	Tallow Chandlers	2004	1300/RC1462	2025		Have had women freemen (35) and apprentices (50) since mid 1600s - see www.londonroll.org . The first woman to be clothed was Elizabeth Hale. They also made their beadle's widow in 1800 their acting beadle, a position she held for 11 years - see Virginia Rounding in Bibliography, below.
107	Tax Advisers	from inception	1995/L2005/ RC2009	2005/4		Two of the founder members were women, of whom one was a founder court assistant, first woman master (at the same time being the first master appointed after grant of livery). The Tax Advisers provide tax briefings to the Lord Mayor for his outbound missions, also inbound dossiers if requested. They extend companionship status to surviving spouses of court members and past masters, also the commanding officers of their affiliates for the period of their office, and, for three years, to the presidents of their connected bodies the Chartered Institute of Taxation and the Association of Taxation Technicians. Many of the company's masters have also been president of one or both of those professional bodies and/or of the Confédération Fiscale Européenne.

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
67	Tin Plate Workers alias Wire Workers	1993	RC1670/L1766	2021 and 2	Y	TPWWW had women freemen from its earliest days. The decision to extend livery to women was taken in the late 1980s, and 4 women were clothed in the livery in February 1993. They had 10 women liverymen by 2000. They were also one of the earliest companies to have a woman clerk.
82	Tobacco Pipe Makers	1992	1954/L1960	2011	y/2	Originally founded in 1619 to regulate the manufacture of clay pipes, it has been twice dissolved and twice restarted. When refounded in 1954 it was not open to women. After some pressure by the daughter of one liveryman, they agreed to allow her the freedom by patrimony. In due course, the company clothed its first woman. It now has several women on its court including a warden. The original 1619 company is known to have allowed widows to take over their husband's livery status in order to continue to run the business. Whether it had other women members is not known.
51	Turners	1986	1295/RC1604	2006/2		Women members were normally widowed, but there were some admitted by redemption and there were honorary freemen such as Baroness Burdett-Coutts in 1892, and two for their skills in turning: Lady Amherst of Hackney in 1893 and Lady Gertrude Crawford in 1907. After much debate, it was agreed to accept women members on the same terms as men in 1986. The first to be clothed in the livery was in 1987.
38	Tylers & Bricklayers	ab initio, then 1999	1416/RC1568	2018		Official recognition of women is enshrined in the 1568 charter which makes it clear there were already sisters in the guild. Bricklayers Hall had been acquired from Eliza Dyall, Citizen and Tyler. There were more women recorded in 17 th C and 18 th C, but a gap in the 19 th C. There are at least two instances of widows admitted to livery following husbands' deaths - but it is recorded that livery would cease once the relevant apprentices had finished their service (or were taken over by another liveryman). In the 1980s and early 1990s there were several discussions about women liverymen culminating with a decision that all new freemen (both men and women) should initially have to serve five years as a freeman before being considered for clothing. The first two women clothed were daughters of a past master. And see " <i>They Built London</i> ".
49	Upholders	2002	c 1360/ RC1626	2015/3	y/2	Wynne Gilham was the first woman liveryman also master. The company lost many of its records (and its hall) in the Great Fire, and more records in another fire in 1812, but what records it still retains show that they had several women freemen in the 18 th C from patrimony, servitude and also widowhood. Their archivist comments that one of the problems researching women is the change of name on marriage, and sometimes they might be married several times.

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	Vintners	1992	RC1363	2021		Records sadly fail to show any women freemen earlier than 1980. Vintners would have had their first lady master in July 2020 but for Covid, it is now expected to be July 2021.
102	Water Conservators	from inception	1988/L2000	2004/3		
n/a	Watermen & Lightermen	n/a	1555/1827	2020		The company is regulated and created by two Acts of Parliament due to the importance of the River Thames.
20	Wax Chandlers	1981	1371/RC1484	2008/4	Y	The company had four women freemen in the 1700s. PM Heather Hawker found a female wax chandler mentioned in the London Poll Book of 1548. Whilst the early ordinances refer to women it would appear that not many joined though there were women who took apprentices, not all widows. There is on-going research as there were clearly many women wax chandlers.
42	Weavers	1987	1130/RC1155	2008	Y	Whilst the company goes back to Henry I and earlier, there are no records indicating women liverymen before 1987 when Pat Winterton (CBE, Glover and daughter of a past upper bailiff) and the then assistant clerk, Freda Newcombe (who later became their first woman master), were clothed in the livery. There is evidence of women members by redemption, widows, and apprentices. The Royal Charter, the first in the City, was attested by Thomas a'Beckett. Their earlier ordinances stated "no woman or mayd shall use or exercise the arts of weaving, except she be the widow of one of the same guild" - that was changed in the 17 th C. The company did however have many women in the freedom - see Plummer <i>The London Weavers' Company 1600-1970</i> . Two women who hand-wove the silk velvets for the Queen's Coronation in 1953 were given freedom and made free of the City. (Hand-made velvet is very difficult to do, each inch requires cutting the pile wires 40 times.)
68	Wheelwrights	1976	1630/RC1670	2014	y/2	Women were admitted to the freedom by 1670 till mid 19 th C - they were usually widows or by patrimony. No woman was admitted after 1838 (the last was by patrimony) until 1976. The first two were daughters of a past master and former Lord Mayor. See also Wheelwrights <i>History</i> .

Women in the Livery

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43	Woolmen	1988	1180/Inc 1522	1994/2	Y	Women have been appointed freemen since 1671. Women became re-eligible from 1925, where daughters of liverymen, to be apprenticed. The first completed her apprenticeship in 1932 and became free then. It appears that none of the earlier women asked for livery. The company also appointed a beadle's widow to take over his job in 1820.
101	World Traders	from inception	1985/L2000/RC2013	2000/7	Y	

Modern Companies without Livery and Guilds						
n/a	Communi-cators	from inception	2000	2003/7	Y	
n/a	Entrepreneurs	from inception	2014	2018		
n/a	Nurses	from inception	2016	2016/4		The Nurses are inevitably mainly women-based but they do have men as members too. They have just appointed their first man as a court assistant (2020) and are looking forward to his becoming master in due course. Their membership proportions are in line with the national gender levels in the nursing profession.
n/a	Human Resources	from inception	2015	2016/3	y	
n/a	Investment Managers	from inception	2015	2022		

Note: Virginia Rounding's *City Women* makes it clear, however, that, even if women were described as liverymen, they did not necessarily have the same rights in pre-Victorian times – for example they were not involved in the running of the company. Though see the note above from the Makers of Playing Cards. And see the author's main research paper above *Women in the Civic City and the Livery* which gives information on the background law on the legal background to women's rights, which seriously affected their position within the livery and explains why women had so few rights in the livery and City until relatively recently.

