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FINANCES AND GOVERNMENT OF CANTERBURY
EIGHTEENTH TO MID NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY
F.H. PANTON

Doctor of Philosophy Thesis
University of Kent at Canterbury
1998

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ABSTRACT

From this examination of the progress of local Government in Canterbury, 1700-mid 1800s, in the light of the City's finances, a broad pattern emerges of the oligarchic and self-perpetuating Burghmote clinging to overall control until 1835, adapting its role, with some success, to accommodate changing circumstances.

Control of commerce remained the prime concern of the Burghmote, though its hold on the Freeman and Guild system was greatly weakened by the late 1770s. Developments requiring expenditure beyond the Burghmote's limited resources were accommodated and managed through the creation of two new Corporations - Court of Guardians (1727), and Pavement Commissioners (1787) - with powers to levy rates and tolls, which the Burghmote lacked. And, by 1773, the Magistrates began to levy a County Rate defraying the mounting expenses of Canterbury's Commission of the Peace. No great magnate dominated the City, which governed itself with little or no direction from outside. Burghmote members and Magistrates were exclusively drawn from tradesmen, craftsmen and professionals, living and working in the City. It is suggested that this situation, paralleled in other County Boroughs but not in rural areas, contributed to peaceful government, as evidenced by Canterbury's management, without riots, of food crises of 1795/6 and 1800/1. A degree of urban renaissance, increasing social and leisure activities, was fostered by the ruling elite.

Replacement of the Burghmote by a City Council in 1836 introduced a measure of democracy, the abolition of Freeman, and some central government control. A paid police force was established and a Borough Rate authorized. However, democracy brought with it links to national politics, and the Council's rates were twice that of the old regime. Despite efforts to increase commerce, the Industrial Revolution passed by, and Canterbury remained a market town, declining in importance relative to other provincial capitals.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the notes to chapters in this Thesis:

Canterbury Cathedral Library, C.C.L.

Canterbury City Library, Local Studies Section, L.S.S.

Canterbury City Chamberlain's Accounts, C.A.

Canterbury Burghmote Minutes, C.B.M.

Archaeologia Cantiana, *Arch. Cant.*

Kentish Gazette, K.G.

Kentish Post, K.P.

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INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

English local government from medieval times onwards has been the subject of a good deal of attention from historians in the twentieth century, starting with the pioneering work of the Webbs.¹ Their comprehensive review of the mechanisms of local government at all levels, parish, town and county remains a considerable work of reference. More recently, Keith-Lucas² has described local government in the County of Kent in Georgian times. He mainly covers government of rural areas of the county, but also deals to some extent with patterns of government in Kentish towns and boroughs, including some details of Canterbury. A review of the changes in the pattern of local authority in rural England from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries has been published by David Eastwood,³ but this study does not extend to towns and boroughs.

Regarding the English town, research in the 1960s and 1970s concentrated on the early modern town, and study of the provincial town in the decades immediately preceding the Industrial Revolution remained somewhat unexplored. An exception was J.H. Plumb's seminal work on the commercialisation of leisure in the eighteenth century,⁴ and further work on those lines followed in the 1980s and 1990s. Angus McInnes, in 1980, reviewing the development of the English town 1660-1760, suggested that the growth of leisure towns with increased sophistication and range of social, intellectual and pleasure pursuits reflected the growth of a middle class with money to spend on things other than clear necessities.⁵ Peter Borsay's work on the development of provincial urban culture c. 1680-1760 has led him to advance the view that the transformation which occurred during that period could be styled as an urban renaissance.⁶ One of the results of these ideas was the foundation of a periodical for Urban Studies. Penelope Corfield's broad view of English towns 1700-1800 illustrates the dynamism of the expansion of urban society in the eighteenth century, with the towns becoming pace setters for rural England.⁷

Eastwood in 1997 published a survey of *Government and Community in the English Provinces 1700-1870*,⁸ in which he characterises the development of the English state in that period as a story of quasi-revolutionary change achieved by non-revolutionary means. As a main theme, he examines the interplay between central and local government, and the extent to which national policy was shaped and influenced by developments in localities, rather than controlled or guided from above by central government. In a chapter on civic ideas and the life of

towns, he notes that the rate of change in urban communities was generally far more rapid than in rural areas, being driven not only by demographic factors, but also by an urban vision of the need for improvements in social, cultural and leisure facilities as well as in the general amenities of life. Eastwood concludes that in part, relations between central and local government were worked out through the promotion by localities of private bills designed to achieve such improvements and mechanisms to implement them locally.

A descriptive analysis of the threat of insurrection in Britain 1795-1803, including the role of local government in successfully containing such threats, has been presented by Roger Wells.⁹ The same author has produced a study of famine in wartime England 1793-1801, particularly concentrating on food riots and disturbances and the methods by which magistrates attempted to control and eliminate threats to order.¹⁰

Although, therefore, wide ranging studies of rural and urban society in the eighteenth century have produced interesting new concepts of social development, and of the relationship between Central and Local Government, detailed studies of the mechanisms and finances of development through the eighteenth and early nineteenth century of local government in specific towns and municipal boroughs, which could contribute to the formation of wider social concepts, remain few in number. Relevant studies of single towns include Lincoln,¹¹ York,¹² Exeter¹³ and Maidstone,¹⁴ but extant histories of Canterbury have little to say about the period c. 1700 to c. 1840. Since there were before 1835 some 200 Boroughs operating under Royal Charter in a near- or semi-autonomous fashion, with little or no direct control by central government, there is something of a gap in the appraisal of local government in England in the long eighteenth century to be filled.

This present thesis attempts to reduce that gap with a study of the local government and finances of Canterbury from 1700 to the mid nineteenth century. In studying Canterbury over that period, it is important to recollect the sequence of events from 1683-1688 as they affected the City's government. In 1683, in common with other County Boroughs, Canterbury was served with a 'Quo Warranto' writ, calling on the Mayor and Commonalty to show by what right they held their liberties and franchises. Powerless to resist, on April 1 1684, Canterbury surrendered its rights and privileges to the Crown, along with its Royal Charters. In return, after some months delay Charles II gave the City a new Charter, in which he appointed by name the Mayor, Recorder, Councilmen and all officers, reserving the right to displace any member of the Corporation at any future time. James II by orders in Council in December 1687 and February 1688, removed many members of the

Corporation, replacing them, including the Mayor, with his own nominees. A few weeks after the re-election of his nominated mayor, in November 1688, James II suddenly by proclamation restored to Canterbury its government under the Charter of James I, 1609. That Charter remained effective until the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835.¹⁵

Throughout the long eighteenth century, neither the Crown nor the City made any attempt to modify James I's charter. It seems unlikely that the Mayor and Commonalty would have wished to risk approaching the Crown for any changes, even if these on other grounds might have seemed desirable. The unhappy events of 1684-1688 would have remained in their collective memory and would have left them with an abiding fear of centralizing tendencies. These fears and inhibitions may in part explain some of the methods pursued by the ruling elite to meet changing needs without recourse to attempting to change the City's charter.

INTENTION

With that background, the intention of this thesis is to produce a detailed study of the finances and local government of the City and the County of the City of Canterbury in the long eighteenth century from 1700 to mid 1800s taking into account where possible political, social, commercial and economic factors. Also considered are the care of the poor, the local administration of law, order and justice; the care of the streets and the environment, and the development of social and leisure pursuits. Some examination of the influence of the military and the clergy on the life of the City is made, and of the connections between local and parliamentary affairs. Comparisons are made between developments over a similar timescale in other County Boroughs such as Lincoln, Exeter and York, and with governmental structure in the surrounding County of Kent. The transition from Burghmote to Council in 1836 is examined, and some conclusions are attempted on the merits and demerits of the old regime compared with the new. The present author has already published some articles on Canterbury in the eighteenth to mid nineteenth century, and reference is made where appropriate to those publications.¹⁶

The body of the thesis is organised into chapters on the Burghmote and its finances 1700-1835 including the role of the Aldermanic Bench; Canterbury Courts of Justice 1727-1840; Commissioners of the Pavement 1787-1840s; Care of the Poor, including the Court of Guardians 1727-1850s; Aspects of City Life; Influence on the City of the Cathedral Parliamentary Affairs and the Military; Comparisons with other County Boroughs; Some Canterbury Personalities; and Canterbury Council 1836 to

mid 1850s. Finally, some relevant broad conclusions are attempted.

It should be noted that the reference documents and papers on which this thesis largely draws are the extant records of official bodies, amongst them the Minutes of the Burghmote, the Chamberlain's Account Books, the various record books of the Court of Guardians, the Minutes and Accounts of the Pavement Commissioners, records of Quarter Sessions and other Canterbury Courts, including the Courts Leet, tax returns and sundry other formal documents. By their very nature, such records tend to be terse and bland, and cannot be expected to reveal as a matter of course the arguments and dissensions which may have been precursor to particular decisions or lines of action. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, and supplemented by other less formal contemporary sources such as newspapers, they do enable a picture of the progress and development of Canterbury's local government 1700-mid nineteenth century and its finance to be drawn, and some relevant conclusions to be addressed.

SURVEY OF MAIN THEMES

This introduction draws attention to main themes which will be illustrated and enlarged on in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter I of this thesis focuses upon the Burghmote, the local government Corporation of Canterbury, deriving its authority from Royal Charters. Its structure and mode of operation are detailed in that chapter. Of particular interest is that a comparison of the Chamberlain's accounts for Burghmote activities at the beginning of the eighteenth century with those at the end clearly demonstrates that Burghmote business changed little in scope in one hundred years. The total budget doubled from the beginning to the end of the century, in line with inflation and population increase, but the main items of business remained the same:- regulation and control of the commerce of the City (i.e., Freemen, markets, apprentices) using its own resources (rents of property, market dues, freemen's and apprentice's dues) without recourse to direct rating of the population. Income from the Burghmote's own resources was barely adequate to finance its activities, limited though they were when compared with those of modern councils. For many of the years between 1700 and 1790 Chamberlains' accounts show negative balances, which would have been larger had not the £100 salaries due to successive Mayors been satisfied by issuing Bonds at 5 per cent until such time as an extraordinary windfall of income occurred - such as the £2,450 fine Alderman Simmons paid for the lease of Abbot's Mill in 1790, which enabled bond debts to be cleared. Nevertheless despite the fact that the Burghmote had no reserves of capital to fall back on to finance extraordinary items of expenditure,

(except property and estates which they were reluctant to realise) other windfalls, such as a large number of fines for the purchase of Freedoms in a parliamentary year, enabled them to undertake or promote quite large ventures out of income. These included building a new Fish market, widening the High Bridge, taking down most of the City Gates, demolishing and relocating St Andrew's church from its blocking position in the middle of the High Street, and building a new Cattle Market. In some instances, public subscription supplemented Burghmote contributions, and in others loans were raised on the security of Burghmote income and property.

For larger ventures which not only required large amounts of capital, but also the provision of continuing resources, and which could not therefore be contemplated without recourse to rates or tolls which (the Burghmote appeared to believe) was not authorized under the extant Charter of James I (1609), Acts of Parliament were procured to set up separate corporations with tax raising powers to undertake such ventures. An Act of 1727 set up a Corporation of the Guardians of the Poor, which created a central Workhouse for the poor of all the fourteen parishes in the City, and an Act of 1787 constituted a Corporation of Pavement Commissioners for the paving, cleansing, lighting and watching the streets of the City. Both these Acts were supported by the Burghmote, and both created organizations separate from it, though interlinked through the common membership of the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of the Court of Guardians, and of the Commissioners of the Pavement. In the case of the Guardians, an act of some generosity was required by the Burghmote in transferring the ownership of the Poor Priests Hospital, with its substantial revenues, to the Guardians for use as a Poor House. In the result, by the end of the eighteenth century, three distinct but interlocking corporations disbursed between them some £6,000 p.a. with the Burghmote expenses at about £2,000 p.a., the Pavement Commissioners £2,500 p.a. and the Guardians about £1,500 p.a. the whole compared with the £500 p.a. expenditure centrally by the Burghmote at the beginning of the century. The need for the extra expenditure could not have been met without the creation of the Pavement Commissioners and of the Guardians with specific powers to raise money through rates and tolls.

In that way, it may be said that the Burghmote promoted, supported, and participated in creating new mechanisms outside its Royal Charters to provide for the increasing needs of the population. On the other hand, the Burghmote was very jealous and reactionary attempting to preserve what it perceived to be existing powers conveyed by its Charters. In close alliance with Charter Companies or Guilds of the City, a regime had been established, in part by custom, requiring a citizen to become

both a Freeman of the City and a member of one of the six or seven Guilds in order to practice a trade or craft in the City. In the first half of the eighteenth century, commercial and City affairs were dominated by this alliance, made stronger by the fact that Aldermen were leading lights in the Guilds. However in the second half of the century, the Burghmote and the Guilds were put to great expense and labour, somewhat unsuccessfully, to maintain this stranglehold.

The case of Levi Moses, a hawker, in 1747 exposed the doubtful legality of the Burghmote claim to prevent the sale of manufactured goods in the City by other than Freemen, and to levy fines on those who evaded this embargo. Officers of the Burghmote had distrained Moses' property to the estimated value of over £200, using some force, in order to collect two 6s. 8d. fines for hawking. Moses won a judgement in the Maidstone Court against Canterbury, which cost the City over £150. The case revealed that the Burghmote could find no justification in Charter, Byelaw or Custom for regulating hawkers, but relied on some rather obscure wording in an Act of Henry VIII, 35th year, governing the sale of goods in Canterbury. After the Moses case, the Burghmote attempted to close the stable door by passing a bye law about hawking, and continued to try to enforce the embargo.

A more important attack on the Burghmote and the Guilds was mounted by the indomitable Thomas Roch in the 1750s. Roch, a Welshman and Cabinet Maker, had purchased his Freedom and had become a member of the Charter company of Builders and Carpenters (which at that time included Cabinet Makers). After a few years, he tired of paying his dues to no discernable benefit to himself, and attempted to withdraw. The Guild, with the support (moral but not financial) of the Burghmote sued Roch through the Courts for unpaid fees and dues. Action in the case extended over a period of years, during which Roch was subjected to all kinds of pressure. After a series of complicated and somewhat farcical manoeuvres, the Burghmote was non-suited in a Maidstone Court in 1758, the case collapsed, and no further action was taken against Roch.

Other Guild members, however, followed Roch's example and the authority of the Guilds began to dwindle away, and by the end of the century they had effectively disappeared. Nevertheless the Burghmote continued to keep the Freemen roll and admission procedures until the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 came into force. Until then being a Freeman continued to convey a (possibly lucrative) parliamentary vote, and the fines (particularly for purchase) continued to be an important source of income for the Burghmote. It is perhaps significant to note that when the Roch case was at its height in the 1750s an unusually large number of Aldermen and Councillors refused office, preferring to pay

the necessary fine (£30 or £20). Perhaps a factor in their refusals was a reluctance to involve themselves in the controversial, unpopular and possibly expensive Roch case, questioning, as it did, a custom which was a fundamental source of power of the Burghmote hierarchy. After the case was settled, incidence of resignation subsided to a more normal level.

In the last fifty years of the Burghmote's existence (1787-1835), Canterbury struggled to adjust to the needs of the coaching era, to the onset of the railway age and to maintain the City's pre-eminence as a market town while living through the stresses and strains of the Napoleonic Wars and their aftermath. The Burghmote as a body, or its members as Magistrates or individuals, perhaps perforce, and somewhat tardily, led, assisted or acquiesced in the changes Canterbury underwent during those years. Although the Burghmote first discussed how to straighten and widen Canterbury's streets in 1770, it took another seventeen years for the Pavement Commissioners to be set up to tackle the problem. By that time only two gates (Westgate and St George's) remained; others had been wholly or partly removed to facilitate traffic in and out of the City. By that time too, roads to Chatham, Whitstable and Ashford had been improved by tolling.

Starting in 1787, the Commissioners achieved a transformation of Canterbury's streets within the City from medieval squalor to Georgian elegance in two hectic years. At the same time the Burghmote achieved a new road through the Castle grounds to Wincheap, and by the early 1790s a new road out of Canterbury to Dover had been constructed, and by 1800 the Sturry road to Ramsgate and Margate tolled. St George's Gate was demolished in 1802-3 to improve the route out to Dover, and a new cattle market established outside the City walls between St George's and Ridigate. A new street, Guildhall Street, was constructed in 1807 linking the High Street directly with Palace Street, circumventing the need to pass through the narrow Mercery lane and Sun Street to pass through to the Sturry Road.

In the twenty years between 1787 and 1807, then, Canterbury had modernized its approach roads and the main streets of the City to take the coach and other road traffic then flowing. The total cost of all this work was not less than £25,000 (made up of about £10,000 Burghmote debts, £10,000 Pavement Commission debts, and perhaps £5,000 toll road debts). Despite these improvements Canterbury still lacked easy and direct access to the sea for goods transport. An account of efforts to achieve such access is to be found in Chapter V. Plans in the 1790s for a canal to the sea near Reculver came to nothing, perhaps inhibited by the Napoleonic Wars. Resuscitated in a different form in 1811 they

met with technical difficulties. Yet another plan, to improve the use of the River Stour to Sandwich was formulated and an Act of Parliament procured, but the project was not pursued and finally died in 1827.

By that time, the Canterbury to Whitstable Railway and Harbour project, born in 1824, was under way, and after some delays, opened in 1830. The C.W.R. was essentially a Canterbury run and financed effort and while it succeeded in reducing the cost of carrying goods from and to Whitstable, it was never a commercial success. It was not until 1853, when the South Eastern Railway Company bought out the C.W.R., at a price of £100,000, that adequate management, financial and technical resources became available to run the railway efficiently. The C.W.R. shareholders, who had hitherto received little or no interest on their outlay, got their money back in full.

In sum this dissertation suggests therefore that the business of the Burghmote itself in the years 1700-1835 remained limited largely to control of the markets and commerce of the City, control of the Freeman's roll and privileges, and management of the Burghmote's portfolios of property. The Burghmote jealously guarded the privileges and functions granted to it by Royal Charters, but at the same time was active as a body or through individual members in initiating, sponsoring and assisting the creation of new bodies and mechanisms to provide the wider needs of the City's growing population and to stimulate and increase its commerce.

Law and order, and administrative matters not concerned directly with the commercial life of the community were the concern of the Magistrates rather than of the Burghmote itself. Under the Charter of James I, the Magistrates of Canterbury were the Mayor, the Recorder (a salaried official appointed by the Burghmote) and those Aldermen who had held the office of Mayor. The Mayor and Aldermen were members of the Burghmote. They were not, as at York or the City of London for instance, constituted as a second chamber, separate from the Common Councillors, but they performed their duties separately from the Burghmote, in the Canterbury Courts of Justice - General and Quarter Sessions, Petty Sessions, Court of Record, Small Debts Court - and singly or jointly as Magistrates.

The tasks undertaken by the Canterbury Magistrates were similar in range to those of the Kent County Magistrates in Quarter Session though some functions of the Canterbury Magistrates such as superintending watching, lighting, draining and maintenance of the streets of Canterbury, were given over after 1787 to the newly founded Corporation of the Commissioners of the Pavement. The social complexion of

Canterbury magistrates differed from the mixture of landed gentry and clergy which governed rural areas of counties such as Kent. The charter of James I, which defined a self perpetuating oligarchic structure of government for the City, ensured that the great majority of Aldermen were tradesmen and craftsmen, with a few styled 'gentlemen' and with an almost complete absence of clergy and no recognisable landed gentry.

For the whole of the eighteenth century, and up to 1835, therefore, local government of Canterbury through the Burghmote and the Bench of Magistrates, was largely in the hands of citizens who lived and worked in the City itself, and were thereby in closer touch on a day to day basis with the general populace, and would have had better opportunity to judge and control their moods than would Quarter Sessions in rural districts, composed of magistrates largely drawn from the landed gentry and the clergy.

A closer understanding of the governed on the part of the governing elite might have been a mixed blessing for the former. On the one hand, the Canterbury elite would not necessarily have been sustained by an upper class assumption of the right to govern by birth and station, and might possibly have counteracted this by a tendency to over-harsh judgements. On the other hand, close knowledge of living conditions may have inculcated an ability to foresee and therefore to forestall incipient problems of civil order, which may have assisted the magistrates in times of potential crisis. Obstinacy in protecting the foundations of their authority is demonstrated by the Burghmote's laboured defence of the system of Freemen and Guilds, perpetuating Canterbury as a closed shop to outside commercial enterprise. A good example of crisis management is their handling of unrest caused by famine and high prices in the years 1795-6 and 1800-1801. Timely actions by the Canterbury elite, together with the Dean and Chapter, in organising relief ensured that the City experienced none of the severe rioting which affected many other parts of the country.

Chapter II discusses in some detail crime and punishment and the role of the Canterbury Courts. In the Sessions Court the jurisdiction of Canterbury Magistrates extended over the full range of crimes and misdemeanours, including those warranting the death penalty. However, much time in Quarter Sessions was spent on Bastardy and Settlement cases under the Poor Law, and criminal cases were surprisingly few, even in relation to Canterbury's population of about 5,000 in 1700 rising to 10,000 by 1800. For most years up to 1790, criminal cases tried each year by Quarter Session amounted to fewer than half a dozen, escalating however throughout the Napoleonic War years to reach a peak

of over fifty in 1846, though the percentage of cases dismissed or found not guilty also increased. With such low figures up to 1790, no correlation between numbers of indictments and years of poor harvest and/or war and peace could be found, though some linked pattern may be discerned in the years after 1818. Other reasons for increases in the early nineteenth century could be advanced, such as increased population, the presence of a large military establishment, prosecution expenses being paid from the public purse, and the establishment of a paid police force after 1836.

Punishment imposed in Canterbury followed the general pattern which has been described by Beattie, Cockburn, Emsley and others. For the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, non-capital crimes incurred fines, burning on the hand (mostly done in court), whipping in varying degrees or severity and transportation to the colonies. Little recourse was had to gaol sentences and then only for short sentences. The City Gaol was unhealthy, insanitary and could only accommodate a dozen or so prisoners in squalor, without regard to sex, age or offence. It was not until after 1829, when the goal had been refurbished and enlarged, that longer and more frequent gaol sentences were given.

In the 120 years between 1727 and 1846, only twenty-two trials for offences warranting the death penalty were recorded in Canterbury Sessions notebooks, resulting in twenty-eight death sentences. Of these at least eleven were commuted to transportation. Two trials were for murder, five for robbery on the King's highway, five for burglary (involving break-in or force), three for stealing from houses, three for forgery or fraud, one for rape, one for sheep killing with intent to steal, one for lamb stealing and one for robbery. Regarding other non-capital crimes, between 1737 and 1773, fifteen sentences of transportation were given, and between 1790 and 1836, twenty such sentences. Most transportation sentences were for grand larceny.

The available records do not give sufficient detail and the sample is too small to enable firm conclusions to be drawn about the approach of the Magistrates to sentencing of particular crimes, except in the case of the death penalty, where, as can be seen from the above, it was used principally for offences against person or property involving violence, or violation of the King's highway, or intrusion or break-in to private property.

Until 1772 the rather minimal expenses of the Sessions and the Magistrates were borne by the City Chamberlain on his Burghmote accounts. The levying of a County Rate began in 1773, and for twenty

years remained at 1d. in £1 yearly, a total of £41 1s. a year for the whole City. Court expenses increased when the payment of salaries to Court officials were authorized in 1787, and by the 1820s yearly expenses had risen to some £500. The levying of a County Rate of this size, in addition to a Poor Rate and a Pavement Commissioners tax, caused controversy among Canterbury rate payers, particularly in the late 1820s, when the Magistrates decided to rebuild the Gaol at a cost of £3,500 to the County Rate. However, the argument that the Burghmote should bear the cost from its own resources without recourse to the County Rate, did not prevail. In the event, most of the debt incurred by the Magistrates for this purpose was still outstanding when the new Council took over the financing of Justice in 1836. Debts inherited from the old regime were liquidated by sale of Burghmote properties - Canterbury rate payers got at least part of their way in the end.

Chapter III discusses in detail the affairs of the Commissioners of the Pavement as a separate Corporation from 1787 until eventual merger with the City Council in 1865. After the excitement of its first few years, when Canterbury within the walls was transformed (see above), the major concerns of the Commissioners were to maintain the streets and to pay off the initial borrowings of over £10,000. Income of the Commissioners was derived from three sources: street rates, road tolls on entry to the City, and a duty on coals entering the City. Money had been borrowed on the security of these sources. Mortgage repayment on coal duty was accomplished by 1847, and that duty discontinued. Mortgage on tolls was repaid and tolls discontinued by 1850. From 1850 onwards, the Commissioners relied solely on rates for income, finally paying off their debts before merger with the City Council in 1865.

Relations between the Burghmote and the Commissioners show no evidence of friction. Indeed the prime mover in the Commissioners' first few energetic years was Alderman Simmons, who in 1788-9 was at the same time Mayor of the City and Treasurer of the Commissioners. Relations with the new Council from 1836 onwards were however somewhat strained (see below, under Canterbury after 1835).

Chapter IV discusses the care of the poor in Canterbury under three broad headings: the Court of Guardians and the Workhouse; philanthropic and charitable sources; strategies in time of food shortage and high prices. The promotion by the Burghmote in 1727/8 of a Private Act to establish a Corporation of the Court of Guardians of the Poor in Canterbury may be seen as a measure of enlightened self interest. In handing over to the Guardians the Poor Priests Hospital with its substantial revenues for use as a central work house for the whole of Canterbury, the Burghmote may have acted with some generosity, but the

rate raising powers given to the Guardians ensured that the Burghmote thereby distanced itself somewhat from the rising costs of maintaining the poor. The poor rate levied by the Guardians was never less than the total Burghmote income, and by the nineteenth century was several times greater. At the same time, the Burghmote retained a hold on the policies of the Guardians through ex officio membership of the Court by the Magistrates.

From the evidence available, it would seem that for most of the eighteenth century the Workhouse acted less as a work centre for paupers than as a home for bastard or orphan children, single women and decrepit old persons. Few able bodied men were residents, and although efforts were made to put inhabitants to useful paid work, income from such labours never amounted to more than a fraction of the total cost of the Workhouse. In common with the rest of the country in the early 1800s unemployment problems led to increases of in-poor and out-poor numbers, and the cost to the Guardians and the rate payers escalated in the 1830s to at least five times that of £1,500 a year in the 1750s. For some years before the Court of Guardians were effectively taken over by the Poor Law Commissioners set up under the Amendment Act of 1834, management of the Workhouse was leased out to private enterprise, at some savings in cost.

The Court of Guardians and the Burghmote seem to have co-existed without friction for most of the time. The Magistrates seldom attended meetings of the Court, and more often than not, the President elected at the Annual General Meeting was one of the Guardians representing a parish. The administration by the Guardians of the Blue Coat School, and the Bridewell (House of Correction) in the Poor Priests Hospital, both of which the Guardians had undertaken to continue out of the revenue of the Hospital, was performed generally to the satisfaction of the Burghmote.

'Philanthropic' sources and actions gave assistance to the poor and needy in Canterbury on a continuing basis somewhat complementary to the relief provided by the Guardians. Seven Hospitals and Almshouse foundations between them provided about 100 residential places, in the main for indigent or disabled retired people (not children). Some of them were founded or endowed in medieval times through the church, and others were later, lay, foundations. Entry conditions varied from almshouse to almshouse, but the places would mostly be filled by people perhaps a cut above pauperdom and the Workhouse. Nevertheless, had the almshouses not existed, an extra burden would have been thrown on the Guardians.

The Burghmote had at its disposal a number of charitable funds, mostly bequests from citizens before the eighteenth century. The total amount disbursed each year amounted to a few hundred pounds, in large part for the assistance of craftsmen and tradesmen in their careers. Part was directed to assist residents in the Almshouses, and a relatively small part used to provide gifts of clothing etc, to the needy. Charitable funds held by individual City parishes also provided gifts of cash, food or clothing to the poor of their congregations, though this in total amounted to less than £100 p.a. In all, it may be concluded that the efforts of the Guardians for the out-poor were complemented each year by the variety of small handouts from the sources mentioned above amounting in total to perhaps £200 p.a. - a useful addition to the care of the poor in the City.

In times of crisis, when money for the industrious poor on the margins of poverty became insufficient to allow them to sustain themselves because of abrupt and acute shortages and high prices of staple foodstuffs, the numbers receiving relief became so great that extraordinary measures were required quickly to calm and cope with desperate situations. In 1795/6 and again in 1800/1 the Mayor and Commonalty combined with the Dean and Chapter in raising subscription funds to relieve the industrious poor through soup kitchens and subsidies of the prices of scarce foodstuffs. A considerable proportion of the population was relieved in these ways for periods of up to a few months. Also in these years, the Mayor and Magistrates promulgated measures to control profiteering and to maintain law and order.

While all these measures were motivated, at least in part, by charity, they were also necessary as part of crisis management within the City to avoid or forestall unrest developing into riot. The evidence is that the Mayor of the day and his colleagues, with the support of the Dean and Chapter, were able to take swift action to manage and contain the crises successfully.

Chapter V examines various aspects of City life, including leisure pursuits, commerce and the City's contribution to the country's defence. The eighteenth century saw the growth of social, intellectual and sporting activities in Canterbury, not only for the enjoyment and relaxation of residents, but also because such activities attracted country gentry and visitors who would spend money in the City. Race meetings on the Barham Downs just outside the City were held throughout the century, and assemblies, balls and other entertainments were organized in the City during the meetings. The Barham Races and the associated activities were well patronized by the local gentry, and

Canterbury authorities and businessmen subscribed to the prize money. A newspaper was established in the City by 1717, one of the earliest provincial papers. By the late 1760s, two newspapers competed for custom.

Assembly rooms for meetings, music and balls were established in the City with some assistance from the Authorities from the 1740s, and strolling bands of players came for summer seasons from the beginning of the century. The Burghmote let a building in the City for occasional use as a theatre from 1738 onwards. Canterbury became the centre for an East Kent summer circuit, and by 1790 a permanent theatre had been erected in the City. Music concerts are recorded to have taken place as early as the 1740s, and by 1779 a choral society, the Canterbury Catch Club, had been established. In its day, it gained a country wide reputation for the excellence of its concerts, given thirty times a year in the winter months. A Society for the Cultivation of Useful Knowledge was formed in 1769, reformed into a Philosophical and Literary Institute in 1825, and finally taken over by the City Council in 1846 to form the basis of the City Museum. From the 1790s onwards, transformation of the Dane John into a pleasure garden provided the City with a centre for open air recreation and concerts.

Regarding Canterbury commerce, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the City's wool, clothmaking and silk-weaving industry was in terminal decline, and by the end had virtually disappeared. Providentially, as the weaving industry faded, so the hop industry in and around Canterbury grew, making the City one of the major hop centres in the country, and providing much needed employment. By the start of the nineteenth century it had become Canterbury's major industry, and one of the few which employed more than a handful of people in the City. Canterbury's attempt to turn itself into a Spa town, such as Tunbridge Wells, utilising chalybeate springs found in the City in 1693, although achieving some success in the early 1800s, was never so much in fashion as of itself to crowd the town with company. The tolling of the major roads into and out of Canterbury and the strengthening and widening of the City's streets benefited the City in the coaching era, but the establishment of a railway link to Whitstable and the coast produced no great boost to the City's trade and commerce.

The fact is that the Industrial Revolution passed Canterbury by, and with no large manufacturing industry, it remained essentially a market town, declining in importance relative to other major urban centres in the county and country. Although its population doubled in the

eighteenth century, its position as to size amongst major provincial cities had slipped from tenth to twenty-third. By the early nineteenth century Maidstone had overtaken Canterbury as the largest town in Kent and, to Canterbury's detriment, as the County Town of Kent. Tax returns show that the economy of Canterbury and the nature of its businesses changed little throughout the century. In the period up to 1790, the extant returns are consistent with a picture of a workaday market town, full of shops offering merchandise and craftsmen their services, but with no new industries appearing which could employ more than a handful of people. Residents in the City contained no great personages of title, few with landowning connections, with the richer members of the community living in or near their commercial premises in the centre of the town. By the 1830s, the population had grown to over 15,000 and the number of retail outlets had increased proportionately, still concentrated largely in the City centre. The number of different trade, or specialities had risen, but no major new manufacturing industry had arisen.

The formal minutes of the Burghmote in the long eighteenth century seldom record items showing interest in central government politics, and there is no evidence of regular contact at formal level with the City's MPs. Despite this apparent lack of interest in central government politics, the Burghmote never left in doubt Canterbury's patriotism and devotion to the Protestant House of Hanover especially in times of national emergency. The dozen petitions presented to the Sovereign by the Burghmote in the years 1700-1836, particularly those in the first half of the eighteenth century, amply express patriotic fervour in the flowery language of the time, as instance a petition in 1745 which said 'the settlement and continuance of the Crown in your illustrious House is the only security of our religious and civil rights'. Then too, Canterbury, led by the Burghmote, was always ready to stage, with the help of any military stationed in the area, elaborate proclamations and processions to celebrate significant occasions in the life of the nation. Examples are a proclamation procession in October 1739, when war was declared on Spain, in April 1744 when war was declared on France, and in February 1748 when peace was declared. The peace celebration was particularly lively, with a splendid show of fireworks and much drinking.

In the Napoleonic Wars, Canterbury responded, along with the rest of Kent, with money and volunteers to assist the war effort. In 1794, the City in a town meeting called by the Mayor decided to raise and partly finance three companies of volunteers of up to 300 men, for use in support of regular forces and the militia against the threat of invasion. Standing down during the short peace of 1802, the volunteers

were revived in 1803, and not finally disbanded until 1810, when the threat of invasion had receded. They did not see action; their highspot was to take part in a review of East and West Kent volunteers in Maidstone in 1798 by the King. The Burghmote, in addition to supporting volunteers, voted £300 to the Government for the defence of the county in 1798, with a further promise of £200 annually during the continuance of the war. The money for this was raised initially by borrowing, and also by an economy campaign which reduced expenditure on the Mayor's salary and on entertainment.

The effects on Canterbury of its roles as a Cathedral City; as a major Military centre; and as a Borough sending two members to Parliament, are examined in Chapter VI. The rights and jurisdictions of the Dean and Chapter and of the City Authorities (including the Poor Law Guardians and the Magistrates) were such that the two were quite distinct and separate authorities in a secular sense, with no direct formal links between the two. The City and County of the City of Canterbury had no jurisdiction over the Precincts, which were part of the County of Kent. The exception was the Pavement Commissioners set up in 1787, which included the Precincts under its authority, and contained some clergy among its 250 Commissioners. In practice there is no evidence that these played any significant part in the Pavement Commissioners affairs. The Royal Charters, from which the Burghmote derived its authority, effectively debarred the Clergy from any role in the government of the City. The Freemen's roll contained few clergymen, and none have been identified as Burghmote members.

Socially, life in the small community of the Precincts was largely independent of City life, though some contacts existed through the theatre, concerts and music making. The Chapter's main influence on Canterbury was as major landlord of properties in the commercial heart of the City, as a major employer of labour within the City, and as customers of its businesses and shops. Although there is no evidence of attempts by the Chapter consciously to influence the direction or development of the City's economy, the Chapter willy-nilly helped to set the standard for property values, and, in the uneasy landlord-tenant relationship, their policies may, from time to time, have inhibited long term planning by tenants. Relations between the two entities were generally polite and respectful, but the gulf between citizens and Cathedral dignitaries was particularly wide in the 1830s at the time of the Reform Act.

In times of crisis, when, as in 1795-6 and 1800-1 shortage of food and high prices threatened the industrious poor with starvation and hence raised the spectre of civil unrest, leaders of the two communities

acted together to manage the crisis, by providing relief through voluntary subscription.

Archbishops of Canterbury throughout the eighteenth century had no residence in the Metropolitan City and paid only short visits to it every few years to the Cathedral and the City. Such visits invariably included a formal entertainment of the Archbishop by the Mayor and Commonalty and a gift of money from the Archbishop to the poor of the City. Archbishops were therefore largely strangers to the City, and the face which the higher echelons of the Anglican Church presented to the citizens of Canterbury was primarily that of the Dean and Chapter.

While local government in the City proceeded largely independently of Central Government and national politics, at least at formal levels, and while measures in Parliament received attention only where they directly affected the City, Parliamentary elections for Canterbury were of great and continuing interest to the elite of the City, the Freemen, the City Authorities and to commercial life in the City. The Sheriff had charge of the elections, the Freemen were the electors, the Burghmote controlled the Freeman's roll. The elite benefited from association with landed gentry in promoting candidates; the City Authorities, from money from the sale of Freedoms to those anxious to gain a lucrative vote; Freemen, from favours from pledging their votes; and the commerce of the City, from custom generally by the influx of out of town Freemen and other visitors.

No single person or interest dominated the Canterbury constituency. Politics and national political parties played a somewhat nominal role in the electors. Power, position, financial pickings, and personalities played major roles. Elections in Canterbury were almost always contested. Even by the standards of the day, they were lively; bribery, corruption, menace, malfeasance, feasting and drinking were common features, as evidenced by the two Royal Commissions on Canterbury elections in the nineteenth century. In the result, success with few exceptions went to people living locally in or near Canterbury. For the first half of the eighteenth century, landed gentry with estates close to the City dominated the representation. In the second half, some personalities from Canterbury's local government were elected, thus offering a promotion route from local to national politics.

Before 1795, the City was familiar with the marching of troops through and sometimes the billeting of troops in Canterbury on their way to the coast. Such occasions, though they may have stirred the blood, contributed little to Canterbury's economy. In 1795, however, a

permanent presence of the military was established just outside the City walls, through the building of Cavalry and then Infantry barracks, capable of taking perhaps 3,000 troops. As was recognised in 1805 in Gostling's book *A walk in and around Canterbury*, the City's relative prosperity at that time could partly be ascribed to its being the chief military station in the south, with a General Staff, a park of artillery and several regiments constantly in the vicinity. One Canterbury resident was reputed (not impossibly) to have become a millionaire, through building the barracks and renting them to the government at 6d. a soldier each week. And one district of Canterbury was largely concerned with providing entertainment of all kinds for the military. However, without further research - beyond the scope of this present work - it is not possible to quantify the financial rewards to Canterbury.

Reference to other County Boroughs in Cathedral cities such as Lincoln, York and Exeter leads in Chapter VII to a conclusion that the main features of all four cities' experiences of local government in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were broadly comparable. Oligarchic self perpetuating corporations ruled commercial life, with Mayor and Aldermen as magistrates, dispensing justice and with the oversight of a range of administrative matters not dealt with by the whole Corporation. The Corporations levied no taxes. Sources of income derived mainly from rentals of Corporation property, market dues, freemen's fines and fines for refusal of office. In Lincoln and York income was also derived from canal and river dues, and in Exeter from port and wharfage charges. Items of expenditure were also similar - salaries of officers, upkeep of properties, and markets, and ceremonial expenses (including frequent occasions for eating and drinking). Lincoln and York incurred expenditure on waterways, and Exeter had a massively expensive commitment to the upkeep of canals, quays and wharfage.

All four County Boroughs coped with increasing expenditure on the poor, and on paving, lighting and watching, by setting up separate Courts of Guardians, and Improvement Commissioners with tax raising powers, though on different time scales and different degrees of success. Each exercised crisis management in times of high prices and food shortages, such as occurred in 1795-6 and 1800-1, in a similar fashion, with the Mayor and Corporation spearheading public subscription funds to finance soup kitchens, and to supply cheaper flour, bread, and potatoes to stave off starvation.

Social and leisure activities and facilities in all four were fostered and supported by the local authorities, in part because they attracted

custom and money to the Boroughs from local landed gentry. Exeter as a major port and textile centre reached its apogee early in the eighteenth century, and, along with York was reckoned to be one of the elite cadre of provincial capitals. York and Lincoln benefited by being County and Assize towns. Canterbury's pre-eminence in the County of Kent had been overtaken by Maidstone by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

All four Boroughs were in considerable debt when they handed over to newly elected Councils, acquired mainly through the need to finance capital expenditure in the decades after the Napoleonic Wars. Canterbury's debts reached £15,000, Lincoln's £29,000, York's £21,000 and Exeter's an enormous £140,000, largely incurred in attempts to revive Exeter's receding importance as a port. With the debts, however, Councils were left properties some of which they sold to repay the debts, while still retaining sufficient property to yield respectable through diminished rental income.

What emerges clearly from this comparison of these four Municipal Corporations operating under Royal Charters in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, is that local government in each, including administration of the law, was almost entirely in the hands of people engaged in commerce and trade, living among the population they governed; that is, local people of the middling sort, or lower middling sort. In this respect, these urban centres were quite different from the rural areas surrounding them, the government of which was largely in the hands of the local gentry, assisted by the local clergy, operating as Magistrates in Quarter or Petty Session. It is tempting to argue that government by the middling sort in towns would be in closer touch with the aspirations and problems of the population than would be the gentry in urban areas. Municipal Corporations may therefore have represented islands of relative stability and continuity in the middle of potential unrest in rural areas. It would be rash to attempt to draw a conclusion of this type without further and wider study of the two hundred or so rather disparate municipal bodies affected by the 1835 Act. At the very least, however, the thought may be advanced that analyses and theories which have been propounded about the nature of government in rural England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries may not be entirely relevant to the Municipal Corporations.

Chapter VIII examines the achievements of prominent Canterbury personalities. Few leaders of Canterbury's local government in the period under review achieved standing outside the City and its immediate surrounding area. Election to Parliament as one of

Canterbury's two MPs was a possible route to national recognition for City politicians:- two of Canterbury's Mayors were successful in this; George Gipps, member from 1780 to his death in 1800, and James Simmons, member for a short time in 1806/1807. Gipps was an apothecary turned hop factor, who had married well and moved among the landed gentry. Simmons started as a stationer and bookseller, and then dominated the Canterbury scene for forty years as newspaper owner, miller, collector of stamp duty for East Kent, Treasurer of the Pavement Commissioners, Banker, twice Mayor and benefactor of the City. Another Canterbury MP was the Recorder, Charles Robinson, who sat with Gipps from 1780 to 1796.

One who, while never appearing on the national scene, stands out among personalities in the City is Cyprian Rondeau Bunce, Mayor 1789-90, who as a lawyer and local antiquary catalogued Canterbury's charters and records and reorganized the Burghmote's portfolio of properties. A lesser person of note was Alderman William Gray (1695-1784) grocer, twice Mayor (1748 and 1760), member of the Burghmote for fifty-seven years (1724-1781), and nine times president of the Court of Guardians. This worthy man left a notebook recording a variety of useful information on the Canterbury of his time. Less worthy citizens who made a different mark include: Mark Thomas who as Chamberlain absconded to the Continent in 1773 leaving debts of £2,000; Peter Godier, Receiver (Treasurer) of the Guardians, whose accounts in 1786 showed a deficit of over £400 which he could not make good; and John and Elizabeth Bell, Master and Mistress of the Workhouse, who were prosecuted for stealing Workhouse property in 1737 but who avoided conviction on a technicality.

Of these, the person who bestrode the Canterbury scene, affecting all aspects of life in the latter half of the eighteenth century, commercial and leisure alike, bringing the City out of medieval squalor into the Georgian age, was James Simmons. His contribution to the life of Canterbury was unique and all embracing. Had he not died shortly after election as MP, it seems likely that he would have made his mark on the National scene.

The effect of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 on Canterbury's local Government (Chapter IX) was to replace the self perpetuating Burghmote with a Council elected for set periods, with more closely defined powers and duties; to abolish the concept of Freemen, and with it the revenue from entry fees; to establish an electoral role of Burgesses, that is to say residents who were property owners or ratepayers; to create a police force responsible to and paid by the Council; to give the Council rate raising powers; to prevent local

government officers from benefiting from Council income and assets; to appoint Magistrates by central government, instead of automatic appointment by virtue of local office; and to place the charitable trusts of the old Burghmote under the control of independent trustees. Canterbury's right to hold its own Quarter Sessions was not reaffirmed by the Act of 1835, but was restored by a petition by a charter of William IV in 1836.

The new Council inherited the property assets of the old Burghmote, along with £15,000 of debts. By 1840, with the permission of the Treasury, the Council had sold off some of the properties to pay off the debts. Sufficient property remained to provide a useful but reduced income from rentals. Apart from responsibility for a paid police force, which took over from and replaced the watch service provided by the Pavement Commissioners, and for the Sessions expenses and the gaol, which had been provided for by the County rate, the range of activities of the new Council remained similar to those of the Burghmote until well into the middle of the nineteenth century. The 1835 Act recognised that it would be advantageous for bodies such as the Pavement Commissioners to be subsumed in the new Councils, but in Canterbury it was not until 1865 that the merger was finally achieved, though an abortive attempt was made to do so in 1841. The Court of Guardians remained separate from the Council, but by the 1840s it came effectively under the control of the Poor Law Commissioners set up by the Amendment Act of 1834.

In the early years of the Council's existence, its yearly expenditure ran at about £3,500, of which £1,700 was spent on policing, and magistrates' and gaol expenses. About £2,000 a year was collected from the rates. This amount could be compared with the sum formerly spent by the Pavement Commissioners on watching, together with the amount disbursed from the County rate on sessions and gaol expenses, these two totalling about £1,100. It would seem that the changes in local government initially cost the rate payers about £900 extra a year.

Reform of the electoral roll from Freemen to Burgesses led to a somewhat odd electoral position as between local and parliamentary elections. A combination of measures in the Reform Act of 1832, which removed non resident Freemen from the parliamentary register, and in the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, which constituted resident ratepayers of at least two and a half years' standing as Burgesses for voting purposes, and which also allowed resident Freemen by birth or servitude (but not by purchase) to retain the vote, resulted in a Parliamentary electoral roll of over 1,500, and a Municipal electoral roll of just over 900. Of the Parliamentary voters, some 1,000 were

not eligible to vote in Municipal elections, and over 200 Municipal electors had no parliamentary vote - a rather anomalous situation. As the years passed, however, the number of Freemen decreased and the number of Burgesses increased, to the point where in 1868 the parliamentary roll, mainly Burgesses, reached 3,000.

Initially therefore, the Municipal voters were fewer in number than the Parliamentary electors. For that reason they were rather less representative than the latter group. However in 1835-6, for the first time, Canterbury could rejoice in its first general representative election to its council. The result was that only a handful of the members of the old Burghmote gained seats on the new Council, and supporters of the Reform and Municipal Corporation Bills were in a majority of 20 seats to four over the conservatives, with all six Aldermen's seats and the Mayoralty taken by Reformers. About 200 of the 900 voters were newly enfranchised, some of them members of the poorer class of tradesmen and craftsmen, which might be expected to vote for change. Canvassing and voting focused on two lists of six candidates in each of the three Wards, with little cross voting between the lists. The struggle between the Reformers and the Conservatives at national level had been reflected in the first local council election. In that sense the introduction of a measure of local democracy had brought with it a penetration of national politics into the local government scene, which had not been apparent in, and perhaps had not been an integral part of, the old oligarchic system, and which persisted thereafter.

Introduction

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CHAPTER I

THE BURGHMOTE AND ITS FINANCES 1700-1835

This Chapter examines the business of the Burghmote, and its finances 1700-1835, its sources of income and reasons for expenditure. The Burghmote's difficulties in balancing its yearly budgets are detailed, and the reasons for increasing debts in the early nineteenth century are discussed. The role of the Courts Leet in underpinning the Burghmote and the Magistrates' control of law and order is examined. The results of a study of the origins and occupations of Burghmote members are given. The efforts of the ruling elite to try to maintain its power over the City's commerce through its control of the Freemen and Guilds are detailed. Finally, some broad conclusions from this material are attempted.

COMPOSITION OF THE BURGHMOTE

In the period 1700-1835, local government of Canterbury by the Burghmote derived authority from a charter of James I given in 1609.¹ As constituted in the Charter, the Burghmote consisted of a Mayor, a Recorder, twelve Aldermen and twenty-four Common Councillors. Officers mentioned in the Charter were a Sheriff, a Chamberlain, a Town Clerk, a Coroner, A Sword Bearer, four Sergeants at Mace, a Gaol Keeper and a Tollinger. Appointments not mentioned in the Charter, but generally appointed by the Burghmote were: a Clerk of the Chamber, a Sergeant of Chamber, a Billet Master, a Crier, a Mace Bearer, a Water Bailiff, a Burghmote Horn Blower, a Pound Keeper, an Inspector of the (water) Conduit, four Feyhrers (building craftsmen), six Constables, six Borsholders and one Sheriff's Bailiff. Some of these appointments were from time to time held in plurality.

The Burghmote and its officers were, effectively, a self perpetuating body. Common Councillors were elected by the Burghmote from among resident Freemen, on the nomination of the Sheriff, in consultation with Councillors; Aldermen were elected by the Burghmote on nomination by the Mayor in consultation with Aldermen. Once elected, Aldermen held office for life. The Sheriff was chosen by the Mayor on the day of his election, from among Councillors, and approved by the Aldermen. The Recorder, usually a practising Barrister (a 'man learned in law'), was chosen and appointed (generally for life) by the Mayor and Alderman, and the Town Clerk (generally a lawyer) by the Burghmote from among the Councillors. The Chamberlain (the Treasurer of the Burghmote) was elected by the Burghmote. He was required to pledge a bond for £2,000 with two sureties. A Mayor was elected yearly on 14

September to take office on Michaelmas Day, by the Freemen from one of two Aldermen, nominated by the Aldermen. In 1792 the Freemen of Canterbury numbered about 1,554, of which 892 were resident, 662 non-resident, and voting for the Mayor brought out the majority of those resident in the City.²

The Burghmote met once every month. Fines for persistent non attendance by Aldermen or Councillors were levied at a rate of £10 and £5 respectively. The main item of business at each meeting was invariably the election of Freemen. The Burghmote had four standing committees, whose purview, together with control of the register of Freemen, gives a good indication of the rather limited range of the interests of the Burghmote. These were: Surveys and Reports (of Corporation Property), Byelaws and Charters, Regulation of Markets (owned and run by the Corporation) and Conduit and Water Works.

FINANCES OF THE BURGHMOTE

The financial affairs of the Burghmote were in the hands of the Chamberlain, who received whatever moneys were payable to the Corporation, and made all payments due. He was in effect Banker to the Burghmote; on any money he had to advance from his own pocket for Burghmote affairs, he charged 5 per cent p.a. interest, and he was at liberty to gain interest on whatever sums he might hold on behalf of the Burghmote. He had authority to pay up to £5 on any one order: higher amounts required specific Burghmote authority. He produced a balance sheet each year at Christmas time, to be audited by a Committee of the Burghmote, headed by the Mayor. The accounts were not published, and were not generally available to Freemen.

The annual Balances presented by Chamberlains remained the same in form throughout the eighteenth century. The balance was a simple statement of income and expenditure under a dozen or so different headings, with items under each heading listed on separate pages. Description of items is mostly brief and not very informative. Nevertheless, the Chamberlains' Account Books represent a complete and fascinating record of the scope and interests of the Burghmote throughout the eighteenth century, and up to 1828.

INCOME

In 1701-2 Income ('charge') totalled £357 8s. 2d., while expenditure ('discharge') came to £379 7s. 4½d., a debit balance of £21 19s. 2½d. on the year. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century total income fluctuated around £500 a year. No large new sources of income

appear, but in the later part of the century the balance sheet begins to top the £1,000 mark. By 1799-1800, charges totalled £1,888 7s. 4½d., discharge £1,865 0s. 5d., with a credit balance that year of £23 6s. 11½d. In the years 1800 to 1828, transactions were of the order of £1,500-£2,000 a year.³

There is no evidence in the Chamberlain's accounts of any income by direct levy or rate on the people of Canterbury. The main sources of income of the Burghmote may be listed as follows:

Markets

The ownership and control of the various daily markets in the City were vested in the Mayor and Commonalty, and tolls were levied for stalls at the markets.

At the beginning of the century the markets included the Fish Market, the Whitstable Market (for Whitstable women to sell fish) Flesh Shambles, Corn Market and the 'Bullstake' Market (for vegetables and other farm produce). Charges for stalls were by the day or by the week. In 1740, for instance, Freemen were charged 8d. a week for a stall in the Flesh Market, non-Freemen 1s. a week and a typical attendance was nine Freemen and eight non-Freemen stalls. The Fish Shambles charged 2d. a day, with attendance varying from two to twelve a day. The Tollinger was allowed one third of the total collected. In 1700-01 the Markets brought in just over £50; the Flesh Shambles £36 6s., Fish Market £4 1s. 0d., Whitstable Market £2 6s. 1d., Corn Market £8 1s. 2d., and the Bullstake £4. By 1770, the total market income was nearly £90; Flesh Shambles £54 10s.0d., Fish £5 12s. 11d., Whitstable 10s. 7d., Corn Market £3 1s. 7½d. and Bullstake £24 1s. 10½d. The increase in the Bullstake tolls probably arose from the fact that in 1700 the Tollinger paid a flat rate of £4 for collection, but by 1770 he was handing over the tolls in return for one third of the takings. Early in the nineteenth century, when a new Cattle Market was constructed, collection of tolls for all the markets was put out to tender, and a considerably increased income of some £300 per annum was obtained from them.

Freemen

The election of Freemen was a regular item of business of the Burghmote, and formed one of the main sources of income. There were four ways of qualifying for election; by birth, by marriage, by apprenticeship, or by straight purchase. A male born to a Freeman father was entitled to be elected free of charge; males marrying

females born to Freeman fathers were entitled to be enrolled on payment of 11¹/₂d.; apprentices on completion of their 7 years' training could become freemen for 4s. 1d. Persons without those qualifications could be elected Freemen on payment of £20, quite often by paying £10 down and £5 in two following years. On rare occasions, the Burghmote would grant Freemanship without qualification or payment to persons sufficiently important to the City - for instance, by virtue of being an MP for the City. Then, too, Honorary Freedoms were granted from time to time to national figures such as Prime Minister Pitt, or the Prince of Wales.'

To practise any trade or craft within the City, or to vote in Parliament elections, it was, of course, necessary to become a Freeman. Most years, the number of new Freemen admitted was around 30 or 40, a handful of them by purchase. Freemen elections, therefore, normally brought less than about £100 income a year. However, in a parliamentary election year Freemen had votes to sell, and the prospect of gaining a tidy sum this way obviously caused many to apply for the Freedom who had previously neglected to do so. The numbers elected in each of eighteen parliamentary election years (or years immediately preceding the elections) in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are generally well over 100, much to the benefit of the Burghmote's income. For instance in 1761, 273 people were elected Freemen, giving the Burghmote £465 16s. for the privilege. Pleasant though these windfalls must have been for the Burghmote, the size of them could hardly be relied on in advance.

The control of the roll of Freemen and of the markets of the City was a primary concern of the Burghmote. Occasionally, on payment of £10 or £20 'Tolerance' money, a non-Freeman would be allowed to carry on business in the City. This happened particularly in the case of women, disbarred as they were from becoming Freemen. Offenders against this control, hawkers or others, selling goods or services in the City and not being Freemen, or selling products or food not in the markets, were apprehended and punished by a summary fine - 6s. 8d. for each offence. If the fine were not paid the offenders goods could be distrained to enforce the penalty.

Despite the fact that rigid control had been seemingly well established for centuries, a legal case in 1747 showed that the Mayor, and Commonalty were on somewhat shaky ground. In the Court of Common Pleas at Maidstone (Hilary Term, 21GII, 1747) Moses Levi, an itinerant hawker, accused Edward Jacob, Chamberlain of the City of Canterbury, assisted by Richard Fuller, Sergeant at Arms, and Charles Noble, of assault, imprisonment and unlawful seizure of stock in trade. Jacobs,

assisted by Fuller and Noble, had appropriated by force a 'Great' and a 'Small' box full of Moses' goods, as forfeiture for two unpaid fines of 6s. 8d. for hawking. Levi complained that an assault on him on 27 May, 1747, when a hawking box was taken from him, was so severe that his life was greatly despaired of and that on 28 May he was further assaulted and beaten by the accused and another hawking box and contents stolen. Levi gave lists of the contents of both boxes, claiming that each contained goods to the value of £200.

It seems certain that distraint by force did take place, though no doubt Levi exaggerated the amount of force and the value of goods taken. Counsel's advice to the Corporation was that although Jacob had a right to distraint, this did not derive from Byelaw or Custom, but by an Act of 35 Henry VIII which in part read:

'Act for Canterbury ... no persons or persons being Foreigners and not being Free Citizens of the said City of Canterbury should not (sic) from henceforth ... sell any manner of merchandize to or with any manner of person or persons foreigner and not being free citizens of the said City not keep any open shop nor use any Mysteries or Handycraft within the same City within licence of the Mayor and Aldermen ... for every such offence 6s. 8d. ... Provided that the Act not extend to Butcher, Fishmonger, Flesh, Fish or other Victual ...'

A difficulty immediately arose from this somewhat obscure wording. The witness, John Pilcher, chosen to give evidence that Levi had sold him merchandize, was a Freeman of the City and, in order to qualify him as a witness, it was found necessary for the Burghmote retrospectively to remove him from the Freeman's roll. As to the distraint of the boxes, Counsel's opinion was that

'as the case stands, it maybe quite hazardous to offer any evidence of the circumstances attending the Caption of the Boxes other than what drops from the plaintiffs own witnesses ... the defence ... should be that Jacob acted as an officer of the City and the Distress by him was the several sum of 6s. 8d forfeited by offending the Act'

Jacob should say about the assault that he

'gently hit Levi's hands in order to make him quit this hold but not in such a manner as to cause him the least harm'

In the event, Levi won his action, and was awarded costs and damages of £12 16s.8d. In total the action cost the Mayor and Corporation nearly £200. Despite this debacle, Alderman Edward Jacob remained Chamberlain

for a further four years. Moreover, there is no evidence in the Chamberlain's accounts for the rest of the eighteenth century that this case caused any radical change to the Burghmote's approach to the matter of free trade within the City though it does not seem that force was again used in this connection.⁵

Rents of Properties

The Mayor and Commonalty owned two portfolios of property, listed separately as the City Farm Rents and St Augustine Rents. The City Fee Farm Rents derived from the grant by Henry III by Charter in his eighteenth year (1225), to the citizens of Canterbury of the Fee Farm of the City, in return for a payment of £60 a year. Edward III in the 29th year of his reign granted £30 a year of this annual payment to a William Candy, whereof the City in 1552 bought of John Hales £7 10s., and in 1555 purchased the other £22 10s. of Thomas Wootton. Edward IV in the first year of his reign, in pity 'for the poverty of the City', released the City from payment of £16 13s. 4d., so that the tenancy liability of the City by 1700 was £13 6s. 8d. a year. This was allocated by the sovereign to be paid to St Nicholas Hospital, Harbledown, and this annual payment continued into the twentieth century.

The City Fee Farm rents consisted of a portfolio of some 70 properties mostly on or adjoining or abutting the City wall.⁶ In effect, they utilized the spaces which in medieval times would have formed, with the wall, part of the defences of the City, but had become available for living space or gardens. This included use of the wall itself. At one time, no less than seven of the towers of the wall were let for living or commercial purposes, and properties were built against the wall. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the total income from the City Farm rentals was about £100. By 1740, this had risen to £120, by 1780 to £160 and by the end of the century to £300.

The second portfolio of property and land, owned by the City Fathers without encumbrance, the St Augustine's Rents, was acquired by the City in the sixteenth century on the Dissolution of St Augustine's Monastery. The portfolio numbered over 80 properties, mostly houses or tenements inside the City, or outside the City wall in the area of Longport, close to St Augustine's. Some of the larger properties had been let for long leases (600, 500 and 300 years) at a large initial premium but at low annual rent. Some fifty of the properties were let at very low rents indeed, totalling less than £20. In 1700, the total income from the St Augustine's rents was £35, rising to nearly £60 in the mid-1740s and touching £90 in the 1790s.⁷

Perhaps the most valuable properties owned by the City were the two mills on the main branch of the Stour within the walls; King's Mill on the High Bridge, and Abbot's Mill, some 200 yards downstream from King's Mill. The Mills were listed separately from the two property portfolios, though King's Mill originally formed part of the City and Abbot's Mill was part of St Augustine's properties. The two mills were always let together, at a substantial premium on long lease, initially at a rent of £20 and towards the end of the eighteenth century, at £40. In his rental of the mills, from 1791 onwards, Alderman James Simmons rebuilt Abbot's Mill in a splendid fashion, and pulled down King's Mill, replacing it with a house on the King's Bridge.⁸

Although the two portfolios remained essentially unchanged throughout the eighteenth century, by the turn of the century their total value was nearly £400 p.a. In 1797, the Burghmote, seeking to rationalize their property holdings and to increase further income from them, commissioned Alderman Cyprian Rondeau Bunce (Mayor 1789) to do a study of them and to make proposals for their future disposition. His study was in part preparation for the projected expense of the then proposed extension of the Cattle Market and the destruction of St George's Gate.

Bunce's 'Memorial' put the properties into five schedules. Schedule A contained properties he proposed to be sold absolutely; Schedule B, properties to be sold to respective tenants holding a right to renewal of leases; Schedule C, properties held on long lease to be sold to the respective tenants; Schedule D, several pieces of land under or without the City Walls at Westgate to be sold by Public Auction. Schedule E was a list of all other properties, to be retained by the Council. Bunce's purpose was to rid the Council of properties at low and uneconomic rents, and, or, those on very long leases on which a better return could not be expected. In his summary, Bunce noted that the total yearly rents in the Schedules (A to D) recommended for disposal was £40 14s. 3d. while the properties in Schedule E produced an annual rent of £302 12s 5½d. He further noted that Schedule E properties were in a state of such progressive improvement as to give a fair prospect of a speedy increase in revenue.⁹

Bunce's recommendations were in the main accepted and he was granted an honorarium of £200 for his labours in this and in other matters for the Burghmote. In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Chamberlain's accounts record the sale of most of the properties recommended by Bunce for disposal.

Incroachments

Another regular source of income, though quite a small one, was derived from sums levied year by year for encroachments of properties on to the public streets. There are some 50 entries year by year under Incroachments, totalling about £2.¹⁰ Typical are entries such as:

Widow Duthant two lots of Poles before her house in St Alphege late Mr Dediars	4d.
Elizabeth Malras a window of her house in High Street called the Chequers	2d.
The highest amount levied for one encroachment was Thomas Atwell House late built in Hawkes Lane	2s. 0d.

This was perhaps more a way of regulating nuisances rather than a source of income. In any event, it ceased after 1787 when the implementation of the Act for Paving, Lighting and Watching Canterbury swept such nuisances away.

Casual

A fifth regular source of income appears under the heading Casual. Fines for renewal of leases of Burghmote property would be entered under this heading, together with fines levied from members of the Burghmote for non-attendance, or for refusal of office. Freemen who refused election as Councilmen were subject to a fine of £10, rising to £20 by the end of the century, and Councilmen refusing election to Aldermen £20 increasing to £30. From time to time being a member of the Burghmote seemed to become particularly unpopular. (See below for examples of refusal of office).

Other windfalls of money were included under this heading. In good years, Casual entries might total more than £100, but were usually less than that amount.

Apprentices

The standard charge for enrolling an apprentice was 2s. 1d. The numbers registering were generally between 20 and 30 a year, so that the income from this source was seldom more than £3.

Other Sources of Income

Apart from headings to allow Arrears of payment of the primary sources of income to be separately noted, only two other minor sources of

income appear in the accounts. These are called Pipe Money and Five Penny Fees. The derivation of the former term is obscure, but the item concerned the rent of 3s. 4d., or later, 4s. for a property let by the Burghmote called the Goat (Inn). Five Penny Fees seem to relate to 5d. fines levied from Sergeants at Mace for remunerative items, work given to them by the Burghmote. The amount entered under this item seldom amounted to more than £3 a year.

EXPENDITURE (DISCHARGE)

Foreign Expenditure

This was a catch-all item, listing all Burghmote expenditure not appropriately placed under other items. It included expenditure on cleaning the markets and keeping them in good order; keeping the City Gates and roadways near and under them maintained; the general upkeep of the Burghmote's property; the expenses of the Mayor and Burghmote officers at meetings and official dinners, etc., particularly those expenses incurred in connection with the celebration of national events. Then, from time to time would be included relatively large items of capital expenditure, for instance for enlarging or resiting markets.

The total amounts spent under the Foreign Expenditure heading varied somewhat from year to year. The basic minimum amount was seldom less than £200, and in years when the extraordinary commitments can be identified, the totals lie between £200-£350 a year. In years when total expenditure under this heading greater than about £400 was achieved, occasional items such as repayment of bonds given to ex-Mayors in lieu of salary, or capital expenditure on rebuilding markets, or rebuilding a bridge, or paying expenses incurred in a law suit (such as in the case of Moses Levi, given above), may be found. In 1752-53, for instance, Foreign Expenditure was recorded as £854 0s. 8d., of which £500 was used to pay off ex-Mayor's bonds for £100 each. The money to do this came principally from a receipt of £400 as a fine for a new lease on Burghmote property. In 1789-90, Foreign Expenditure reached £947 5s 9½d., of which £407 was a bill for the new Bullstake. In 1795-96, expenditure of £2,739 3s. 1d. was recorded, which included a sum of £650 for the purchase of the Cold Baths from Mr Baldock. Other examples of large occasional expenditure are examined below, in the section on balancing the yearly accounts.

The occasions for and the expense of the Mayor and Commonalty dining or drinking together throughout the year on the Foreign Expenditure account are interesting. There was always a dinner on the day in

December on which a committee of the Burghmote met to inspect the Chamberlain's annual statement of account. In 1703, for instance, the bill for that dinner was £9 9s. 6d. Then, there were, in the earlier years of the century, annual get-togethers, generally at the Red Lion (owned by the City, but rented out) in remembrance of the 'Great Delivery from the Gunpowder Plot (and likewise the happy arrival of King William)'. In 1705-06, this cost £4 18s. 0d.

A thanksgiving to celebrate the Battle of Ramillies (1706, £5 13s 0d) was held; for the Union of the Three Kingdoms (£4 7s. 6d.) for the Victory at Oudenard (1708, £5 19s. 0d.), for Mons (1709, £5 15s. 0d.). Perhaps a bumper year for this sort of thing was 1720-21 in which were celebrated the Accompting Dinner (£15 10s. 4d.); Guy Fawkes and King William (£7 15s. 6d.); Restoration Night (£6 7s 10d.); King George's Birthday (£4 17s. 0d.) and Accession to the Throne (£9 2s 10d.). In addition, there are many small entries for drinks, etc., associated with meetings of Officers of the Council. It would seem that Inns were favoured places for most meetings other than formal Burghmote assemblies. Conviviality may sometimes have gone beyond the reasonable. In 1773, John Taddy, Mayor, died in office; from the after-effects of drinking six bottles of wine, it was alleged.

Other items of expenditure which were listed under this heading were any contributions to the costs of the Defence of the County of Kent (particularly in the Napoleonic War years); keeping the peace in Canterbury itself on the rare occasions when it was necessary to call out the regular forces; and contributions to philanthropic efforts to feed the industrious poor in times of scarcity and high prices. Examples of these occasions are given in other chapters.

Salaries and Allowances

The second largest item on the 'Discharge' side of the accounts was the salaries of the officials. In 1761, for instance, the following salaries were listed:

Mayor £100, Recorder £20, Chamberlain £10, Town Clerk £10, Mace Bearer £8, Sword Bearer £8, Sgts. at Mace £4 each, Cleaning Cattle Market £1, Cleaning Fish, Flesh, Butter, Markets £6 2s. 0d., Burghmote Horn Blower £1 6s. 8d., Gaol Keeper £5, Sgt. of Chamber £1 6s. 8d. Total £175. These salaries remained stable throughout most of the eighteenth century, though in the latter part of the century they increased somewhat. By the early nineteenth century for instance, the salary of the Chamberlain had risen to £35 and that of the Town Clerk to £30. However, salaries as given in the Chamberlain's accounts were basic

amounts. To these would be added, in the case of senior officers, fees and emoluments for specific services rendered. In the case of the Town Clerk, in 1835 it was estimated that his total average yearly income was £250. The junior officers similarly increased their income with charges for services (for instance the Sgt. of the Chamber claims 6s. 8d. in the £1 for all goods constrained in lieu of rents collected), and some offices were held in plurality.

The Mayor was a somewhat special case. The hospitality, donations and expenses expected of him it is believed generally exceeded his salary by a considerable margin. He was expected *inter alia* to give a dinner on his swearing-in day; to subvent emoluments of the Sergeants, Mace and Sword Bearers, and to give breakfast every week to the sixteen scholars of the Bluecoat School. For all the eighteenth century his salary was fixed at £100. In the early years of the nineteenth century it became a matter of some controversy, partly, it would seem, because of excessive demands on the Mayor for entertainment expenses. In 1802, it was increased to £130 and, in 1808, raised to £210. In 1815, it was reduced to £60, with the stipulation that no assumption of office dinner was expected of him. In 1825, it was fixed again at £100. The only obvious 'privilege' which seemed to be allowed the Mayor was the right to nominate a Freeman free of charge. When this right was extinguished, he was allowed the sum of £6 in lieu.

Other Headings of Expenditure

Relatively small amounts of expenditure were disbursed each year under several headings. These included long-standing commitments from charitable bequests to give a few shillings a year to 24 selected poor women of Canterbury. The total amount spent under this heading was £10 6s. 8d. a year. Robes of Office were bought regularly every few years, for officers of the Council such as Sergeants at Mace, and this could amount in some years to £20-40. The Burghmote paid various *sesses* and taxes. In the latter part of the eighteenth century this would include land tax for City properties, and payments to the Pavement Commissions for streets in front of Burghmote property. The amount of these payments was seldom greater than £50 a year. Then, there were two regular payments for property owned by the City; the first, St Augustine's Tenth, in respect of property in the manor of St Augustine, and the second, the payment of £13 6s. 8d. to St Nicholas Hospital, Harbledown, in respect of the residual payment for the City Farm rents.

BALANCING THE YEARLY ACCOUNTS

This was plainly a difficult matter. With no reserves of deposit account or capital to draw on (apart from the property portfolios), Chamberlains must have had a hard time containing yearly debit balances to manageable amounts. The unpredictability of sources of income such as Freemen's fees, and of occurrence of unexpected expenditure, such as for royal visits, added to the difficulty. Then, too, it was necessary from time to time to accumulate sufficient funds for quite large items of capital expenditure. In 1758, a new Flesh Shambles and Herb Market was constructed at an initial estimated cost of £326 15s. 4d., though the final cost appears to have been over £1,100. In 1764, £100 was given towards the removal of St Andrew's Church from the middle of the main street. In 1769, the King's Bridge was widened by public subscription, and by pulling down and using material from the arches of a bridge near Abbot's Mill. The Burghmote contribution to this was about £300. In 1780, Thos. White was given licence to take down Burgate, to which the Burghmote contributed £32 15s 4½d. In 1789, the Burghmote rebuilt the Bullstake Market at a cost of £407 6s. 8d. In 1790-91, £105 was contributed to the fund for the new Canterbury Hospital building. In 1795-96, as noted above, £650 was spent on buying a Cold Bath establishment.

In the middle years of the eighteenth century, balancing the accounts became particularly difficult, and in order to reduce expenditure somewhat, it became the practice to postpone payment of the Mayor's salary. The result of this was that by 1749 a total of £1,160 was owing to six different people. In years when income increased (due mainly to enrolment of Freemen in election years) efforts were made to reduce this debt, particularly in the mid 1750s, but by 1772, £900 worth of ex-Mayor's salary was still outstanding. This deficit effectively remained until 1791-92. In that year, Aldermen Simmons and Royle paid a fine of £2,450 for a thirty-year lease on the two mills owned by the City. As a result a total of £1,000 Mayor's salaries were paid to Robert Stone, Richard Elwyn, John Jackson, Ald. Halford, Edward Scudamore, and Aldermen Royle and Simmons themselves. In addition, for the first time, the Burghmote created a deposit account of £1,200 with the local bankers. It has to be said, however, that this deposit account was soon swallowed up in other items of capital expenditure.

A substantial single amount of capital expenditure by the Burghmote from its own funds occurred in 1802-03, when the new Cattle Market was erected, and, at the same time, St George's Gate was demolished. The total cost of this was the very large sum of £3,881 3s. 0d.¹¹ and even after selling some of the City's choice properties, it was necessary to

borrow £2,009 to square the account. £1,009 of this was borrowed from the Canterbury Union Bank, and £1,000 from Ald. James Simmons. A further large item of expenditure occurred in 1805-07, when the New (Guildhall) Street was laid out between High Street and Palace Street. This involved the demolition of the Red Lion in High Street, owned by the Council, and of other properties which they were forced to buy. The total cost escalated to about £3,000, and again the Burghmote obtained £1,000 from Ald. James Simmons in order to complete the job. The debts to Simmons were not repaid to his executors until some years after his death in 1807.

By 1808, the debit balance on the Chamberlain's accounts reached £822 6s. 7½d., and over the years to 1816 reached £2,000. The increase was due to a variety of expenditure demands, but basically in this period income fell consistently short of expenditure. The Chamberlain, Alderman Richard Halford, who had been in office since 1790, had of course to carry this debit balance on his own resources at interest. In 1817, the Burghmote relieved him of this burden by borrowing £4,000 cash from Hammond and Plumtre's Bank at 5 per cent interest, creating a credit balance on the Chamberlain's account of 1818-19 of £728 13s. 4d.. Further borrowings, to cover large items of capital expenditure, had to be made, and by 1828 total debt of the Burghmote amounted to £12,750. Interest payments on this amounted to £604 a year, a substantial percentage of the yearly expenditure.

How this amount of debt had been incurred is not clear, but Burghmote minutes and contemporary sources throw some light on the matter.¹² In 1824, for instance, it was estimated that the building cost of the New Corn Market, then under consideration, should not amount to more than £2,780 7s. 6d., with the cost of purchasing premises and land for the market estimated at £1,576. In June 1824, the Town Clerk was paid £603 2s. 11d. as the cost of procuring an Act of Parliament to authorize the erection of the market. The total estimated cost of the market was therefore in the region of £5,000. To raise the wind for this Ald. Homersham was authorized to negotiate a loan with the Bank of England of up to £10,000 giving a list of City Estates as security.

There is no evidence that this route to raise money was followed, and money was borrowed from local sources. By the time the opening of the New Corn and Hop Exchange (as it was formally named) was celebrated at a Dinner on Easter Tuesday 1825, the Burghmote had incurred some £7,000 in loans extra to the loan of £4,000 outstanding from Hammonds Bank in 1819, all from local people or associations (£2,032 15s. 9d. in 3 per cent Consols from Sir C. Hunter, Bart; £3,000 from Moses Hare, and £2,000 from the Economic Fire Association). Additionally, the tolls of

the market (let at £175 a year) were mortgaged in December 1825 for £2,000 at 4½ per cent interest to Nathaniel Belsey. We may surmise from all this that the New Corn and Hop Market finally cost nearer £9,000 rather than the £5,000 estimated originally.

No Chamberlain's account book seems to be available from 1828 to the end of the Burghmote's life in 1835. However, items of extraordinary expenditure noted in the Burghmote minutes in that period may be cited. In 1829, £991 9s. 11d. was allocated for repairs to Abbot's Mill and £125 10s. for repairs to the Bath Estate. Both properties were at that time still on lease to the executors of Ald. Simmons (deceased 1807). Expenses in 'Cleaning the River Stour within the walls of the City of Canterbury and the New Cut' at the direction of the Commissioners of Sewers amounted to £474 0s. ½d. in 1828.¹³

An unexpected call on the Burghmote funds of significant size occurred in 1834.¹⁴ The Mayoral election on 14 September, 1832, produced a tie of 92 votes each to Ald. Edward Kingsford and Ald. Browne. A further vote, called swiftly on 15 September 1832, resulted in Ald. Sampson Kingsford defeating Ald. Edward Kingsford, and Ald. S. Kingsford was declared Mayor. Ald. Browne was not satisfied with these proceedings, and he brought an action against the Burghmote in High Court, asking for cause to be shown by what authority Kingsford exercised the office of Mayor. On 23 July, 1833, the Town Clerk was voted £150 to defend Mayor Kingsford. The action remained undecided throughout 1833, and on 10 December of that year - after Kingsford's term of office had ended - all proceedings were stayed, each party to pay their own costs. On 28 January, 1834, £400 was authorized to be borrowed to meet the Town Clerk's bill.

Despite mounting debts throughout the years 1815-35, the Burghmote's main capital asset, the portfolio of properties, remained substantially unchanged. However, the possibility of selling some of the properties was plainly in the collective mind of the Burghmote when in 1828-29 they commissioned a survey of some 57 of their major holdings, with descriptions, locations, plans, dimensions, use, type of lease and tenant.¹⁵ Most of these records contain beautifully executed watercolour vignettes of elevations of the properties in their setting. It is possible, for instance, from vignettes of properties backing onto the City wall to gain a clear picture of what the stretch of wall from St George's to Northgate looked like at that time.

In the event, no sale of properties by the Burghmote seems to have taken place, and the portfolio, together with the accumulated debt, was handed over to the new Council in 1836. The minutes of the new Council

in February of that year include a statement of the Burghmote's indebtedness of £14,350.

LAW AND ORDER - COURTS LEET

As we have seen, the Burghmote as a body concerned itself almost entirely with matters and finance associated with the privileges and duties of regulating and controlling the business life of the Community. But Canterbury Charter(s) also constituted the City of Canterbury as a County in its own right, separate from the County of Kent. The Administration of the law in the City was vested in the Mayor and those Aldermen who had already served as Mayor, as Magistrates, assisted by a Recorder.¹⁶ The proceedings of the Canterbury Courts of Justice, headed by the Senior Court of Quarter Sessions, are dealt with in a separate chapter; this present section describes how law was enforced and regulated at community level in the Wards, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century to 1835.