Heather Hawker (PM Wax Chandler) reports

the London Poll Book (livery list) of 1548 shows 4 women - 1 Wax Chandler, 2 Saddlers and 1 Baker

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APPENDIX IV

WOMEN CLERKS

The first woman clerk was appointed in 1985. There had been before that several women assistant clerks and there continues to be many women (and men) assistant clerks.

The longest serving woman clerk to date is **Amanda Jackson**, who served the Chartered Surveyors for 33 years and for 26 years of that time was also the clerk to the Joiners and Ceilers.

Other long-serving women clerks are:

Sheila Robinson who was clerk to the Solicitors company from 1985 to 2001 and also clerk to the Builders Merchants from 1990 to 2007. (The Solicitors and the Builders Merchants share the same premises.)

Charlotte Clifford has been clerk to the Farriers (a company with which her family has long-standing connexions) since 1997, and

Gaye Duffy, who has served, at various times from 1995 to date the Arbitrators, the Marketors and the World Traders.

As at December 2020, 50 livery companies have had at least one woman clerk, and over a third of them have had 2 or more.

There were 6 companies which had women clerks for the first time before 1990, 14 more in the period 1991-2000, 15 more in the period 2001-2010 and a further 15 in the period 2011-2020, making the full 50. The Parish Clerks also have a woman clerk.

Only one Great Twelve company, the Mercers, has so far had a woman clerk. There has been a total of 27 out of the 77 ancient companies and the balance of 23 from the modern companies.

No survey has as such been taken of male clerks. But looking at Nigel Pullman's remarkable spreadsheet <http://www.liverycompanies.info/a-z-list-of-companies/lists/past-masters-archive.html> which contains details of lord mayors, sheriffs, masters, clerks, chiel commoners and a whole host of other remarkable information, it is clear that men have paid a very important part in the history of livery companies as clerks.

GLOSSARY

Almoner	Many livery companies and guilds, also the City Livery Club, have a volunteer almoner who keeps in touch with those members who are not well or otherwise distressed.
Apprentice	Originally an apprentice would sign what would probably be a 7-year term binding him/her to serve his/her master. He would learn the trade from his apprentice-master and at the end of his period of apprenticeship/servitude, would produce a “masterpiece” to show what he had learnt. He would also be entitled to apply to join the particular company. Nowadays, only a few companies have “real” apprentices, and the term is generally much shorter. It is a way of bringing in a young member, eg a son or daughter who, because of having been born before his parent became free of that company, is not entitled to join by patrimony.
Assistant	A person who sits on the court as a director of the livery or guild.
Beadle	The beadle is the name given to a person who these days might be described as a Master of Ceremonies. At court meetings, he will bring in the master, but takes no part in the meeting itself. If any new member is being presented to the court, he will bring that person in at the appropriate time. At lunches and dinners, he will oversee the smooth running of the event and make the appropriate announcements.
City Livery Club	A body which one can join once one has become a freeman or liveryman. It provides, inter alia, social gatherings across the livery, etc.
Clerk	The chief executive of the livery, company without livery, or guild – often works part-time. But some are very full-time as their company has a hall to maintain, many staff, and investments to manage. His/her badge of office will include crossed quills. An assistant clerk given a badge will be identified by one quill only.
Company without livery	This embraces two different styles of guilds. The first are two ancient companies which, for whatever reason, never sought or obtained livery – the Parish Clerks and the Watermen and Lightermen. The second are new guilds which have reached a certain stage in their progress to livery to be awarded the status of “company without livery” by the Aldermanic Court. As at January 2021, there are currently three companies without livery working towards livery, and two guilds working their way towards being companies without livery. A company without livery is not supposed to wear any of its identifying gowns in the street.
Clothed or Clothed in the Livery	This is the procedure whereby a freeman of a livery company, being also free of the City, is clothed in the specific clothing identifying that particular company, having paid whatever fine (if any) has been demanded. Once clothed, that person has become a liveryman.

Common Hall	The gathering of liverymen from across the livery at Guildhall (normally) on elections days - Midsummer Day (June 24) for election of the Sheriffs for the ensuing year commencing 28th September, and Michaelmas Day (29 September) for the election of other civic officers. It is at this latter occasion that the Lord Mayor for the ensuing year (starting November) is identified. Some livery companies also hold their own Common Hall (general meeting) of their members – see also endnote 13.
Court	The board of the company. So-called because it used to be a company court similar to any other legal court where the officers could, for example, impose a fine for poor work, or settle disputes between members.
Fine	The sum paid to the company for, for example, undertaking the office of warden, or joining the court as an assistant, or for becoming a liveryman or freeman. The sums differ widely depending on the company concerned. The term no longer relates to the fines which used to be imposed on member traders for poor work, using incorrect weights or improper material, and so on.
Float	An entry in the Lord Mayor’s Show. So-called because originally the Lord Mayor would often sail up river (he sometimes went on horseback) each year to Westminster Hall (where the judges were to be found). Others would follow, in gaily-caparisoned barges and other river boats.
Free of the City	In the old days (pre -1835), this would give the (male) freeman rights as a citizen of the City to vote. Freedom also conferred the balance of the authority needed in order to be able to trade legally. Being free of a livery company or (these days) a City “company without livery” allows one to apply for the freedom of the City. (Women’s rights to vote were dealt with via the 1918 and the 1928 Acts.) Since 1835 one no longer needs to be a member of a livery company or City guild in order to apply to be free of the City.
Freedom ceremony	To become free of the City, the mechanism is to take the relevant documents to Guildhall and to make an appointment. In due course, there will be a ceremony in the Chamberlain’s Court, usually led by the clerk to the Chamberlain. Afterwards, one will be given a certificate, and also a little red book entitled <i>Rules for the Conduct of Life</i> first published in 1740. If applying for freedom as a result of having become a freeman of a livery company (or company without livery) the documents will include the company freedom certificate or other suitable document provided by the clerk of the company concerned.
Freeman, Freesister, Freewoman	A person who may be free of the City of London, or a paid-up freeman member of a livery company, or both. In the 21 st C this is usually freeman regardless of sex.
Great Twelve	These are the twelve companies who were the richest and had the most political clout at the date when the “order of precedence” was created by the Aldermanic Court in 1515. There were at that time 48 companies.