The substructure in the Wards, underpinning the detection (or suppression) of offences and the enforcement of law and order was largely voluntary or rather, enforced voluntary. In each of six wards of Canterbury (Burgate, Northgate, Ridigate, Newingate, Worthgate and Westgate) a Court Leet met every year to elect a Constable and a Borsholder for the Ward for the coming year, and to hear presentments for nuisances committed, and (until about 1750) about fines for alienation of property. The calling of the Court Leet by the two Aldermen of the Ward was quite a formal matter, in the King's Name, and required every householder and male person over the age of twelve to attend. This could mean 200 or more people in each ward, but the records show attendances of anywhere from 40-100. A Grand Jury was sworn in at the Court Leet, consisting of a selection of Ward members present. The size of the Jury was quite often more than twelve. The records show jury sizes of up to about 40 members - probably the majority if not all the Ward members present. Nuisances committed by people within the Ward consisted of not keeping pavements clear of rubbish, etc., or in good repair, of not keeping gutters in good repair, of fouling or otherwise obstructing free passage in the streets. People committing nuisances were given six weeks in which to 'reform' them, or else proceedings would be taken against them by the Aldermen of the Ward. The standard fine for pavements was 6d. a yard, and for every other nuisance 2s 6d.

A typical record of a Court Leet (that of Westgate Ward, for 1757) shows that nearly 60 presentments were made. How well this self-policing system worked may be open to doubt: the same offences

were complained about year after year, with not much evidence that the offenders mended their ways. Some nuisances complained of were perhaps more serious than dirt in the street. In 1708, in the Westgate Ward Court Leet, Susan Franklin was named for keeping a disorderly house in St Peter's. Robert Fowler was named for entertaining apprentices at the time of Divine Service at his mother's house. In the same Ward, in 1776, Jas. Robinson labourer, Geo. Blackman labourer and John Smith labourer, were named as 'keepers of a disorderly house for one month past in St Peter's and for harbouring certain ill disposed persons as well as women of evil name and fame and of dishonest conversation, there remaining night and day whoring and misbehaving themselves to the common nuisance of all his Majesty's subjects there dwelling'. Perhaps the shame of being so openly arraigned might have caused them to mend their ways.

There are many examples of nuisances caused by leaving dung or other filth on the pavement or otherwise obstructing and it would seem no one was spared. For instance, in 1745, in the Burgate Court Leet Ald. Tolputt, one of the Ward's Aldermen, was named for Laying Dung in the street. In the same Ward in 1791, it was recorded at 'the footways and carriageways opposite the buildings now used as temporary barracks in Burgate Lane, Church Street and Ivy Lane are in a filthy state from the dirt and other stuff thrown thereon from the barracks. Aldermen to state the same to the Commanding Officer that these nuisances may be removed.' In a curious entry for the Burgate Court Leet of 1745 the City Chamberlain is named for not putting up stocks at Burgate Gate, and, in 1781, Dr Pack was the subject of a presentment because of 'his cellar window and the steps before the door A VERY GREAT NUISANCE'. These are but a sample of the presentments contained in the records of the Court Leet for the Northgate, Burgate, Westgate and Worthgate Wards in the eighteenth century and for the early part of the nineteenth century held in the Canterbury Cathedral Archives. In addition to presentments for nuisances, the Court Leet listed those alienations of property which had taken place in the ward for the previous year, and levied a fine of 2s. for each. In the 1750s, however, this practice seems to have been discontinued, and there seem to be no entries about alienations later than 1758. After 1787 although nuisances continued to be presented, the action on them was generally passed to the Canterbury Pavement Commissioners.

The election of a Constable and his deputy, a Borsholder, was perhaps the main business of a Court Leet. The office of Constable was, on the face of it, quite an onerous one, as the official warrant in the King's name to Henry Chalklen, Constable for Newington Ward in 1779, shows. He was responsible for keeping the King's Peace in his ward, and with

executing without delay such warrants as may come to him from the Aldermen of the Ward and other JPs, and with reporting each month to the Justices of the Peace presumably in the Court of Petty Sessions. In addition, Constables and Borsholders of the six wards shared the duty of supervising the nightly Watch throughout Canterbury, a duty which was confirmed in the Pavement Commissioners Act of 1787. This meant that about once a fortnight a Constable or Borsholder would have to be on watch all night, or at least on call. It is said that the Offices of Constable and Borsholder were so unpopular that elected Constables and Borsholders paid substitutes to do the job for them, a state of affairs which seems to have been accepted by the Aldermen.

The Courts Leet were social as well as legal occasions. The records show that at the conclusion of business, those present, or those present who wished to do so and could afford to pay, repaired to a suitable Inn to have a communal dinner. The bills for many of these dinners are carefully filed with the record of the Court Leet. Typical is the Dinner Bill for the Westgate Court Leet in 1783. 35 people sat down to dine and the total cost was £8 9s. 6d. or about 5s. a head. This included 35 'ordinaries' at 1s 6d. each, £2 for wine, and £1 12s. 0d. for Punch. Obviously, these were convivial occasions. Aldermen were allowed £2 a year as expenses connected with their Ward duties and the convening of Courts Leet.¹⁷

MAYORAL DUTIES

The duties of the Mayor were plainly considerable and diverse, and he was the linchpin holding together the various corporate bodies concerned with the governance of Canterbury. He chaired the Burghmote meetings and would invariably have had the last word in all its affairs including the making of Bye Laws. In addition he was responsible for inspecting and regulating weights and measures. He was a Pavement Commissioner under the Act of 1787, and a member of the Court of Guardians of the Poor under the Act of 1727. He was a Commissioner of Sewers. He was Escheater for Canterbury. As Chief Magistrate for the County of the City of Canterbury he sat with the Recorder and other Magistrates at County Sessions two or three times a year, and he held a Petty Sessions Court every month. He was a Commissioner under the Court of Requests Act. In addition, of course, his presence at all manner of civic and public functions would be obligatory. In 1835, the Parliamentary Commission estimated that his considerable duties would occupy him for about 4 hours a day, especially during the winter months.

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF BURGHMOTE MEMBERS

In his notebook, Alderman Gray¹⁸ records the names and often, the occupations of persons nominated as Common Councillors or Aldermen in the period from May 1751 to May 1759. The range of occupations mentioned include Hop Planter, Apothecarie, Attorney, Maltster, Miller, Innkeeper, Bookseller, Linen Draper, Upholsterer, Surgeon, Barber, Carpenter, Salesman, Leather Cutter, Tallow Chandler, Lay Clerk, Baker and Procter. Two persons are described as 'Gent' and several others given no description. Most of these nominated were therefore tradesmen, with some professional class and a few 'gents'. There is an absence of clergy, and no recognisable landed gentry or titled people.

Alderman Gray notes that from September 1754 to September 1755, there was a particularly high rate of refusal to take office, two Aldermen and twelve Councillors paying their finds to be excused. Refusal to take office was by no means rare at other times, but seldom amounted to more than a handful each decade. The fine penalty of £30 for an Alderman and £20 for a Councillor was severe enough to deter refusal to serve unless for good, and most probably economic reasons. The work load, particularly for Aldermen, would be quite onerous, and might interfere with business activities. And the likely progress from Councillor to Alderman might lead to an expensive Mayoral year. the Mayor's salary of £100 p.a. would not have met his expenses, and in any event, the Burghmote's finances were so rocky that by the mid 1750s nine ex-Mayors were waiting for their £100s to be paid, having received instead a bond on which interest was paid yearly. Paradoxically, fines for refusal in 1754-5 assisted in reducing the number of Mayoral salaries owed by the Burghmote. The Chamberlain's accounts for that year show fines paid by two Aldermen and twelve Councillors totalling £330. That sum, together with a £400 fine paid for the renewal of a lease of Burghmote property, was applied to pay off five Bonds to ex-Mayors, leaving four outstanding and still showing a positive balance on the year of £175 on a Total Income-Expenditure of £1,319.

The problem of reconciling official obligations with business activities applies generally over the years, but the large numbers of refusals in 1754-5 remains to be explained. It may be that the Roch Case (see below) against the Burghmote and the Guilds which was proceeding through the Courts in the 1750s, and which struck at the heart of the Burghmote's authority over commercial life in the City, played some part in deterring nominees to the Burghmote from taking office.

A study has been made of the occupations of Mayors of Canterbury from 1700-1835, using Alderman Gray's information and data drawn from Stella Corpe's publication of Canterbury Freemen 1700-1835,¹⁹ together with available lists of the Mayors.

In that period there were 138 Mayors, since on four occasions a Mayor died in office and another was elected to complete the term. The occupations of twenty-two Mayors could not be unambiguously identified using these sources, because of multiple entries under the same name.

The following is a breakdown of the occupations identified:- 18 'Gents'; 14 Apothecaries/Apothecary/Surgeons; 11 Grocers/Tallow Chandlers; 5 Woollen Drapers, 2 Linen Drapers, 1 Draper, 2 Milliners, 2 Glovers, 6 Upholsterers, 2 Silkweavers, 1 Fellmonger; 7 Bakers; 5 Carpenters; 4 Vintners/Wine Merchants, 3 Maltsters, 4 Distillers; 7 Booksellers; 1 Cordwainer; 1 Butcher; 1 Paper maker; 2 Leathersellers; 1 Goldsmith; 1 Ironmonger, 1 Glazier/Plumber; 1 Saddler; 2 Coachmakers; 3 Bankers; 1 Miller; 4 Innholders; 4 Watchmakers.

At least thirty-four of the Mayors held office twice, the second term following the first generally after from five to fifteen years, though some second terms have occurred as short as two years and as long as twenty-eight years after the first. There are no examples of successive terms by the same Mayor. One name, Joseph Royle occurs four times on the Mayoral Roll, in 1768, 1783, 1790 and 1799. This probably represents father and son, both distillers, and both Mayor on two occasions each. There are a few possible other examples of father and son serving a term each as Mayor.

The occupation of none of the 'Gents' was specified in the lists of Canterbury Freemen. However a number can be identified as Lawyers, such as John Hodges (1794) and Cyprian Rondeau Bunce (1789). Most 'Gents' who had achieved the Mayoralty had obtained their Freedom by Patrimony or by marriage. This is true of Hodges, who married the daughter of William Long (also a 'Gent' and Mayor in 1780) and of Bunce, who married the daughter of George Frend (Woollen Draper and Silk Mercer, and Mayor in 1773 and 1784). Others identified as 'Gents' were first generation gentlemen. For instance, William Nutt (Mayor 1802) was the son of John Nutt, patten maker, and obtained his Freedom by patrimony in 1790, and John James Pearce (Mayor 1825) was the son of John Pearce, Surgeon, and also a Freeman by patrimony.

None of the 'Gents' serving as Mayor was titled, and none of them had obviously sprung from landed gentry. The only titled Freemen listed in the years 1700 to 1835 were Sir Thomas Hales (Bart), Sir William

Hardres (Bart), Sir Francis Head (Bart), Sir James Creed (Bart), Sir Philip Hales (Bart), Sir John Honeywood, Sir Samuel Egerton Bridges, the Marquis of Camden, Sir James Creed, Bart, and Lord Romney. Most of these had obvious connections with Canterbury as MP or Lord Lieutenant, and were in effect honorary Freemen, by Gift of the Burghmote. The list of Freemen contains only a handful of Reverend gentlemen, and these appear to have acquired Freedom by patrimony or marriage.

The twenty-two Mayors whose occupations have not been unambiguously identified have names listed under two or more different occupations. For instance, John Jackson (Mayor 1775) could either have been a brewer or a baker; Thomas Parker (Mayor 1767) a Blacksmith or Baker; and a Thomas Parker (Mayor 1796 and 1809) a Barber, Blacksmith, Goldsmith, Linen Draper, Miller or Pipemaker. However, none of the twenty-two were likely to have been gentlemen, and the occupations of all should, when correctly identified, fall within the range of other occupations listed above. Their numbers should therefore be added to the numbers of occupations other than Gentlemen.

From this analysis we may conclude that Canterbury's local government and judiciary in the years 1700-1835 was led for 90 per cent of the time by Mayors who were active in the economic and commercial life of the City, in one occupation or another. For the other 10 per cent of the time, the leadership was in the hands of persons styled gentlemen, some recognisable as lawyers, some as first generation gentlemen with prosperous fathers from Canterbury commercial stock, but none of them titled or recognisably landed gentry. Since Mayors came up for election through the offices of Common Councillor and Alderman, we may expect that the range of occupations would broadly reflect those of Burghmote members and this is substantiated by the evidence above on the occupations of Councillors and Aldermen, from whom Mayors would emerge. It is understandable, however, that there should be a leaning towards those occupations which required a higher level of education in the choice of person for the onerous post of Mayor. It is not surprising therefore that Gentlemen and Apothecaries/Surgeons should have been selected for the office in greater numbers than other categories. It is interesting to note however that the choice of gentlemen and apothecaries/surgeons as Mayor becomes less frequent after the 1750s, perhaps because other occupations had become better equipped to take on the task.²⁰

Local government of Canterbury, therefore, for the years of the Burghmote, 1700-1835, was in the hands of those of the middling sort, or perhaps somewhat lower than middling, with the City Fathers living and working in the City and in close touch with the general populace.

Such a system was more likely to be sensitive and more responsive to the temper and feeling of the common people of the City than would be the rule of the landed gentry and Justices in Quarter Session in the rural districts of Kent and England in the same period.

CHARTER COMPANIES OF CANTERBURY

Craft Guilds in the City were under the control of the City authorities since Elizabethan days, though they were in abeyance during the time of the Commonwealth. With the restitution of the monarchy, companies were resurrected by a series of orders of the Burghmote which approved their charters; Mercers in 1663, Smiths also in 1663, Leathermen 1665, Carpenters, etc, 1680, Grocers etc 1685, Drapers and Tailors 1693, Vintners etc 1696 and (late comers) Barbers etc 1736. Freedom of the City was a necessary preliminary to Freedom of a Guild Company, and provision was made in the Charters for fines to be levied in the name of the Mayor and Commonalty on those who attempted to carry on trade in the City without the two freedoms.

In the years up to 1750 the Companies as a recognised part of regulating and controlling trade and commerce within the City commanded respect and influence. When John Somner²¹ provided a Market House for the Corporation of Canterbury in the Bullstake in 1654, as a condition of that gift, he stipulated that he would freely 'grant and permit the use and accommodation of the said Chamber to all and every of the six companies of the City viz. the Drapers, Taylors, Mercers, Grocers, Carpenters, Smiths and Shoemakers further and every of their meeting there together upon any occasion concerning their Company affairs'.

Alderman Gray recorded that it was the custom for each Member of Parliament for Canterbury to give each company yearly at their annual feast two dozen of wine, costing £38 8s. each year, or for the seven year service as an MP, a total of £268 16s.²²

The Charter of the Company of Apothecaries, Grocers, Chandlers and Fishmongers is reproduced in Alderman Gray's notebook, and its rules clearly indicate how tightly the right to and the practice of a trade was controlled. The Charter had been approved by Canterbury Justices on 7 July 1602, and reaffirmed on 8 September 1685. The rules stipulated that an applicant could not become Free of the Company until he was Free of the City, on pain of forfeit of £13 6s. 8d. Entry fee to the Company was £5 for an Englishman and £10 for an alien. Apprenticeship would be for seven years, and an apprentice out of his time would have to pay three quarters of the standard entry fee to set up his trade. Quarterly payments of subscriptions to running costs

(principally used, it would seem, to fund the meetings of officers of the Company) were stipulated. All Company freemen had to attend the annual feast, on pain of 8d. fine, and on the feast day elections of one master, two wardens, four assistants and one Beadle took place. Aldermen and Councillors were often elected as officers; Alderman Gray himself was Master of the Apothecaries, etc for some years. Attendance at funerals of brethren was obligatory, on pain of a fine of 8d.

Apart from freedom to carry on business and perhaps a feeling of comradeship, it is difficult to see what other benefits membership conveyed. However, livelihood depended on it, and it would have taken a brave man to challenge the authority of the system. Nevertheless, the authority of the Charter companies depended more on custom and the support of the Magistrates of Canterbury than on legality, and in the 1750s the shakiness of their legal standing was tested almost to destruction by a brave man of great determination, Thomas Roch.

The case of Thomas Roch

The stand which Thomas Roch took against the action to compel him to pay Guild dues challenged the legality of the control by the ruling elite of the Freedom of the City and of the Guilds, and hence struck at the basis of the power of the ruling elite. The outcome of the case was of such importance to the conduct of local government in Canterbury in the latter half of the eighteenth century that this dissertation would be incomplete without a detailed description of it.

Thomas Roch was a Welshman who purchased his Freedom of the City in 1745. In addition, to set up in trade as a Cabinet Maker, he found himself compelled to join the Builders and Carpenters Company (which also at that time included Cabinet Makers) as an alien (Welsh, not English). Alderman Jacob (then Master of the Company, Chamberlain of the Burghmote and a Magistrate) witnessed Roch's signature in the admission book binding Roch to obey the rules, which included quarterly subscription and fines for non attendance of meetings.

Roch found no value in the Company, taking objection to the fact that officers at frequent meetings in taverns, wined and dined at Company's expense. On feast days, it was the practice of officers to send home from the table pig, fowl, wines, etc to their wives and families for their enjoyment. The Company elected one Master, two Wardens and ten Councilmen from no more than seventy members. After four to five years membership, Roch concluded that the Company had no business but the spending of money by its officers and he ceased to pay his dues. Others followed his lead and the income of the Company fell. The

Master applied pressure and threats without result, and eventually the Burghmote was moved to authorize an action to sue him for arrears.

Roch notes that Mr Jekers, Town Clerk and Clerk to the Company, could not at first show Roch's indebtedness to be more than 40s. so the case was brought before the Court of Requests on 22 February 1753, where 'Mayor Watts and others were to give judgement in their own cause...'. That meeting adjourned the hearing for a month, and when Roch brought a counsel to defend him at the second hearing, they adjourned for another month to get their own counsel.

Then, over the next three to four years, ensued a series of hearings and actions. Roch petitioned the Burghmote to get them to examine the Company Charter and to reveal the law or powers under which he was being sued, without success and access to the Charter was denied to him. Jekers quit as Clerk to the Company, and Balderston, his successor, drew up a bill which showed Roch's indebtedness as £6 15s. 3d. A further petition to examine the Company's Charter failed. Balderston quit the clerkship after hearing Roch's intention to go on defending the action, and Greenland his successor, amended the bill to £2 1s. 4d. At a further Court hearing Roch finally got permission to have the Charter examined. He records that it had no Royal names or seal, and seemed to be merely an agreement to meet and settle matters agreeable to members. After scrutiny, he felt able to argue that the Company owed him money, having 'wrongly got £4 on joining from him instead of half a crown or at most thirty shillings'.

The authority of the Mayor and Alderman was by now at stake. The membership for the Companies continued to fall and the Master of the Builders organized a subscription from members to buy legal representation. The case was transferred to Kent county assizes. A declaration of 192 pages was prepared, suing Roch this time for 24s. Roch came under severe pressure from authority and his friends to discontinue his defence and pay such a small sum. But before the Mayor and Corporation would authorize the prosecution to proceed, they pressed for, and obtained (after some hesitation) a £500 bond from the Company indemnifying the Burghmote against costs.

Two postponements then occurred because of withdrawal of the prosecution's Declaration, for rewriting to eliminate errors. When the case finally came to trial at Maidstone in 1758, the prosecuting counsel in his opening address described Roch as an alien, to bar whose unwanted presence in Canterbury the City's Royal charters had been given. Roch's smart attorney interrupted with the request that in that case Roch should be proved a fellow citizen of Canterbury before he

could be charged with a debt to the Corporation. The clerk of the Court called three times for the prosecution to produce such evidence, and when no reply came, the case was 'non-suited'. After that verdict, the Company and the Burghmote were left to pay the costs. No further legal action was taken against Roch.²³

References to the case of Roch in the Burghmote records are sparse and not very informative, but in general they confirm Roch's version of events.²⁴ On 14 November 1752 it was ordered that the Company of the Fellowship of Carpenters etc may sue Thomas Roch in the name of the Chamberlain for recovery of arrears and forfeiture, provided the company bear the expenses. In the Burghmote on 5 July 1757 (John Lade, Mayor), it was decided that Roch or his counsel should have license to inspect the Books, Charters and Records of the Commonalty and to be at liberty to take copies. On 18 July 1758, it was agreed that the Company of the Fellowship of Carpenters etc should be allowed to sue Thomas Roch in the name of the Mayor and Commonalty for arrears and forfeiture, provided that before the suit be commenced such security shall be given to indemnify the Commonalty from all costs as the Mayor and Chamberlain think fit (John Byng, Mayor). On 26 September 1758 it was noted that Roch was to be sued for arrears and forfeiture as a member of a Company approved on 20 April 1686 by an order of the Burghmote.

On 20 May 1760, a Charter of the Company of Carpenters, Joiners, Carvers, Masons, Bricklayers, Tilers, Coopers, Turners, Glaziers, Printers and Wheelwrights (note: but not Cabinet Makers) was tabled and approved by the Burghmote. The Charter is reproduced in its entirety in the Burghmote minutes. The Charter contained inter alia requirement for the applicant to be a Freeman of the City; if a Freeman by purchase, admission charge was £4, if by right 30s. On admission also, 2s. had to be paid to the master, 3s. to the clerk and 6d. to the Beadle. Persons practising the trade and not free of the Company had to apply for admission within three months or be fined 6s. 8d. a week payable to the Mayor and Commonalty. Quarterly subscriptions were set at 1s., and fines for non attendance 1s. Defaulters would be sued by the Mayor and Commonalty, and distrained for payment if necessary.

The purpose of this move, which came after the Roch case had been non suited, must have been to obviate the need to pursue Roch further legally, since as cabinet makers were not listed in the membership of the Company, Roch would not be a member, and could not therefore be sued. In that way the authorities would save face, and yet hope to stop others from opting out of membership of Charter Companies. However it would seem that membership of the Companies continued to

decline in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the Charter Companies dwindled away. By the 1770s, the room above the Market House, which Somner had stipulated for use by the Companies of the City, had been let to a visiting theatre company, and by 1787 the Market House had been demolished to make way for another structure without an upper storey for meetings - perhaps an indication that companies no longer had an effective existence. By the 1790s, the need for tradesmen and craftsmen to bind together was beginning to be met by the formation on a voluntary basis of Friendly Societies controlled under an Act of 33 Geo III. For instance, the Amicable Society of Carpenters and Bricklayers was established on 12 January 1795, at the White Lyon, St George's, and a Friendly Society of Handicrafts at the City Arms, St Mary Northgate.

Roch continued to be a thorn in the side of authority, publishing a number of pamphlets alleging misuse of the powers of Canterbury's local authority. Amongst these pamphlets were:-

'An Address to the Electors of Canterbury' 1761, 2nd edition. This is mainly about the tactics of bribery and blackmail employed by a Mr Mayne in a General Election campaign;

'Proceedings of the Guardians of the Poor of Canterbury against John Curtis (Brewer), Landlord, and Alderman Royle and Thomas Giles, tenants, for the recovery of a Barn and some land given by Queen Elizabeth for the maintenance of the poor Blue Coat Boys' (Flackton 1778). This accuses the Guardians of being less than active in a boundary dispute affecting their property.

'Charters Destructive of Liberty and Property demonstrated by the principles and practice of Corporation patriots' 1776, and 'Reply to Alderman Gipps and Mr Sladden's Answer to the Canterbury Patriot'. With some illustrations to his great struggle with the Authorities in these publications Roch airs a dispute over cheating in a card game, and the way in which he felt that some Canterbury luminaries had by guile prevented him from pursuing a case for damages and recompense.

The essential disputatious and stubborn nature of the man shines through these writings, and demonstrates why in the end he proved more than a match for the Canterbury Authorities in his refusal to give way before years of pressure, threats and cajoling. The importance of his stand against officialdom was recognised by the Gentleman's Magazine, when in 1781 they published an obituary of Roch as a 'Considerable Person.'²⁵

CONCLUSIONS

In sum, the business of the Burghmote itself and the sources of its

income, changed little throughout the long eighteenth century. Yearly income often failed to meet expenses, and by 1835 some £15,000 debt had accrued, due to large items of capital expenditure. Membership of the Burghmote - Mayor, Councillors, Aldermen and Magistrates - was almost exclusively composed of tradesmen, craftsmen and the professionals living and working in the City; local government 1700-1835 was therefore in the hands of those of the middling sort. Challenges to the elite's control of Freeman and Guild rolls were strongly defended by the ruling elite, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Guilds had withered away and the control of Freeman weakened. The replacement of the Burghmote in 1836 by an elected council is the subject of Chapter IX.

Chapter I

Notes

1. Canterbury possesses some 23 royal charters relating to the structure of the government of the City, given in the years from Henry II to James I. The majority served to recite and confirm privileges and duties conferred by previous charters, but some, like that of Henry VI, 26th year, - which caused the City to be governed by a Mayor and Commonalty rather than by Bailiffs - made substantial changes. As noted in the Introduction to this Thesis, Charles II instituted Quo Warranto proceedings against Canterbury and replaced James I charter with his own. In its turn this was replaced by a charter of James II, cancelled in November 1688. The charter of James I became operative again, and remained so until the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835.
2. Numbers of Freeman as given in the *Kentish Companion* 1792, printed and sold by Simmons and Kirkby, Canterbury. According to the Report of the Royal Commission of 1835, (Vol. XXIV, 1-99, 685 onwards) money changed hands at these elections. Voters usually expected 1s. handouts, rising to 2s. 6d. by 1835. One alderman claimed that election to Mayor cost him £70, and his friends much more. Brent, writing in 1879 (*Canterbury in the Olden Time*, p. 334) claimed that there was much open bribery on the occasion of the Mayoral Election. Agents of each candidate would state from the hustings what each party would give for a vote - 5s., 10s. or 20s. - raising the price towards the conclusion of the poll (12 p.m.) if the election were closely contested. According to Brent, several hundred pounds were spent in this manner. Alderman Gray in his notebook (C.C.L. supplementary MS No. 6) described procedure at the election as follows. 'The Burghmote Horn summoned the Mayor and Alderman to convene in the Guildhall after Divine Service and a Sermon in the Mayor's parish church. The Sheriff, Town Clerk and one of the Councilmen take votes from each Alderman singly as to his preference for Mayor, and a first candidate is declared. A second candidate is chosen in like manner. The sheriff, assisted by a clerk nominated by each candidate then takes the poll of the Freeman at the Hustings.'
3. C.C.L., CA, 1700-1828, F/A 31 to F/A 43. At Appendix A is given a summary of the Chamberlains' Balance Sheets for 1701-02 and for 1790-91. A summary of total income and expenditure year by year for the period 1700-1815, together with credit and debit balances for each year can be found in Panton, F.H., 'Finances and

Government of Canterbury, Eighteenth to mid Nineteenth centuries', *Arch. Cant.* cix, 1991, p. 191 onwards. A summary for the years 1815 to 1828 may be found in Panton, F.H., 'Finances and Government of Canterbury, Early to Mid nineteenth centuries', *Arch. Cant.* cxii, 1993, Appendix A, p. 42.

4. These fees to the City's coffers do not represent the full cost of Freedom. The Chamberlain, Town Clerk, Clerk of Chamber, Sergeant of Chamber, Sergeant at Mace all required payment on the side for services and in addition there was stamp duty to be paid. As a result, Freeman by birth actually cost £1 12s. 0d., by marriage £1 14s., by Apprenticeship £1 17s. and by Purchase £23 13s. By gift the cost was £8 5s., but presumably in this case the Burghmote stood the cost.
5. A fuller account of this case, drawn from the Chamberlain's Account records for 1747 can be found in Panton, F.H., *Arch. Cant.* cix 1991, Appendix B, p. 219.
6. A list of City Free Farm Rents, taken from the Chamberlain's Accounts for 1740-41 can be found in Panton, F.H. *loc. cit.* note 5 above, Appendix C, p. 222. (Fee farm rents - a term used to describe a group of Crown rents derived from land and property let on lease.)
7. A list of St Augustine's Rents, taken from the Chamberlain's accounts for 1745-6 can be found in note 5 above, Appendix D, p. 225.
8. See Panton, F.H., 'James Simmons, A Canterbury Tycoon', *Arch. Cant.* cv (1988), 229-31.
9. A full digest of Bunce's memorial of 1797 can be found in note 5 above, Appendix E, p. 227.
10. A list of encroachments taken from the Chamberlain's accounts for 1721-22., can be found in note 5 above, Appendix F, p. 236.
11. An extract from the Chamberlain accounts 1802-03. can be found in note 5 above, Appendix G, p. 239.
12. C.C.L., C.B.M. 1818-1828. AC 12.
13. *Ibid.*, 1 July - 2 August 1828.

14. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 13, 1829-1835.
15. C.C.L. Maps and plans of City Estates 1828-1829, folios 1-100.
16. Several precincts of Canterbury within the walls were not within the jurisdiction of the City and County. These included the Cathedral precincts, Ville of St Gregory, St Augustine's, Stable Gate, Eastbridge Hospital, St Laurence Hospital, St John's, the Black Prince's Chantry, White, Black and Grey Friars. The Select Committee on County Rates 1835, states that Whitefriars, Blackfriars, Greyfriars and the Poor Priests Hospital did not contribute to the Canterbury County Rate. All this made administration of law within the walls somewhat difficult. An extra complication was that parts of two parishes, St Paul's and Holy Cross Westgate, were outside the City walls. For the purposes of Administration of the Pavement, the Act of 1787 provided for the rating of the Precincts, Staplegate, White Friars the Castle and public buildings (including churches). The limits of the City of Canterbury for legal purposes were therefore somewhat different from that for the Guardians and different again for the Pavement Commissioners.
17. A collection of Court Leet records may be found under 'Ward Papers' in the Canterbury Cathedral Library. The records are incomplete, but cover court meetings in the six wards (Westgate, Newingate, Northgate, Burgate, Worthgate, Ridingate) in the years from 1693 to 1813.
18. Alderman Gray's notebook *op. cit.*
19. *Freemen of Canterbury*, Stella Corpe and Anne Oakley, Canterbury, 1986.
20. It should be noted that Apothecaries could be classed as tradesmen; they were part of the charter company of Apothecaries, Grocers, Chandlers and Fishmongers in the City. However, though they were working members of the Community, no doubt their training required more educational background than some other trades.
21. Somner, John, *A True Relation or Account of the Whole Procedure between the Corporation of Canterbury and John Somner concerning the new Market House*, London, 1666.
22. Alderman Gray's notebook, *op. cit.* The feasts listed by Alderman

Gray were Mercers, second Monday August; Smiths, second Monday August; Drapers/Tailors, first Monday after first Sunday September; Butchers, first Tuesday after St Jude; Shoemakers, first Monday November; Grocers, first Monday December; Vintners twelfth day in December; Barbers, second Monday in September.

23. This digest of Roch's own account of his stand against the Company and the Burghmote is taken from his pamphlet *Proceedings of the Corporation of Canterbury showing the abuse of the Corporation Government*, 1760.
24. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 9 1744-1784.
25. The *Gentleman's Magazine* obituary 1781, page 46 under 'Obituary of Considerable Persons' wrote:-
'At Canterbury, Mr Tho. Roch, Cabinet Maker. This genius, for such he was, published in 1760 *Proceedings of the Corporation of Canterbury, shewing abuse of Corporation Government*; in which he detailed with much wit and humour the particulars of an action brought against him on a byelaw by the Corporation, in which they were non-suited; and in 1761 *An Address to the Electors of Canterbury*'.

Of interest too is Brent's account in 1879 of the Roch case (in *Canterbury in the Olden Times*). Brent records that the case was finally heard in Maidstone in 1758, and that the process declaration served on Roch contained 192 pages and was for the sum of £1 14s. Brent sums up the aftermath of the 'not suited' decision as 'the decision caused the general break up of the guilds and fraternities, though some of them lingered on a few years longer. The principle however was established that compulsory contribution to them was illegal, and that for a long series of years the great mass of the Freemen had been most unjustly taxed for the benefit of a few interested officials' (*loc. cit.* p. 156-157).

Chapter I

APPENDIX A

CANTERBURY CITY CHAMBERLAIN'S ACCOUNTS

1701-1702

<i>Charge</i>	£	s.	d.	<i>Discharge</i>	£	s.	d.
Mills	20	0	0	Foreign Expenditure	159	5	9
Fish shambles	5	0	4	Conduit	2	0	0
Whitstable Market	2	1	1	Poor Women	10	6	6
Flesh Market	36	7	4	Charged but not received:			
Freemen	57	7	6½	City Rents			
Apprentices	3	8	9	St Augustine Rents			
City Farm Rents	99	17	11½	Incroachment	10	1	3
St Augustine's Rents	34	15	5½	Toleration			
Incroachments	1	13	9	Sesses	6	14	0
Pipe Money		4	0	Gowns	27	10	0
Toleration		7	0	St Augustine's Tenths	2	17	8½
Casual Receipts	28	14	8	Stipends	146	13	4
Arrears				Harbledown	13	6	8
Freemen	31	17	6		<hr/>		
St Augustine's Rents	1	19	10½		379	1	4½
Five Penny Fees	2	8	4				
Corn Market	7	4	6				
Bullstake Market	4	0	0	Debit Balance	<hr/>		
	<hr/>				21	13	2½
	357	8	2		<hr/>		
					357	8	2
					<hr/>		

Chapter I

APPENDIX A (cont)

CANTERBURY CITY CHAMBERLAIN'S ACCOUNTS

		1790-1791					
<i>Charge</i>	£	s.	d.	<i>Discharge</i>	£	s.	d.
Mills	40	0	0	Foreign Expenditure	588	15	3¼
Fish shambles	6	15	5	Conduit	1	0	0
Whitstable Market	-	-	-	Gowns	24	11	0
Flesh Market	70	6	0	Poor Women	10	6	8
Bullstake Market	23	8	5½	Charged but not received:			
Corn Market	8	5	0	City Rents	14	1	0
Weighbridge	54	13	9	St Augustine Rents		7	7
Freemen	100	10	1	Taxes and Sesses	42	14	10½
Apprentices	2	14	2	St Augustine's Tenths	2	14	0½
City Farm Rents	155	13	7½	Stipends	125	10	9
St Augustine's Rents	50	13	10½	Harbledown	13	6	8
Pipe Money		3	4	Credit balance	145	1	0¼
Casual Receipts	237	9	6				
Arrears							
Freemen	10	0	0				
City Rents	4	0	0				
St Augustine's Rents	-	-	-				
Last year's credit balance	203	18	8½				
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	968	11	11		968	11	11
	<hr/>				<hr/>		

CHAPTER II

CANTERBURY COURTS OF JUSTICE

INTRODUCTION

The extant royal charters, particularly that of James I (1609), from which the government of the City and the County of the City of Canterbury derived its authority, and which operated throughout the eighteenth century and up to 1835, gave Canterbury County its own Commission of the Peace, with both judicial and administrative functions separate from the County of Kent. Magistrates for Canterbury were specified by charter as the Mayor for the time being and those Aldermen who had fulfilled the office of the Mayor. They were assisted in all legal matters by a Recorder, a man learned in law, appointed by the Burghmote. Not all the twelve Aldermen would necessarily at any one time have held the office of Mayor, so that for most of the time justice in Canterbury was in the hands of the Mayor, the Recorder and about half a dozen Magistrates.

The senior court in Canterbury was the court of Quarter Sessions, under the Chairmanship of the Mayor, with at least two other Magistrates plus the Recorder sitting with him. In addition to various matters concerned with the administration of local affairs, Quarter Sessions had powers of jurisdiction which included judging murder cases and those offences of felony which could receive the death penalty. Between sessions, Magistrates met monthly under the Mayor's chairmanship, in Petty Sessions, to deal mainly with administrative matters and with some misdemeanours. The Mayor also held a fortnightly Court of Record, in which pleas of Trespass were heard from Citizens. Then, from 1752 onwards, a Court of recovery of Small Debts was appointed yearly, with the Mayor as chairman and the Recorder as a permanent member, and other members drawn from Aldermen, Councillors and citizens.

Some account of the operation of each of these Courts is given below.

QUARTER SESSIONS

Composition

Canterbury Sessions were supported by a Clerk of the Peace, who generally also held the office of Town Clerk for the City, and that of Coroner for the County of the City. He might also at the same time be Clerk to the Court of Guardians. A Grand Jury of between 12 and 23 citizens (mostly about 15) was appointed and sworn in for each session,

and in attendance were the Constables and Borsholders for each of Canterbury's six wards and of St Martin's Parish. Also present were the City Sheriff, the Keeper of the Gaol, the Master of the Bridewell (or House of Correction, who would also be the Master of the Workhouse) and four Sergeants at Mace. Altogether, Canterbury sessions assembled between 40 and 50 people with official roles of one type or another, in addition to prosecutors and those indicted. Each year, the Chairman of the session changed as the Mayor changed. The constant and guiding force year by year was the Recorder, whose appointment could last until retirement or death.¹

Frequency and Scope

For most of the eighteenth century from 1727 onwards, sessions were held only three times a year, generally in December, March/April, and August/September, though, when necessary, sessions were adjourned to resume a week or two later. In the early years of the nineteenth century, they were down to two a year, but, from 1826 onwards, by recorded decision of the Court, they were held regularly four times a year, in January, April, July and October. After the replacement in 1836 of the old Burghmote by a newly elected Council under the reforms of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, the Chairman of the Sessions of 4 January and 7 April 1836 was the newly elected Mayor, supported by three Aldermen exmayors and the Recorder. For the session of 27 June 1836 the Recorder sat unsupported by magistrates, but with a Grand Jury. Records of sessions from then until at least 1842 show that the Recorder continued to sit alone. By Charter of William IV of 1836, Canterbury had been regranted the privilege of its own Quarter Sessions, which the Corporations Act had swept away.²

The purview of the Sessions covered the complete range of misdemeanours and crimes, such as felony, burglary, robbery, stealing on the King's Highway, assault, sex crimes, murder and manslaughter, forgery and false pretences, disturbances of the peace. In addition, a whole range of administrative matters concerned with local government were dealt with. The operation of the Poor Laws, including Bastardy and Settlement, was of major concern. Before the establishment of the Pavement Commissioners in 1787, the Magistrates authorized the imposition and collection of rates for the upkeep of highways, and for the provision of lamps, in the City. They imposed fines for nuisances and misdemeanours presented to them principally by Constables and Borsholders of the wards, and they were not averse to imposing fines on minor officials of the City for dereliction of duty. They dealt with rating disputes, offences connected with weights and measures, they were the authority with the power to dissolve indentures of

apprentices, and they licensed theatre performances and religious premises (other than C of E). They also had a concern for the regulation of corn prices and for the control of livestock epidemics.

Poor Law Cases

A considerable amount, perhaps the major part, of each Session's business consisted of bastardy and settlement cases, reported in the records fully and in stylized form. Bastardy cases were generally brought by churchwardens and overseers of the parish concerned, supported by the Canterbury Guardians of the Poor, to establish parentage and compel the father to reimburse the Guardians for the cost of lying-in and to obtain weekly payments for the support of the child. Settlement cases mainly consisted of appeals by alien parishes against actions by Canterbury parishes to transfer paupers out of Canterbury. Appeals were mainly therefore attempts to quash in the Canterbury Sessions orders for removal of paupers out of Canterbury made originally by Canterbury justices. More often than not, the sessions produced judgements setting aside orders by two of their own justices, awarding costs, which could amount to several pounds, against Canterbury parishes.

Appeals against Poor Law rate valuations were quite rare, presumably made only when recourse to the Guardians or Petty Sessions had failed. They generally resulted in the upholding of the Guardians valuations. A notable appeal was made in 1767, by the Parish Clergymen of Canterbury, acting separately, but at the same time. In these cases the combined influence of the incumbents of Canterbury obtained significant decreases. Consideration of the appeals, however, extended over two adjournments, with a month between the first discussion and the verdict, no doubt allowing for private discussion to produce an acceptable result.³

Crime

Canterbury was one of those County Boroughs whose Royal Charters gave its Magistrates in Quarter Session the authority to try and punish all manner of offences, including murder and those felonies for which the death penalty could be inflicted. Until 1836,⁴ Canterbury Sessions fully exercised such authority, and in addition to the death penalty had at their discretion a full range of sanctions, including fining, detention in the House of Correction (Bridewell), branding (burning on the hand), gaol with or without hard labour, whipping in varying degrees of severity, transportation for 7 to 14 years⁵ and putting in the stocks

or pillory.

From a study of the notebooks of the Canterbury Sessions from 1727 to 1846, information relating to the number of criminal cases tried and convicted in the sessions is summarised at Appendix A in graph form. It can be seen that the number of cases tried yearly in the years 1726 to 1790 reached double figures only once (in 1785), and that for most years during that period the number was less than half a dozen - in some years, apparently, zero. Few cases brought to trial in those years were found not guilty or dismissed. Beyond a broad description of the crime, such as 'Felony', 'Petit Larceny', 'Grand Larceny', its nature is seldom detailed in the notebooks. Nor is information such as age or standing (employment) of the accused normally noted.

From his work on crime and the Courts in England and particularly in Surrey, J.M. Beattie⁶ has demonstrated some correlation in the eighteenth century between the number of indictments of crimes against property, and the years of poor harvest and of war and peace. Fluctuations within the small numbers tried in Canterbury in the years 1727-1790, and the paucity of information about the nature of the crime and the age and standing of the accused, do not allow such a correlation to be attempted. All that can be noted for these years in Canterbury is that a modest overall increase in recorded crime took place.

The years from 1790 to 1810, however, show a distinct increase in crimes tried, sometimes approaching 20 cases a year. From 1810 to 1818 there is a trough, but in years from 1818 to 1846 the rate increases considerably, reaching peaks of 38 in 1824, 44 in 1837, and 54 in 1844. At the same time, it must be observed that the number of cases found 'Not Guilty' or dismissed for other reasons, were high in those years, amounting in some years to over 50 per cent of those brought to trial. The rise in the number of convictions in the years 1818-1846 compared with the years 1720-1790 is therefore not as great as the comparison between cases tried, but the increase is still striking.

At Appendix B is a graph of average yearly prices of a quarter of wheat against time for the years 1720 to 1850, using information in Stratton and Houghton Brown's book of 1978.⁷ It can be seen that between the years 1727 to 1790 the price of wheat rises and falls within narrow limits around an average of 40-45 shillings but the years 1790 to 1810 show significant rises, broadly matching the rise in crime for these years as shown in Appendix A, though the peak years for wheat prices do not tally exactly with the peak years for crime.

Events in Canterbury during the near famine and high price years of 1795/6 and 1800/1 are examined in detail in Chapter IV of this thesis, but some mention of them is appropriate here. The years 1795/6 were particularly severe for food prices in the Canterbury area, as evidenced by contemporary sources.⁸ There was a great dearth of provisions in 1795 and wheat sold in Maidstone at £5 5s. to £6 10s. a quarter (higher than the average of £4 16s. given by Stratton for that year). A severe frost and heavy snow deprived many of outside employment, and that, combined with a rise in the price of basic foodstuffs, caused suffering among the industrious poor. But the City Authorities, the Dean and Chapter, and the better off citizens made attempts to alleviate the hardships of the poor. A subscription fund was raised by the Mayor and Corporation, with the Dean and Chapter, to relieve the poor with tickets, for bread and flour for four weeks. A further fund was raised in July, and used to distribute standard wheaten loaf at a price substantially below the high prices determined at the assize of bread.⁹

Additionally the Magistrates in Session, following the lead of His Majesty's Privy Council decided that they and their families would set an example to the general populace by eating only standard wheaten bread, made from flour containing the whole produce of the grain (excluding bran or hull). They urged citizens to do likewise, and they also requested bakers only to produce standard wheaten loaves, all this in an effort to make the supply of flour go further and to decrease the price of bread. By the end of August, the new harvest was in, the price of flour and bread decreased and the Magistrates accordingly felt able to revoke their previous orders.

The crisis appears then to have been over, and without rioting or undue disturbance of the civilian populace. One potentially serious incident, of soldiers forcing retailers to sell provisions below the going rate was contained by the Mayor, his fellow Justices, and a contingent of City Volunteers, with the assistance of the Army Commander in Chief of Kent District.

Similar actions were taken to assist the poor in the food and price crisis in 1800 and again in 1801. In addition, Alderman and Magistrate Simmons, through his Abbots Mill, sold flour by the gallon for cash prices at 1s. 6d. when the going rate was 2s. 2d. He claimed to have relieved over 3000 poor for some weeks in mid 1800 in this manner.¹⁰

This time, Canterbury came closer to a serious disturbance when in late September 1800 the Mayor with Constables prevented a potential riot by seizing the potential ring leader and committing him to gaol.

It would seem that the Canterbury authorities avoided civil rioting in the City in the troubled years 1795-96 and 1800-01, when so many cities and districts throughout the kingdom were torn by riots. The philanthropy of the Magistrates, the Corporation, the Church and better off citizens in bringing some relief to large numbers of industrious poor affected by high prices and shortages, and the firm actions of the City Magistrates in preventing unrest developing into riot, must have been significant factors in maintaining the peace. Both factors must also have played a role in preventing large rises in crime levels. Indicted crime levels at Canterbury sessions in 1795 and 1800/1 were not significantly higher than surrounding years.

In the years from 1840 to 1847, the continuing high crime rate does not reflect the relative decline in wheat prices from the peaks of 1800/01 and 1810/12. Other reasons may be adduced to try to explain the high crime rate in these years, and, more generally the pattern shown by the crime versus time diagram for this period. For instance the rise in the population of Canterbury from about 5000 in 1700 to about 10,000 in 1800 and then to about 12,000 in the 1820s may account for some of the increases. The presence of a large military contingent in Canterbury from 1792 onwards may also have been a factor. Construction of permanent barracks began in 1791, and throughout the Napoleonic Wars the City was the chief military station in the Southern District of England.¹¹ The continuous presence of perhaps up to 3000 men not only added to City numbers and general prosperity, but it also attracted camp followers and hangers on to Canterbury suburbs who would have potentially contributed to crime levels. In this respect, so far from reducing crime levels in Canterbury, the Napoleonic war years are likely to have contributed to them.

Then, too, in the 1820s and onwards, the aftermath of war may have contributed to crime. A high incidence of unemployment in those years can be deduced from the high rates of expenditure by the Guardians of the Poor of Canterbury. By the late 1820s, early 1830s, the annual spend by the Guardians on the in-poor in the Workhouse, and on the relief of the out-poor may have been as much as £8000 a year, perhaps a five or six fold increase in the cost of poor relief in the middle years of the eighteenth century.¹² Although in the late 1830s and in the 1840s there was a significant downturn in poor law expenditure, it remained several times higher than in the mid eighteenth century. Moreover, some of the downturn may have resulted from the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, one of whose aims was to refuse out - relief to the able bodied poor. Deprivation of support may have led to increased crime levels.

Two other possible factors may be mentioned. It was not until the early 1800s that the Canterbury Courts began, as a matter of course, to pay the expenses of private prosecutors, and not until 1837 that Quarter Sessions decided that 'in all cases of difficulty and importance prosecutors should be allowed costs and charges of employing solicitors and Counsel not exceeding 40s. for Brief and 2gns for Counsel fee'.¹³ These moves may have encouraged private prosecutors to pursue wrongdoers with greater determination, and therefore have added to the cases brought to the Sessions. Another factor is that under the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act, the new Canterbury City Council from 1836 onwards set up a permanent paid police force for the City to replace the old voluntary force of Ward Constables and Borsholders. Conceivably, this may have led to increase in detection, apprehension and indictment of crime.

Further evidence of the incidence of crime in the years 1809 to 1838 is given in three record books which have survived. The Petty Sessions record book provides information on numbers of persons in Canterbury gaol at the start of Quarter Sessions in the years 1809 to 1824;¹⁴ a Gaol Diary for 1820 to 1826,¹⁵ lists month by month the names and offences of prisoners in gaol and records sentences handed down by Quarter Sessions; and a Commitments Book for the gaol for the years 1824-1838 records commitments to prison for whatever purpose or reason during those years.¹⁶

In the Petty Sessions book, information is recorded regarding numbers in gaol at the start of each Quarter Session in the years 1809 to 1824, provided by the Canterbury Justices to Boteler, their Recorder, in connection with moves in Parliament to improve the management and facilities of gaols throughout England and Wales.¹⁷ For the years 1809 to 1821, the numbers in gaol before the start of each Session varied from 2 to 10, with no discernible pattern. Before the June 1822 Session, it was 13, and before the four Quarter Sessions in 1823 it was 11, 15, 4 and 7. In 1824, it rose to 10. These figures are broadly reconcilable with those in the Gaol Diary for the years 1820 to 1824. For 1825 and 1826 the Gaol Diary shows rises to 16, 19 and 24 in June 1826, when, tantalisingly, the Diary ends. (In passing, it may be noted that the gaol was not rebuilt until 1828-30. and that 24 in 1826 was beyond its capacity of 15 - 16. The over crowding must have been unbearable!)

The Commitments Book is somewhat difficult to interpret. It lists a total of 1119 commitments to gaol over the years 1824-1838. Commitments appear to include those persons held for short periods on suspicion, for further examination before possible indictment; those who may have

received short sentences (of days) on summary jurisdiction by individual Magistrates for a minor offence; those indicted for trial at Quarter Sessions: and those serving sentences already given, in addition to debtors and deserters from the military. To attempt to relate these numbers to the numbers of people appearing at Quarter Sessions, we may note that of the 1119 commitments, 804 were listed as for 7 days or less. This indicates a total of some 300 with sentences more than 7 days, and bears some relation to the total of some 230 people recorded as having been sentenced by Quarter Sessions in the years 1824-1838.

The yearly incidence of commitments indicates that peak years were 1826 (106), 1827 (118), 1828 (130) and 1834 (101), with the years 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832 and 1833 down somewhat to 68, 52, 57, 61 and 85 and with 1835 at 75. The rise and fall of these figures does not exactly parallel the figures for trial or conviction at Quarter Sessions in the equivalent years, as shown in Appendix A, though the years 1826 and 1834 are peak years in both sets. But certainly, both sources show sustained high levels of crime or suspected crime rates in the 1820s and 1830s. Overall, the evidence suggests that in the 1820s and 1830s numbers of commitments yearly may have been twice the numbers indicted to trial, with the numbers convicted at Sessions in some years being not much greater than 50 per cent of those indicted. This may indicate a desire on the part of the judiciary, in the face of rising discontent, to ensure that all suspected criminals were subjected to scrutiny, even at the cost of a relatively low success rate in terms of indictments and convictions.

The Gaol Diary additionally gives some information on the sort of crime committed. For instance, in March 1823 prisoners listed were Geo. Coatham (under his former sentence); Thos. Moore (12 months); John Austin (6 months); a deserter from the East Kent Militia; James Orpington (3 months); Thomas Coventry (stealing a plain (sic)); Edward Pemble, William Pemble, Elizabeth Pemble (house breaking); Edward Waller (stealing a great coat); Edward Granville Brown (assault); Thos. Spears (stealing a watch); Wm. Leach (stealing wool); Thos. Hargrave (Breach of Peace); a total of 15 persons, plus a military deserter. In March 1830, 5 were in gaol for felony, 2 on suspicion of horse stealing, one for a misdemeanour, two for debt and one deserter.

Punishment

Punishments imposed by the Quarter Session in general followed the pattern described by Beattie, Cockburn¹⁸ Emsley¹⁹ and others. For the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, fining, burning on the

hand, whipping and transportation to the American Colonies were the most used. Gaol sentences were seldom given, and were rarely longer than three months and practically never more than one year.

Whipping was specified in varying degrees of severity, and persisted throughout the eighteenth century, though with decreased frequency and severity in the nineteenth. Whipping in the eighteenth century was generally carried out in the most public place, preferably on a market day, presumably to bring the maximum shame on the offender and to deter others from committing crimes. For instance in 1741 Samuel Haines²⁰ was sentenced to be whipt in the Corn Market on a Saturday for stealing a barrel of red herrings. In 1742, May Butt²¹ convicted of Petit Larceny, was sentenced to public whipping naked from the waist upwards 'until her back be blooded'. A more severe sentence was inflicted on Christopher Hocker for Petit Larceny in 1769; he was to be whipped at the Cart's tail from Westgate to St George's (the length of Canterbury's main street) naked to the waist.²² At the same sessions, Mary Buckle, a rogue and vagabond, was sentenced to be stripped to the waist, whipt at the Corn Market, and sent to the House of Correction for a week, for running away and leaving a child. On 21 December 1769 Elizabeth Lawrence was sentenced to a whipping at the Corn Market for Petit Larceny, and Elizabeth Cook to be whipt at the Cart's tail from Westgate to St George's on the same charge.²³ Other sentences of whipping at the Cart's tail were recorded in 1772 (Thomas Marsh, Petit Larceny),²⁴ 1773 (Jane Galam, rogue and vagabond),²⁵ 1774 (John Beswick, Petit Larceny),²⁶ 1776 (John King, Petit Larceny),²⁷ 1781 (Stephen Revell)²⁸ and in 1785 (John White, False Pretences).²⁹

Until the secession of the American Colonies, transportation for 7 or (seldom) 14 years was given as a punishment for Grand Larceny. Between 1737 and 1773, some fifteen sentences of 7 or 14 years transportation for Grand Larceny were handed down.³⁰ For the period from 1773 to 1790, when transportation was not available, sentences for Grand Larceny were generally a combination of whipping and gaol, though sometimes whipping only. On 22 October 1779 Hannah Henning was sentenced to public whipping for Grand Larceny, similarly, Elizabeth Hart on 21 December 1780. On 12 August 1782, May Hanson was sentenced to whipping at the Cart's tail and 3 months in gaol. Sarah Lec on 23 December 1783 received a particularly severe sentence of 6 months imprisonment, with whipping at the Cart's tail three times, once at the beginning, once at the end and once in the middle of her gaol term. In 1785 John Asham was publicly whipt, and given a 6 months gaol sentence, and William McBride privately whipt; Robert Fish privately whipt in 1786, and in 1789 Michael Molineux whipped, and Thomas Purer given 3 months and whipt three times.³¹

By 1790, transportation to Australia was available, and sentences recorded by the Canterbury Sessions of transportation 'to such a place as the Privy Council may think fit' began to be handed down. Some of these sentences may however have been worked out, at least in part, in prison hulks on the Thames. Nearly 20 such sentences, for Felony or Grand Larceny were given in the years between 1790 and 1836.³²

In the 120 years between 1727 and 1846, only 22 trials resulting in 28 death penalties are recorded. Of these 11 death penalties were recorded as being pardoned and commuted to transportation for 7, 14 years or for life, or banishment from the UK for 14 years. Only two of the trials were for murder (of a bastard child by its mother, and of a husband by his wife) and these were not pardoned. Others were for robbery on the King's Highway (5 trials); Burglary (5 trials); stealing from houses (3 trials); forging with intent to defraud (1); using a money order with intent to defraud (1); forging a note (1); rape (1); killing a sheep with intent to steal (1); stealing a lamb (1); and Robbery (1). (See Appendix C for a list of death penalty cases.)

From the rather sketchy evidence available, it is difficult to discern why particular sentences were given in particular cases. In general in cases where the death penalty may have been possible it is clear that judgement was swayed by whether or not a house or property or the King's Highway was violated, whether or not violence was used, and whether or not the value of money or goods involved could be assessed as above or below 40 shillings. Then too, the previous record, age, and the standing of the accused, particularly the reputation amongst his neighbours would no doubt be factors to be taken into account. From time to time court records show evidence of exercise of leniency within the broad guidelines of relationship between offence and prescribed penalty. For instance, Edward Pemble was indicted for Burglary on 10 April 1823, an offence for which the penalty could be death. He was found guilty of the lesser offence of stealing 40 shillings, and was sentenced to 7 years transportation. His wife, who was indicted with him, was found not guilty.³³ On 19 December 1765, when William Wood and Philip Davis were each given a sentence of 7 years imprisonment for Grand Larceny, Jonathan Grover who was indicted with them for the same offence, was burnt on the hand and freed. Similarly, Elizabeth Prior was sentenced to be burnt on the hand in Court for Grand Larceny, when at the same session, William Bennett was given 7 years transportation for the same offence.³⁴

Few instances of branding by burning on the hand can be found in the records, and none after 1765. The punishment, as demonstrated above, would seem to have been used in larceny cases where the offence did not

warrant whipping or transportation. Even fewer instances of putting in the stocks or pillory are recorded. One such was on 19 December 1771, when Thomas Viney was sentenced to sit in the pillory for 1 hour on Saturday 28 December 1771. He was also given 14 days in gaol.³⁵

Lighting the City

The Act of 1727/1728 setting up the Court of Guardians, contained in it, as an add-on, paragraphs to enable the Magistrates in Canterbury Quarter Session to arrange for the 'better enlightening the street of the city.'³⁶ They were authorized to appoint a proper person or persons to organize the placing and lighting of lamps in the streets and public places of the City between 1 September and 1 May, daily from dark until 12 midnight, and to levy a rate of up to 3d. in the £1. To facilitate this, persons in each parish were appointed to act as assessors, the Magistrates to superintend the accounting for such moneys.

Accordingly we find in the Session Books from 1728³⁷ onwards, a lamp overseer was appointed yearly. He would be a freeman, with a respectable trade such as grocer, feltmaker, tallow chandler etc., occasionally a Councillor or an Alderman, but most often a man yet to make his mark on the Canterbury hierarchy. The sessions' records do not indicate how large were the actual rates levied, nor who actually lighted and maintained the lamps. However, surviving Ward papers for Westgate record the names of two people from each of the fourteen parishes charged with collecting a lamp rate in February 1766 and similar lists are given for 1767 and 1768. In 1767 three Aldermen were listed as having been responsible for overseeing the collection - Knowler, Bying and Avery and in 1768, Hayward, Bying and Stringer.

In the late 1770s some disquiet was expressed about the adequacy of lighting, probably with respect to Burghmote property. Court Leet records for Newingate and for Westgate in 1776 refer to a Petition for Better Lighting the Streets, and a number of persons were designated to attend a meeting in the Guildhall.³⁸ Two years later, in 1778, the Burghmote commanded the Chamberlain to provide lamps for inhabitants at City expense (that is not at the expense of the Lamp rate levied by the Magistrates in Quarter Session) at the following locations: Two at Westgate, 2 St George's, 2 King's Bridge, 1 Ridingate, 1 Northgate and one each at the Flesh, Butter, Fish and Corn Markets - 13 lamps in all, and all at sites controlled by the Burghmote. The Chamberlain's accounts for 1778- 1779 list Mr John Barwick as being paid for lighting lamps in 1777/1778, 'omitted from last years accounts, £3 8s. He was also paid £15 19s. for lighting lamps in 1778/1779 and in 1780-81 the accounts list £18 18s. as having been paid to him for lighting lamps.

In 1781-1782 he was paid a further £14 6s. for lighting 13 lamps for the City.³⁹ John Barwick was appointed lamp master by the Magistrates on their behalf yearly from 1776 to 1782.

In 1787, the Act of 27 Geo. III which set up the Canterbury Pavement Commissioners, empowered that Corporation to light the City Streets with lamps in such number and sort and at such times as the Commissioners thought proper.⁴⁰ Effectively, the direct control over lamp lighting passed from the Magistrates in Quarter Session that year, but it was not until 1790 that the Commissioners had let a contract to supply lamps to the City. The Magistrates continued to appoint a lamp master until 1791, when, in that year, they did not reappoint Richard Gorely, who had held the post for nine years.

Highways

Up to 1787, Magistrates in Canterbury Quarter Sessions had a duty to authorize highway rates for the separate parishes to keep their highways in repair, and to hear and judge complaints about the state of maintenance of, or nuisances such as impediments, rubbish or dung inflicted upon the streets.⁴¹ Complaints about nuisances on and misuse of, the streets would generally have come from Ward Courts Leet through the Ward Constables. For instance on 19 December 1751, John Lade was fined 6s. 8d. for laying dung in the street; not an isolated incident of this type. Parishes were fined as well as individuals; on 18 December 1777 St Mary Bredin and St George parishes were fined 1s. each for nuisances. In 1764 the inhabitants of Burgate were presented to the sessions for having ruinous highways, and in the same year representatives of St Mary Magdelene parish pleaded guilty to the same charge. Even the Mayor and Commonalty were not beyond jurisdiction. On 19 December 1776 (in the year of Alderman Simmons' first mayoralty) after some prevarication, they pleaded guilty to not repairing part of the common gutter in St George's on the outside of the Cattle Market. and were fined 1s. each on two charges.

There seems to have been no regular application from the parishes for licence to levy a highway rate, and indeed not all parishes are recorded as having applied at any time. Applications from Northgate appear most regularly; in 1734, 1737, 1739, 1741, 1757, 1759, 1767, 1768, 1776 and 1786 applications were made and granted for rates of 6d. in £1. Application for Westgate (1741) St Mildred's (1739) St Alphage (1784) and St Paul's (1780) may also be noted and were for 6d. in £1. We must infer from this rather fragmentary evidence that the streets of Canterbury were not methodically cared for in the first three quarters of the eighteenth century. Even Northgate parish, which seems to have

paid more regular attention to its streets, was not always successful - in 1759 the Recorder presented the Parish to the Quarter Session as having ruinous highways.

In 1787, however, the Corporation of the Commissioners of the Pavement took over responsibility for the care and maintenance of Canterbury's streets, within the Walls of the City. Rates on householders and occupiers of land or property were to be levied on Annual Values as assessed for the Relief of the Poor and the Commissioners were entitled by the Act to charge tolls on traffic entering Canterbury, to impose duty on coals imported into the City, and to levy rates on inhabitants. They went about their tasks with despatch and in a methodical manner, replacing the enforced voluntary system overseen sporadically by the Magistrates, with a workforce on a paid, contractual basis, and by 1790 had transformed Canterbury's streets. Another area of civic administration had been transferred from the direct control of the Magistrates in Quarter Session. (Chapter III gives details of the work of the Pavement Commissioners.)

Sessions Finances; County Rate

There is no mention of a County Rate in the Sessions Records before 1773. In that year, the Magistrates took advantage of an Act of 12 Geo III (1772) 'For the more easy assessment collecting and levying of County Rates, and likewise the several aims to which the County Rate is directed...' to start levying a rate to defray the expenses of Sessions and the matters which the Magistrates dealt with, including the Gaol. Before 1773, the Mayor and Commonalty in Burghmote met these costs through the Chamberlains accounts, though it is generally not possible with assurance to identify such items in those accounts. They would not have amounted to more than a few tens of pounds a years - at that time no allowances or expenses were paid to prosecutors or defenders, and no salaries to gaol officials.

On 11 January 1773 the Magistrates ordered a County Rate based on the Poor Rate assessment. An Alderman (Parker) was appointed County Treasurer, and Churchwardens and Overseers in the Parishes were charged with collecting the rate, handing this over to the Ward Constables for them to deliver to the County Treasurer within 8 days. The first rate levied was 1d. in £1. Amounts expected from each parish were specified, and the total yield expected to be £41 1s. For the first time, the Magistrates as a body had funds at their disposal separate from those of the Burghmote. However, at first, there appeared to be confusion as to whether the Burghmote or the Magistrates should pay for specific items of expenditure connected with the Sessions, until in 1781 the

Burghmote ordered (presumably with the consent of the Mayor and Aldermen Magistrates sitting as members of the Burghmote) that 'several sums of money, paid to the Clerk of the Market for returning prices of Corn to the Mayor, Window tax for the Gaolers House, the Gaolers salary, cleaning the County Hall, repairs to the Gaol and the Gaolers House, expenses of Constables attending at the Sessions shall from Michaelmas last be paid out of the County Rate instead of out of revenues belonging to the Mayor and Commonalty of this City'. The amounts in question were, probably: Corn Price return £2 2s. p.a. Window Tax, Gaolers House, Salary £5 5s., Cleaning County Hall £1 4s., Expenses of Keeper of Gaol, Correction House and Constables 14s. each session (1s. each).

Even after that some expenses connected with law enforcement continued to occur in the City Chamberlain's accounts, such as expenditure on the City Gaol or expenses of City Officials attending Canterbury County Sessions. In the 1820-21 Chamberlains Accounts there is an item 'Paid Alderman Frend, County Treasurer for extra constables and other items disallowed in the County Rate £22 3s. 4d. and in 1823-24 under 'Casual Disbursements' in the Chamberlain's Accounts are items relating to Sergeants, Grand Jury, and Sessions Dinner expenses for the January, July and October sessions totalling some £20.

A rate continued to be ordered yearly from 1773 by the Magistrates, mostly at 1d. in £1, until 1793 when it was raised to 3d., for several years, an increase of yearly income from £41 1s. to £123 3s. In 1787 the Magistrates, following an Act of 24 Geo III (Amending and explaining 11/12 WIII) which made it lawful for JPs in Quarter Session to award salaries and allowances to Gaolers and Assistants in lieu of profits derived principally from the sale of liquor, decided to pay a salary of £10 out of the County Stock to William Rucke, Gaoler. Other official and court attendants began to be given salaries and prosecutors and defenders to be given allowances and expenses. By 1823, the Gaolers salary was £25 p.a., the Chaplain £15 p.a. and the Surgeon £15 p.a. Calls on the County Stock therefore mounted. In 1810 exceptional levies of 8d. in January and 6d. in July were raised and in subsequent years to 1820 the annual rate fluctuated between 2d. and 6d. By the 1830s it was seldom less than 1s. in £1 each year. In 1828 rates of 1s. and 6d. were levied, in 1829 two of 1s., in 1830 two of 1s., and in 1832 two of 1s. In 1835, the year before the new Council took responsibility for law and order in the City, rates of 1s. and 2s. were collected.

An Account book of the Treasurer of the County Stock for the years 1813 to 1836 has survived.⁴² This records that Alderman Halford, City

Chamberlain for the years 1790 to 1823 also held office as Treasurer of the County Stock until 1796, when Alderman Frend took over. In the twenty-four years covered by the book, expenditure of about £20,000 is recorded. However at least £3,500 of that expenditure went on enlarging and rebuilding the County Gaol, a controversial matter dealt with in a later section of this Chapter. In 1825, a Report by a Parliamentary Select Committee on the expenditure of County Rate included a report of Canterbury's income and expenditure on the county rate for the years 1792 to 1823 (Appendix D).

In summary, before 1773 the rather minimal expenses of the Canterbury Magistrates and Quarter Sessions were borne out of the Burghmote's income, through the Chamberlain's accounts without recourse to rates. From that year, Magistrates levied a County Rate to cover their expenditure, starting at 1d. and rising in the 1820s and 1830s to at least 1s. in £1 yearly. This represented amounts rising from £41 1s. p.a. to £500 a year or more.

The payment of increasing salaries to gaolers and other assistants after 1787, the payment of salaries and allowances to prosecutors, the increasing use of gaol sentences and the upgrading of gaols, the increase in the numbers of cases dealt with in the early decades of the nineteenth century - all contributed substantially to the increase in the cost of justice.

Canterbury County Gaol

Canterbury County maintained a gaol quite separate from Kent County, located in West Gate Towers. For the whole of the eighteenth century and for the first part of the nineteenth the accommodation provided was insanitary, unhealthy and at most for 15-17 people. In his 1812 report on 'State of Prisons', James Neild described Canterbury's gaol in the most derogatory terms. It had one common day room between the two Towers, 27 feet square. With five cells taken off it, a fire place at one end with a stone sink at the other, and in one corner an unenclosed uncovered and filthy sewer, it was '... now a mere slip of a room'. Neild commented that 'The pump is luckily supplied with water by a forcing siphon from below, otherwise it must be unbearably offensive. In this wretched place, debtors and felons, male and female, with those committed for assault or bastardy mix indiscriminately throughout the day'. The nasty state of the walls, ceilings, floors, paid little attention to statute obligation to whitewash at least once a year. Each of the two towers had a sleeping room 11ft. 6in. in diameter, well-ventilated, but with a bucket for a sewer and no water. There was no courtyard for exercise, no rules, no orders. Neild's conclusion was

that 'the state in which this miserable prison is suffered to remain is certainly a discredit to this highly respectable City - a Metropolitan See'. He also commented that the prison was seldom if ever visited by Magistrates.

From the discussion in a previous section on Canterbury Magistrates sentencing policy, it can be seen that they relied on corporal punishment and transportation as the chief punishments for most offences, for most of the eighteenth century. They meted out few prison sentences, seldom more than a few months long. The large majority of prisoners served 7 days or less, probably detained for investigation, or having been subject to the summary jurisdiction of one of the Magistrates. The size of the gaol and its facilities would hardly have been adequate to contain more and longer prison sentences. Then, too, until at least 1781, the upkeep of the gaol was the concern of the Mayor and Commonalty, and not of the Magistrates in Quarter Session. It is understandable therefore that Quarter Sessions paid little attention to the gaol throughout most of the eighteenth century, except perhaps to ensure that they did not overtax its resources by handing down too many gaol sentences.

Even before Nield's damning report, the Grand Jury of the 23 April 1792 Session presented, through Hammond, the Town Clerk and Clerk of the Peace, a very critical report of the state of the gaol. Nothing much seems to have been done at that time, but after Nield's report the Magistrates on 11 January 1813 appointed a committee of the Mayor, and five Aldermen to be visitors to the Gaol. At the same session, the Grand Jury stated that more space was needed to separate male from female, debtor from felon. They suggested that the Gaoler's house was the proper place for debtors. They jibbed at the probable expense of erecting a new Gaol, when poor rates were high and rising, and gave their decided and unanimous view that the City should not be put to so great an expense at that time. At the next session on 12 July 1813, the Grand Jury told the Magistrates that without radically changing the exterior of the gaol, the interior could by judicious expenditure be made to possess those comforts and conveniences of which the building is capable.

After that, some internal changes may have been made, but it was not until 1823 that the Magistrates set up a Gaol Committee. In October of that year, in accordance with an Act of 4 Geo IV, for consolidating and regulating certain gaols and Houses of Correction, plans of the gaol together with rules and regulations were provided by the Mayor to the Secretary of State. On 30 August 1824, the Grand Jury presented an opinion that the Gaol and its premises were 'insufficient for the

purpose of employment and classification of prisoners' and also that the Bridewell was very unhealthy and inadequate. At the next Session on 11 January 1825, the Grand Jury underlined the view that the 'present buildings were extremely inconvenient', but urged the Magistrates to proceed with the utmost economy. On the 11 July 1825, the Court ordered the views of the Grand Jury to be put in the local newspapers and in January 1826 the surveyor was ordered to produce plans for a new Gaol. However, by 28 March 1826 cold feet had developed and all proceedings were suspended for a year.

The problem for the Magistrates was of course the possible cost, and where to find the money to defray it. In their membership of the Burghmote, they had been party to the spending in 1825 of perhaps £9,000 on the new Corn and Hop Market, and the Mayor and Commonalty were in debt to the tune of over £12,000. It could hardly be expected therefore that the Burghmote would wish to add further to their debts. In any event the Burghmote interpreted their charter as not authorizing the raising of a rate for any purpose.

The land on which the extension was built was owned by the Burghmote and let in two lots to William Clark and Daniel Decaufor and on 22 September 1829, it was ordered by the Burghmote that the land 'be conveyed to the Magistrates for the purpose of alteration and addition to the Gaol ... and that ... all expenses of the same be borne by the Magistrates.' The account book of the County Stock on 20 October 1828 records a payment of £287 10s. 6d. to William Clark and on 12 January 1879 of £200 to Daniel Decaufor, presumably to buy out their tenancies.

There was, however, a strong body of opinion in Canterbury which held that the Burghmote had no right to decide that the Magistrates (i.e. the Mayor, Recorder and those Aldermen who had served as mayor and were therefore Magistrates) should bear the cost on the County Rate.

Dissidents commissioned an enquiry, and G. Sandys produced for them a pamphlet entitled 'An inquiry into the liability of the Corporation of Canterbury to maintain the Gaol of the City' printed and sold by R. Colegate, Kentish Chronicle Office 1828. This rehearsed all the arguments why the Burghmote should bear the cost from its own resources. Sandys summarised the many Royal Charters from which the Burghmote drew its authority, to demonstrate that the Gaol had always been a responsibility of the Corporation and had been recognised as such by them. His detailed arguments were briefly:-

: the Gaol has always belonged to the Mayor and Commonalty, who have custody of it; the appointment of the Gaoler rested with the

Mayor and Commonalty and not with the Magistrates or the Sheriff; the Corporation have in fact provided for and supported the Gaol; recent statutes relating to County Rates and Gaols had not transferred the burden from the Corporation to the City at large; and all rents etc of the Corporation are there to be expended to Public as of the City.⁴³

In the event Sandys and his supporters had no effect on the Burghmote's decision. The County Stock had no capital assets, relying solely on income from rates to cover annual expenses. Nevertheless, the Grand Jury on 14 January 1828 recommended that the plan for a new gaol at a cost not exceeding £3,500 should proceed. Tenders were sought in October 1828. There were six bidders, with estimates ranging from £2,870 to £3,497. In December 1828, the Magistrates awarded the contract to the Canterbury team of Lavender and Lancefield, having got them to reduce their bid to £3,097. Work was to begin on 1 March and end on 31 December 1829. The Magistrates borrowed the £3,500 in tranches of £550 and £1,800, from Canterbury personalities such as Deane John Parker, and organisations such as the Kent Fire Office, at a very acceptable 5 per cent interest.⁴⁴ All but a few hundred pounds of the debts were still outstanding when the County Stock was merged with the Borough accounts in 1836, when the Canterbury Council, newly set up by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, assumed control over law and order in Canterbury. The end result seems in fact to have been that Sandys' view prevailed, since the Council began immediately to sell off property to pay debts left to them by the Burghmote.

Cattle Market

On 22 December 1748, to stem the spreading of distemper among horned cattle, the Magistrates ordered a stop be put to the selling of any Ox, Bull, Cow, Calf, Steer or Heifer in the Cattle Market or in any place in the City or County for two calendar months. Constables and Borsholders to act. Inspectors of the Horned Cattle were appointed to inspect all before slaughter. A similar situation occurred in 1749, and on 21 September that year traffic in long horned cattle was stopped for 7 weeks, subsequently extended to the 1 January 1750.

Licences

The Magistrates licensed the performance of plays in the City. Mrs Sarah Baker, who ran a string of theatres in towns of East Kent, of which the theatre in Prince of Orange Street Canterbury was one, first obtained on 11 January 1790, a license to open a theatre in Canterbury and perform there such Tragedies, Comedies, Interludes, Operas, Plays

or Farces as were permitted by Act of Parliament, for 60 days within the space of 4 months, viz. January, February, March and August. A Licence of this type was renewed yearly by her until 1816, when a W. Downton took over.

The Magistrates also licensed places of worship other than Church of England, and Friendly Societies. As instances of the former, we find that the Magistrates on 13 January 1823 gave license to Henry Freeman, Minister, for a room in King Street Chapel, St Alphage, to be used as a place of worship for Protestants, and on 11 July 1823 Cheveling House in Dover Street gained a certificate as a place of Religious Worship. Friendly Societies were controlled under an Act of 33 Geo III, and, as examples, on the 12 January 1795, the Amicable Society of Carpenters and Bricklayers was established at the White Lyon, St George's, and a Friendly Society of Handicrafts at the City Arms, St Mary Northgate; a similar Society was licensed at the Eight Bells, St Alphage, and at the Two Brewers, St Mildred's. Other societies, with the aim of mutual financial support in time of need were established and their rules accepted by the Magistrates in the 1820s and 1830s. Among these were: 1827, 'Canterbury Friendly Society' held at the sign of the Prince of Wales, King Street, St Alphage; 1830, 'United Kentish Britons', the 'Supporting Brothers' and the 'Union Friendly Society'; 1831, 'Female Union Society'; 1832, 'Amicable Society' at the White Lion; and 1834, the 'County Friendly Society'. No details are given in the Sessions Record of the rules accepted.

PETTY SESSIONS

In addition to Quarter Sessions, Magistrates met monthly under the Chairmanship of the Mayor, but apparently without the Recorder, to deal with a variety of largely administrative matters. These included - the issuing of licences to sell ale and strong liquor; to approve the appointments of Overseers of the Poor of the Parishes; of Constables and Borsholders of the Wards; of Highway Surveyors; of Commissioners to the Court of Requests; and of Hop Assistants; to hear appeals against Poor Rates, Pavement Rates and Church Rates; to hear excise offences and cases of selling liquor without licence; to oversee the control of the application of standard Weights and Measures; to consider matters concerning the Gaol; and to deal with minor misdemeanours.

The Petty Sessions were convened as the 'Monthly meeting of H.M. Justices and also a special session of the Highways within the City and the County of the City of Canterbury', and the broad agenda for each monthly meeting throughout the year was presented as:

January	Petty sessions for transferring licences also Common Business.
February	Common Business
March	Petty Session for transferring licences and also Precepts for Constables to return list of Overseers and Collectors.
April	Appointment of Overseers within 14 days after 25 March.
May	Petty Session for licences and also Common Business.
June	Common Business
July	Petty Sessions for transferring licences to deal in game and also Common Business.
August	Precepts to Constables to affix notices of General Annual Licensing on church doors and to serve the Alehouse Keepers and Magistrates with the like.
September	General Annual Licensing meeting also Petty Sessions for transferring licences. Precepts for Constables to affix notices on church doors for holding Petty Sessions and to serve Alehouse Keepers and Magistrates with the like and also precepts to summon surveyors.
October	Appointment of Surveyors and also Common Business.
November	Appointment of Surveyors and also Common Business.
December	Common Business. ⁴⁵

The Annual General Meeting on licensing in September considered applications for renewal of all licensed premises in Canterbury.⁴⁶ At the Session on 7 September 1820, the licences granted totalled 61, and these included licences for the Artillery Canteen, and two Infantry Military Canteens at the Army Barracks. The licences were granted to named landlords, and each landlord's application was supported by two recognisances of £30 and £20. By September 1835 the number of licensed premises had risen to 68.

The appointment of Overseers of the Poor (two for each parish) and Surveyors of Highways was a simple matter of approving names put forward by the parish. Appointment of the more unpopular jobs of Constables and Borsholders was not so straightforward. A list of names for the posts was put forward from the Courts Leet annual meetings in the six wards, but the final list approved by the Petty Session was invariably greatly different. For instance, at the session on 2nd November 1820, none of the six Constables appointed and sworn was the same as put forward by the Courts Leet, and two of the six Borsholders were different. The practice of nominated Constables and Borsholders paying substitutes to do the job for them was obviously condoned by the Magistrates.