<p>Guild</p>	<p>In general parlance, a guild is a society of those who work in the same trade/profession. Before 1835 it would be necessary to belong to a guild in many towns and cities in order to work and to learn one's skills.</p>
<p>Guild of Freeman</p>	<p>Open to all freemen of the City of London, regardless of nationality, gender or religion, and their membership is drawn from all over the world, bound by a common interest in the City of London and the welfare and education of its citizens.</p>
<p>Guild of Young Freeman</p>	<p>A volunteer-run organisation made up of and run for and by young people – under 40 - who share an interest in the rich history and traditions of the City of London. To date more than 800 former young freemen have become masters, sheriffs, lord mayor, liverymen, company clerks.</p>
<p>Guildhall</p>	<p>The municipal building for the City. It is the ceremonial and administrative HQ of the City and its Corporation. The name is believed to come from the Anglo-Saxon gild for payment, being the place for the payment of taxes within the City. The Great Hall itself was completed in 1440 and, whilst it suffered some damage in the Great Fire and during the "Second Great Fire" (being the Luftwaffe raid on 29/30 December 1940) both of which caused the roof to be replaced, it is still used for all ceremonial occasions such as Common Hall.</p>
<p>Ironbridge weekend</p>	<p>A weekend, normally in early June, when the current sheriffs, masters, prime wardens and upper bailiff are encouraged to attend a weekend at Ironbridge. It has been held there since 1980 thanks to the encouragement of the then Lord Mayor Peter Gadsden. There are plans to have the June weekends in other venues around the UK which have special links to the City and the livery.</p>
<p>Livery Committee</p>	<p>A forum for communication between the livery, the officers at Guildhall, and the Mansion House on any matter affecting the interests of the general body of livery. The committee issues regular briefings to the livery.</p>
<p>Liveryman, (Liverywoman)</p>	<p>A person who is more senior in the livery company than a freeman. A liveryman may vote at Common Hall for the election of sheriffs and other civic officers, including the Lord Mayor; and may in due course become as assistant on the court, a warden or master. The usual term for both male and female is liveryman.</p>
<p>Livery company</p>	<p>A company which is identified in the City by the gown its liverymen (usually these days restricted to court and officers) wears. Hence to become a liveryman one is ceremonially "clothed" with the gown in the style of the particular company. Many old companies acquired their status by lapse of time, others, and all the new liversies, acquire it by the permission of the Aldermanic Court.</p>
<p>Livery Hall</p>	<p>Some companies have halls. Many of these are very old and are listed, such as the Goldsmiths, which have owned their site since the 1330s. Others are much more modern, such as Barber Surgeons which was bombed and rebuilt after WWII. They vary in size: eg the smallest Gunmakers can sit 24 people at a meal, whereas the largest. Plaisterers, can sit 400 (https://plaistererslivery.co.uk/plaisterers-hall/)</p>

<p>Lord Mayor's Show</p>	<p>An annual event, which currently takes place on the second Saturday in November. Over the aeons it has become a celebratory event and is the world's longest unrehearsed parade. The Lord Mayor is required by the terms of the Charter granted by King John in 1215 to show himself to the monarch or the monarch's representative (who by the time the parade started would be the Barons of the Exchequer (judges)). Originally the date was 29 October, but after the change in the calendar from Julian to Gregorian, the date became 9 November (11 days after), and was then fixed to the Saturday date in 1959. It was not stopped by either World Wars but was reluctantly cancelled as a street pageant due to the Covid 19 pandemic in November 2020. Since 1882, after the Law Courts in the Strand were opened, the Lord Mayor has always gone to the Law Courts to meet, and "show" himself to, the relevant judges in front of whom he takes the oath of allegiance.</p>
<p>Loving Cup</p>	<p>The cup – usually two-handed with a lid - is traditionally filled with spiced wine, immemorially termed "Sack". The custom is said to have originated following the murder of King Edward the Martyr, who was stabbed while drinking at Corfe Castle on 18 March 978 (the murderer is much disputed). When a person rises to drink from the cup, the persons either side of him/her also stand. The drinker then bows to the neighbour to whom the cup will pass, who removes the cover with his right - or "dagger" - hand thus eliminating the risk of being stabbed. The other neighbour turns his back to the drinker's back ostensibly to protect him from attack from behind whilst drinking. Having drunk, the drinker wipes the place where he has drunk with the napkin, the lid is replaced and the drinker and his neighbour bow to one another before passing the cup. The first drinker then taps the person guarding his back (so that person knows he can sit down) and turns (some say he should turn keeping his back to the table whilst turning) to protect the second drinker from attack; it follows there are always three people on their feet, the drinker being in the middle. There are variants depending on the company concerned, but the principle remains the same. There is a wonderful cartoon by Bateman in <i>Punch</i> "The Man Who Drained the Loving Cup" which shows well how the three start the process. https://punch.photoshelter.com/image/I0000akGwhJS4bhw .</p>
<p>Mansion House</p>	<p>The official residence of the Lord Mayor. It was built between 1739 and 1752 and is Grade I listed. Its main banqueting hall is called the Egyptian Hall (because the architect Dance thought the arrangement of columns were Egyptian, due to Vitruvius, a classic Roman architect). There is a marvellous collection of Dutch and Flemish 17thC paintings from the bequest of Harold Samuel. It is possible to organise tours there through the diary office. There are often tours on a Tuesday. It is not, as such, open to the public. (Diary Office, Mansion House Walbrook, EC4N 8BH, or by phone 020 7626 2500). The nearest tube station is Bank (not Mansion House).</p>
<p>Master</p>	<p>One of the three general titles for the (usually) annually appointed chairman/president of the company.</p>
<p>Mother Company</p>	<p>The first company a person joins as a freeman.</p>

Order of Precedence	In 1515, the Aldermanic Court took a decision to order the then companies (48) in terms of financial and political power. The top most powerful became known as the Great Twelve. All companies founded later are added in date order. Should any company amalgamate with another or close, those companies below move up a number. One of the earliest times this happened was when the Shearmen (who were then no 12) and the Fullers amalgamated in 1528 to become the Clothworkers.
Past Master	A person who has been master of the company concerned. If upper bailiff or prime warden the term is past upper bailiff or past prime warden.
Pathway	See Yeoman.
Patrimony	A person who is born after his or her parent became free of either the relevant livery company or the City or both is entitled to an easier mechanism of entry than a person who enters by redemption or servitude.
Past Masters Association	The people who are masters in any one year tend to forge friendships which they wish to maintain. As a result, usually at a weekend gathering of masters normally held in June and often at Ironbridge (a tradition started in 1980 by the then Lord Mayor (Peter Gadsden), the masters will determine whether they will create such an association, who will run it initially, and name it. Sometimes the consorts, who will have attended the weekend as well, will set up their own association, sometimes they are part of the masters grouping. They tend to have names relevant to the year – for example the 350 th anniversary of the Great Fire in 2016 resulted in Phoenix and a consort group of Firebird. The 2017 group are Prime (because the year date is a prime number), and 2018 are the Spitfires. And so on.
Prime Warden	See Master.
Quarterage	The fee (usually paid annually) for membership of the company. Not all companies charge quarterage. Not all companies charge freeman. Most will charge liverymen.
Redemption	The mechanism of joining a livery company where one has no connexion via servitude or patrimony. There will usually be a requirement to have attended various company events, to be interviewed and to pay a (heavier) fine.
Rose Bowl	Some companies will pass round a (usually) silver dish containing rosewater after the end of a meal. One takes one's napkin, dips the corner into the rose water and pats it behind one's ears. This is said to stimulate the nerves in this region which through their connexions soothe the digestive organs.
Servitude	Undertaking an apprenticeship. These used usually to be seven years long. Today they vary but are unlikely to be that long. Once completed successfully, the former apprentice is entitled to join the company to become a freeman by servitude. There may be a fine to pay.

<p>Silent Ceremony</p>	<p>The ceremony, in Guildhall, which takes place on the Friday before the second Saturday in November, at which the Lord Mayor receives the insignia of office from the Lord Mayor about to step down. The only words spoken throughout are those of the new Lord Mayor when s/he gives his/her oath. It's a very impressive ceremony, though not seen to advantage by those sitting in the well of the Hall as their view is unfortunately blocked by the various officials who stand, as part of the ceremony, in front of the dais on which the ceremony takes place.</p>
<p>Sung Grace</p>	<p><i>Laudi Spirituali</i> 1545: a grace used by many livery companies which is sung by those attending the function concerned at the end of the meal.</p>
<p>Swan Upping</p>	<p>The swans on the River Thames between Abingdon and Sunbury belong, since time immemorial, to a combination of the Sovereign, the Dyers and the Vintners. Each July, representatives of the three go Swan Upping in skiffs. Each time they find cygnets, they check them, and the parents, for their health, check who owns the parents and mark the cygnets accordingly (these days by rings). In the past the Sovereign's were unmarked and the Dyers' and the Vintners' had their beaks marked with one or two notches, as appropriate. Where the parents are owned by two different entities, their offspring are shared appropriately. (All other swans belong to the Crown.) They wear ceremonial robes for the five days of the upping.</p>
<p>United Guilds Service</p>	<p>An annual service at St Paul's Cathedral. It was started following the Blitz in WWII and was designed to lift the spirits. The first service was on Lady Day (25 March) 1943. It is attended by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and representatives from all the livery companies and guilds. It unfortunately had to be cancelled, for the first and only time, in 2020 due to the pandemic.</p>
<p>Upper Bailiff</p>	<p>See Master.</p>
<p>Warden</p>	<p>One of the more common names given to officers on the court. In general, a warden is likely in due course to become master but it does not always follow as each company has its own method of choosing their master.</p>
<p>Worshipful Company</p>	<p>A term given to two ancient companies without livery (The Parish Clerks, and the Watermen and Lightermen) and to all livery companies – so that “The Worshipful Company of [.....]” is the same as the “The [.....] livery company” where livery has been granted ie not the Parish Clerks or the Waterman and Lightermen..</p>
<p>Yeoman</p>	<p>Usually applied these days to young people to encourage them to join on very reduced or no fees. Many yeoman are prize-winners in areas sponsored by the company concerned. Not all companies have them. There are other titles in other companies, such as the Environmental Cleaners call their equivalent “Pathway” members.</p>

Below are the endnotes for the main report and then for the LMA History

¹ As he then was. He later became a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary and a privy councillor. He was ennobled as Baron Donaldson of Lymington

² He was, he told the author at the time, immensely proud of her

³ The Inner and Middle Temple Inns of Court are between Fleet Street and the Embankment. Inns of Court are part of the barrister legal set-up. Many barristers have offices (known as chambers) in the Inns and some, like the Donaldsons, are lucky enough to have accommodation there as well.

⁴ She said she was “never one for playing bridge or drinking coffee” and over the years did copious amounts of charitable work.

⁵ She was clear in her view that one’s gender was wholly irrelevant, that one is either the right person for the position or one is not.

⁶ There are suggestions on the internet that Dame Mary was preceded by Edwina Coven, ie that Edwina was the first woman common councilman. The author has been assured by the City Archivist that this is not so. However, Mrs Coven was a very early common councilman.

⁷ It is not clear which came first: the encouragement to be an alderman or the becoming of a liveryman as the two seem to have occurred close together. Her family believes, correctly, that she was one of the first women to be clothed by the Gardeners. That company has confirmed that she was clothed on 12 February 1975, having joined as a freeman on 31 October 1974. The Gardeners’ first woman liveryman was HRH The Princess Alice, Duchess of Gloucester, clothed in 1974. Dame Mary joined the Gardeners’ Court in 1985 but never progressed to the chair.

⁸ Dame Mary was not the first woman to be *elected* a City alderman. The first to be *elected* was in 1973-74.

⁹ Edwina Coven was a freeman of the Loriners and had been a common councilman for some time. She was also deputy chairman of the City magistrates bench. She had been a major in the WRAC. She has been described as “redoubtable” by those who knew her, and there has been a call to have a statue in her honour in the City.

¹⁰ Edwina Coven was appropriately qualified to be an alderman being both a citizen and a freeman of the City as required by an Act of Common Council of 15 April 1714 – an earlier ordinance of the Aldermanic Court (20 September 1402) had merely required that aldermen should be citizens.

¹¹ 8 March 1975

¹² Since 1987 there have only been four more women – Barbara Newman, Joyce Nash, Pauline Halliday, and Wendy Mead.

¹³ In the City of London, it is a gathering, in Guildhall, of liverymen from the various livery companies which gathering elects, usually by show of hands, the sheriffs. This gathering is termed “Common Hall” and for Shrieval elections takes place on Midsummer Day, 24 June. In the event of a dispute over the count, a poll may be demanded, as happens from time to time. The other Common Hall, again in Guildhall, is on 29 September, Michaelmas Day, for election of various civic officers at which the Lord Mayor for the year ensuing is identified.

¹⁴ Also elected following a poll. Polls are very expensive. Further, they also delay the work the newly-elected sheriff has to do before taking office on 28 September by way of finalising his/her shrieval badge, obtaining the appropriate gowns and other items of clothing, and finishing off his or her coat of arms (this last will be displayed at the Old Bailey along with all those of predecessors in office). As a result of the cost, the Livery Committee, which oversees the election, makes attempts to prevent that cost in contested elections by asking the parties to agree that they will not contest the show of hands if the difference is more than 10% of the votes. But this cannot bind the gathering in the well of the Hall and overspill rooms (if any), and probably doesn’t bind those standing either.

¹⁵ Two other women have stood in contested elections – in 2018 (Gwen Rhys, PM Glass Seller) and 2019 (Erica Stary, the author). Both feel strongly that in the 21st Century the Civic City should have at least one female and/or one person from the ethnic minority community in the team each year – and that it is good for the City to have contested elections.

¹⁶ The Civic City always proposes at least one alderman for sheriff each year, as custom requires a Lord Mayor to have served as sheriff first. In 2020, due to the pandemic, it was pragmatically determined that the existing officers should serve another year, though the Lord Mayor himself had to be elected in the manner required by the Charter which election took place in an historic Common Hall at Guildhall.

¹⁷ A past master of both the Glovers and the Plaisterers. Also hon liveryman of, ia, the Upholders.

¹⁸ Before then, the Sovereign appointed the Mayor, to which the City became entitled in 1189. The three mayors before 1215 were, unsurprisingly, men.