The appointment of Highway Surveyors was limited to seven parishes: St Mary Northgate, St George the Martyr, St Mary Magdalene, St Paul, St Mary Bredin, St Mildred, two surveyors each. It is not clear why appointments for other parishes were not called for, nor how the surveyors' responsibilities interfaced with those of the Pavement Commissioners. Requests for permission to levy highway rates were infrequent; St George's was granted rate of 1s. in November 1822, St Mary's 6d. in December 1822, St Paul's 1s. 9d. in May 1826, St Mary Bredin 1s. in November 1828, and a further rate for St Paul's in October 1833. At least twelve Hop Assistants were appointed annually, for a purpose not specified. Annual appointments to the Court of Requests included 3 Aldermen, 5 Councillors and 14 Citizens, one from each Parish (see below).

Appeals against Poor Rates were regularly made, as were those against Pavement Rates, particularly in the late 1820s, early 1830s when rates were increasing greatly. In March 1827, there were 13 orders to pay in respect of pavement rates, and in April 1827, 7 appeals; in August 1828, 11 appeals; in March 1831, 18 appeals. Similarly in March 1831, 18 non payments of Poor Rate were brought into Court, and in September 1831, 19 appeals were heard, in January 1832, 5 appeals; April 1832, 16 Appeals; June 1832, 10 appeals; October 1832, 10 appeals; February 1833, 12 appeals; March 1833, 13 appeals; January 1835, 11 appeals; April 1835, 7 appeals; September 1835, 6 Poor Rate appeals. Applications to constrain goods and chattels for non payment of Poor Rates in four cases were made by Samuel White, Collector of the Poor Rate in March 1833 and were granted. In March 1828, the Collector of Poor Rates applied for a distress warrant against the Philosophical Institute. The Magistrates said they would 'take the application into consideration at a further period'. No further reference to this matter can be found in the records.

Regarding the Gaol, there are a number of references to its administration in the Petty Sessions Book. On 3 February 1820, it was proposed that a Chaplain be appointed at 15 guineas, subject to sanction by the next Session. On the 10 March 1824 a special Petty Session considered a letter from Boteler, the Recorder. He was seeking information from the Magistrates about numbers in gaol at the time of Sessions as backing for an attempt to gain some relief as a small jurisdiction from the provisions of the Gaol Act then under consideration by Parliament. The reply gave him information on numbers in gaol at Sessions time from 1809 to 1824. The numbers were mostly in the range from 2 to 8, though rises to double figures and above were reported for the years 1822-1824. A further communication from Boteler in May 1826 gives an account of his plea to the Parliamentary Gaol

Committee for exemption from some of the Gaol Act provisions for Canterbury as a small jurisdiction, on the lines of exemption for Welsh Counties, or by special clause. Without such exemption, Boteler believed that Canterbury would be put to the expense of a larger gaol than they needed, or would lose control of prisoners to a larger gaol under a larger authority. He quoted the population of Canterbury as 12,745 in 1820, comparing it with counties in Wales which, except for Radnor, had populations of over 50,000. Boteler claimed that the result of this was that Canterbury was relieved of the provisions of the General Gaol Act of 1823, and the question was whether or not the plans for the Gaol could now be modified. The answer of the monthly meeting was that they did not consider themselves competent to alter the decisions of the last Session, and the plans to enlarge and rebuild the Gaol therefore proceeded.

On 4 May 1826, it was ordered that the Gaol be provided with 6 pairs of shoes, 8 jackets and trousers from the Workhouse, 6 sheets, one pint pot, and that the trunk from the sink to the privy be repaired. On the 4 July a clothes basket, one dozen wooden platters and a Commitments Book were ordered to be provided, and that the privy should be cleared by Mr Lavender. Mr Hacker was ordered to repair the leaden pipe in the hall of the Gaol. Some attempts were obviously being made to improve the management and facilities of the Gaol. By 1828 preparations were well advanced for the enlargement of the Gaol, and the Magistrates on 7 March met to consider providing a new residence for the Gaoler and selling the materials of his then House, which would be subsumed in the enlargement of the Gaol. The drains continued to give problems, and on 6 November 1828 it was ordered that a Stink Trap should be placed in the Drain leading from the Privy to the River. In 1834, Petty Session attention was again drawn to the Gaol, when they approved the appointment on 3 July of Thomas Andrews as Surgeon at £20 a year. On 17 July, orders were given for a supply of coal, oatmeal and bread to the Gaol.

The Magistrates had problems from time to time in admonishing Constables for failure of duty, particularly in supervising the Watch for the Pavement Commissioners. In 1825, the Magistrates asked the Pavement Commissioners to provide a Watch House with keeps, and later that year, when they fined 8 Constables for neglect of duty, they repeated that request. In August 1834 it was agreed that Constables should be paid 4s. for attendance.

Surveyors of the Highways had to be reminded of their duties from time to time. On 2 November 1826, the surveyors of six parishes were fined 10s. each and ordered to present their accounts, and on 4 October 1827,

surveyors were ordered to answer for default in not attending the Session on that day.

Few misdemeanours or offences were dealt with in Petty Session. One example is that of William Gillett, who was fined a total of 3s. for poaching fish in the river just below Abbots Mill. On 15 August 1822, Richard Penny was committed to Sessions for stealing a pair of shoes out of the Workhouse. On 3 March 1826, an apprentice was sent to the Bridewell with hard labour under a charge of misconduct presented by his master. On 1 May 1826, it was ordered that Ann, wife of Christopher Underwood be excluded from the Female Union Society (no reason or explanation recorded). On 6 November 1828, May Bateman appealed against being struck off the books of the Female Union Society for being aged 42 when the stipulated limit was 35. It was ordered that all money paid since 1819 less whatever she had received from the Box be returned to her - minus a share of costs. On 12 July 1832, Thomas Timothy Gable was convicted as a rogue and vagabond, after he had left his wife and children, and sent to the House of Correction for three months. On 2 January 1834, James Hoare was fined 20s. for leaving his dray in Butchery Lane. A few people were found guilty each year and fined for excise offences and for selling ale or liquors without proper licence. The fines could amount to quite large sums; for instance, a £50 penalty for selling liquor without licence, though this might be reduced in the event to £5.

The only instance recorded in the years 1820 to 1836 of conflict between the Court of Guardians and the Petty Sessions occurred in April 1829. In an exchange of letters, the Guardians requested that when a County Rate be granted, it should be ordered to be collected separately from the Poor Rate; the Magistrates replied that this was considered impracticable at present. This was obviously an attempt by the Guardians to distance themselves from the controversy surrounding the payment for the New Gaol out of the County Stock.

PLEAS IN THE COURT OF RECORD

Manuscript volume CC JBP in the Canterbury City Archives records the proceedings of a Court of Record from 1740 to 1833 under the Chairmanship of the Mayor.⁴⁷ The Court generally met fortnightly, whether it had any substantive business or not, and the record of the proceedings of each meeting is introduced with a standard formula:-

'Pleas in the Court of Record (date and year) according to the use and custom of the said Court, time out of mind and approved in the same according to custom privileges liberties and

Franchises to the Citizens of the said City and to the Mayor and Commonalty of the same City and their successors by Charters of Divers progenitors of our said Lord the King confirmed'.

While its purview is not explicitly expressed, and while reports of cases brought before it are somewhat cryptic, seldom giving any description of the offence being investigated other than 'trespass', the Court seems to have dealt with complaints by citizens of transgressions of law or right which were not treason or felony. The procedure of the Court seems to have been (at least until the middle of the eighteenth century) that, once the formal charge had been made by the plaintiff, one of the Mayor's four Sergeants at Mace was charged with further investigation. In a large percentage of cases, a Sergeant at Mace reported back to the Court that the matter had been satisfactorily concluded without further need for Court action, using the words 'he hath taken the Body of the Deffendant and the parties are agreed'. If no agreement had been made the Court would proceed to try the case with Accuser and Defendant present, and with what evidence the Sergeant could produce.

The procedure was not without cost to those concerned. In the Record Book there is an undated loose leaf which lists an old rate of fees to be paid to the Clerk of the Court (who was also Town Clerk), and to the Sergeant at Mace for services in connection with the Court's proceedings. These were not large, but they might have loomed large in the minds of plaintiffs seeking to recover small debts.

Information on the purview and workings of the Court can be found in Cyprian Rondeau Bunce's Minutes (or notes) on matters collected from the ancient records and accounts in the Chamber of Canterbury. In No. XXXVIII, Supplement to his Minutes (1800) Bunce traces the Court of Pleas, called the Mayor's Court, back to the time of King Henry III, when Bailiffs presided over the court. In 1448 King Henry VI confirmed the Court to be presided over by a Mayor instead of Bailiffs, and at the same time clarified the jurisdiction of the court. According to Bunce, Actions of every kind within the liberties of the City, could be tried and determined. However, of late years (wrote Bunce in 1800) 'the practice of it has been confined, chiefly to ejectments, actions of debt, trespass, assault and such like proceedings'. Bunce commented that since proceedings on all cases for above 40s. were liable to transfer to a superior court, there was little left to be done in the Court of Pleas, and the business was easily transacted by being held every fortnight on Mondays.

According to Bunce, Attorneys to conduct business on behalf of suitors

were licensed by the Courts own appointment. They had to be Freemen of the City, and to have been previously admitted as practising attorney in one of the King's Courts at Westminster. In the mid seventeenth century Attorneys of the Court were eight in number, reduced to four by 1661. Attorneys continued to be admitted up to the end of the eighteenth century. In 1760, George Lacy (jnr) and Thomas Hammond were admitted Attorneys to the Court, and on 23 March 1761 a case is listed as Charles Keane (Thos. Hammond) v Richard Mead (Geo. Lacy). Other Attorneys admitted were John Barnby (1769), Harry Arnold (1778), J. Simmons (1776) and J. Hodges (1793).

Records of fortnightly meetings (which often had no cases to list, and most sessions never dealt with more than a handful of cases) are complete from 17 November 1740 to 3 January 1780. Gaps then appear; the records note one meeting in 1783, two in 1784, one in 1790, two in 1791, two in 1792, one in 1793, two in 1828. The last recorded meeting was on 14 February 1833.

COURT FOR THE RECOVERY OF SMALL DEBTS

In 1752, a Court for the Recovery of Small Debts (under 40s.) was set up in accordance with an Act of Parliament which had cost £172 11s. 2d. to procure. The first Commissioners appointed to the Court were:

William Cook (Mayor) - by virtue of office Jonathan Knowles (Recorder) - by virtue of office; Aldermen Thomas Davies and Jno. Robinson Common Councilmen John Lover, Thomas Denn, Jno. Sawlins, Jno. Davison and Richard Bolting, together with thirteen householders, one each from thirteen parishes.⁴⁸

The Petty Sessions record book 1820-1936 lists the yearly appointments, generally in July, of three Aldermen, five Councillors and fourteen Citizens (one from each parish).

No records of the transactions of this Court seem to exist, and it is not clear how its proceedings interfaced with those of the Court of Record. That the Court of Record before 1752 dealt with small debts is instanced by the fact that, in 1747 one of the cases has in the margin of its record, a note 'under 40 shillings'. One must assume that after 1752, the Court of Record left the recovery of small debts to the New Court. If so, it is not surprising that the Mayor's Court had effectively become redundant by 1800.

Chapter II

Notes

- 1 For instance, J. Knowler was Recorder for 30 years from September 1733 to 7 July 1763 when he died aged 66. Aldermen were of course elected for life, and after becoming JP's would, through long service, have gained considerable experience in dispensing justice. Alderman Gray, for example, was Mayor in 1748 and continued as Alderman and Magistrate until 1783. He would not, however have necessarily attended every session, as was the Recorder's duty.
- 2 A complete run of notebooks of Canterbury Sessions from 1726 to 1842 is available in Canterbury Cathedral Library, under reference CC JQO 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 and the information in this chapter is drawn from those records.
- 3 CC JQO 19. 24 Sept., 25 Sept., and 30 Oct., 1767, C.C.L. Rev. Dr Duncombe of St Andrew's and St Mary Bredin had his valuations reduced from £32 to £25, and from £88 to £75; Rev. Mr Hearne of St Alphage and St Mary Northgate, reduced from £46 to £37 10s and from £30 to £29 5s.; Rev. Mr Decaufor of St Mildred and All Saints from £67 to £55 10s. and from £30 to £27; Rev. Mr Ayerst of St Peter's and Holy Cross from £40 to £26 5s. and from £10 to £6 5s.; Rev. Mr Leigh of St Margaret's and St Mary Bredin from £60 to £45 and from £10 to £5 5s.; Rev. Mr Gregory of St George the Martyr and St Mary Magdelene from £62 to £55 10s. and from £40 to £35 15s.; Rev. Mr Anson of St Paul's and St Martin's from £17 to £8 15s.
- 4 In 1836 Canterbury's Royal Charters were set aside by the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835, and a new Council was elected to replace the Burghmote.
- 5 In 1718 the Transportation Act established Transportation to American colonies as a punishment.
- 6 Beattie, J.M., *Crime and the Courts in England 1660-1800*, Clarendon Press, 1986, and 'Crime and the Courts in Surrey 1736-1753', article in *Crime in England 1550-1800*, Cockburn, J.S. (ed.) Methuen, 1977 and also Hay, Douglas, 'War, death and theft in the eighteenth century', article in *Past & Present* 1982, No. 5. The general thesis was that with the full employment of war years a downturn in crime might be expected, with increase in the

years immediately after war, or in times of bad harvest. Beattie finds troughs in the years 1739-48, 1756-62, 1776-82 and 1795-1815.

7 Stratten, J.M. and Houghton Brown, Jack, *Agricultural Records A.D. 220-1977*, edited by Ralph Whitlock pub. John Baker 2nd ed. 1978.

8 L.S.S. Vidian, J., *Kentish Chronologer and Index*, Maidstone, 1807, p.98.

9 *Kentish Register*, Vol III, p.274, published by Simmons, Kirkby and Jones, Canterbury, 1795.

10 *Kentish Chronologer and Index*, p. 100.

11 See Gostling, W., *A walk in and about the City of Canterbury*, 5th ed. 1804, footnote to p.3. 'Between the years 1802 and 1803 when many other towns in the British Dominion suffered from the paralysing effect of war, the City of Canterbury considerably increased in size and population, but this prosperity may be partly ascribed to its being the chief military station in the southern District of England and having a general's staff, a park of artillery and several regiments constantly stationed in its vicinity.'

12 Panton, F.H. 'Finances and Government of Canterbury 18th to mid 19th Century', *Arch. Cant.* cxvi 1996, 147; and Chapter IV of this thesis.

13 C.C.L. JQO 22 2 Jan. 1837 Quarter Session.

14 C.C.L. CC JQO 24 'Monthly Justices' 1820-1836.

15 C.C.L. CC JQ P2 'Gaol Diary' 1820-1826.

16 C.C.L. CC JQ P1 'Commitments' 1824-1836.

17 See later section of this chapter, 'Petty Sessions', for a fuller discussion of the circumstances surrounding Boteler's request.

18 Cockburn, J.S. (Ed.) *Crime in England 1550-1800*, Methuen 1977, containing an article by Beattie J.M., 'Crime and the Courts in Surrey 1736-1753'.

19 Emsley, Clive, *Crime and Society in England 1750-1900*, Longman 1987.

- 20 C.C.L. CC JQO 18, 17 December 1741.
- 21 C.C.L. CC JQO 18, 1 April 1742.
- 22 C.C.L. CC JQO 19, 10 July 1769.
- 23 C.C.L. CC JQO 19, 21 December 1769.
- 24 C.C.L. CC JQO 19, 22 December 1772.
- 25 C.C.L. CC JQO 19, 3 June 1773.
- 26 C.C.L. CC JQO, 22 December 1774.
- 27 C.C.L. CC JQO, 12 September 1776.
- 28 C.C.L. CC JQO, 20 December 1781.
- 29 C.C.L. CC JQO, 18 July 1785
- 30 C.C.L. CC JQO 18, (21 December 1738, two persons, male; 24 September 1741, two persons; 21 August 1743, - Lewens; 17 April 1746, female, for stealing cloth; 3 April 1751, Samuel Wear; 3 January 1754 - Jupp; 17 July 1755, Thomas Dugman; 18 December 1755 - Waller; 4 September 1761, - Godden; 24 December 1761, Simon Beverton; 19 December 1765, William Ward, Philip Paris); CC JQO 19, (21 August 1764 Philip Jackson; 30 May 1771, Stephen Stannore; 22 December 1772, William Blanchett; 3 June 1773, William Wood, William Bennett).
- 31 See C.C.L. CC JQO 19, for years up to 1787 and CC JQO 20 for years from 1787 to 1800.
- 32 C.C.L. CC JQO 20. All listed below 7 years, except where otherwise stated. 12 July 1790, Arthur Bradley, Felony; 11 July 1791, John Mead, Felony, 23 April 1792, Mary Springate, Grand Larceny; 14 January 1793, Sarah Ann Sutton, Grand Larceny; 12 January 1795, James Owenson, Felony; 22 September 1880, John Carter, Grand Larceny.
- C.C.L. CC JQO 21, 2 May 1802, Francis Cobb, Felony; 3 May 1802, George Bailey, Felony; 9 January 1804, Thomas Hardy, Grand Larceny; 14 January 1805, William Andrews and Arthur Hubbard, Felony; 14 October 1805, Charles Turyman, Felony; 11 July 1808, Barnabas Rex, Felony; 11 July 1814, John Gold, Grand Larceny; 12 July 1819, George Savage, Felony; 15 July 1822, George Coulther and Edward William, Grand Larceny; 13 January, 1823, Richard

Stanley, Grand Larceny; 10 April 1823, Edward Pemble, Burglary guilty of stealing 40 shillings.

C.C.L. CC JQO 22, 9 January 1826, John Upton, Grand Larceny; 10 July 1826, Ralph Adams, Felony; 19 October 1826, William Brown, Grand Larceny; 12 July 1830, John Lewen, Felony; 27 June 1831, George Smith, Felony; Maria Hyde, Felony - with a further Felony making 14 years; 31 December 1832, Edward Beard, Felony; 10 April, Baptist Barber otherwise Dobbs, Felony - 14 years; January 1835, John Davis, false pretences; 4 January 1836, Jacob Fagg, Felony; William Collier, Felony; George Tucker, Felony.

33 C.C.L. CC JQO 22.

34 C.C.L. CC JQO 19.

35 C.C.L. CC JQO 19.

36 1 Geo. II C.20.

37 C.C.L. CC JQO 18, Canterbury Sessions 1726-1765.

38 C.C.L., Ward Papers, Westgate Courts Leet October 1774 - 1797. Newingate; Courts Leet 1774-1791.

39 C.C.L. Chamberlains Accounts.

40 27 Geo. III C.XIV.

41 C.C.L. CC JQO 19 1767-1786, and C.C.L. CC JQO 20 1787-1800.

42 C.C.L. Account Book of the Treasurer of the County Stock for the City of Canterbury and the County of the Same 1813-1838.

43 Panton, F.H., 'Finances and Government of Canterbury. Early to Mid 19th century', *Arch. Cant.* cxii 1993, pp.29-31.

44 C.C.L. CC JQ P4, *City Gaol. Contract to Erect 1828-1830.*

45 C.C.L. Information on the conduct of Petty Sessions is derived from CC JQC 24 'Monthly Justices' 1820-1836

46 The sixty-one premises were: King's Arms, Black Griffin, Three Compasses, Crown and Sceptre, King's Head, Fleur de Lis, The George, Chequers, Golden Lion, Bricklayer's Arms, Guildhall Tavern, Orange Tree, Sun, Prince of Orange, Eight Bells, Prince of Wales, Seven Stars, Jolly Sailor, White Swan, City Arms, Weaver's Arms, King's Head, Cavalry Barracks, Artillery Canteen,

Infantry Canteen, Ordnance Arms, Lord Wellington, Crown, Gate, Saracen's Head, Two Sailors, Duke of Cumberland, Ship, Princess Charlotte, Rose, Fleece, Black Boy, Butcher's Arms, Castle, Shakespeare, Flying Horse, White Lion, Blue Anchor, Star, Cross Keys, Duke of York, Toby Philpott, Cardinal's Cap, Castle, Royal Exchange, Black Dog, Maidenshead, Duke's Head, Wheatsheaf, Fountain, Mermaid, City of London, George and Hog, Queen's Head. A surprising number of these public houses still trade in the same place under the same name.

- 47 C.C.L. Court of Pleas; Mayors Court; Court of Record CC JBP 1740-1833.
- 48 C.C.L. Alderman Gray's Note Book, Supplementary MS 6.

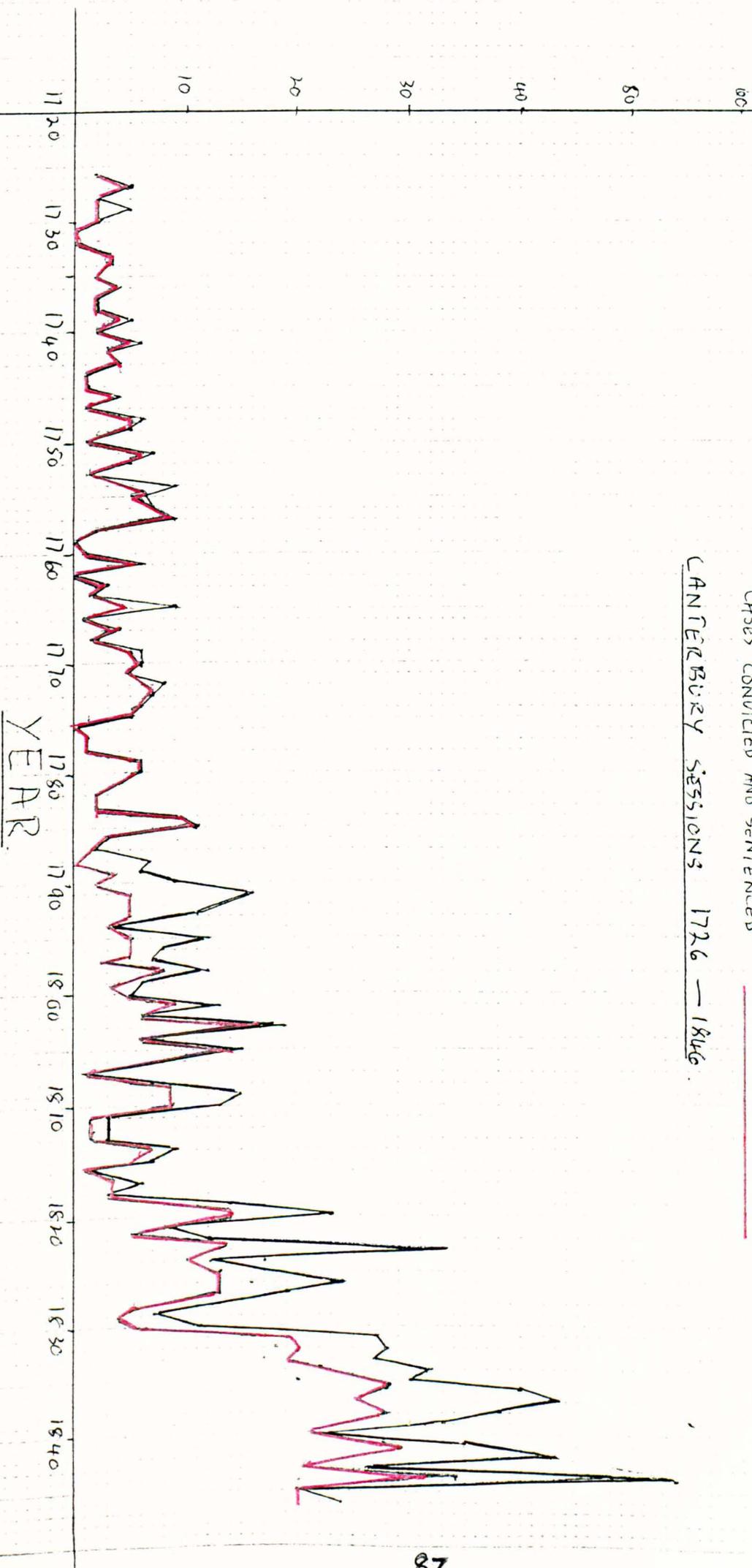
NUMBERS OF
CRIMINAL CASES.

CHAPTER II
APPENDIX "H"

CASES INDICTED AND TRIED.

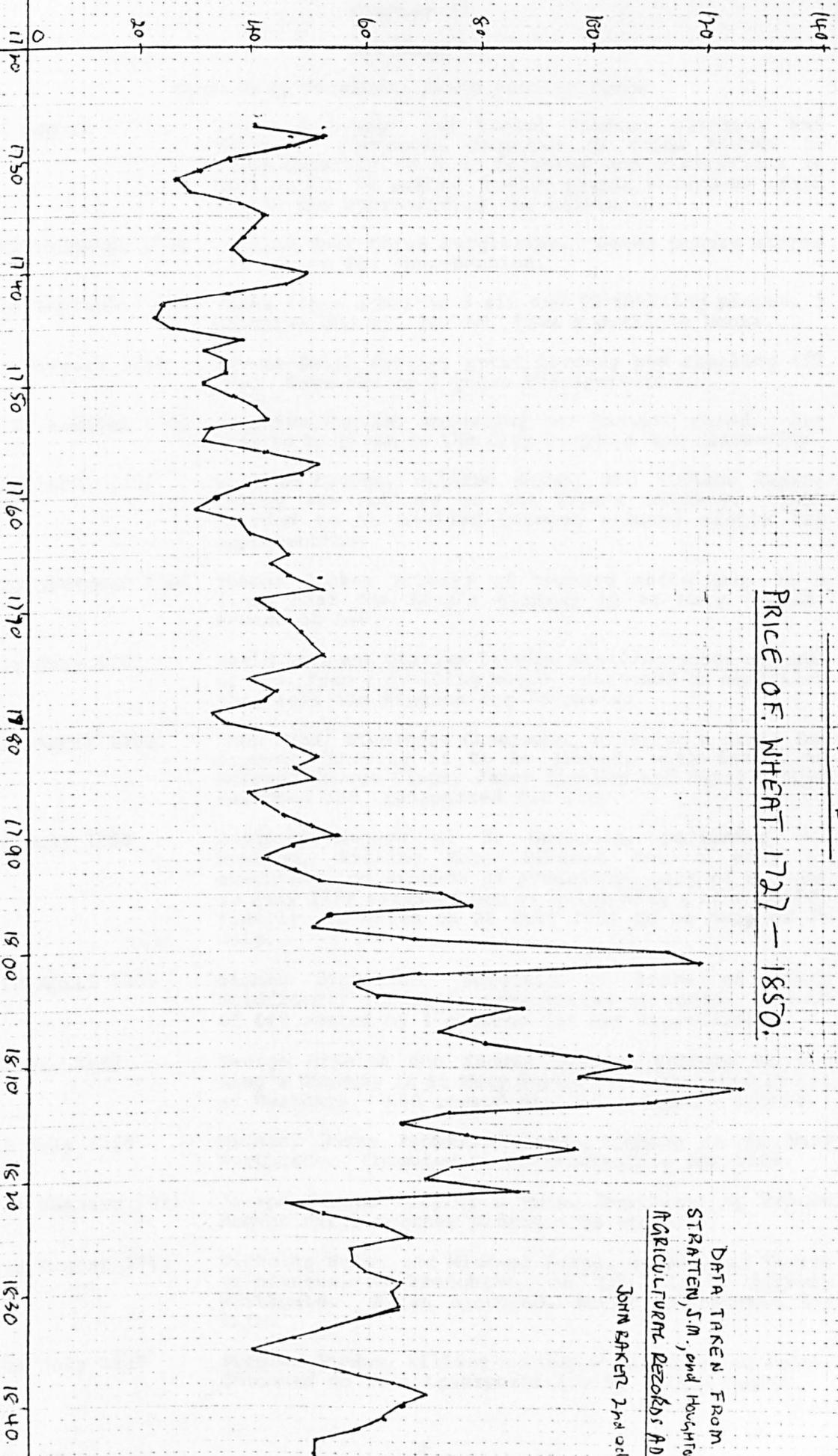
CASES CONVICTED AND SENTENCED

CANTERBURY SESSIONS 1726 — 1846.



AVERAGE PRICE OF WHEAT
SHILLINGS PER QUARTER.

CHAPTER II
APPENDIX B.
PRICE OF WHEAT 1727-1850.



DATA TAKEN FROM
STRATTEN, J.M., and HOUGHTON FROXY, J.
AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AD 220-1077
JOHN BAKER 2nd ed 1978.

Chapter II

APPENDIX C

Canterbury Sessions: Death Penalty Cases

- 7 August 1737 Benjamin Reader and Daniel Plummer burglary and felony. Sentences commuted by royal Pardon to transportation to H.M. Colonies and plantations in America for 14 years. Twelve people shared an award of £80 for apprehending the criminals.
- 20 December 1744 William Hook three burglaries. Seven people shared £40 reward for apprehension.
- 13 September 1748 James Stone stealing 3 six and 30 shilling pieces, 3 moidores and £11 3s. 6d. from a dwelling house.
- 3 January 1754 Thomas Smith felony, petit larceny and stealing £22 10s. Commuted to 7 years transportation.
- 10 December 1754 Margaret Mantle, murdering her bastard child. Her body to be given to the City Surgeons for dissection.
- 22 April 1756 William Hudson, William Bethel and Richard Rapiet felony and robbery on the King's Highway. £120 awarded to be divided between several people for apprehension.
- 10 December 1782 Thomas Stokes robbery of Bernard Astle Esq. in a field near the King's Highway in St Mary Bredin. Reward of £40.
- 18 July 1785 David Love and Charles Tevelen stealing goods upwards of 40s. from a dwelling house. pardoned on condition they left the Kingdom for 14 years.
- 23 April 1792 John Head, otherwise Cheeseman, uttering a draft for payment, knowing it to be forged, with intent to defraud George Gipps, James Simmons and Henry Gipps. Pardoned and transported for life.
- 9 July 1798 Margaret Hughes of St George's, poisoning her husband, killing him. Pleaded for a stay of execution, on grounds of pregnancy. Jury of matrons 10 July 1798 assessed her as quick with a live child. Finally sentenced on 22 July 1799 to be hung on 24 July.
- 20 April 1801 Thomas Broughton, burglary at house of Henry Goldfinch. Pardoned, transported 14 years. Reward of £40 shared by 4 persons for his apprehension.
- 3 May 1802 George McLeish and Thomas Dundane robbery on the King's Highway in St Mary Northgate. Executed 26 May at Westgate. £80 reward divided between 7 people.
- 9 July 1810 Michael Daras robbery, King's Highway in St Mary Northgate. Commuted to transportation for life.
- 14 January 1811 Joseph Newson forging a note. Reprieved by Prince Regent until further pleasure be known.
- 18 August 1815 Nicholas Nolan and Michael Burke, robbery of Pierre Delplangue, a Frenchman, on the King's Highway Northgate. Nolan executed, Burke transported for life.
- 14 July 1817 Stephen Jordon, killing a sheep with intent to steal. Commuted to life transportation by Prince Regent.

Chapter II

APPENDIX D

Canterbury Expenditure on the County Rate 1792-1823:
 Return by J. Nutt, Town Clerk
 Contained in the Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee
 on the Expenditure of the County Rate
 (British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1825, Vol. VI, Appendix
 to Report, pp706-707)

Date	Amount received			Amount expended		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1792	72	18	11	71	19	6¼
1793	253	14	-	232	19	8½
1794	251	8	-	275	7	6½
1795	169	8	-	168	13	10½
1796	165	7	5½	168	8	1½
1797	149	1	-	107	5	4½
1798	66	15	6	129	3	9
1799	180	15	5	180	9	3
1800	220	2	9	201	3	10
1801	315	16	-	361	15	9
1802	55	18	?	77	9	?
1803	246	3	3	212	18	3
1804	126	13	-	113	-	6
1805	327	19	2	350	-	11
1806	353	1	6	424	12	-
1807	246	6	-	180	1	1
1808	322	7	6	304	13	3
1809	167	2	5½	331	8	7
1810	579	18	-	390	4	4½
1811	205	5	-	235	8	7
1812	343	4	10	413	18	11
1813	475	7	6	370	18	9
1815	664	15	-	555	5	9
1816	369	9	-	360	10	2
1817	516	12	6	492	1	4½
1818	552	18	-	584	11	-
1819	539	9	6	528	13	6
1820	426	8	2	380	-	8½
1821	542	14	8	576	-	10
1822	410	7	6	480	9	4
1823	624	3	-	461	4	4½

CHAPTER III

CANTERBURY PAVEMENT COMMISSIONERS

INTRODUCTION

The creation of Turnpike Trusts by local interests in the eighteenth century improved the main approach roads to and from Canterbury and enabled them to provide speedier and better conditions for the increased coach flow from London and through to the coastal towns. The present author has given details of turnpike roads in the Canterbury area in an article published in 1985.¹ Until 1787 however, the structure of the streets of Canterbury itself had not changed fundamentally since medieval times, and they remained under the care of the separate parishes, supervised somewhat loosely by the Magistrates in Quarter Session. Annual meetings of Courts Leet in the Wards of Canterbury presented indictments against encroachments and nuisances of all kinds, with little apparent effect, and the amenities to residents and travellers alike, of the already winding and narrow pavements continued to be restricted.² In the coaching age, getting through the bottle-neck of Canterbury to the coast towns must have been difficult, dirty and possibly dangerous. The well being of the residents, and the trade which coaches brought to Canterbury, suffered alike from the continuing medieval condition of the streets.

The problem of how to create mechanisms to improve and modernise urban streets was common to many other towns in Kent and nationally. The solution adopted was the promotion of an Improvement Pavements Commission for a particular town or urban area by Private Act of Parliament. In East Kent, this solution was adopted by Rochester and Strood combined in 1768, Chatham in 1772, Gravesend and Milton in 1772, Dover in 1778, Faversham in 1789, Ramsgate in 1785, Sandwich in 1787, Deal in 1790, Maidstone in 1791, and Folkestone in 1796.³ In 1787, a similar Act was procured for Canterbury, setting up Pavement Commissioners for 'Paving, Cleansing, Lighting and Watching the Streets, Lanes and other Public Passages and Places within the Walls of Canterbury'.⁴

PAVEMENT COMMISSIONERS

The initiative for the procurement of the Canterbury Act arose out of the complaints of the Courts Leet to the Burghmote and the Magistrates about the state of the streets. The Burghmote's direct interest in street maintenance was restricted to the market areas which it owned and operated, and the Charters from which the Burghmote drew its

authority gave them no direct obligation to care for the streets in general, and no authority to raise rates for that purpose. The Magistrates in Quarter Session would react to complaints by initiating or enforcing action through the Highway Surveyor of the particular parish, and would, when requested by a parish, authorize a rate for street repairs in that parish.

However, by 1770 complaints arising from the Courts Leet were such that the Burghmote felt the need to set up a Committee to consider an Act for the Better Paving, Cleansing, Lighting and Watching of Canterbury, a committee which included as a member the then recently elected Councilman, James Simmons. It was not however until 17 years later that an Act was finally procured. The Canterbury Act followed the general pattern of Improvement Acts, with some differences to take account of local needs and conditions. If such an Act was to be promoted without undue problem, care had to be taken to secure the support of organizations and individuals which would be affected by it, and whose co-operation, support and rates would be needed to achieve its aims. The 1787 Act set up a Corporation of Canterbury Pavement Commission, naming a large number of Commissioners to that body. These included: Knights of the Shire, local MPs, the Mayor, Recorder and Justices of Canterbury, the Dean and Vice Dean of the Cathedral, and 250 prominent citizens of Canterbury together with 11 Clerks in Holy Orders - in fact, almost anyone of substance who might be affected by the Act. Apart from those nominated by reason of office, Commissioners had to be resident within the walls of Canterbury, to have an estate valued at £10 p.a., or a lease within the walls of £15 p.a., or a personal estate of value £500. Nine Commissioners would for most matters constitute a quorum for action, and officers such as Chairman, Treasurer and Secretary would be appointed by the Commissioners. The Commissioners were empowered, inter alia, to levy tolls, at usual rates on carriages and horses entering Canterbury, and to collect duty, at 1s. a chaldron or ton, on coal, coke or ash, being brought into Canterbury. They were also empowered, as a third source of income, to levy an annual rate on householders and others within the City. For the speedy conclusion of the work necessary, the Commissioners could borrow money on interest or sell annuities, against the security of Rates, Duty and Tolls. The whole borrowings were not to exceed £10,000.⁵

The first meeting of the Canterbury Pavement Commissioners took place on 9 April 1787. At that meeting, Gilbert Knowler was appointed Chairman, and Alderman James Simmons appointed Treasurer. It is clear from the records of the Commissioners that Simmons as Treasurer until his resignation at the end of 1791 was the prime mover and mainstay of the new Corporation.⁶

The jurisdiction of the Commissioners extended to all areas within the walls of Canterbury, including those areas outside the jurisdiction of the Burghmote and the Magistrates, such as the Archbishops' Palace, the Cathedral Precincts and other ecclesiastical enclaves, and Staplegate, all of which were administered by the County of Kent for poor law and County Rate purposes. The Pavement Commissioners were able therefore to treat Canterbury within the walls as a whole, and plan accordingly.

The first task of the Commissioners was to ensure themselves of an income, and they moved with considerable speed. By the end of April 1787 they had agreed with the Chatham - Canterbury Turnpike Trustees that the existing collector at Harbledown should also collect street tolls and coal duty for the Commissioners, his salary of £60 to be financed jointly by the two bodies in proportion to monies collected; they had concluded an agreement with the Whitstable Trust for their collector at the bottom of St Thomas' Hill to collect coal duty on payment of an extra £10 p.a. for his services; they had arranged to set up a tollgate and house on the Sturry road at Vauxhall, at a cost of £50 and had appointed a collector at £25 p.a.; they had set up a tollgate at St Stephen's to catch coal duty from those coming from Broad Oak and Tylers Hill with a collector to be paid 5 shillings in every £1 collected. Rates were collected according to valuations fixed for the relief of the Poor, except that rates for those areas within the City not within City Poor Law jurisdiction were to pay a maximum of 1s. for every yard running measure of frontage to a street.

By May 1787, a Surveyor had been appointed, and Simmons and others had consulted the surveyor of the City of London on methods and materials for paving; preparations to take over from the Magistrates lighting of the streets had begun; 8 watchmen had been appointed at 9s. a week each in winter and 7s. a week each in summer, to patrol Canterbury in seven districts, and clothing, watchmans' boxes, etc. had been supplied. By the end of May 1787, a contractor (Meredith and Young from London) had been appointed by open competition to pave the length of the main street of Canterbury from Westgate to St George's, at 8s. a square yard for Guernsey Stone for carriage ways, 9d. a square yard for old stones, 5s. 6d. a square yard for new Yorkshire Ealing Edge paving for footways, 6d. a square yard for old Flat paving and 1s. 8d. a foot for Moor Stone Kerb as facing for footways.