¹⁹ The first *Lord Mayor* was Thomas Legge who was granted that title by Edward III for serving a second term in 1354. There has been no specific grant of the title to the City Mayoralty in general, rather it has been acquired by prescription – usage over time. Interestingly, there are 30 cities in the UK, which have a Lord Mayor (or Lord Provost, in Scotland).

The title of six of those Lord Mayors/Lord Provosts is “The Rt Hon. Lord Mayor/Lord Provost of [the City concerned]. The six cities are London, Edinburgh, Cardiff, Belfast, Glasgow and York. The holder of the office is not entitled to that appellation (viz “The Rt Hon [name]”) in his/her own right unless s/he is a privy councillor.

²⁰ One livery company, very concerned about her being the only woman at their dinner, invited one other woman (their assistant clerk) to join them.

²¹ Several liverymen believe they recall the preference but it seems they are wrong and thus likely they misread or misremember the situation which was, it must be admitted, extremely unusual at the time. Her family say it was definitely not the case.

²² She was a vet, as was her husband, who was also a liveryman of the Farriers and master in 1995. She ran the Farriers competitions and courses for many years. She was very proud to be a liveryman.

²³ The Blue Book publication (*infra*) which *inter alia* listed all liverymen in all the liveries did not then exist.

²⁴ Interestingly, not the Egyptians. But the Romans, Athenians, and others imposed restrictive rules on what women could do legally without permission from the relevant man. For example, and in any event, there were restrictions on being witnesses in a trial, they had no banking or equivalent rights but they might have heritable rights.

²⁵ The early Church (first and second century) had many women taking leading roles, so much so that later (male) writers assumed there were errors in the texts and altered female names to male. See for example

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/religion/first/women.html>,

<https://christianhistoryinstitute.org/magazine/article/women-in-the-early-church>

²⁶ The Anglo-Saxon law was more generous to women.

²⁷ For example, widows’ rights to property were protected.

²⁸ There are known to be rare exceptions eg relating to hereditary offices, such as Nicola de la Haie who inherited the post of, hereditary constable of Lincoln Cathedral from her father and was appointed sheriff of Lincolnshire by King John; but none appears to have applied in the City of London.

²⁹ This obligation was not abolished until the Equality Act 2010, s. 198.

³⁰ The English husband had power over his wife’s body, and, whilst this did not mean he could kill her with impunity, there was no concept of marital rape until late in the 20th century as a result of a legal decision in 1991. Likewise, he used to be (before domestic violence was addressed by Parliament) entitled to beat her so long as he did not disturb the public peace.

³¹ For example, they could not qualify as doctors. This caused one woman, Margaret Bulkley, to adopt a male persona, and as John Barry she qualified as a doctor at Edinburgh University in 1812 and then served as a British army surgeon for over 40 years; it was only after her death that she was discovered to be female. Elizabeth Garrett-Anderson used a different tactic, that of qualifying as an apothecary in 1865. Once discovered, that loophole was closed but her hard campaigning resulted in the 1876 statute which enabled both men and women to be licensed as doctors. Lawyers had similar problems, but theirs were only resolved by the 1919 Act – despite all the efforts of many able and highly intelligent women hitherto, the English authorities and the Courts thwarted their education and abilities, on the grounds in part that no woman could be a person within the meaning of the then Solicitors Act – see *Bebb v Law Society* 1914 <https://first100years.org.uk/a-woman-is-not-a-person-a-review-of-bebb-v-the-law-society-1914/> – and the Bar likewise considered that because there had never been a female applicant, their regulations could not be read as being intended to include them – see *Bertha Cave* <https://www.lawgazette.co.uk/women-in-the-law/how-bertha-cave-fought-laws-male-exclusivity/5102265.article> . The underlying difficulty was that such pioneering women threatened the *status quo* not only of the legal/medical profession, but also of the established hierarchy. There were many other fights in many other areas by many brave women, not least in the area of wishing to be able to vote (especially if they also paid tax)! They were not the only ones: think of the reason for (and the result of) the Boston Tea Party.

³² <https://www.thegoldsmiths.co.uk/company/today/stories/women-goldsmiths-company/>

³³ *They Built London* The History of the Tylers and Bricklayers by Penelope Hunting

³⁴ Coade Stone, the recipe for which was lost when Mrs Coade (as she was always known) died and has only recently been rediscovered, is an artificial stone much used by architects and sculptors in the 18thC because of its hardness and low porosity

which meant it was not subject to weathering and erosion. There still are over 650 sculptures made of Coade stone which have been traced around the world, eg Brazil, South Africa, Russia. The author has been unable to track her livery company (if any).

³⁵ Another is the reproduction of the Coat of Arms at Carpenters' Hall.

³⁶ The then legal term for an unmarried woman, by the middle of the 20thC more likely to be applied to divorced women rather than spinsters, and widows and relicts (as widows were often described by legal documents).

³⁷ Virginia Rounding <https://virginiarounding.org/2020/04/22/a-brief-history-of-women-in-the-city/>

³⁸ The right to acquire the City freedom by mechanisms other than through the livery did not arise until 1835, and was granted by the Court of Common Council. Interestingly, that (pre-1835) limitation resulted in disenfranchisement of many City residents (they did not want to or could not for whatever reason join the livery and pay the relevant fines (fees) as the sums were significant). In 1831 the population is estimated to have been about 122,000 whereas the freemen who could vote numbered about 20,000 – ie less than 1/6th of the relevant population. The Reform Act of 1832 enfranchised the “£10 householders” both in the City and elsewhere (thus dealing with the infamous “Pocket Boroughs” which existed in various parts of England outside the City).

³⁹ See *Fruiterers' History* (Gould 1912). The ordinance 12 Edward II (1319) is also referred to in Harry Druce (PM Marketor) “*The Freedom of the City. It's [sic] History and Customs*” reproduced at <https://www.tylersandbricklayers.co.uk/images/stories/newsletters/newsletter1999.pdf>. The writer has been unable to track down an original copy. But it seems clear that being free makes one a part of the City Corporation which is why freemen and liverymen have always played such important roles within the City.

⁴⁰ The law relating to married women in the past was similar to, though not the same as, that applying to lunatics (as they were then called). There were many restrictions on what they could or could not do in law, eg whether they could run a business, own property, pledge credit, and so on. (Cases arising out of law relating to women after the Courts' reorganisation (between 1873-75) would be heard in what was then the Probate Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court, endearingly termed *Wills, Wives and Wrecks* by lawyers at the time.)

⁴¹ *Supra*

⁴² Baroness Burdett-Coutts was also given the freedom of Edinburgh. She was, amongst others, both an honorary Haberdasher and an honorary Turner. She was, apparently, described by Edward VII as “[a]fter my mother, the most remarkable woman in the kingdom”. His mother, Queen Victoria, conferred on her a *suo jure* (in her own right) peerage. Ever independent, when she was 67, she scandalised polite society by marrying her 29-year-old secretary. The second female honorary freeman was Florence Nightingale.