The Commissioners paved Canterbury area by area, methodically surveying each area in advance of paving, to determine the line of the carriageway and footpath, and to ensure that no protruding bay window, lean to, steps, railings, posts, etc., should be allowed to distract or constrict the way. The Commissioners also paid attention to rain water

disposal, insisting on the installation of proper gutters and drain pipes. The streets of Canterbury had over the centuries become cluttered with and constricted by haphazard additions to buildings, in some cases building in the carriageway itself. Regulation through the Courts Leet and the Magistrates had failed, or perhaps not even attempted, to deal with this. Against this accumulation of obstructions and hindrances, the Commissioners were given draconian powers in the Act to ensure that the streets were cleared and kept clear.⁷

Simmons as Treasurer was the prime mover in all this work. He drew up proposals to put into effect the provisions of the Act regarding obstructions, and these were approved by the Commissioners on 23 April 1787. In general, walls of buildings were to be flush with the line of their foundations, though where street widths were 27 feet or more some bow windows might be permitted to project up to 9 inches, and in rare cases a little more. Applying Simmons' rules, many properties in Canterbury were forced to undergo drastic alteration, which in some cases may have harmed the integral character of an old building or have changed it for the worse. For instance, some 40 properties in the main street of Canterbury were listed for alteration in advance of paving; seven for windows to be removed entirely, one reduced to 6 inches, thirty reduced to 9 inches, one to 12, and one to 14 inches. Many projecting signs and sign posts were ordered to be taken down and fixed to the front of houses. On 11 May 1787, notice was given to householders and church wardens to cause all spouts, and gutters to be taken down and to cause the water to be conveyed from the roofs, cornices, eaves and penthouses by pipes or trunks fixed to the sides of houses or churches. By September 1787, attention had turned to the paving of Best Lane and Prince of Orange Street, the contract again awarded to Meredith and Young. Burgate Street paving was started by the same contractors in December. After that came the turn of St Margaret's Street and Castle Street up to the Castle, and then Palace Street to Northgate. The Commissioners gave attention to lighting and watching the streets early in 1788. Watch started on 28 April, and by June of that year, a contract was let to Mr William Couldrey of the City Lamp Office, London, to supply and install between 100 and 150 lamps within the walls, and in some streets immediately outside the walls.

By the end of 1789 the necessary paving, and improvements of streets within the walls had been completed. The Inspector of Works was accordingly discharged in January 1790, and appointed surveyor, without a fixed salary, but to be paid for work commissioned and done. A committee of survey was appointed to keep under scrutiny the paving, lighting and scavenging etc.

By this time, the Commissioners had borrowed and spent the maximum permitted loan of £10,000; £4,000 borrowed against coal duty, £3,500 against street tolls, and £2,500 against rates. The detailed work of raising and administering the finance for the work, letting contracts, paying bills, receiving rates, all fell on Simmons. He seemed to have no difficulty in obtaining loans, for which he advertised in the local papers, but a fair proportion of the £10,000 was provided by himself, colleagues and friends, at advantageous interest rates of 4½ or 4¾ per cent. Simmons himself subscribed a total of £800, George Gipps (MP and Simmons partner in the Canterbury Bank) £700, H. Kirkby £300, Jacob Sharp £800, and W. Reynolds (probably Gipps' father in law) £1,200.⁸

GATES AND OTHER IMPROVEMENTS

While the Pavement Commissioners had the responsibility for the streets of Canterbury within the walls, the walls themselves and the gates remained the responsibility of the Burghmote. Before the advent of the Commissioners, several of the Gates to the City had already been totally or partially removed by order of the Burghmote in order to make easier the passage of traffic into and out of Canterbury. In 1770, parishioners and inhabitants petitioned the Burghmote to take down the Wincheap Gate which had been built in 1548 when the Worthgate was blocked, and rebuilt in 1670. The complaint was that it was very narrow, and inconvenient, and dangerous for foot passengers. Accordingly its removal was sanctioned, and it was taken down that year.⁹ In 1781, the centre of Burgate, and the buildings over the gateway between the two towers were taken down by order of the Burghmote,¹⁰ but total demolition did not occur until 1822. The Ridigate was destroyed in 1782, but an arch was constructed across the remaining piers in 1791 by Alderman Simmons as part of his creation of the Dane John as a pleasure garden.¹¹ In 1788, Simmons, as Mayor, but still Treasurer of the Pavement Commissioners, chaired a Burghmote Committee to investigate putting a carriage way through the Castle grounds into Wincheap Street. This involved the dismantling of the (blocked-up) Roman Worthgate, and exchanging a piece of Burghmote land for Mr Balderstone's estate in the Castle Grounds. The work was to be done by public subscription under the supervision of Mayor Simmons' Burghmote Committee, but the paving of the new road itself was a matter for the Pavement Commissioners, i.e., Simmons as Treasurer.¹² Northgate, which had a church over it, was altered in 1791 to have four feet added to its width. It was not demolished until 1830.¹³ St George's Gate and the practicality of demolishing it was the subject of Burghmote debate in the late eighteenth century, and consideration in earnest in 1799.¹⁴ The decision to demolish it was taken in 1801, in the context of the Burghmote's decision to develop the Cattle Market outside the walls,

between St George's and Ridिंगate. The town water cistern in one of the towers of St George's Gate had to be transferred to a wall tower in St Michael's Lane, and the unexpectedly high cost of the enterprise became a severe embarrassment.¹⁵ Westgate escaped demolition, largely perhaps, because of its use as the City Gaol, but its wooden gates were removed in 1785, and a way round it had been opened up.

Another move by the Burghmote at the time of the Pavement Commissioners repairing of the streets, was the creation of a new Butter and Green Market at the Bull Stake outside the Christ Church Gate. Again, Simmons, as Mayor, chaired a committee in 1789 to give effect to this, which involved demolishing Somner's Bull Stake building, and substituting another of a 'lighter and less delineated material' at a cost to the Burghmote of £400.¹⁶

It is perhaps also worth noting that the Burghmote in 1768 had widened the King's Bridge, which takes the main street of Canterbury over the Stour. They took down the arches of a bridge over the river near Brown's Mill (later Abbot's Mill) and used the material to widen King's Bridge. The work was done by public subscription, with a contribution from the Burghmote.¹⁷ No further basic work was done on the bridge in the paving drive.

While the paving, straightening and watching of existing streets within the walls was a matter for the Commissioners, it would seem that the creation of a new street in Canterbury was Burghmote business. In 1803 the Burghmote decided that a New Street (Guildhall Street) connecting Palace Street direct to High Street was needed to obviate the need to pass through the narrow and overhung Mercery Lane and Sun Street in order to reach Northgate and the new Turnpike road to Sturry and Thanet. The work, which involved the demolition of the Red Lyon (owned by the Burghmote) next to the Guildhall, was originally estimated at £1,000, but the final cost was well over twice that sum. Simmons supported the enterprise with a loan to the Burghmote of over £1,000, though the new street was not finished until after his death in 1807.¹⁸

In all their work the Commissioners applied their standards and jurisdiction equally to local entities as well as individual householders. Petitions to vary their requirements were heard and sometimes allowed. For instance on 25 June 1787 it was ordered that the steps of the Guildhall be taken away by the Burghmote as soon as convenient after due notice. There were discussions about St George's church, which intruded unacceptably onto the carriageway, and in particular what should be done about the staircase to the steeple. Eventually on 29 November 1787, it was decided to make an archway

through the building to open up a passage for those on foot. On 22 May 1788, the City Chamberlain was given notice that proper and sufficient pipes or trunks should be fitted to the Westgate towers to take the water, and that the existing spouts be taken down.

RE-PAVED CITY OF ELEGANCE

By the end of November 1789, the Commissioners had straightened and repaved the streets of Canterbury, transforming the city from medieval squalor to Georgian elegance. The smartening of the streets and perhaps the enforced need to make alterations to buildings seems to have stimulated something of a fashion in the City for changing at least the outward appearance of structures from medieval timber to Georgian brick, often in a simulated mode by use of mathematical brick facings, or tile hanging. Contemporary authors recorded that citizens and householders on the whole co-operated with and welcomed the changes. For instance the Kentish Travellers Companion wrote 'it may with truth be asserted that Canterbury, from being one of the worst paved cities, is at this time not exceeded, if equalled, in pavement by any city or town in the Kingdom', and that 'such a spirit of emulation for improvement has gone forth among the inhabitants that many of the old buildings have been and are still wholly or in part taking down and rebuilding in modern style'.¹⁹ This transformation of the streets, the Kentish Travellers Companion wrote '...instead of being dark and dirty, and incumbered with signs, bulks, posts, spouts, and other encroachments and annoyances, are open and airy, kept clean, enlightened by a number of lamps and constantly guarded at night by able watchmen; the shop windows and houses made to range as near as possible with each other, and water conveyed from the house taps and offices under the pavement in channels and drains... works which add dignity and respect to the city and citizens at large'. To be sure, all this was not achieved without damaging changes and alterations of existing structures which succeeding generations regretted and which modern conservationists would not have permitted. Indeed, in 1879, when the coaching trade had declined and the train was pre-eminent, the Canterbury author Brent wrote, 'The period of the close of the last century and the beginning of the present were periods in which destructionists in the Corporation had full sway'.²⁰ The judgement of the time however was that change was overdue, necessary and beneficial.

On 30 November 1789, the Burghmote recorded two separate votes of thanks to the Commissioners for their work; and they showed their particular appreciation of Simmons work by awarding him a suitably inscribed silver plate, value £50.²¹ Simmons resigned the Treasurership in 1791, though he retained an active interest in the affairs of the

Commissioners. John Hodges (a lawyer and Burghmote member) took over as Treasurer and combined with it the office of Secretary until 1814, when Messrs Curteis and Kingford were appointed to the joint office. The offices were separated by Act of Parliament in 1841, when W.H. Farley took over as Treasurer. The office of Secretary seems to have been the only salaried office of the Commissioners at £40 a year. The Treasurer had the usual benefit of holding the funds and drawing interest on them, and for most of the life of the Commissioners of the Pavement, a surveyor was paid only for work commissioned and done, though George Hurst was appointed as surveyor in 1844, no salary stated. Minor officials such as scavenger, lamp lighter, watchman, were paid usually on contract.²²

PAVING OF CANTERBURY SUBURBS

The provisions of the Act made it lawful for the Commissioners, in consideration of the duty on coal, coke or timber which residents of Westgate without, St Dunstan's and North Lane would have to pay, to light those streets for as long as such duty was paid. Further, provision was made for the Commissioners to undertake to pave, watch and light streets next to or leading into the City, if such service was requested by two thirds or more of the inhabitants of such areas. Conditions of the Act relating to raising of rates and borrowing would apply, but a separate Treasurer and account for each area was stipulated. In March 1790, the inhabitants of Westgate and of North Lane, no doubt stimulated by the work of the Commissioners within the walls, so petitioned the Commissioners, who agreed to their requests. In October 1792, Northgate similarly petitioned, and the Commissioners agreed against the collection of rates, to pave, watch and light from Northgate to the Jesus Hospital. In all three instances, the rates levied were not sufficient to cover costs, and in 1793 allotments from coal duty were made, £20 to Westgate, £31 15s. 6d. to North Lane and £100 to Northgate. Muddle over the financial arrangements for the suburbs continued through the years. In February 1819 it was found necessary to order the collector of Northgate Street to apply to the Magistrates to compel Mr Calloway, (formerly Treasurer for Northgate) for arrears of rates for that Street. Prior to that action, in 1816 an examination of the Accounts of Northgate showed that over the years too much money from coal tolls had been credited to Northgate, and the inhabitants should repay £273 3s. 10d. In 1822, a committee estimated that between 1791 and 1818 North Lane should have received £1,043 1s. 0½d. as their share of coal toll, and Westgate £203 3s. 1½d., whereas in fact North Lane had received £895 5s. 2d. and Westgate £343 8s. 8d. Nevertheless, the accounts for these areas continued to have separate Treasurers until at least 1837, when the firm of Curteis and Kingford,

Treasurer to the Pavement Commissioners themselves, was appointed Treasurer for Westgate.

LIGHTING AND WATCHING THE STREETS

By July 1789 the Commissioners had contracted for the lighting of the lamps. Some idea of the extent and cost of lighting the streets may be gained from an entry in the Minute Book for 11 October 1797, which records that James Ridout was paid £363 13s. 1d. for 66 weeks lamp lighting at 5½d. a lamp, per week, which seems to indicate that over 200 lamps were used. In 1818 a contract for the installation of gas lamps throughout the City was entered into. It was held that the move would 'prove an ornament to the City and ensure a great saving of funds'. And so it appears to have done, at least in the first instance. By August 1820, the placing of 97 gas lamps within the City was complete, and it would seem that the Gas Company bore the majority of the cost of the installation, £220 only appearing in Commissioner's accounts. And, in addition, the Gas Company proposed to lay water pipes free of charge alongside the gas pipes, the only proviso being that inhabitants would need to negotiate with them for a supply to their houses. Subsequently, however, by 1841, £1,361 was owing to the Gas Company and the cost of lighting had by 1843 risen from £247 to £787 10s. for 190 lamps. In 1843 there was a proposal to reduce the expense of lighting by using the lamps for only 230 nights a year (i.e. no summer lighting), but by April 1844 £1,881 3s. 10d. was owing, and the Gas Company asked at least for payment which would reduce this to £1,500. It would seem that by July 1845 the debt had been cleared.

COMMISSIONER'S FINANCES

From the evidence of the minute books it may be inferred that income in the early years of the nineteenth century was less than £2,000 a year, £400 from coal duty, £400 from street tolls and the rest from rates. As expenditure, about £475 went on interest payments for mortgages, £300 on lighting, £300 on watching, £100 on salaries and fees, and the remainder (£600-£1,000, say) on street repairs and improvements. Income from the street tolls on the London Road increased to £602 10s. in 1808, reaching a peak of £850 in 1839, and declining to £172 10s. by 1847. The Ramsgate first district Trustees continued to pay a £200 p.a. share of the Vauxhall tolls during those years. Coal duty in the years 1814-22 averaged at £380 a year. The coming of the railways decreased coal duty collected at street toll bars, but the Commissioners established a claim to duty on coals by train which by 1841 amounted to £588 9s. 9d. when street tolls had fallen to £171 12s. 1d.

The Commissioners however did not succeed in reducing their debts. By 1841 they owed some £14,000 which included £10,000 initially borrowed on bond, plus over £2,000 on bond, borrowed to finance work outside the City walls, and the amount owing to the Gas Company. To try to give the Commissioners the opportunity to remedy this state of affairs, an Amending Act of Parliament was procured.²³ The Act changed the mode of election of Commissioners to that of open meeting instead of by the Courts Leet (which had fallen into disuse under the new Municipal Council of 1836). The offices of Secretary and Treasurer were not, as they had been for over 50 years, to be held together. Rating clauses were repealed and rewritten, presumably to enable more rate to be raised. At the same time, in line with the original intent of the first Act that coal duty and street tolls should cease as soon as mortgages raised on them had been repaid, the new Act decreed that income from street tolls should henceforth be devoted to repaying the £3,500 debt outstanding against the tolls, and that coal duty should likewise be devoted to paying off the £4,000 borrowed against the tolls. When these debts had been paid, tolls and duty should cease. The new Act raised the limit for borrowings against rates to £7,500 (including the £5,300 already outstanding).

The new Act succeeded in putting the Commissioners further into debt. Mortgages against coal duty and street tolls began to be paid off, but rate income decreased rather than increased, and was insufficient to cover running costs. Yet another Act was procured²⁴ in 1844. An amended system of election and operation of the Commissioners was predicated, and they were given wider powers to levy rates, including the collection of 1s. in £1 for streets not paved. Borrowing powers against the rates were further extended to £9,000. Together, the two Acts had cost over £2,300 to procure; a sum which could only be paid by increasing debt.

However, the 1844 Act seemed to be effective, rate income rising from £971 9s. 6d. in 1844 to £2,063 in 1849. The last mortgage repayment from coal duty was made in 1847 and duty discontinued in that year.²⁵ Mortgage on tolls was repaid by 1856, and tolls then discontinued. From 1850 to 1866, the Commissioners relied solely on rates for their income.²⁶ During the years from 1840 onwards, the minimum possible repair of streets was done and the maximum effort was made to pay off loans, eventually achieved by the 1860s.

COMMISSIONERS AND THE CITY COUNCIL

The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 noted that it would be expedient if the powers of Corporations established under Acts for Paving,

Lighting and Watching were transferred to the newly created Council, but made no firm direction on the point. No such amalgamation in Canterbury was achieved until 1865, by which time the Commissioners had paid off their debts, coal duty and street tolls had been discontinued, and income of around £2,000 a year was derived solely from rating inhabitants. For 30 years, from 1836 to 1866, the Council and the Commissioners co-existed in an uneasy and somewhat overlapping relationship.

The new Council had the task of setting up, for the first time in Canterbury, a regular paid police force, and, in so doing, they took over from the Commissioners the watching of the City. On 12 January 1836, the Council obtained from Curteis and Kingford, solicitors acting as Secretary to the Commissioners, the following details of the cost of watching and lighting the City:

Peace officers and watchmen including rent of the Watch House

1832	£326 4s.
1833	£325 6s.
1834	£342 15s. 6d.

Lamp lighting

1832	£610 19s. 8d.
1833	£609 15s. 1d.
1834	£615 3s. 6d.

By 7 March 1836, hand over of watching to a new police force, of 12 constables, two inspectors and one superintendent, with wages 18s., £1 and 1 guinea a week, had taken place. The City Treasurers Ledger²⁷ shows that the cost of police in the period 1836-47 was in the region of £1,100 a year, reducing to about £900 a year in later years - at least three times as much as under the Pavement Commissioners.²⁸

Responsibility for lighting the streets took a longer time to resolve, but was eventually left in the hands of the Commissioners. An extra burden of £600 a year on the Borough Rate was presumably not welcome. Then, too, in September 1836, the Council wanted some streets in the suburbs to be lighted in the same way as streets within the walls, and they requested action from the Commissioners. At the same time the Commissioners wanted to have appointed more Commissioners to replace those lost by natural wastage. The Paving Act required their election to be by Courts Leet, the convening of which lay within the jurisdiction of the Council. Accordingly, the Commissioners had requested the Council to convene the Courts Leet to elect 36 new Commissioners, 6 from each of the 6 Old Wards.²⁹ The two matters became



somewhat entangled in discussions between the Council and the Pavement Commissioners. The Council had no other reason to convene Courts Leet, and they prevaricated throughout 1837, first deciding to convene the Courts, then not to hold them. Matters dragged on, with no action on the Council's lighting request, and in March 1839 the Council confirmed that it was not expedient to convene Courts Leet.

The Commissioners in 1840 then began to promote the new Paving Act for Canterbury, which inter alia provided for the election of Commissioners on a rotational basis in open meetings, and not by Courts Leet (see above). The Mayor called a public meeting on 21 January 1840 to consider the intended application by the Commissioners for a new Act. In February 1841, the Council called for powers vested in the Commissioners to be transferred to the Council and presented a petition to the House of Commons praying that the new Act of the Commissioners should not be passed into law. The petition listed then arguments for the transfer of the Commissioners' powers to the Council. The main thrust of these is summarised in the first argument - viz:

'that the existence of two Governing Bodies having district management and control in local matters is inconsistent with good order and resolution thereof'.³⁰

Nevertheless, despite the forcefully worded petition, the Commissioners' new Act passed into law on 21 June 1841.³¹ The new Act also extended the Commissioners borrowing powers against the rates, and the Commissioners took up the Council's request to pave and light streets in the suburbs on 22 June 1846, borrowing not more than £5,000 for that purpose.

Thereafter, it would seem that the two bodies continued to exist side by side until 1865, when the City Council, with the consent or acquiescence of the Commissioners, took the initiative under a Local Government Act of 1858, to take over the powers of the Commissioners and merge the two corporate bodies. The reasons adduced for such action were similar to those advanced in 1841.

Chapter III

Notes

- 1 Panton, F.H., 'Turnpike roads in the Canterbury area', *Arch. Cant. cii* (1985), p.171. The Canterbury-Chatham road was turnpiked in 1736 (apart from a small stretch at Dunkirk), the Whitstable-Canterbury road in 1736, the Ashford-Canterbury road (part of the Faversham, Ashford, Hythe and Canterbury Trust) in 1762. The Canterbury-Barham Trust in 1791 completed the tolling of the road to Dover, and the other routes from Canterbury to Ramsgate via Sarre, and to Sandwich, were turnpiked in 1802.
- 2 Indeed until 1787, Canterbury Burghmote drew a small yearly income from licensing encroachments caused by changes to property.
- 3 The Acts were Rochester and Strood 8 Geo.III Cap.XXXII; Chatham 12 Geo.III Cap.XVIII; Gravesend and Milton 13 Geo.III Cap.XV; Dover 18 Geo.III Cap.LXXVI; Faversham 19 Geo.III Cap.LXIX; Ramsgate 25 Geo.III Cap.XXXIV; Sandwich 27 Geo.III Cap.LXVII; Deal 30 Geo.III Cap.LXIV; Maidstone 31 Geo.III Cap.LXII; Folkestone 36 Geo.III Cap.XLIX.
- 4 27 Geo.III Cap.XIV.
- 5 For comparison, the Rochester Act specified a similar range and number of Commissioners, with qualification set at £1,000 personal estate. The Chatham Act listed 36 Householders immediately concerned with the purposes of the Act, with a £10 leasehold or estate value £500, and borrowings up to £1,500. The Gravesend and Milton Act listed 39 in addition to officials, with qualification of £10 leasehold or £300 personal estate, total borrowings up to £1,200; Dover's list included 51 gentlemen with rents valued £20 or personal estate of £500, borrowings up to £8,000; Faversham, 97 commissioners, real estate £10 p.a. or worth £400, or rated at £20 under the Act; Ramsgate's Act reflected its position as a limb of Sandwich in the Cinque Ports, by naming Lord Conyngnam, the Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Sandwich as well as the Mayor's deputy at Ramsgate as Commissioners - the 50 others named as commissioners had to possess £20 lands or personal estate at £500, borrowings up to £3,000. Ramsgate Act also made provision for a Public Market, with a Market House near the centre by voluntary public subscription; Deal, 82 with £10 real estate or personal £400, or rated at £10 p.a., borrowings up to £6,000. Maidstone's Commissioners included 'all and every

inhabitant possessed of annual rent £10 or more, or rated at £15 upwards', borrowing up to £7,000. Folkestone's Commissioners included Viscount Folkestone, the Mayor and Jurats, perpetual curate of Folkestone and 46 with qualification of lease £20 or personal estate £400, or rated at £10 p.a., borrowings limited to £4,000.

6 C.C.L. Minutes of the Canterbury Pavement Commissioners 1787-1866.

7 Para. 58 of 27 Geo.III Empowers the Commissioners 'or any twenty-seven or more of them ... take down, remove alter or reform any Porch, Bulk, Bow or Projecting window ... which the said Commissioners ... shall deem to be an obstruction to the free passage ...' and forbids the building of any such feature. Para. 59 provides that, if at two successive meetings a quorum of 27 is not present, then 9 Commissioners will be a sufficient number. Para. 60 authorizes Nine Commissioners or more to remove 'all Steps Iron Rails, Palisades, Posts and Rails, Walls, Trees or Fences projecting on Footpaths ... to be taken down and removed'. The position of sign posts etc., was similarly regulated.

8 Subscribers for the £10,000 were: 27 August 1787, W. Reynolds £1,000, Jacob Sharp £500, J. Simmons £500. 24 December 1787 Phineas Stringer £800, William Adams £800, Ald. Ed. Crayford £400. 23 June 1788, Ed. Crayford £100, William Reynolds £200, A. Johnson £200, J. Simmons £300, H. Kikley £300, Robert Staines £300, Miss Catherine Smith £300, and G. Gipps £300. 22 September 1788, William Scott £500 (at 3 per cent), S. Johnson £500, R. Staines £100, Miss Catherine Smith £100, Mr. Benjamin Brown £500, Jacob Sharp £300.

9 Burghmote Minutes AC9 837, 18 December 1770. See also Buckingham, Christopher, *Gates of Canterbury*, Thomas Becket Books, 1980.

10 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 9 1064. 5 June 1781.

11 Hasted 2nd Ed. Vol XII 658, Vol XI 75, and Buckingham *op. cit.*

12 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 10 82, 11 November 1788 and C.B.M. AC 10 85-86, 9 December 1788. In the Pavement Commissioners' Records for 11 November 1795, there is a note that £48 7s. 5d. was paid for the road through Castle Yard towards Wincheap.

13 Buckingham, *op. cit.*

14 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 11 49, 10 December 1799.

15 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 11 170, 14 April 1801 and Buckingham *op. cit.*

16 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 10 118, 26 May 1789, 132 7 July 1789, 137-138 15
September 1789, 141 13 October 1789.

17 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 9 797, 6 December 1768.

18 See Panton, F.H. 'James Simmons; A Canterbury Tycoon'. *Arch. Cant.* cv 1988, pp. 236-7.

19 *Kentish Travellers Companion* 1794, 4th Edition pp.234-5.

20 Writing in 1923 the Canterbury historian, Dorothy Gardiner (*Canterbury*, Sheldon Press, London, 1923, pp. 112-114) noted that 'commonsense, not sentiment' motivated the actions of the Commissioners, who pursued a campaign of systematic destruction from street to street and in every lane and byway. The decision of the Commissioners, though not unanimous, were backed by sweeping majorities and, 'the old city was transformed, swept and garnished ... the citizens generally rejoiced in all the changes ...'.

P. Langford refers to Gardiner's account in his book *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman* (Clarendon Press 1991, p. 231). In that book, the summation of Gardiner's account was represented as depicting the immense destruction at Canterbury after the Improvement Act of 1787 as a subject of great controversy. This is hardly an accurate representation of Gardner's views, or of the state of affairs as mirrored by contemporary authors.

21 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 10 142.

22 Panton, F.H. 'Turnpike Roads in the Canterbury Area', *Arch. Cant.* cii 1985, p.187.

23 4 and 5 Vic. C66 (21 June 1841). To amend 27 Geo.III C14.

24 7 and 8 Vic. C53 1844.

25 See Appendix A for an income and expenditure statement for 1844.

26 See Appendix B for an income and expenditure account for 1851.

27 C.C.L. City Treasurer's Ledger 1836-55.

28 The *Kentish Gazette* (26 January 1836) commented unfavourably on the setting up of the police force on grounds of unnecessary cost to the ratepayer, believing that six policemen rather than 12 would have been adequate. After much deliberation, the Council's Watch Committee decided in November 1841 to reduce the force by 1 inspector and 3 men, reducing the cost by £200 p.a.

29 The Municipal Corporations Act had reduced the number of Wards in Canterbury for voting purposes from 6 to 3. It would seem, however, that Courts Leet for the 6 old wards were left untouched.

30 The other arguments set out in the Petition were: that the Commissioners of the Pavement ... find it impossible to apply the provisions (of the Pavement Act) to the present state of the City, altered as it has been by the Municipal Act 5 and 6 W.IV. C76 and the Parochial Assessment Act; that the 75 sections of the Municipal Act provided an easy and effectual mode for the Commissioners of the Pavement to relieve themselves of the difficulties in which they are now placed, and your petitioners are convinced that if such a course were taken, the Council could carry out effectually all the provisions of the present Acts for paving etc; that by transfer of powers of the Commissioners, the expenses of two establishments instead of one would be avoided; that since the 1835 Municipal Act they have not as they ought to have done, applied any part of the Rate in discharge of the debt contracted by them of upwards of £10,000 which ought to have been long since reduced and not left a burden on the inhabitants of the City; that the Paving Act cannot effectually be worked by the Commissioners, and granting them further powers would be keeping up an extensive authority incompatible with the Body Corporate and highly prejudicial to the City; that no possible benefit to the City could arise from the present Bill; that the Bill emanates from the Commissioners and not from the inhabitants generally and is (we hear) not even unanimous wish of the Commissioners; and that the legislature has already provided a remedy for such matters.

31 This Act did not solve all the Commissioners' problems, and, as is noted above, a further Act 7 and 8 Vic. C53 in 1844 became necessary.

Chapter III

APPENDIX A

CANTERBURY PAVEMENT COMMISSIONERS
ACCOUNTS 1844

Receipts	£	s.	d.	Expenditure	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	590	18	8	<i>Debentures paid off:</i>			
Rates	971	9	6	Coal	900	0	0
<i>Coal dues:</i>				Tolls	400	0	0
Railway	561	14	9	Interest payments	344	0	1
Whitstable	239	8	10	Tax	14	4	0
Harbledown	15	14	6	Salaries	63	10	0
St Dunstan's	6	17	8	Legal expenses	47	18	0
Sweechgate	1	16	0	Lighting	1,995	15	3
Vauxhall Gate	2	1	6	Stoneyard	23	13	9
<i>Tolls:</i>				Tradesmen	131	0	9
London Road	311	18	9	Miscellaneous	55	3	2
Ramsgate	200	0	0	Cost of new Act	1,017	17	1
Interest	49	3	0	Labour	141	19	1
New loans on rates	3,300	0	0	Scavenging	42	13	1
Scrapings	10	0	0	Balance forward	1,083	12	0
Difference		2	0				
Total	6,261	6	2	Total	6,261	6	2

Chapter III

APPENDIX B

CANTERBURY PAVEMENT COMMISSIONERS
ACCOUNTS 1851

Receipts	£	s.	d.	Expenditure	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	73	3	6	<i>Interest</i>	399	8	11
<i>Rates:</i>				Tax	5	13	9
City	1,996	1	1	Salaries	45	11	9
Orchard Place	22	17	9½	Repairs	390	0	0
Wincheap	40	9	4½	Gaslight			
Dover Lane	24	0	0	City	651	11	6
Watering St George	9	19	6	Orchard Place	18	0	0
Borrowed	1,000	0	0	Wincheap	34	4	0
				Dover Lane	26	12	0
				Scavenging	51	11	6
				Sundries	13	15	0
				Keeper	5	10	0
				Paid off	1,300	0	0
				Balance	126	10	10
Total	3,166	12	3	Total	3,166	12	3

CHAPTER IV

CARE OF THE POOR

INTRODUCTION

Responsibility for the care of the poor of Canterbury was, from 1727/8 onwards, vested by private Act of Parliament in the Court of Guardians, a Corporation separate from but linked with the Mayor and Commonalty. The Guardians provided a central workhouse and out-relief for the fourteen parishes of the City, and supervised the work of overseers in the parishes, financing the whole through city-wide poor rates. Additionally, as in other ancient towns, private philanthropy had over the centuries established and endowed almshouses and charities which in parallel with the Court of Guardians, provided homes and assistance principally for the retired and needy. A third type of relief, in times of high prices, high unemployment, or scarcity of staple foodstuffs, was a form of crisis management through funds raised by community effort. Contributions to occasional relief funds from the better off in the community, organised by the Mayor and his Burghmote colleagues in conjunction with the Dean and Chapter, enabled soup kitchens, cheaper flour, bread, meat, potatoes, etc., to be provided to large numbers of deserving poor to sustain them through difficult times. It will be suggested in this thesis that crisis management of this kind was one of the most important contributions to social stability undertaken by the local government of Canterbury.

Some account of these three main sources of relief for paupers and for the poor and needy is given below.

COURT OF GUARDIANS

Composition

The old Poor Law of 1601 established the Parish as the normal unit of administration for the relief of the poor. Accordingly, the fourteen parishes of Canterbury were responsible for their own Poor until 1727/8. In that year an Act¹ was procured 'for erecting a workhouse in the City of Canterbury for employing and maintaining the Poor there', setting up a Corporation of a Court of Guardians of the Poor, with powers to bring together and centrally control as one unit the care of the Poor of Canterbury's fourteen parishes. Other towns, such as Bristol (1696) had taken such a step before Canterbury, with results which did not seem to be particularly advantageous financially, though the central workhouse concept seemed to have a useful deterrent effect.

An Act of 1723 had allowed parishes to build and manage work houses and to deny relief to those who refused to enter them, but it was not until Gilbert's Act of 1782 that parishes were generally encouraged to bond together in larger entities to build institutes to house all classes of the destitute, except the able bodied, and they were not compelled to do so until the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.

That Canterbury was ahead of its time in promoting a private Act to create a Corporation of Guardians of the Poor for the City, superseding and assimilating the efforts of the individual parishes, may partly have been due to the increasing burden which care of the poor put on the individual parishes, but the process was obviously made easier by the fact that the City already owned a building with an income from land endowments which could readily be adapted for use as a workhouse. The preamble to the Act of 1727 reads in part 'whereas the numbers of poor people have, of late years, much increased throughout the whole Kingdom of England, and particularly in the City of Canterbury, and whereas erecting of publick Workhouses for imploying the Poor, has been found to be the most proper method for the prevention and removal of the great Mischiefs arising from such numbers of unemployed Poor ...' and the Act went on to vest the Hospital of the Poor Priests, with its revenues, in a Corporation of a Court of Guardians of the Poor for the City.

The Poor Priests' Hospital had been granted, with endowments, to the Mayor and Commonalty of Canterbury by Queen Elizabeth in 1575. The Hospital, founded in the thirteenth century as an almshouse, and rebuilt in stone in the fourteenth century, had escaped Dissolution. In 1575, the last Master, Blaise Winter, surrendered it and its endowments, to the Queen, and she transferred ownership to the Mayor and Commonalty on 5 July 1575. The City Fathers used the Hospital to house and finance a Blue Coat School for sixteen poor boys between the ages of 13 to 15, and as a Bridewell, or, House of Correction, for minor offences.

The endowments acquired with the Hospital were quite substantial. They included some 18 different holdings of land and property in Canterbury or its outlying villages, comprising in all some 200 acres, widely dispersed in small fields, isolated from one another. Income from leases at that time amounted to about £400 per annum.²

The Act of 1727 set up, as from May 1728, a Corporation of the Court of Guardians of the Poor of the City of Canterbury, as a legal entity, capable of owning land and property, able to sue and be sued, to have a common seal, to make byelaws for and govern the Poor under their

care. The Court consisted of the 'Mayor, Recorder, and Justices of the Peace of the said City, and County of the same for the time being; and also Twenty-eight other Persons to be chosen out of the ablest and discreetest Inhabitants of the Parishes within the said City, hereafter mentioned, two out of each Parish". The Justices of the Peace for Canterbury were the Mayor, the Recorder and those Aldermen who had filled the office of Mayor (up to 12 in number). Procedures for election of Guardians from the Parishes were defined in detail - viz: The Parish Clerk should give notice on the Sunday preceding the election which should take place in the Parish Church between 9 a.m. and 12 noon. Should a Parish refuse or neglect to choose Guardians, the JPs for the City were empowered to appoint two of the ablest and discreetest inhabitants.

At its annual General Meeting in the first week in July, The Court of Guardians chose by majority vote from amongst their number, a President (as Chairman) and a Receiver (as Treasurer) and appointed a schoolmaster, clerk and other officers and servants, and fixed their salaries. The Guardians were authorized to use profits from the Poor Priests' Hospital endowments for its Maintenance, provided that they continued to maintain a Blue Coat School and a Bridewell in the Hospital. In addition, they were enabled to extract Poor Rates, as they judged necessary, from 'every inhabitant, Person, Vicar and others and, of every Occupier of Lands ...'. The intended rate had to be certified under seal to the Mayor, Recorder and Justices of the Peace, who were required (any two or more of them) to grant their warrant to the Overseers of the Parishes, to organise collection of the Rate. Church Wardens and Overseers of the Parishes were made responsible to the Guardians for matters relating to the Poor. The powers of the Guardians extended to the ability to summon inhabitants before them, on pain of fine up to 40s., to answer on oath any matters relating to the Corporation's affairs. They could order Constables and Borsholders to compel vagrants and beggars to enter the Workhouse, and to enforce the rules of the Workhouse by inflicting Corporal Punishment or imprisonment in the Bridewell. Persons applying for relief could be directed to the Workhouse or given out-relief as the Guardians thought fit. Refusal to go into the House could cause any relief to be withheld.

Establishing the Workhouse

The Court met for the first time on 2 July 1728.³ The first tasks of the Court, after electing John Hardres, Esq., of St George's Parish as president and Bradnox Brandon, Gentleman, of St Peter's, as Receiver (i.e. Treasurer), were to survey the Hospital buildings for repair and

adaptation, and to order Overseers in each parish to lay their old *sess* books before Court, preparatory to levying a rate. By 5 July plans for adaptation of the Hospital into a Workhouse were accepted, and £400 borrowing against the rates was authorized to meet expenses. Several lessees of parts of the Hospital were persuaded to quit their leases with compensation. A Master of the Workhouse (John Bell) was appointed at a salary of £20 p.a. (plus free board and lodging) and a Mistress (Elizabeth Cooper) was engaged at £10 p.a. plus lodging etc. The Master was required to instruct Youth in the Workhouse in reading, writing and Accounts, and to 'give instruction in whatever manufacture he is capable'. Alderman Jacob (Mayor and also, therefore, a Guardian) was appointed surgeon to the Workhouse at £20 p.a. (including medicine) and to have the care of the out-poor at the same rate as other apothecaries.

By the end of September 1728, the Workhouse was ready to take in the poor from the parishes. St Mildred's poor were due in on 24 September, St Paul's on 25, St George's 26, St Andrew's 27, Northgate 28, St Mary Bredin 30, St Mary Magdalene 1 October, St Martin's Holy Cross and St Peter's on 2, St Margaret's and St Mary Bredman 3, and St Alphage and All Saint's on 4. Also in October, the Guardians took a 60 year lease on land over the river at the back of the Workhouse, building there a working shed and storehouse, with a bridge over the river for easy access. Orders were sent to all Constables and Borsholders to compel Vagabonds and Beggars to go into the Workhouse.

Strict rules for the conduct of the House were established. These specified: prayers twice a day, all to attend; church twice on Sunday, on pain of losing a meal, second offenders to be confined to Bridewell, third offenders to be 'severely whipt'. Hours set were: Bell at 5 a.m. summer, 6 a.m. winter; work 6 a.m. summer, 7 a.m. winter; breakfast 8 a.m. summer, 9 a.m. winter; dinner 12 noon and 1 p.m.; bed by 9 p.m. summer, 8 p.m. winter; no smoking at work or in bed. Inhabitants were to be paid 1d. in the 1s. for work done, and those refusing work would be committed to Bridewell. Meals consisted mainly of bread, cheese and milk, with meat once a week; perhaps an adequate diet if supplied as specified.

Each person smoking was allowed 2 ounces tobacco a week. Beer was supplied, bought at 8s. a barrel. Suppliers of food, drink and other provisions to the Workhouse, were changed regularly, sometimes fortnightly, sometimes monthly. Appointments of tradesmen and craftsmen to meet the needs of the Workhouse were made yearly, again most often on rotation basis. This system was obviously intended to benefit from competitive tenders, and to distribute the custom of the Guardians

widely. The businesses of individual Guardians benefited along with other businesses in the Community.

From the start, the Guardians began to apply the laws of Settlement more rigorously than they might have been by individual parishes. In February 1728/9 they ordered parish officers to summon 66 persons before the Justices for illegal residence in the City, and for removal to their places of legal residence.⁴

In Accordance with the 1727 Act, in October 1728 a bond was sealed between the Guardians and the Mayor and Commonalty, as one Corporation to another, whereby the Guardians formally undertook to maintain the Blue Coat School of the Boys as a separate entity in the Hospital Buildings, and to continue to employ John Scrimshaw at £16 p.a., plus keep, as their teacher. The boys would continue to be admitted by nomination of the Mayor and Commonalty, and at the age of 15 would be placed out as apprentices by the Guardians, with a sum of money for the apprentice master, initially set at £5, together with expenses of indenture. Payment to the apprentice master rose over the years to £10 and then to £20.