⁴³ Which she had established in 1869 as a 400 covered-stall food market in an area (Nova Scotia Gardens) which had become a notorious slum, in part not only because the area had begun to be used as a waste dump but also because of a local gang of body snatchers, two of whom were hanged for having murdered some unfortunate soul to provide one of the bodies they had sold to Kings College School of Anatomy. Today, it exists as a fruit and flower market on Sundays from 8-2.

⁴⁴ See *Research Paper: Women in the Livery* which the reader will find in Appendix III.

⁴⁵ *Infra*

⁴⁶ There is some indication that in some cases widows were in effect “licensed” to carry on the trade, being under the control of the company without necessarily being a member.

⁴⁷ ie no payment or fine (to give it its local terminology) was exacted for becoming a freeman of the company as a widow of a freeman of that company (and likewise in the City for its freedom by courtesy).

⁴⁸ As an example, Goldsmiths are very proud of their women freemen and have some wonderful work made by some of them.

⁴⁹ Eg the Coopers.

⁵⁰ The acting beadle was Hester Dare. Virginia Rounding *City Women Final* p 27 *op.cit.* She held that position for 11 years but was never officially appointed.

⁵¹ Virginia Rounding, *op cit* p 29. The beadle had died suddenly leaving his widow, Mary Head with a young son. She was appointed in his stead.

⁵² Also, daughters were often treated as having learned their skills from the father.

⁵³ As a woman freeman was then usually termed - some companies, such as the Cooks, called their women members ‘freemaidens’ and there were other similar terms in other companies.

⁵⁴ The Pattenmakers in their 2020 *History* show that in 1680 Thomas Carter of Westminster, who had married a Pattenmaker's widow and was using her deceased husband's trade to manufacture clogs and pattens, was ordered to forbear.

⁵⁵ And probably never will, as many ancient livery companies' early records are lost. The Gardeners believe they were the first livery to clothe a woman in the livery (as the expression is) and did so in 1974. However, information provided by many livers, such as the Glovers and the Fruiterers, shows that many companies, despite the change in status caused to women by marriage, had women liverymen. The Glovers have always had them eg their quarterage (subscription) book for 1675-78 show 91 liverymen of whom 25 were women. They were also unusual in having women in the livery throughout Victorian times. The Fruiterers' records, for example, indicate their first woman liveryman was Ann Gibson, in 1758. It may be, however, that the Gardeners are correct in that their grant of livery was on an equal basis with their male counterparts as opposed to purely whilst unmarried or as a courtesy to a widow but it is by no means clear that they are right.

⁵⁶ See Nigel Pullman's formidable and impressive spreadsheet on City Officers and livery masters etc at <http://www.liverycompanies.info/a-z-list-of-companies/lists/past-masters-archive.html>

⁵⁷ This is hardly surprising when one learns of the restrictions on married women's rights, see above.

⁵⁸ The Leathersellers have records of women being clothed – eg Janet Nightingale in the 1480s.

⁵⁹ There is at least one apparent exception: The Makers of Playing Cards' records indicate that one Barbara Byworth was a court assistant in 1648. It is believed she was the widow of a court assistant.

⁶⁰ The first Enclosure Act was in 1604 and the last in 1914. They often resulted in villagers losing both their farming strips and access to what had been common lands where they had hitherto been able to graze their animals. There were so many (over 5,000 enclosing more than 6.8m acres) of these Acts that the impact altered the English landscape. At the same time, they not only caused great hardship to the loser but also greatly benefited the farmer of the enlarged farm, and in turn provided labour for the Industrial Revolution.

⁶¹ The clearances were mostly between 1750 and 1860. There were mixed reasons for them, some good, some not so. The impact on those evicted varied too. Many emigrated, others dispersed throughout the British Isles.

⁶² At the time and for quite some time afterwards, it was considered that these enclosures and the clearances were dreadful. More modern historians do not necessarily always take that view and point to eg the better managed farms, the wealth this has now begun to give to the Highlands. Time will tell.

⁶³ This applied to books and other printed works and granted a 14-year legal protection for new books and 21 for any already in print. The Stationers Company had originally been granted a dominant monopoly-style power over publishing but lost that monopoly in 1695 when the power was not renewed.

⁶⁴ The Court of Common Council passed the appropriate ordinance.

⁶⁵ *Leathersellers' History*.

⁶⁶ As stated above, some livers never stopped having women members, eg the Drapers.

⁶⁷ There had been the 1870, 1874 and 1882 Married Women's Property Acts, which began the process whereby married women might keep their own earnings or own property in their own right as opposed to all their property being vested in their husband during marriage. Incidentally, despite the vigorous Women's Tax Resistance League and other women's, including the writer's, personal efforts after the league closed, it was not until 1990 that a married woman's income ceased to be taxed as if it were her husband's income and the Revenue authority was prepared to write to her rather than her spouse – there had been minor tinkering in the 1970s which removed her earned income from the joint pot. The "joint taxation" mechanism was very discriminatory, for example, the Inland Revenue (as it then was) would only write to the husband, so that the husband would get the reply to a wife's letter; the husband had to return his wife's income and thus had to know what it was, she on the other hand was not privy to his income receipts. Whilst there were mechanisms for getting around this, eg by the wife being appointed her husband's agent for tax purposes, not many people used, or indeed knew of, them.

⁶⁸ This was the Act which enabled women, suitably otherwise qualified, to join the professions, to sit on juries, to be granted degrees (assuming the University concerned was prepared so to grant – it took Cambridge until 1947), whether or not they were married (it is presumably this dependency on the husband under the law at the time which gave rise to the marital name change from her father's to her husband's in the same way as anyone "owned", when she passed from the jurisdiction of and dependency on/"ownership of" her father to her husband, on marriage).

⁶⁹ The first of the "modern" companies, no 78, formed in 1926.

⁷⁰ The original requirement has been modified, and their first woman joined by servitude (ie following an apprenticeship).

⁷¹ The author's mother company. The City Solicitors obtained its livery during WWII.

⁷² Separation between local law society and livery did not occur till January 2007.

⁷³ See Virginia Rounding's report <https://virginiarounding.files.wordpress.com/2020/04/recognition-of-women-in-the-city-of-london-research-paper.pdf>. The author heard similar tales of potential woe from three of her fellow male law lecturers in the 1960s as they tried (but failed) to oust her from her job because of that fear. The author also has a dim memory of learning at school that women doing the same job used to earn at the rate of two-thirds that of men, but has been unable to track down any confirmation. Others to whom she has spoken have similar memories.

⁷⁴ Lady [Katharine] Parsons, married to Sir Charles Parsons, oversaw the Tyneside First World War female armaments workforce (for which she was made the first Honorary Fellow of the North East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders), was the founder and second president of The Women's Engineering Society, and was also admitted as a freeman of the Shipwrights, an honour granted to her not just because she was the consort of a past master, but also because she herself worked in the industry *and* she also made an outstanding contribution to the company during her husband's year of office (Shipwright members (unless honorary) must work in the shipping industry). The Shipwrights did not at the time grant livery to women, they now do and are expecting their first woman master before 2025. Lady Parsons died in 1933.