The Guardians saw fit to have a clock erected on the Workhouse, at a cost of £20, by one of their number, Alderman Shindler. In a further attention to the dignity of the Court, in June 1729,⁵ a previous order for a design of the Arms of the City quartered with representation of Charity on the Common Seal was declared void. The Impression was not deep enough, and Charity had but two children. The design was ordered to be redone, with another child added to Charity's brood.⁶

By the end of the first year of operation, the Guardians had created a central system to organize and conduct the work previously done by 14 separate parishes, incorporating the existing effort available in those parishes. On 1 July 1729 the second Annual General Meeting of Court was held, at which George Lynch (All Saints) was elected President and Bradnox Brandon re-elected Receiver. The Guardians' mark was quite literally set on the Poor of Canterbury when in 1730 they decided that 'for the future, the Poor of every Parish who receive any relief from this Corporation shall wear a Badge on the right sleeve of their upper Garment a mark of a Roman P and the first letter of the Parish to which they belong, otherwise not to be relieved'.⁷

Finances of the Guardians

Apart from revenues from property and lands, and from the profit (if any) gained from the work of the paupers, the main source of income of

the Guardians was from the Poor Rate. Some idea of how great was the Guardians need for income from this source in the early years of their existence may be gathered from a Rate Book for the years 1750-1753⁸ which has survived. For those years, seven collections of 1s. in the £1 are recorded, separately attested by two JPs for Canterbury, and two Kent County JPs for that part of St Paul's Parish lying within Kent County.⁹ Dates of collection were 11 February 1750/51, 6 August 1751, 7 January 1751/52, 21 July 1752, 29 January 1752/53, 3 June 1753, 14 December 1753. The collection was about £500 each time making a grand total of about £3,500.

Most individual rates levied amounted to no more than a few shillings, at 1s. in the £1. In some instances the highest amount paid in a parish came from the Parsons tithes - for instance in St Mildred's the Revd. Deafoy topped the list, and in St George's, the Archdeacon. The contribution made by St Paul's, at £95 0s. 6d., was by far the largest from the Parishes, and the major portion of that, £86 18s. 6d., came from the Kent County part of the Parish. The largest individual contribution was from a Mrs Rook in the Kent County section of St Paul's, who paid £27 10s. for tithes she received (source unspecified) to the value of £550. The total number of rate payers was about 1700.

The wealth and standing of each parish may be indicated not only by the amount of rate produced but also by the number of householders listed as excused payment of poor rates on account of poverty. For Holy Cross, none are so listed; St Margaret's 9; St Andrew's 1; St Peter's 18; St Mary Magdalene 11; St George's 29; All Saints 8; St Paul's 12; St Mary Bredin 3; St Martin's nil; St Mary Bredman 13; St Mildred's 46; St Mary Northgate 4; St Alphage 7; St Paul's (Kent) nil.

Detailed records of the accounts of the Workhouse year by year do not seem to be available, but Brent¹⁰ gives some information on accounts for 1746, derived from John Clarke, then Master of the Workhouse, as follows:

	£	s	d
1746 Maintenance of the Workhouse	1411	4	2
Received by earnings of the Poor	190	15	3½
Rent, Poor Priests	128	10	0
For maintaining George Howerd	6	2	0
To be deducted	324	13	3½
Charge to the City	1086	10	10½

We may assume that the rental income is a portion of that from the Poor Priests lands and property, with the remainder (some £200-£300, probably) devoted to the care and education of the Blue Coat Boys. The figures above therefore relate solely to the care of paupers in the House. Clarke gives the number of these as 171.

Similar statements for the years 1751 and 1752 are given by Alderman Gray¹¹ in his notebook. On Gray's election as President of the Court of Guardians for the first time in July 1752, Henry Simmons, then Master, gave him an account as follows for July 1751 to July 1752:

	£	s.	d.
Balance 28th June 1751	171	8	11½
Total disbursement	1493	19	11½
	1665	8	11

The Receiver by Sundry Accounts:

To a sess 6 August 1751	499	2	1
To a sess 7 January 1752	482	0	3
By Rents	148	15	2
Earnings of the Poor	203	7	6½
Wood Sales and Arrears on sesses	184	4	8
	1517	9	8½
Balance 23 June 1752	147	19	2½
	1665	8	11

When earnings of the Poor, Rent and Sundries are taken out of the Total Disbursement, the net Charge to the City is £1182 4s. 11½d. The number in the House at July 1752 was given as 188.

A similar summary for the year ending July 1753, noted by Ald. Gray, shows a total Disbursement of £1454 6s. 7½d., with sesses of £494 19s. 2d. (21 July 1752), £491 8s. 11½d (29 January 1753), income from Rents £148 16s. 11d., from Wood Sales and Sundries £69 12s. 2½d., and from Earnings of the Poor £224 16s. 7½d. The net charge to the City was £1029 7s. 5½d., with 187 in the House.

We may conclude from all this that the income of the Guardians in the

late 1740s, early 1750s was not more than about £1500 p.a., £1000-£1200 from the rates, and the remainder from property, land and income from the work of the Poor. The figures would seem to imply that the average cost of keeping a pauper (taking no account of age or sex) in the late 1740s, early 1750s was just over £8 a year, or about 3s. a week.

Nearly 100 years later, in 1835¹² it was reported to the Guardians that with an average number of paupers in the House of 271 (a considerable increase in total number), maintenance and clothing cost annually £2877 2s. 4d., an average of just over 4s. a week. Not only, therefore, had the number of paupers to be maintained in the House risen during the years from 1746 to 1835, but the average cost of maintaining a pauper had risen by a significant amount, presumably due at least in part to inflation.

That the total cost of maintaining the Workhouse in Canterbury had reached high levels in the late 1820s, early 1830s, is borne out by the figures produced by a Committee of Finance set up by the Guardians in 1833 to investigate discrepancies in the then Receivers' records:¹³ The Committee's summary of rates drawn in the years 1829-1832 showed that in 1829/30 eight rates were collected, in 1831, five rates and in 1831/32, three rates. Twelve rates collected an amount of £1700 each, one at £2000 and two at £2500. The total of 16 rates in 3 years yielded in all £30,360 3s. An average of about £10,000 for each of the three years is a staggering sum, showing just how much the burden of the poor had increased in Canterbury, as in other parts of Kent, in the years before the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 came into effect. These large amounts must have included provision for out-relief of perhaps one or two thousand pounds p.a., in addition to support for the 270 or so in-house. The total amount quoted may also have included sums of some hundreds of pounds a year collected by the Guardians on behalf of the Justices of the Peace in Canterbury, for defraying the cost of sessions etc. Nevertheless, comparing amounts collected in 1750-1753 with those collected in 1829-1832, it would seem that the real burden of the poor rate had increased several fold.

Figures available for the years 1836-1852¹⁴ indicate a level of expenditure somewhat lower than the heights reached in the late 1820s, early 1830s. The total yearly parochial rate expended ranged from £7,000 to £9,000 but more often than not, well over £8,000. This figure included the Borough rate (which itself provided for costs of Law and Order and Police Force) collected by the Guardians for the Canterbury Council set up to replace the Burghmote by an Act of 1835, of between £1,500 and £2,000 a year. Expenditure by the Guardians on other matters ran at between a few hundred and about a thousand pounds

a year. The total expenditure on the Poor therefore ranged between £4,500 and £6,500 a year.

After a new Union building had been established in Canterbury in 1848 to replace the Hospital, records show that maintenance of the in-poor in 1849 cost £1,514, £1,256 in 1850, £1,166 in 1851, and £876 in 1852. The cost of out relief in those years was £2,896, £2,435, £2,111, and £2,232. Also shown for these years is an item for 'other expenses connected with relief' of £1,297, £1,960, £2,219, and £2,407. Total amounts spent on the poor in the years 1849 to 1852 were £5,769, £5,651, £5,494 and £5,155. We see therefore that in these years when the central Commissioners of the Poor had assumed overall direction of the Canterbury Court of Guardians, expenditure on the poor in Canterbury decreased somewhat. By comparison, Kent County expenditure on the poor decreased rather more markedly, from £297,000 in 1835 to £185,000 in 1852.¹⁵

Administrative Organization

Designated committees of Guardians met weekly between monthly meetings of the full Court to progress specific areas of activity. The number and range of Committees varied from time to time, but they generally covered: Internal Management; Tradesmens Bills (meeting on Mondays); Stores (as and when necessary); Assessments (of rating values, meeting Thursdays at 6 p.m.); Relief of the Poor (paupers relieved not resident in the workhouse, Fridays 2 p.m.); Survey and Repairs (of the Guardians property, including the Workhouse); Settlements and Removals (ensuring that all paupers were a charge on their home parish); Manufactory (organizing work done by Workhouse paupers) and Agriculture (mainly organizing a short lived scheme in the 1830s to enable paupers to cultivate some of the Guardians land). Day to day running of the Workhouse under the guidance of the Court and its Committees was of course the duty of the Master and Mistress (generally man and wife).

Officers and their remunerations were chosen and fixed annually at the AGM of the Court in the first week in July. Craftsmen such as Carpenter, Cooper, Brazier, Bricklayer, Glazier, White Smith, Blacksmith, Basketmaker, Breechmaker, Cutler, Tailor and Barber were also appointed annually in July, to work as necessary for the Guardians.

The financial affairs of the Guardians were in the hands of the Receiver, who, although electable yearly, generally served for a number of consecutive years. Initially he relied on the (unpaid) Overseers and Constables in the Parishes to collect rates, enforce settlements and

other decisions of Court. Over the years, this proved a somewhat unsatisfactory method of collection, and in 1814 an Act was procured which, in part, enabled the Guardians to appoint a Collector or Collectors to act instead of, or in conjunction with, Overseers to collect rates.¹⁶ For some years, the Collector acted in conjunction with the Overseers, but in 1831 Henry Taylor and Samuel White were appointed Collectors in the room of and instead of the Overseers.¹⁷ A Collector received 2½d for every £1 collected, and was obliged to hand over rate money every Thursday to the Receiver. The Receiver's accounts were inspected annually by a committee of the whole Court, but it was not until 1789 that Accounts were published yearly in the local newspapers for the scrutiny of the ratepayers.¹⁸ The Assessments Committee provided a mechanism for hearing appeals against rates, but appeals could be pursued through the Magistrates after a decision by the Court of Guardians. Overseers were also sued when delivery of rates collected by them became overdue.

Under the Master, there was an extensive infrastructure of paupers given small weekly allowances for carrying out specific tasks in the House. In 1821, an Order for allowances for paupers included:¹⁹

Men: Archer, Carpenter 6d. Joshua, Bricklayer 3d. Allwight, Bricklayer 3d. Burrows, Bridewell Keeper and Bell Ringer 6d. Marsh, Baker 3d. Adams, Carter 3d. Coffee, Carter 3d. Taylor, Stable and Hogman 3d. Adams, Porter 3d. Drury, Attendant on Blue Boys 6d. Cock, Woodcutter 3d. Ellis, Taylor ½d. Boyle, Bread Cutter 6d. Gunder, Porter 6d. Hawkes, Girls Schoolmaster 3d. per day. Thorpe, Shoemaker 5d. Thorpe jun., Wickenden, Simmons, Shoemakers ½. Sampson, Boys Schoolmaster 4d. Cook, Hospital Man 3d. Harriss, Cellarman 3d.

Women: Mummery, Cook 6d. Trager, Nurse Foul Ward 6d. Stephens, Nurse Men's Room 4d. Spain, Schoolmistress 3d. Scragg, Nurse Hospital 8d. Hare, Nurse Hospital 2d. Stockbridge, Women's Room 4d. Welsh, Nurse Blue Boys 3d. Burger, Men's Hospital Nurse 6d. Cawley, Men's Wool Room 3d. Mayes, Laundry Woman 4d. Longbridge, Nurse 3d. Gaffee, Nurse, Old women's Room 2d. Thrymn, Orphans Nurse 3d. Nowers, Nurse House 4d. Jeslun, Hall Cleaner 1d.

Altogether it would seem that at least 40 of the in-paupers out of a total of 250 or so were employed on tasks about the house, and were therefore presumably not available for other, and perhaps more productive, tasks.

Discipline in the Workhouse

Penalties exacted by the Guardians on the paupers for indiscipline and breaking the rules of the Workhouse included restriction of diet, incarceration in the Bridewell, whipping in various degrees, and putting in the stocks on public display. All these penalties were directed by the Court under their powers as in the 1727 Act, to be carried out by the Master and his staff. Serious offences of a criminal nature, such as larger scale theft or embezzlement would be referred to the Mayor and Justices of Canterbury County for trial. Court records down the years note a number of punishments, sometimes giving details of offences committed. Misbehaviour, running away, stealing and selling workhouse property, not working as directed, getting drunk etc. were the usual charges.

For instance on 20 August 1744, Anne Eldridge was sentenced first to be whipt for misbehaviour and then discharged from the Workhouse.²⁰ In February 1744/45 John Willen²¹ was whipped for stealing bread and porter and in November 1748 Anne Brier for deserting and making away with her clothes.²² Some punishments seem particularly severe. In April 1765, Ann Hicks was sentenced to 20 lashes on her bare back for stealing goods and Dorothy Havard to 10 lashes on her bare back for stealing meat from the brine tub.²³

Punishments were not restricted to the paupers; occasionally the staff were also punished. In August 1763, J. Cheaver, schoolmaster, was sentenced to 10 strokes of the cane for misbehaviour, to be kept in the Bridewell until the next Court (about 1 month) and then to receive another 10 strokes of the cane.²⁴ We can only speculate about the nature of his offence, but it does not seem to have put an end to his employment. He was schoolmaster again in 1767-69. In December 1766, the Porter in the workhouse was sent to Bridewell for getting 'drunk and otherwise behaving ill'. His misbehaviour was associated with that of three women in the House, who at the same time were 'whipt for getting drunk and loosing clother'.²⁵

Other punishments which may be noted included the case of Sarah Gold, who was 'publicly whipt', together with Sara Willes, for not doing work in the proper manner as directed, in December 1777.²⁶ In December 1792, there is reference in the Court records of Stocks being ordered, together with Dresses painted yellow to be worn by culprits placed in the Stocks.²⁷ In February 1793, Ann Towle and Mary Dowling were sentenced to sit in the Stocks for two hours, in yellow dresses.

A particular scandal which appeared to come to an indeterminate end

occurred in 1815.²⁸ In March of that year, Samuel Cripple was committed by the Mayor to Westgate Gaol for indecent assault and exposure of his person to Mary Webb (aged 15) and Mary Gaton in the Hall of the workhouse. At the same time, the Mayor sent Mary Elliot and Mary Saffery (both 17) to Bridewell, for immoral and indecent conduct with one month bread and water. Charles Holland was committed along with them. The 'supine conduct of the Master and Mistress respecting immoral and indecent conduct' was condemned by the Court and at the April meeting of Court, Humphrey and Susannah Crouch were ordered to be removed from office on 14 May, as being incompetent to discharge their duties. However, in April, at an Extraordinary Court, Cripple was ordered to be discharged from goal and given 20s. to look for work. The Crouchs' hold on office was extended and at the July AGM of Court, they were confirmed in office.

All in all, while the punishments exacted by the Guardians seem exorbitant and cruel by modern standards, they do not seem to have been imposed all that frequently. Over the years between 1728 and 1834 only a couple of dozen whippings etc. are recorded in the extant records. Perhaps the threat of corporal punishment and gaoling, combined with the general oppressiveness of the Workhouse regime, provided a deterrent which reduced serious offences to a minimum.

Salaries of Officers and Officials

Members of the Court of Guardians received no emoluments for their service. Among the officers of the Court, in 1744 the Receiver was remunerated with £10 p.a., plus 4½ per cent p.a. on any money he advanced to the Court, and any interest he might gain from his holding of the Court's money; the Clerk received £10 plus usual legal fees for indentures etc; and the Surgeon £30, which included the cost of any medicines. Among the appointed officials, the Master of the Workhouse was paid £15 p.a., with free lodging and meals; the Mistress £10, with free lodging and meals; and the Chaplain £10 p.a.

For some years a practice was established of voting year-end gratuities for 'Extraordinary Trouble during the previous year'. For instance in 1777, the Recorder, Clerk and Chaplain received gratuities of £5 each, with officials receiving smaller amounts, down to 2/6d. for the Beadle. This practice had been abandoned by the nineteenth century, but by then emoluments had risen considerably. By 1830, the Receiver was paid £75 p.a., Surgeon £60, Chaplain £20, Schoolmaster £50, Master £30 (plus allowances), Mistress £25 (plus allowances). The Clerk at that time was given no stated salary, but charged legal fees appropriate to the duties involved. There is no evidence that the President of the Court

received any salary or fees.

Employment of Paupers

Those paupers not busy on tasks concerned with the maintenance and running of the Workhouse, or not too young, too old, too blind or too ill to work, were employed on a variety of tasks, mainly to do with spinning and weaving. The report by John Clarke, Master, on 'state of the Poor in the City Workhouse' 1 July 1746²⁹ lists 172 people in the workhouse: 21 men, of whom 10 worked on in-house tasks, and 10 on manufacture; 42 women, 14 on workhouse tasks; 66 boys, 44 on manufacture; and 46 girls, 36 on manufacture; making a total of 24 adults and 80 children manufacturing products to be sold. The tasks listed included; hopbagging, picking tow, drawing cords, spinning hemp and flax, knitting and sewing. The total income earned from these activities was £190 ls. 3½d., as a contribution to the £1,411 4s. 2d. needed to maintain the in poor in that year.

In 1752 the position presented by H. Summers, Master, to Ald. Gray, President was somewhat similar. Of the Workhouse population of 187, 20 of the 28 men worked, while four did nothing and four were sick; 37 of the 50 women worked, eight doing nothing, five sick; 34 boys out of 64 worked, 28 doing nothing, with two sick; and 23 out of 45 girls worked with 22 idle. In all, a total of 78 adults and 57 children worked, though at least half the adults were on tasks in the Workhouse. The total income earned by pauper labour that year was £208 7s. 6½d., on manufacturing tasks similar to those listed in 1746.

The hop industry in and around Canterbury was at its height in the mid to late eighteenth century, and provided a major source of employment of in-poor paupers. In 1751, the Workhouse received an order for 340 pieces of hop bagging at 4/6d a piece, and in 1752 an order for 350, and in 1753 for 320. Paupers were hired out in parties for hop picking during the season. In 1751, Abraham Rye (a Guardian) hired 64 paupers for 18 days hop picking (Sundays not counted) at a total cost of £23.³⁰ In July 1752, John Lade (then no longer a Guardian) contracted to have 82 persons for 18 days at a cost of £43.³¹ In August 1773 paupers were hired out in groups of four lots of eight persons for 18 days at prices from £5 5s. to £5 10s. Similar hirings were noted in 1778.³² It would seem that the going rate for a hop picking pauper was about 8d. a day or 4s. a week; sufficient perhaps to pay for his food and maintenance.

Other tasks outside the Workhouse were undertaken on contract, using the in-paupers. One such was a contract between the Court of Guardians and the Commissioners of the Pavement, whereby the Guardians undertook

to scavenge and water the Streets of Canterbury for the Commissioners. This arrangement lasted from the creation of the Pavement Commissioners in 1787, to 1842, when the Guardians freedom of action began to be circumscribed by the central Commissioners of the Poor set up under the Amendment Act of 1834. (See later for further details of the relations between the Court and the Commissioners).

In September 1803, the Guardians felt it necessary to appoint an overseer to conduct the trade of the House, and William Griffiths was engaged at £1 ls. a week, plus 2s. 10d. in the £1 for all goods sold. His tenure was shortlived, and presumably unsatisfactory, since he was discharged on 1 December 1804. Some idea of events during Griffith's tenure of office may be obtained from the minutes of a Committee of Employ for that period.³³

From the records, it would seem that the Guardians made a major effort to create a spinning business at a time when spinning of wool and silk was in terminal decline in Canterbury. On 11 October 1803, at a meeting chaired by Alderman Cyprian Bunce (then President) it was agreed to purchase half a pack of wool for clothing, half a pack of wool for mops, half a ton of hemp, seven gallons of rape oil, two pairs of woolcards, three woollen wheels, a linen reel and one mop reel. A bench for woolcombers was to be made. Later that month, Ann Lewis, a washer, was taken on as a spinner 'she being a very good one'. The 'long room over the water', called the Men's room was to be whitewashed for the spinners. Instructions for keeping accounts and for paying wages were made and it was ordered that children employed should be released four or five at a time, as the Taskmaster could spare them, for schooling each day.³⁴

In November 1803, Mr Griffiths reported that when working materials were to hand, he could employ twenty more boys and girls on mops. Twenty flax spinners were to work in the Great Hall, mop spinners in the room called Hammock, and spinners of fine wool in the room over the water called Carpenters. In December 1803, it was reported that 22 children of the Out-Poor were in the employ of the House, with 18 children resident poor to be instructed in knitting. On 1 February 1804, Griffiths reported the following as employed: 3 women, 15 resident children as linen spinners, 6 women, 3 resident children as spinners of wool, 1 man, 2 boys winders of yarn, 5 men beaters of hemp and yarn, 2 boys wheel turners, 12 sack spinners (all boys), 8 men woolcombers, 1 Journeyman flax dresser, 25 children out-poor spinners and wheel turners.

In all, 90 persons (excluding 1 journeyman) were employed. At the end

of February 1804, 8 looms - 3 linen, 2 woollen and 3 sacking - were in use with 1 loom unemployed. In that month and again in March, April and May, quantities of sacks, linen cloth, pindsey, woollen cloth, bed ticking, and bed bottoms had been made and transferred to store. Quantities of hop bagging, packers and sacks were ordered to be offered for sale by auction in 17 lots on 27 August 1804.

No further detailed records of this manufacturing enterprise seem to be available until 1811. In that year, after the President and other Guardians had visited other workhouses doing manufacturing work, it was decided to establish manufacture of worsted sheeting and skirting, principally for supply to paupers.³⁵ In June 1828, a report from a special Committee of Manufactory gave examples of articles made and sold to indicate which work might be advantageous to continue.³⁶ 54 yards of cloth had been sold at £1 11s. 6d., profit 10d.; 72 yards for £2 11s., profit 8s. 2d.; 40 sacks for £3 13s. 4d., profit 13s.; 40 yards for £3 5s. 4d., profit 10s. 3d.; 6 sacks for 15s. 6d., profit 2s. 9d. The Guardians were asked to decide on this sort of evidence, whether it was profitable to employ inmates on such manufacture or whether it would be better to leave them in idleness. In September 1830, a select Committee reporting on the state of the Workhouse gave the view that employment was highly beneficial to Morals and Industry. 'All who can work, should be employed from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., Lady Day to Michaelmas, and from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. Michaelmas to Lady Day'. The Committee however found that the Superintendent of Manufactory was too old at 82 to manage the work, and should be replaced by a Working Master. A larger profit was capable of being made but 'from long sufferance of idle habits there was much to do'.³⁷

In a second report,³⁸ the same select Committee observed, in reference to agricultural labourers reduced to poverty by low wages and unemployment, that one 'who is desirous of maintaining himself by his labour should have every encouragement'. The Committee proposed that a piece of their land called Beaux Herne in Harbledown should be allocated in parcels of one acre each to six agricultural labourers with the largest families and most worthy of encouragement. Six cottages should be built over the land, and let at 40s. an acre, Court to pay all rates for the cottages, at 5 per cent. A further six acres could be let to other labourers in smaller lots. The scheme should be supervised by the Agricultural Committee.

In support of their proposition, the Select Committee observed that 'a mass of evil must be generated by compelling an honest and industrious man from the want of necessary encouragement, to become a pauper; he loses that independent feeling which enables him to rest on his own

efforts, that feeling lost, he becomes careless and indifferent of the future, his family is neglected, and in the end he becomes a permanent pensioner on the industry of others ... as examples became clearly more numerous the peace and security of all may be endangered by this evil". The Committee added that the recommendation if adopted would act as a stimulant to the parishes in the immediate neighbourhood which will have the effect of reducing rates and establishing a system fraught with good for all'.

These sentiments and propositions seem to stem from the same analysis which later gave rise to the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, with its emphasis on preventing the able bodied from becoming paupers and pensioners of the poor law system. However in this case, positive action was proposed to tackle the problem, not simply a procedure which refused out-relief to the able bodied. The Guardians accepted the recommendations, as far as surplus rents would allow, and in August 1831 it was agreed that land at Beaux Herne should be reserved for employing the Poor.³⁹ However, no further reference to this scheme has been found in the existing Court records, and it may not have been implemented.

Farming out the Poor - Privatization

The very high expenditure on the poor in the late 1820s early 1830s led the Guardians in August 1833, to set up a select Committee to look into the practicability of farming out the maintenance of the poor on contract to a private company, as a means of reducing costs.⁴⁰ It was estimated that the average cost of maintaining a pauper in the workhouse was 4s. 1d. a week. Enquiries of other Workhouses which had already been farmed out under Contract showed some prospect of savings. At Maidstone, cost per head was 3s. 8d. a week; at St Paul's Deptford 3s. 10½d., Lambeth 3s. 11d., Greenwich 3s. 8d. By privatization, Maidstone had achieved savings of over £1,000, Lambeth £3,000 and Greenwich nearly £7,000. The Guardians believed that their costs could be reduced to 3s. 8d. a head, giving a saving of nearly £300 a year, and if the contractor were empowered to set the able bodied to work, there would be an average of 50 less in the House, with an additional saving of over £500.

In October 1833, tenders were invited and Messrs Pillbrow and Carter's tender was chosen from among the four received. The contract was for three years, terminable after two years, given three months notice. The terms of the contract were most detailed, running to 42 clauses. In effect, the Contractor accepted total responsibility for the running of the Workhouse, including the maintenance and care of the paupers, the

running of the Bridewell, and the care and schooling of the Blue Coat Boys, subject to the overall control by the Guardians of admissions and discharges, and to inspection by the Guardians.⁴¹ To put the plan into effect, the Workhouse had to increase the space available by renting a house adjoining. Another consequence was that the Master was paid off with a sum of £60. At the same time a new set of rules for the House was generated for the Guidance of the Contractor. Pillbrow's contract was extended until 1838, but in mid contract he was forced to reduce his charges to three shillings and three farthings a head.⁴²

In 1838, Mr Pringuer's tender for the contract was accepted, and recorded accounts show that he remained Contractor until at least 1842. Payments to him were recorded as £141 19s. 8½d. for June 1841, £149 5s. 5½d. for July 1841, £150 18s. 8d. for August 1841, £137 17s. 6d. September 1841, £164 19s 2½d. November 1841, £173 16s. 10d. December 1841, £182 9s. 2d. January 1842, £170 18s. 10d. March 1842, £160 14s. 6d. April 1842, a total of £1,603 for ten months.⁴³ On this evidence it would seem that Contractorization for the Workhouse succeeded in reducing costs significantly, probably down to something like £2,000 a year, from the £2,877 before farming out.

Costs of maintaining the out-poor remained high however, probably somewhat greater than those for the in-poor. Some attempt had been made in the proposals of the Guardians' Select Committee of 1833 to reorganize out-relief. Following the example of other poor law organizations throughout the country, it was decided that half the out-relief should be in the form of Bread (probably made in the Workhouse) rather than money. Bread tickets would be issued, with collection at set hours. Additionally, the wages of Removing officers were reduced, and they were paid in part on results. For instance, 2s. for each case of Bastardy brought before the Guardians was to be allowed, whether by the Removing officer or any other person - this 'should make the Removing officer more vigilant'. Such measures were clearly only skirting round the edges of the real problem, that of the increasing numbers of able bodied persons thrown out of work or not earning a living wage, and therefore turning in large numbers to the Guardians for relief.

Bastardy

Records of the Canterbury Guardians show that care of illegitimate children born to indigent single women was no small part of their regular business. A main aim was to ensure that the reputed father was apprehended, and forced to recompense the Parish for care of the child. Under the Bastardy laws existing throughout the eighteenth and early

nineteenth century, a single woman pregnant with or mother to a child, would be encouraged or even forced to name the father. On her word alone he might then be apprehended and committed to gaol, unless he were prepared to enter into a recognisance to indemnify the Parish against costs. The whole of any money mulcted in this way went to the Parish; the mother saw only that allowance which the Parish might be prepared to give. Amounts extracted from the father varied with the circumstances, and his relative wealth, and would have been the outcome of bargaining between the Guardians and the father. According to the 1834 Report of HM Commissioners Inquiry into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws sums charged nationwide ranged from 1s. to 7s. a week, with the average for one child at 2s. 6d. to 3s. in towns, and 2s. in the country.⁴⁴ In most cases, negotiation of a once for all payment was preferred by the Guardians. The Canterbury relief rate for single mothers was somewhat low compared with the country wide average or towns. In 1779 the going rate for out-poor was 5s. a week for four children, 4s. for three, 3s. for two and 2s. for one.⁴⁵ Lump sum payments from fathers varied from £10-20 in the eighteenth century to £50 or even £100 in the early nineteenth century.

While pursuit of alleged fathers of bastards through magistrates courts, and even to quarter sessions, would have been a time consuming and expensive business, the Canterbury Guardians and Parish overseers did not flinch from such action, or at least threat of it, nor from having the father committed to gaol until he was prepared to pay. Canterbury Sessions Court meetings in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries invariably included a number of bastardy cases for trial. Where the father had left Canterbury, the Guardians sometimes dispatched a representative to pursue him, to get him to pay his dues - again, an expensive and perhaps fruitless task. For example, in February 1778, the Guardians commissioned one of their number to go after Samuel Gatwoo, servant of an Army officer at Northampton, allowing him 5 guineas plus expenses for his trouble.⁴⁶ Again, in 1779, the Guardians Clerk was sent to pursue John Wemyss to Worley Common. This effort obviously met with a rebuff, for in 1780, the Guardians wrote to General Pierson about the treatment their emissary had received and at the same time the Clerk was authorized to begin legal action against John Wemyss and his sureties on two separate bonds for two bastards.⁴⁷ The presence of a large contingent of soldiers in Barracks in Canterbury, leaving behind, on posting away, wives and children, or bastards, unprovided for, must have been a constant source of worry to the Guardians.

The (unpaid) parish overseers or constables were sometimes lax in their knowledge or pursuit of bastardy cases, and in that event, the

Guardians could indict them for dereliction of duty. In April 1751, Thomas Gilpin, Constable Northgate, John Holmes, Constable Westgate, Walter Brett, Constable Newingate, and John Court, Borsholder Northgate, were indicted for neglect of duty in permitting Thomas Leet, convicted of being the father of a bastard and ordered to prison for not giving security for maintenance, to escape.⁴⁸ Again, in September 1731 Samuel Johnson of St Mildred's was Committed for trial at the next Sessions for breach of duty in not procuring a warrant for taking up Judith Hurler to swear who was the cause of her pregnancy.⁴⁹ From time to time the Guardians employed people specifically to seek out pregnant unmarried women. In 1816 William Edwards was so employed, at 2s. 6d. an identification.⁵⁰

The whole system of bastardy treatment was characterised in the 1834 Report of H.M. Commissioners inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws as 'a Branch of the Poor Law distinguished from the rest both as to principles on which it is founded and the evils it has produced'. According to the Report, the system was an incitement to forgery, it undermined both modesty and self reliance, and was an inducement to illegitimate intercourse. Moreover, 'not one half of bastardy payments from the parish came from the fathers'. As an extreme example of the evils of the system, the case of a widow with seven illegitimate children was quoted. She received 14s. a week support, whereas a widow with seven legitimate children would have got no more than 4s.-5s. a week. The report also remarked that it was 'considered good speculation to marry a woman who can bring one or two bastards to her husband'.

The Report proposed remedies which, after considerable discussion and contention in both Houses of Parliament were, in part, included in the 1834 Amendment Act. Among the measures on bastardy incorporated in the Act were - the child's settlement to follow the mother up to the age of 16; affiliation orders to be taken in Quarter Session, where mothers' evidence required collaboration; maintenance payments not to exceed actual cost to the parish and to stop at 7 years, the putative father not to be imprisoned for failing to pay.

The 1834 Amendment Act measures on Bastardy in action were the cause of much complaint, mainly on the grounds that they inequitably put the whole burden of bastardy on the mother, and prevented the parish from recovering the cost of support, which then fell wholly on the rates. The first Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales in 1835,⁵¹ following the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, reported *inter alia*, that parish officers had represented to the Commissioners that the transfer of bastardy cases from Petty to Quarter Sessions was

an expensive and uncertain remedy. The parish offices were reasonably certain to lose by it, and so would not pursue the putative father. The inclination of the Poor Law Commissioners remained in favour of placing the burden on the mother, rather than pursuing the father. They held out for some years against further change until the 'Little Poor Act' of 1844 took affiliation and maintenance out of Poor Law hands, transferring these matters for decision in Petty Sessions with evidence subject to corroboration, and with a limit of 2/6 a week on affiliation orders.⁵²

Detailed analysis of bastardy in such records after 1834 of the Canterbury Guardians as exist has not been attempted, but in the records of the meetings of the Guardians from 1731 to 1821, there are over 50 bastardy cases sufficiently difficult to have been brought to the attention of the full court. From these and from the evidence above, it is clear that the Guardians in those years took a great deal of trouble, often unsuccessfully, to uncover bastardy cases, to search out the father and to compel him to recompense the Guardians for their costs in supporting mother and child.

Settlement

The Act of 1727 gave the Canterbury Guardians the power to 'examine, search and see what poor Persons there are come into, inhabiting, or residing within the said Fourteen Parishes in this Act mentioned, and to cause the Churchwardens and Overseers of the said respective Parishes to complain to Two Justices of the Peace of the said City and County of Canterbury, in order to remove such Person or Persons as are likely to become chargeable, to the place of their respective settlements, as the Law requires, but always at the cost and charges of the said Corporation ...'. The Act further provided that if the Churchwardens and Overseers proved derelict of duty in this respect, they could be summoned before Quarter Sessions and fined not exceeding forty shillings.

In effect, the Fourteen Parishes remained separate for the purposes of settlement, though any actions on settlements (and of bastardy) were for the Guardians to take, and pay for, acting with and through Parish officials. Such a diffusion of authority was bound to give rise to problems of implementation, and the task of the Guardians was made more difficult by the fact that several districts of Canterbury were and remained outside the fourteen parishes and therefore beyond the jurisdiction of the Guardians. The Christ Church precincts, the Archbishop's Palace and the Borough of Staplegate were examples of areas in Canterbury within the jurisdiction of the County of Kent.

Persons whose settlement was within, say the Borough of Staplegate, and who moved to a Canterbury parish were treated by the Canterbury Guardians as alien to their jurisdiction. In defence of their economic interests, they applied the laws of settlement rigorously, whether the dispute was with parishes outside, or areas inside Canterbury.

For instance, in 1776,⁵³ an appeal was made against Justices of Kent, who had authorized the movement of Edward Engeham, wife Sarah and two children from the precincts of the Cathedral (in the county of Kent) to the Parish of St Mary Bredman. A reverse case occurred in 1778, when it was ordered that William Sutton be removed from St Mildred's to the Precincts. In 1779⁵⁴ James Lomas was removed from St Mary Northgate to the Borough of Staplegate and in 1782, John Atkinson was removed from St Peter's to the Precincts.⁵⁵

Legal disputes between Poor Law authorities about settlement were frequently taken to Quarter Assizes for adjudication, despite the possible costs. Cases involving parishes outside but close to Canterbury may be noted. In 1777, Proceedings were begun against William Gascoigne, his wife and family who had been removed to the Vill of Wooden in the Isle of Thanet from St Mary Northgate, but had subsequently returned to Northgate.⁵⁶ In 1778 an appeal was made against the removal of John Silk from Thanington to St Mary Bredin⁵⁷ and in 1786 there was an appeal against the removal of John King and family from Westgate in Kent to Northgate.⁵⁸ Cases further afield were obviously more difficult and expensive. In July 1768, John Whitwell was paid £15 15s. for conveying William Stone and children to Thorn in Somerset.⁵⁹ In 1791, an appeal was made against an order by Essex Justices to remove the seven surviving children of John Wright, deceased, from Braintree to St Andrew's.⁶⁰ In general the Guardians tried to solve settlement problems without recourse to Quarter Sessions, but each Quarter Session invariably was presented with a number of settlement actions or appeals to resolve.

From time to time the Guardians initiated campaigns to seek out people in Canterbury without settlement certificates. As noted above, one such campaign in 1778/79 produced a list of 66 persons possibly illegally resident in the City. In 1729 a reward of 20 shillings was offered for information on who had brought vagrant women to Canterbury.

Emigration

By the nineteenth century, subsidised emigration to America began to figure as an acceptable alternative to maintaining long term paupers. In April 1830, £30 was paid to Mrs Brent to emigrate with her children

to America.⁶¹ On 3 August 1836, Mrs Twyman with her six children were to be sent there by the 'most economic means'. In December 1836 Mrs Clackett was given £20 to take herself and three children to the USA.⁶²

City Fathers and the Guardians

The effect of the Act of 1727 was to set up a Corporation in Canterbury separate from the Burghmote, with clearly defined legal powers, which included the power to levy rates, and with access to income at least as great, and in course of time much greater than, those of the Burghmote. In general the two coexisted in harmony, but where their interests overlapped, acrimonious differences of view could occur, resulting even in legal action between them.

The formal link between the two Corporations was through ex officio membership of the Court of Guardians by the Mayor, Recorder and those Aldermen who were JPs. However, the interest of the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen in the Guardians affairs proceeded more from their legal duties as Magistrates for the County of Canterbury than from their membership of the City Burghmote. They did not unduly dominate the Court's meetings. They attended the yearly Annual General Meeting in July, at which the President and officers of the Court were elected and remunerations fixed, but seldom appeared as a body at routine monthly meetings of the Court or at meetings of its Committees. From time to time an Alderman or the Mayor was elected President, but most often the President was chosen from among the 28 Guardians representing the 14 Parishes.⁶³

Poor rates to be levied by Court inside the City had to have the formal approval of City Magistrates (i.e. of the Mayor and Aldermen, or any two of them) and rates to be collected by the Court for, and handed over to, the County Stock (to defray the cost of Justice within the County of Canterbury) had to be formally requested from the Guardians by the Magistrates (again the Mayor and Aldermen through the Treasurer of the County Stock, also an Alderman). Committals to Bridewell (run by the Guardians) could be by the Magistrates. Also, as noted above, those Poor Law cases, such as bastardy, settlement or serious breaches of obligations to pay rates - which the Guardians could not resolve themselves - would be referred to the Magistrates in Session.