⁷⁵ The writer has been unable to discover anything of interest about Edie Knight (née Cooper) or Harriet Sladen (née Brock). The former was born in Cripplegate in 1870, and the latter in Essex in 1861.

⁷⁶ In the author's view, this should have happened at the same time as the review took place on married women, as it is another clear discrimination point which would have been covered by the 1919 Act.

⁷⁷ Obtained livery status in 1978 as no 87.

⁷⁸ Sylvia later became the first woman president of the City Livery Club in 2001-02 and the second woman master of the Scriveners in 2007. She died in 2012.

⁷⁹ Founded 1356, precedence no 55.

⁸⁰ Founded 1517. The Carmen is the only company to receive livery during Victorian times (1848), precedence no 77.

⁸¹ The Bowyers change their office every even year. Their first known record is 1363.

⁸² The Covid 19 pandemic has caused some exceptions to the usual rule as companies seek to ensure their master is able to carry out his/her original plan – this has resulted in several companies extending the period to two years or eighteen months.

⁸³ Male:Female ratio during the first twenty-year period from 1983 – 99.9888889 Male:0.01111111 Female

⁸⁴ The Saddlers' annual (non-Royal) appointment is a Prime Warden.

⁸⁵ Due to the Plumbers having extended the mastership of her successor because of the pandemic, she is currently, and unusually, Immediate past master of two different companies. Fiona has also been made honorary liveryman of a number of other companies including the Turners and the Tax Advisers.

⁸⁶ It was run by Mei Sim Lai as part of the Women in the Livery section of the City Livery Club

⁸⁷ Described by the *New York Times* in as late as 2003 "as a mixture of charitable trusts, gentlemen's clubs and guardians of craft standards and training".

⁸⁸ The author has personal experience (admittedly in her early 20s) of being initially refused entry to her professional body HQ by the front door, it being members only (assumed, apparently, to be men only despite there having been at least one woman coming top in the exams) who were allowed through that hallowed portal; and many (*soi-disant*) gentlemen's clubs had their own peculiar practices, such as requiring women guests (where such were allowed) to enter via the basement or tradesmen doors, providing no safe place for women's outdoor clothing, and even preventing them from walking on certain carpets. The author has never met those sorts of problems at any livery function she has attended over the last forty or so years and has always been made to feel very welcome.

⁸⁹ Many women who have "made it" will, if pressed, say that they only did because they had worked harder than anyone else and that it is far easier for a less able man to succeed than a woman.

⁹⁰ Appendix III, the statistics drawn therefrom are in Appendix II.

⁹¹ The late Sir Gavyn Arthur, KStJ, GCFO, was Lord Mayor in 2002-2003. He was a passionate believer in equality.

⁹² The company's hall has been undergoing major renovations. All its records are in store.

⁹³ The author also comments that in all societies there are swings and roundabouts. Change is inevitably slow.

⁹⁴ Amongst many others at various times, Foreman Guildable Manor of Southwark, Master Upholder, Master Tanner of Bermondsey, chairman Cripplegate Ward Club, President City Livery Club

⁹⁵ *Infra*. Inter alia, founder of the Mulan Foundation Network, past master World Trader, her OBE is for work on equal opportunities.

⁹⁶ A sentiment with which the author wholeheartedly agrees.

⁹⁷ Chairman Livery Committee, PM Arbitrator, and PM Constructor. Eminent lawyer.

⁹⁸ PM Marketor, Vice-Chairman Lady Masters Association, expert in corporate governance, and brilliant teacher of speechwriting.

⁹⁹ <https://www.cityconsorts.org>

¹⁰⁰ The 2015-16 group is a typical example – the masters are Phoenix and the consorts Firebirds – both named for the 350th anniversary of the Great Fire in 1666.

¹⁰¹ Several livery companies expect their consort to give an after-dinner speech at one of their “in-house” events each year. This may well come as a complete surprise where the person has not been properly briefed. Some companies, such as the Plumbers, have a booklet, regularly updated, specifically designed to help those working their way towards high office and their consorts understand what they are letting themselves in for, including clothing and likely costs.

¹⁰² Usually a spouse or partner, but could be a friend, a brother, sister, daughter, son, etc.

¹⁰³ Von’s podcast, requested by Paul Jagger as part of his *Voices of the City of London* series is at

<https://cityandlivery.podbean.com/e/von-spofforth-chairman-of-city-consorts/>

¹⁰⁴ Initially motivated mainly by those who have had the privilege of being master earlier thus knowing how important it is to make contacts with one’s peers in other companies. Adèle Thorpe ran a very successful one prior to her taking up the presidency of the City Livery Club in 2019, and encouraged Lars Andersen (Entrepreneurs) to run the following year for 2020-21. Erica Stary has been running 2021-22 though has herself been moved, due to Covid 19 to 2022-23. She is now, at the request of a consort, looking to see how a consort group might be organised too. It is understood that the 2022-23 potential grouping is about to be up and running.

¹⁰⁵ Except in very rare circumstances, no-one can be absolutely certain of the appointment until elected to be master at the relevant Election Court.

¹⁰⁶ It can be notoriously difficult to find out who is likely to be master in which year of companies to which one does not belong, and to find ways of contacting them – GDPR (data protection laws) has not helped. The Makers of Playing Cards now run an annual fun evening for junior wardens which is a very good way of beginning to create the contacts for setting up the group. What’s needed there is a massive card-swapping exchange as well! The writer has also started pressing for there to be an addition to the Livery Picture Book <https://www.liverypictures.com> by the addition of wardens in the year immediately before (presumably) becoming master. The Livery Picture Book is very useful. It gives photos of the current master and consort of each company and also the lord mayor and the sheriffs – it is updated regularly throughout the year. It’s really helpful in discovering how to identify whom one is likely to meet and thus to recognise them. The big defect is that it doesn’t include wardens (people en route to mastership), or the more immediate past masters. Phoenix Past Masters Association has its own grouping set of photos, and Figaro Past Masters Association had a much smaller one, created by the author for herself - she needed help in identifying the people she was likely to meet.

¹⁰⁷ Amanda Jackson, clerk to the Chartered Surveyors 1987-2020. (also Joiners, whose clerkship she also ran, though for a shorter period).

¹⁰⁸ Weavers. Freda Newcombe was their first woman master

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.liverycompanies.info/a-z-list-of-companies/lists/past-masters-archive.html>

¹¹⁰ In his 1869 essay “*The Subjection of Women*” the philosopher John Stuart Mill commented “We are continually told that civilization and Christianity have restored to the woman her just rights. Meanwhile the wife is the actual bondservant of her husband; no less so, as far as the legal obligation goes, than slaves commonly so called.”

¹¹¹ Jeanne D’Arc, Boudicea and the possibly mythical Amazons spring immediately to mind, and, whilst there are others, more recently, the Mino in Benin, the Finnish Red Women, the Norwegian Jegertroppen and the Kurdish women’s army YPJ.

¹¹² Not all sheriffs have obtained a coat of arms – their “slot” at the Old Bailey has instead their initials.

¹¹³ The Equality Act 2010 does not, alas, apply in the view of the author as, whilst it is aimed at public bodies which it is arguable the College of Arms is, the College is not included in the list of public bodies and authorities in Schedule 19. The Act essentially deals with more general areas, such as employment, transport, education, housing and local authority works, matters affecting the vast majority of the population, as opposed to a very minor proportion. The author would like to be wrong in holding that her view!

¹¹⁴ 2020 was a celebratory year for the TPWWW being 350 years from their Royal Charter.

¹¹⁵ As common councilmen and aldermen.

¹¹⁶ As one past master said to his court some years ago when replying to an outburst at his proposing that the succession should have two women in successive years, “We’ve just had [let’s say 650] men in a row, and no-one complained about that.” He reported that there was no further discussion, his proposal being accepted *nem con*. Observing from outside, they were two excellent masters.

¹¹⁷ Such as the Clothworkers, a company which is striving to have the sex ratio 50:50.

¹¹⁸ Apart from the hard encouragement by Gavyn Arthur (Lord Mayor 2002-2003) and his civic team to persuade the remaining livery companies to open themselves to women (*op.cit.*) it is fair to say that there has never been any concerted attempt to make a cross-livery plan to encourage livery companies to change their stance with regard to women earlier -- this contrasts with attempts at various times to have plans to encourage the young to join, see eg, *The Livery 2000 Initiative*, which involved sixteen livery companies.

¹¹⁹ There are two ancient companies which have not applied for/do not have livery status – the Parish Clerks and the Watermen and Lightermen, both of which have had women masters. Otherwise, a company without livery is a guild, which has reached a stage in its processes where it is acknowledged that it has met certain minimum criteria laid down by the Aldermanic Court and will now proceed to work towards meeting the third stage minimum criteria needed to be awarded the status of livery company. There are requirements relating to working capital, charity funds, membership and numbers of members free of the City. Members of a company without livery are entitled to apply for City freedom.

¹²⁰ It was acquired in part to stop villains escaping justice by running over London Bridge

¹²¹ Many Past Masters Associations have members from other parts of the country – eg both Coronation Masters and Figaro Masters have a York Merchant Adventurer Governor member

¹²² LLM, CTA (Fellow), ATT (Fellow), TEP, solicitor. PM Tax Adviser, PM Plumber and Upper Warden Elect Tin Plate Workers alias Wire Workers, Past Chairman Lady Masters Association, mother company City Solicitors, Ambassador for Goldsmiths’ Fair. Past President Association of Taxation Technicians, and more. For those who are interested, the Lord Chancellor’s Department (as it then was) told her (orally) back in the early 1990s not to “fraternise” with other solicitors as it would jeopardise her further appointment on the Bench (she was at the time a deputy district judge and an assistant recorder). It is to be hoped that that apparently derogatory stance no longer applies.

¹²³ With many thanks to Lis Hobday, Adèle Thorpe, Venetia Howes, Mei Sim Lai, Murray Craig (Clerk of the Chamberlain)’s Court, Elizabeth Scudder (Principal Archivist (Access) London Metropolitan Archives), Cindy Peck (Hon Archivist, Gardeners company), Richard Cole-Mackintosh (clerk to the Shipwrights), Von Spofforth (founder of City Consorts) and many others too numerous to mention, for their unstinted assistance. The meticulous proof reading by John Brown CBE was invaluable. Notwithstanding their help, errors, if any, are all my own.

The endnotes below relate to Appendix I

¹²⁴ PM Pattenmaker

¹²⁵ Part of the Sheriffs’ function is to look after the Old Bailey judges, and for that purpose they are required to live in a small flat (one each) in the building during their year of office.

¹²⁶ Sir Tim, the husband of HRH The Princess Royal, was then Master Coachmaker.

¹²⁷ This appears not to have occurred, in the event.

¹²⁸ PM Chartered Secretary and Administrator, PP City Livery Club. Also Hon Liveryman and former clerk of the Marketors. Adèle is also the first woman member of the City of London Beadles Guild, first woman to chair a past masters association (the After Eights (for 2007-08) and later the Zoomers, the PMA for 2019-20) and honorary member of the ward Beadles Association.

¹²⁹ PM Loriner.

¹³⁰ Many others would have been in their company’s float or, eg the Modern Companies float.

¹³¹ OBE, DL. PM World Trader and PP City Livery Club.

¹³² He of the shoes.

¹³³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rzd5db-sgeM>

¹³⁴ Due to the timing of the interview, she then had to run through several other floats, which had passed through, to catch up with the LMA float! Not an easy task.

¹³⁵ A member of the informal group as a PM Tobacco Pipe Maker and Tobacco Blender and as a Sheriff.

¹³⁶ PM Marketor.

¹³⁷ PP City Livery Club also Liveryman of the Marketors.

¹³⁸ PM Environmental Cleaner, twice.

¹³⁹ PM Needlemaker.

¹⁴⁰ PM Chartered Secretary and Administrator

¹⁴¹ PM Chartered Secretary and Administrator.

¹⁴² There have since been minor changes to these. The current version is available for view on www.ladymasters.org.uk

¹⁴³ Royal patronages are under regular review.

¹⁴⁴ www.ladymasters.org.uk

¹⁴⁵ *The City of London Directory & Livery Companies Guide*, which was published annually from 1984 to 2018. This was a was an invaluable source of information with details of each livery and its members (it was their addresses which caused the GDPR problems and “killed” it). *Inter alia* it contained details about the master of each company for that year.

¹⁴⁶ General Data Protection Regulations SI 2016/679. This regulates the use of a person’s data by reference to permissions granted by the owner.

¹⁴⁷ *The City of London White Book* is edited by Jonathan Grosvenor, clerk to the Chartered Accountants livery, it provides a host of useful information about the Civic City and the Livery and is updated annually.

¹⁴⁸ Sadly, not always possible where her email address is not known to the LMA. Clerks, it has been found, do not necessarily always pass on such emails or correspondence.

¹⁴⁹ PM Constructor and at the time of writing Master Mason.

¹⁵⁰ PM Framework Knitter.

¹⁵¹ PM World Trader.

¹⁵² This session has been repeated regularly. Wardens find it very helpful to attend particularly whilst they are a junior warden of their company. Sadly, the July 2020 meeting had to be cancelled and has been replaced by a Zoom Q & A session on 3 February 2021. It is hoped to have more face-to-face discussions as soon as the pandemic eases.

¹⁵³ PM Tax Adviser and PM Plumber.

¹⁵⁴ PM Pewterer.