This duality of interest of City Magistrates seemed mostly not to cause problems, and indeed the two Corporations would have found it difficult to disagree when the Presidency for the time being was held by the Mayor or one of the Aldermen. Some differences of view are however recorded. In October 1767, the Guardians obtained through the parish

overseers a full list of tithes paid to persons in the 14 parishes. There was obviously some problem in extracting rates on the tithes and the Overseers in November 1767 were instructed to demand the last two years' rates of the clergy. In January 1768, it appears that the magistrates were reluctant to sanction legal action against clergymen, since the Court decided to indemnify against counter action those JPs signing warrants to distrain clergy for poor law cesses.⁶⁴

Payments of rates collected to the County Stock raised, from time to time, questions in the minds of the Guardians, or at least in those Guardians representing parishes. In October 1816, Alderman Frennd, Treasurer of the County Stock, was asked for an Account in Writing of the Stock. No satisfactory answer was received, and on 8 February 1819 a request for payment of £410 10s. to the County Stock was refused, and the Treasurer was asked to publish his accounts. The Court claimed to be unacquainted with the legality of Alderman Frennd's disbursements of money collected by them. The opinion of a Barrister was sought but is not recorded in the Court's minutes. However, as a reply from the Magistrates, the Court received a statement from Mr Nutt, Town Clerk and Clerk to the Magistrates (and also clerk to the Court; the statement was addressed to himself!) merely repeating that on 11 January a County rate of 10d. amounting to £410 10s. was fixed and ordered by the Magistrates. Rebuffed, the Court on 9 February rescinded its previous orders and the amount requested was paid.⁶⁵

The Court's uneasiness over paying over relatively large sums of money to the County Stock, to be disbursed for purposes of which the Court had little or no cognisance, flared up again in 1832, over payments by the County Stock for the construction of a new City Gaol. This had become a matter of public controversy, with some factions holding that the cost (some £3,500 in all) should have been borne by the Burghmote from its own resources, rather than from the rates raised for County Stock. The Guardians in August 1832 resolved that Mr Sandys be employed to draw a case for Counsel's opinion on points of controversy. The questions to which Sandys should further formulate were:

Under what existing law is the County of Canterbury liable to pay the expense of building a new City gaol? Is the County liable to pay the Clerk of the Market for returning the prices of corn? Is the County liable to pay the salary of the Gaoler? Is the County liable for cleaning the City Guildhall? Is the County liable for repairs to the Gaol? Is the County liable to pay Council's fees for prosecutions? Is the County responsible for paying constables to attend sessions? Is the County liable to pay for offences under the Market Act? Are the members of the Corporation empowered by law to employ each other in doing work

on the Gaol and furnishing the various Articles it requires? If ever this were lawful, would the Trustees possess Authority to Audit and pass each of these Accounts? And what powers of redress have the Guardians of the Poor or individual rate payers against overcharges on Bills paid by Magistrates?⁶⁶

At the same time, the Receiver was ordered not to pay any further money to the County Treasurer until further decision of the Court. However, on the 6th September 1832 this order was rescinded and the matter referred to an Extraordinary General Meeting of Court (requiring the signatures of at least seven Guardians to be called) convened for 17 September 1832. At that meeting, it was decided that it was 'not expedient to order any case to be drawn up and presented to Counsel for opinion on the County Rate'. Nevertheless, the unease continued and a further EGM on the 15 November 1832 ordered that 'on account of public dissatisfaction with the present irregular mode of levying and expending the County Rate, some change should without delay take place and for the purpose of ascertaining how such a change can effectually be accomplished they request the Magistrates to assemble with the Court at an Extraordinary General Meeting to be called for that purpose'. The Magistrates responded to that invitation with a letter, which was considered at another EGM convened on 26 November. The text was not recorded and no account of the discussion given. On 8 January 1833, the Magistrates answer, refusing to accept an invitation to attend a meeting of Court, was received. The Guardians ordered that the differences between the two Courts respecting the County Rate be inserted in the General Court Book.

The Magistrates had obviously succeeded in exerting pressure to nullify proposed action by Guardians, and to avert a formal confrontation on the issues between themselves and the other Guardians representative of the parishes and therefore of ratepayers. On the other hand the Guardians from the parishes had demonstrated a concern for the proper control of disbursement of rate payers money collected by the Court of Guardians. And, despite the opposition of the Magistrates, the proposed action by Sandys proceeded (though probably not under the auspices of the Guardians), and he produced a trenchant pamphlet on the whole matter, which was the subject of great public debate.⁶⁷

The question of where financial responsibility for Law and Order in Canterbury should rest was solved by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. Responsibility for the establishment of a new, regular, paid police force, and the financing of law courts in the County and City of Canterbury was lodged with the newly formed Council which was authorized to collect a Borough rate for these and other specific

purposes through the Court of Guardians. The County stock was therefore discontinued and subsumed in the Borough rate. On 10 June 1836 the Guardians formally recognised that the 92nd Clause of the Municipal Corporations Act provided for the Borough Rate to be collected by them, and it was ordered that the Receiver pay the Borough rate in the same manner as the County Rate heretofore.⁶⁸

Relations with the Pavement Commissioners

Contacts between the Court of Guardians and the third Corporation in the City, the Commissioners of the Pavement, were largely restricted to a contract between the two under which the Guardians undertook to scavenge the streets for the Commissioners, using paupers for that purpose. Shortly after the Pavement Commissioners had been set up by Act of Parliament in 1787, the Guardians approved the appointment of Thomas Ridout as Scavenger, with Edward Hambrook, Receiver, as his guarantor both to be indemnified by the Guardians and to act under their direction. A committee was appointed by the Guardians for that purpose.⁶⁹

In October 1837, the Guardians recorded their willingness to continue scavenging and watering the streets for the Pavement Commissioners, with the proviso that they could not 'subject themselves to superintendence or control of the managing committee'.⁷⁰ Two years later, in 1842, the Commissioners asked the Guardians to scrape Northgate and North Lane (outside the walls of Canterbury, and therefore presumably an extension of the existing contract), but made clear their dissatisfaction with the service provided, complaining that the streets of the City were not kept sufficiently clean.⁷¹ The Guardians accepted the additional chore in May 1842, but later that year, in August, a Committee of Internal Management recommended to the Guardians that farming implements and horses be sold by auction and 'scavenging the streets be relinquished'.⁷²

Impact of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act

In May 1834, the Guardians got up a petition against the proposed terms of the Poor Law Amendment Act, then pending, and resolved to circulate it to every Mayor of every Corporation in the Kingdom (except London and Westminster) and to Parish officers of every representative City, Town and Borough. They feared that, as drafted, the Act would encourage country parishes adjacent to towns to evade responsibility for their paupers, leading to a 'very unequal, ruinous increase in paupers in Cities and Towns', to the point where 'within a very few years country parishes will scarcely have a pauper to maintain'. The terms of the

Act, it seems, would, as then drafted, have enabled individual parishes to refuse to join Unions, and to destroy or get rid of the existing accommodation they might have for their own paupers, relying on the guardians of neighbouring towns to look after them. These fears, certainly exaggerated and probably unfounded, were real enough to Canterbury Guardians for them to propose that the Act should enable all parishes within 3 miles of the City to be united with it for Poor Law purposes.⁷³

There is no evidence that these representations significantly changed the drafting of the 1834 Amendment Act nor that, in the event, the 'ruinous' consequences predicted by the Guardians came to pass. However, though not immediately pressing on Canterbury, which had achieved a Union of Parishes more than 100 years before the 1834 Amendment Act, in course of time the Act caused the authority of the Canterbury Guardians under the local act of 1727/28 to be overtaken by and be subject to overriding direction under the 1834 Act.

Poor Law Commissioners were set up by Central Government to implement and control throughout England and Wales the purposes of the Act, whose main objects were to insist that able bodied persons should not be given out-relief, that Unions of numbers of parishes should be formed, particularly in country areas, with the aim of bonding together to set up a common Workhouse (or Union building) and central administration, and that conditions in the Union building, though adequate and humane, should not be such as to encourage paupers to remain in them any longer than was necessary. While the Act was effective in forcing parishes to band together in Unions, and in providing the Commissioners with sufficient powers to control those Unions, their powers over those existing Unions of parishes formed under Local Acts, such as at Canterbury, were relatively undefined. Guardians of some existing Unions, such as those at Chatham and Maidstone, consented to dissolution and re-establishment under the Commissioners and the 1834 Act. In these cases, however, charges of idleness of paupers, and of diet and conditions superior to that of working labourers, had been made against them, charges which were not then levelled against Canterbury.

Nor were the Canterbury Guardians willing to be taken over by the Commissioners. In the early years after 1834, the Guardians seem to have proceeded much as before, though prudently with some regard to the main aims of the 1834 Act. Then too, the Commissioners made no great effort to assert their authority. However, in May 1842, Court minutes record a petition to the Secretary of State Sir James Graham, and the results of an interview with him.⁷⁴ The petition argued that great

hardship would be caused if the Act of 1727/28 were repealed, dissolving the Court of Guardians with its divers estates then producing £700 p.a. for the education, maintenance and putting out as apprentices at a premium, of the Blue Coat boys. Graham replied that Canterbury would not be so affected, because there was a Union in being.

While this bland statement by Graham may have assured the continued existence of the Canterbury Court of Guardians, it did not clarify the degree to which the Court would be controlled by the central Poor Law Commissioners. Perhaps to forestall criticism of the way in which the Guardians ran their affairs, yet another report on Internal Management was prepared by a Committee and put to the Court in August 1842.⁷⁵ Recommendations were aimed at tightening up control and bookkeeping, particularly in relation to payments to the out-poor. The duties of the Relieving Officer were re-defined, and his room for manoeuvre further restricted. It was stipulated that in every instance a portion (50 per cent) of out-relief should be in Bread by ticket. Farming implements and horses were to be sold, and the contract for scavenging the street to be relinquished. Weekly meetings on out-relief, of a small committee of Guardians, to a set agenda, and to which the Relieving Officer would report, were agreed. These moves would further diminish the assistance the Guardians might be giving to the able bodied poor, in line with one of the main aims of the 1834 Amendment Act. It was also decided to dismiss the Master and Mistress and to advertise the posts.

These changes did not silence those locally who believed that the better course would be to relinquish control to the Poor Law Commissioners. In August 1842, an Extraordinary General Meeting of court was convened to discuss a motion to petition the Poor Law Commissioners to take the management of the Poor of the City under their control. The motion was effectively killed on a majority vote for an amendment to postpone consideration of the matter 'this day twelve month'.⁷⁶ The amendment was supported by the Mayor. Despite contrary pressure by the Poor Law Commissioners, the Guardians in September 1843 decided to continue farming out the maintenance of paupers and the Workhouse by accepting a contractors bid, and they so informed the Commissioners. By November 1843, the Commissioners had expressed their determination to introduce Poor Law regulation over the Court, and they asked for a meeting to discuss the matter. A meeting with Mr Hall Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, took place on 17 November 1843, at which he insisted that the cost of maintaining the poor was cheaper in other Workhouses in Kent, and he criticized the amount of out-relief given. Court thanked him for 'the lucid and intelligible

manner he explained the wishes and intentions of the Commissioners'. At this point, Messrs Hammond the bankers, seeing the writing on the wall, requested an understanding that the repayment of the balance owing to them from the Guardians would be secured in the event that the affairs of the Court were placed in the hands of the Poor Law Commissioners.⁷⁷

The struggle for control finally ended when the Guardians obtained an authoritative legal opinion that the 1834 Amendment Act gave the Poor Law Commissioners the right to direct and control the running of Unions such as Canterbury's, set up under Local Acts. From 26 March 1844 the Commissioners assumed control over the Canterbury Court of Guardians and its management of the poor of Canterbury, and the powers of the Court as a free standing Corporation under a local Act of Parliament were effectively emasculated. A prime objective of the Commissioners was to establish a purpose built Union in Canterbury, replacing the Poor Priests Hospital. The Ninth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners characterised the Poor Priests Hospital as 'old and inconvenient' and very unworthy of the City Guardians. A suitable site for the new Union was identified on elevated ground outside the City walls in the parish of St Mary Bredin. After much discussion, many exchanges between the Commissioners and the Guardians, many changes of plan, and considerable escalation of cost, a new workhouse to house up to 400 paupers was built at a final cost of £8,572 by October 1849. This large expenditure was borne by the Guardians on long term mortgage with the poor rates as security.⁷⁸

The Poor Priests Hospital continued in the ownership of the Guardians and was let by them for £30 p.a. in the first instance as a Police Station. Subsequent lettings included a Roman Catholic School (1880), a Census Team (1881-1891), Gaskin, Builders (1903), and the Buffs Museum (1961). In 1936 the main building received Ancient Monument Protection, and in 1980, after renovation, the City Council established a Heritage Museum in it.⁷⁹

The End of the Blue Coat School

The achievements and aspirations of the Blue Coat Boys School had never been particularly high, constituted as it was to teach boys from 13-15 years old sufficient of the rudiments of the three R's to fit them for placing out in apprenticeships to tradesmen and craftsmen. It had certainly over the centuries kept up a steady supply of apprentices to Canterbury and further afield, probably educated to adequate standards for the purpose. The Guardians from 1728 onwards had fulfilled their obligations to run the school in an appropriate manner, using funds

gained from the lands and property transferred to them for that purpose. They housed the Boys separate from the paupers in the Poor Priests Hospital, gave them a separate and superior diet to the paupers, and maintained a schoolmaster specifically for the school and allocated attendants to care for the Boys needs. When the time came to article Boys out as Apprentices, the Guardians provided the necessary funds and legal costs, and they continued to keep a fatherly eye on the Boys during their apprenticeships.

Nevertheless, the standard achieved in the schooling was sometimes criticized. In 1772, for instance, it was recorded that none of the boys taking part in the ceremony of Beating the Bounds that year could write. Then, by the early to mid 1800s, schooling for an apprenticeship had less point than in Georgian times, and there was pressure nationwide to bring secondary schooling within the range of far more children. The Blue Coat Boys School began to appear increasingly anachronistic.

A country-wide Endowed Schools Commission in 1869, jointly with the Charity Commission (then 16 years old) reinterpreted and rearranged gifts and charities for the purpose of helping to create new secondary schools. The searchlight of enquiry fell on the three endowed schools in Canterbury - East Bridge Hospital School, Jesus Hospital School and the Blue Coat Boys School. The Guardians were asked their opinion about the working of Canterbury Charities, and on whether they had any suggestions for making the Blue Coat school more useful. The local press had commented on surplus funds accruing to the Guardians and the *Kentish Gazette* advocated putting them towards supporting a larger school with more ambitious aims. At that time, of the £700 p.a. the Guardians received from rents of their lands and properties, only £160 p.a. went to support the Blue Coat School.

In 1876 a committee of the Town Council and the Guardians was formed to consider 'the present state of the Blue Coat School' and to consider 'an alteration in expenditure of the funds and the preparation of some new scheme to be submitted to the Charity Commissioners'. It was argued that a new school for the poor and middle class of the City should be housed in new premises, using Guardians' endowment funds and with assistance from Jesus Hospital and other activities. The Guardians, resisting the pressure, as a last ditch defence recommended that 50 or more boys be educated with their surplus endowment funds, but that the 16 Blue Coat Boys should continue to be educated, clothed and housed as before. Finally, an Assistant of the Charity Commissioners took evidence in Canterbury on 3 and 4 March 1876 and gave his judgement for a new scheme for management of a new endowed school.

Orders in Council on 27 November 1878 and on 22 February 1879 put the scheme into effect. The Simon Langton School was endowed with £730 p.a. from the Guardians' lands and property, £130 p.a. from the Jesus Hospital, with bequests from Elizabeth Lovejoy (1694), Dorothy Nixon (1729) and Daniel Decaufor (1832) yielding another £100 p.a. The Headmaster of the Blue Coat School, John Caplin, was compensated with £250 for loss of office, and the Blue Coat School closed on 27 March 1879. The new Simon Langton School was to provide for 125 boys and 75 girls. The site of the school at Whitefriars was bought for £3,500 and the sale of PPH property at Ickham raised £3,000 of this sum.⁸⁰

ALMSHOUSES AND CHARITIES

To gain a complete picture of the sources and degree of assistance available to the poor and needy of Canterbury, in addition to that provided by the Guardians of the Poor financed by the Poor Rate, contributions made on a continuing basis by Almshouses and charities of one type or another must be considered.

Almshouses

The Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry Concerning Charities in England and Wales; Kent, 1837,⁸¹ included details of seven almshouses in Canterbury, all of which were founded by private or ecclesiastical charity, and were not under the direct control of the City authorities. A summary of the information on the size and resources of the almshouses is given below.⁸²

Eastbridge (St Thomas's) Hospital: 5 'Brothers' and 5 'Sisters' resident, and support for 5 Out-'Brothers' and 5 Out-'Sisters'. Income £400 a year, part to sustain a Master, or schoolmaster and a school, part for inmates. Additionally £38 p.a. benefactions divided between residents and non residents, and another £28 p.a. between residents.

St John's Hospital: 33 Brothers and Sisters living in and 5 Brothers and 5 Sisters 'as if in' and 15 out. Income from rents totalled £410 p.a.

Jesus Hospital: 10 to 20 Brothers and Sisters living in. Income £584 p.a.

Maynard's and Cotton's Hospital: Maynard's 3 Brothers and 4 Sisters. Income £115 p.a. Cotton's 3 people. Income about £60 p.a.

Harris' Almshouses: 5 Houses in one Row. £50 income, shared.

St Nicholas Harbledown: 21 Resident Brothers and sisters. 9 Non Residents.

Cogan's Hospital: 6 Widows of poor Clergymen. Income £250 p.a.

This amounts to about 100 residential places in almshouses in Canterbury, plus some support for about 40 out members. On the face of it, this seems to represent considerable support for the efforts of the Guardians, since their Workhouse accommodated about 170 people (men, women and children) in the middle of the eighteenth century, rising to about 270 by the end. However, although the entry qualifications for residence differed somewhat from Hospital to Hospital, places were in the main for indigent or disabled retired people (not children), but not necessarily for paupers. For instance, entrance to Eastbridge was for those over 50 years of age, with at least seven years residence in Canterbury. Jesus Hospital also specified the age of 50 years, lame, blind or unable to work. St John's, St Nicholas and Eastbridge are religious foundations of medieval date, but in each case the City Fathers played some part in the nomination process.

Entry to Jesus Hospital was by the Mayor's choice, out of five nominations by the Dean of Canterbury. Maynard's and Cotton's, and Harris' are lay foundations. The senior Aldermen of Canterbury was generally appointed master of Maynard's and Cotton's. Entry to Harris' Almshouses was limited to settled parishioners of St Mary Magdalene (2), Thanington (2) and St Mildred's (1), not receiving parish relief and over 50 years of age.

While, therefore, it is likely that the Hospitals and Almshouses catered in the main for retired people (over 50); and although they would be poor and in need, many of them would probably have been a cut above pauperdom and the workhouse. It may however be concluded that, if the Hospitals and Almshouses had not existed, a significant extra load would have fallen on the resources of the Guardians.

City charities

Information on charities under the direct control of the Mayor and Commonalty set out in 1791 by Cyprian Rondeau Bunce⁹³ shows that they are mostly devoted to helping craftsmen and tradesmen. St Thomas White's Charity, value £900, was set up to provide loans of £25 (repayable without interest over 10 years) to enable Freemen to establish themselves in their trades. Whitfield's, Paramor's, Johnson's and Robinson's Charities had similar aims, though with less capital value (£150, £100, £100 and £100 respectively). Ald. Watson

left rentals to buy stuff gowns for females; Ludd's Charity was to pay for a sermon on the Mayor's vesting day, and Smith's was also for sermons. Cogan left a house for six widows of poor clergy, but no endowment. Subsequent charitable bequests from other sources provided incomes for the six widows.

The largest City Charity was Mrs Elizabeth Lovejoy's with property rentals valued at £530 a year in 1791. In a complicated will, this provided, amongst other things, for the financing of apprenticeships, gifts to about 250 poor of about 10s. a year, a vicar's stipend of £40 p.a., the setting up of a school for 20 poor children with a schoolmaster at £20 a year, and for annuities of a few pounds each to the six hospitals in Canterbury (Jesus £5, Eastbridge £5, St John's £10, Cogan's £4, Harbledown £5, Manwood's £5).

Most of these charities had been created before the eighteenth century, so that throughout that century, the Mayor and Commonalty disbursed sums approaching £1000 a year for various purposes, though only a small part of this was directly applied to direct assistance to the poor and needy. As part of the new regime created by the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act, the City Charities were taken out of the hands of the new Council, and vested in a Board of Trustees. A more complete list of Charities of the City in 1843 was provided by John Nutt, Secretary to the Trustees for inclusion in Wards Guide for Canterbury of that year.⁸⁴ This listed the same charities as Bunce but also included five charities founded after 1791; a charity to purchase greatcoats for decrepit men of St Mildred's over 50 years of age; Mary Fowtrell, about £8 each to Harbledown, East Bridge, St John's, Maynard's and Cotton's Hospitals; Marry Milles, £13 each to St John's and Harbledown, and a small sum to the Blue Coat School; Staines, £7 to Eastbridge; and Whitehurst, £31 to be given in 10s. sums to poor families not earning more than 12s. a week. Again a total of over £900 a year was disbursed by the Trustees, with only a small proportion given directly to the poor.

Parish charities

The 1837 report of the Commissioners of Inquiry concerning Charities; Kent,⁸⁵ also lists charities under the control of individual parishes of Canterbury, and therefore, presumably supplementary or complementary to relief given by the Court of Guardians. Most of these were bequests which yielded a few pounds a year for distribution to a specified number of poor yearly in cash, food or clothing. For instance, Holy Cross, Westgate possessed bequests yielding 26s. 8d. for distribution to twenty poor each year; another for 27s. a year; a charity to provide

6d. loaves to 20 people; and another to spend £6 16s. on clothing for 6 people. Similar bequests were in the possession of St George's, St Margaret's, St Martin's, St Mary Northgate, St Mildred's (one bequest specifies 'poor decayed housekeepers'), and St Peter's.

St Paul's possessed a more substantial charity dating from 1644, which set up John Smith's Almshouses for four old men and 4 old women in eight tenements in Longport; the eight persons to be drawn from the manor of Longport. Some of the bequest yield was available to finance apprenticeships; in the years 1830-1835, 43 apprenticeships had been supported at a cost of £636.

The total of the sums listed by the Commissioners as available to the parishes for distribution each year (excepting the £97 of the Longport John Smith charity), amounts to about £100 a year. This probably only approximates to about 8 per cent to 10 per cent of the cost of out-relief given yearly by the Guardians in the 1820s and 1830s.

RELIEF IN TIMES OF CRISIS

In some years which saw shortages and high prices of wheat, flour and other provisions throughout the country, the rise in prices were so abrupt and so large, and the shortages so acute, that many of the industrious poor living on the margins of poverty became unable to provide adequate foodstuffs for themselves. The numbers of those in need of out-relief multiplied, at least for the weeks and months of the crisis, to the extent that extraordinary measures were required quickly to supplement the rate restricted efforts of the Poor Law Authorities.

Such crises occurred in 1795-6 and in 1800-1. Unrest and rioting was rife in many parts of the country, particularly in 1800-1, and a variety of measures and strategies were used to assist those in need, and to forestall or contain potentially rebellious situations. Some mention of crisis in 1795-6 and 1800-1 has been made in Chapter II, with particular reference to crime levels. The events of these years are examined in further detail below.

Famine in 1795-6

The year began with bitterly cold weather. By 23 January the area was full of snow, impeding carriages and preventing outside work. The *Kentish Gazette* took the Pavement Commissioners to task for not clearing the streets. In addition to freeing traffic access, this would have 'given employment to the industrious labourers which inclement weather has deprived of means of pecuniary livelihood'. Temperatures of

two degrees below zero Fahrenheit were experienced. On 30 January, a rapid thaw set in, which led to extensive flooding of the St Peter's area of Canterbury. Many households became under water. Overnight freezing lessened the inundation, but froze the flood water.⁸⁶

Wheat and flour prices had at the same time risen, and a subscription fund for relief of the poor was organized. At a meeting in the Guildhall on 16 January 1795 £187 8s. 6d. was immediately subscribed, including subscriptions of 20 guineas each from the Mayor and Corporation and from the Dean and Chapter (the Dean attended in person). Ministers of the Church undertook to go collecting from house to house. By 20 January over £500 had been collected and used to relieve the hungry populace with tickets for bread and flour. Over a space of four weeks amounts of £111, £113, £118 and £114 were distributed, and about 2,500 men, women and children benefited weekly from the assistance.⁸⁷

No unrest of the civilian population was reported during the spring of 1795, but an alarming incident involving Army soldiers took place on Saturday 28 March. Privates of the South Hants Militia went in parties to the butchers' stalls in the shambles, and intimidated the stall holders into supplying them with meat at 4d. a pound, when the going price was at least 6d. The same parties intimidated bakers' shops into selling them quartern loaves for 6d each, when the assize price was 8½d.

The Mayor became aware of what was happening in the markets, and within two hours had assembled a force consisting of his fellow Justices and a contingent of the City Volunteers. By that time, however, the soldiers had gone back to their barracks, and peace had been restored. But the Mayor, attended by a Captain's Guard of Volunteers, kept watch until 5 o'clock on the Sunday morning. The Mayor also sent a post chaise to Dover to fetch Gen. Greenfield, Commander in Chief of Kent District, who arranged patrols and piquets to ensure the safety and peace of the inhabitants.⁸⁸ Costs of £1 6s. 10d. for refreshments for the Volunteers, £6 for the post chaise for the General, and £5 18s. 6d. in rewarding the soldiers that assisted the Mayor, were recorded in the Chamberlain's accounts.

On 18 April, an Army order emanating from the King removed reasons for such behaviour by soldiers, by directing that forces in quarters as well as in barracks shall receive their bread at the same rate as furnished to them in camp, at the normal stoppage of 5d. per loaf, the difference between 5d. and the market price to be made good to the bakers by the Paymaster General.⁸⁹ The order also authorized Commanding

Officers to arrange for the supply of meat to their corps at a price not exceeding 4½d. a pound. The order ended with an exhortation to good behaviour, 'that each Militia Corp in particular, jealous of its own honour, and lamenting the disgrace which one has brought on itself, will see the necessity of maintaining strict discipline, on which the efficiency and credit of any army must so much depend'. It is not clear whether the Militia Corp which disgraced itself is a reference to the disturbance in Canterbury, and the *Kentish Gazette* does not record what disciplinary action, if any, was used against the offenders.

Throughout April, May and June, the price of wheat began to rise, and by July a quartern loaf had risen from 8d. to 11d. His Majesty's Privy Council on 6 July decided to set an example to the general populace by themselves and their families eating only 'standard wheaten bread', made from flour containing the whole produce of the grain (bran or hull excepted). By avoiding the use of finer flours, the supply of wheat would go further, and the price of a loaf would go down. The Duke of Dorset, as Lord Lieutenant, promulgated the Privy Council's decision throughout Kent for general approbation.⁹⁰ Following this statement, the Canterbury Magistrates in General Session on 13 July ordered bakers not to bake or sell any bread other than standard wheaten bread, to take effect from 13 August, and to continue to 1 October. In the month before the order should come into effect, the Magistrates requested the bakers voluntarily to obey it. The Court pledged themselves to follow the example of the Privy Council in eating only standard wheaten bread, and urged the populace to follow their example.⁹¹

This intervention by the Canterbury Magistrates was followed by a meeting of the Mayor, the Clergy and prominent citizens in the Guildhall, as reported in the *Kentish Gazette* on 14 July. The meeting agreed that the example of the Privy Council and the Magistrates should be followed. The meeting went on to open a further general fund for subscriptions, and to appoint a Committee to use the fund to reduce the price of bread to the indigent. £191 was immediately collected. On 21 July, a first distribution of standard wheaten loaf was made at 8d. a loaf, the assize price then being 11d., and still rising. By the end of August a satisfactory new harvest was in, and Magistrates felt able on 31 August in a specially convened session, to revoke the order they had made in July. By the 15 September the price of a loaf had fallen to 8d., and the crisis appears then to have been over.

Famine in 1800-1801

On 13 January 1800 because of the high price and great shortage of wheat and flour (the price of a quarter of wheat had risen to 110s.

from levels of 60s.), the Magistrates again debated the expediency of prohibiting bread of superior quality. They reached no decision at that meeting, but, meeting again on 5 February they decided not to pursue that option, which had already been turned down by London and by East Kent Magistrates, because of opposition by millers and bakers. The Company of Bakers argued before London Magistrates that such action would be ruinous to them and dreadful to the public. The Canterbury Magistrates, however, recommended that bread should be kept 24 hours before eating, thereby reducing consumption.

On 3 March at a Cathedral Vestry meeting chaired by the Vice Dean it was agreed to set up a fund to finance a soup kitchen to distribute soup daily by ticket to the industrious poor of Canterbury. On 8 March the Mayor, Alderman Simmons and Alderman Halford were added to the committee, and a joint enterprise between the Cathedral and City began.⁹² Distribution took place daily six days a week, on the basis of 1 pint per person, and a charge of ½d. a pint was made. Nine weeks later, when the soup kitchen closed in May, 70,000 pints of soup had been given out, relieving 1,000 poor persons a day. The total amount of the fund reached £509 16s., and amongst the list of some 160 contributions were, the Dean and Chapter (£31 10s.), the Mayor and Commonalty (£52 10s.), Hon. G. Watson MP (£26 5s.). The final General Statement of Account on 18 May 1800 was as follows:⁹³

	£	s.	d.	Disbursements	£	s.	d.
Soup establishment				Butchers meat	290	14	0
Sundry subscriptions	438	9	0	By pease, barley, rice and oatmeal	102	18	8
To receipts for the soup at ½d. a pint	71	7	0	Pepper, salt, vegetables	33	33	4
				Coal, wood and sundry allowances	17	13	9
				Advertisements, Tickets, Cards	21	7	0
				Wages and Gratuities	30	2	0
					495	18	9
				Balance in hand	13	17	3
Total	509	16	0		509	16	0

Some further relief in May and June was afforded by Alderman James Simmons, through his Abbots Mill. He set up a Flour and Meal Shop for ready money at his mill, retailing flour and meal there at prices as low 'as the cost of wheat and the labour of the mill' would permit. Trading on a cash in advance basis only, no credit given, enabled him, he claimed, to reduce prices to the Trade to a minimum. In addition, for the industrious poor, he sold meal at 1s. 6d. a gallon, when the market price was 2s. 2d., and he advertised on 10 June 1800 in the *Kentish Gazette* the following weekly distributions:⁹⁴

		Families	Persons	Gallons	Price of wheat
First Distribution	Sat. 17 May	812	3,248	2,453	114-120s.
2nd Distribution	Sat. 24 May	831	3,753	2,506	124-128s.
Third Distribution	Sat. 31 May	884	3,978	2,755	128-134s.

By July there was optimism that the harvest would yield good wheat crops, and by August there was a fall in wheat prices. It was said that so great a fall so quickly had not been known within living memory. The quartern loaf cost went down to 11½d. in early August when the wheat harvest began to come in. At that time in Canterbury (15 August, *Kentish Gazette*) a joke circulated about the discomfiture of the dealers in corn because of this fall. It was said that 'barbers throughout the country now charged all dealers in corn and flour double price for shaving, as their faces are full twice as long as they were a month since'. However, prices unexpectedly rose again at the end of August, when the quartern loaf rose to 1s. 0¾d. and then to 1s. 3¾d.

Throughout September there were riots in towns such as London, Nottingham, Birmingham and towns in the West Country. On 20 September, an incipient riot in Canterbury was nipped in the bud by anticipatory action by the Mayor.⁹⁵ Inflammatory words had been chalked on the shutters of several shop windows, and papers were dropped about the streets, giving 'some pretty strong symptoms of riot and disturbance, and an intention of preventing the regular course of business in our market on Saturday'. In consequence the Mayor with Constables, went in the early part of the day to the Buttermarket where a greater number of people than usual were assembled, and one man amongst them was obviously by his language and behaviour endeavouring to get the crowd to commit excesses. The Mayor instantly seized him and committed him to

gaol. Subsequently, butter which was marked at 18d. a pound was sold, when customers strongly objected, at 14d. In the evening, when there was a tendency to disturbance in the flesh shambles, butchers very fairly sold their meat at 6d. a pound 'and the people went away well satisfied'. The report in the *Kentish Gazette* commented 'On this occasion likewise, as thro' the whole course of the day the Mayor showed every possible attention to preserve the peace of the City and committed several disorderly persons'. On this occasion there was apparently no outcry about the price of bread. On the day before the market day, rumour had it that the price of wheat had fallen substantially, and that a quartern loaf should be retailed for a shilling.

Reacting to this incident, the Mayor and Magistrates inserted an advertisement into the *Kentish Gazette* of 26 September, warning people that the full severity of the law would be used against any depredation on property or person and any disturbance of the public peace. They also appealed to all persons to aid and assist the Civil Power in preserving the peace and tranquillity of the City.⁹⁶

The cost of produce continued to rise in October, the quartern loaf reaching 1s.2½d., and butter over 1s. a pound. Simmons, however, from Abbots Mill, continued to sell flour to the poor at 18d. a gallon. On 10 Oct. the Court Leet of North Gate drew attention to the practices of forestalling, regration and engrossing which were 'enormously increasing the price of every article of the first necessity'. The Burghmote reviewed the laws governing the markets to prevent these practices and to ensure that families were able to buy in the markets before dealers. On the 28 October, the Burghmote promulgated new regulation for their Markets, enforcing strict timing for the opening of sales so that forestallers, regrators and engrossers would not be able to pre-empt the general public in purchasing from the market stalls. The Burghmote order also restricted to the markets the sale of produce by persons coming into town, forbidding them to sell to inhabitants in their houses or in the streets. These measures, and strict enforcement of the existing laws against regration etc., would, the Burghmote hoped, assist in keeping prices down. The Burghmote also resolved that 'this Court do instruct the Representatives in Parliament for the City, to support all such measures in Parliament as shall appear to conduce in any manner to the enormous price of provisions ... enacting of such statutes as will effectively put an end to the evils of forestalling, regrating and engrossing'.⁹⁷

By Christmas the price of a quartern loaf had risen to 1s. 7d., and the Mayor and Corporation, together with the Dean and Chapter, and 'several

respectable inhabitants of the City' started up a Soup Establishment again on 26 December 1800.⁹⁹ The Charity extended to all parishes in the City, and included Christ Church precincts, Staplegate, St Gregory's, Holy Cross Westgate Without, St Dunstan's and so much of the parish of Thanington as formed part of Wincheap Street. In addition to supplying soup on the same basis as earlier in the year a large quantity of potatoes was to be bought, and supplied to the poor at 2d. a gallon. 1800 pints of soup were provided each day, six days a week. The initial sums donated totalled £595 15s. including £100 from the Mayor and Corporation, £31 10s. from the Dean and Chapter, £50 from Hon. George Watson MP, and sums of £10 10s. downwards from about 120 clergy, inhabitants and organizations. This lasted until March 1801, when a second round of donations was obtained, amounting to some £270.⁹⁹ This included £31 10s. from the Mayor and Corporation, £31 10s from the Dean and Chapter and £25 from Hon. George Watson MP.

CONCLUSIONS

The events of 1795-6 and 1800-1801 in Canterbury were, of course, but part of the larger picture of unrest and rioting in many parts of the Country during these times of food shortages and high prices. Concerning food riots and disturbances, E.P. Thompson¹⁰⁰ has suggested that grievances were pursued within a popular consensus as to what were legitimate and what were illegitimate practices in marketing, milling and bakery etc. This in its turn was grounded on a constant traditional view of social norms and obligations of the proper functions of the several parties within the Community, which, taken together, can be said to constitute the 'moral economy' of the poor. Thompson advanced the view that food riots of 1795 represented the last desperate attempt to impose the old paternalistic 'moral economy' as against the economy of the free market.

Against the background of Thompson's view that food riots and disturbances were (at least in part) motivated and limited by the 'moral economy' as perceived by the poor, it seems clear that, in Canterbury's case, the ruling elite were close enough to the poor to understand the driving force behind incipient disturbances, and to be able quickly to defuse them by application of controls to the markets, with stricter regulations against the ancient evils of forestalling, regrating and engrossing. And it is clear that attempts to 'impose the old paternalistic moral economy' persisted until at least 1800-1.

Roger Wells has catalogued and analysed the broad picture in his books *Insurrection - the British Experience 1795-1803*¹⁰¹ and *Wretched Faces - Famine in Western England 1793-1801*.¹⁰² It would be rash to attempt to

summarize in this thesis conclusions adumbrated by Wells on the dangers of Insurrection and Revolt in England 1795-1803. Broadly, however, in his analysis he links insurrection and revolutionary tendencies in England at the time with the real possibility of revolt in Ireland, and with influence of the French Revolution. However, general revolt in England did not occur, partly because the mobilization of the masses to riots primarily concerned issues such as food shortage, and objectives were limited and conservative. The small active insurrectionist minority in England was not large or active enough to stir up and lead the masses into serious and organized insurrection. In *Wretched Faces*, Wells concentrates on food riots and disturbances, and examines their courses and progress. He notes that several regions were notoriously riot prone, principally the mining districts of the south-west and industrial towns in the East and West Midlands. He adds that the 'Anciently constituted authorities in others ... may have managed to retain their grip in spite of population growth, extended urbanization and proletarianism, but they were vulnerable to incursions from the insubordinate populations domiciled in their hinterlands'.

The evidence above, showing how Canterbury managed food crises with some disturbances but no real rioting, supports this view. In the anciently established Municipal Borough of Canterbury, the ruling elite, exclusively drawn from tradesmen, craftsmen and professionals of the middling sort, living and working in the Borough, remained in sufficiently close touch with the mood of the populace to be able to avert or contain severe crises of public order. At very least, the question is raised as to whether the example and influence of the centres of relative stability which such Boroughs may have constituted, may not have contributed significantly to the avoidance, in times of stress, of a more general riot, insurrection or revolt.

Ian Christie in *Stress and Stability in the late Eighteenth Century*¹⁰³ has pointed to the difference between the poor law system in France, where charity bore the brunt of relief, with public provision ancillary, and that in England, where the reverse was the case. That the care of the poor rested primarily with local authorities may have contributed to stability, though in times of serious food or unemployment crisis, more than routine measures were required from the local authority. Roy Porter, in *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*¹⁰⁴ notes that through the 1790s, the margins by which central government 'battered down the hatches and survived the prospect of civil and even bloody revolution', were slim. Porter advances the view that one reason assisting the survival of central government was that under the English poor law, parochial softening of the blows to the poor occurred. Porter adds however that the 'disaffected and literate

artisans in the North and Midland towns were the weak link on the chain of local government'. Conversely, this present thesis advances the tentative view that ancient Municipal Boroughs such as Canterbury were strong links in the local government chain.

Chapter IV

Notes

1. *An Act for erecting a workhouse in the City of Canterbury for employing and maintaining the poor there, and for the better enlightening of the City*, I GEO IIC.20.
2. Inventory of 'Maps and Estates belonging to the Workhouse', compiled by W. Picard in 1772, and described as 'copied from original maps', C.C.L. CC.4GBW.L.
3. C.C.L. CC QGB A/1.
4. *Idem*. 11 February 1728/9. 5 in St Paul's, 12 St George's, 1 St Margaret's, 2 St Mary Bredin, 4 St Mildred's, 1 St Mary Bredman, 2 St Peter's, 19 St Mary Northgate, 5 St Alphage, 13 St Mary Magdalene, 2 St Paul's.
5. C.C.L. CC QGB A/1 4 June 1729.
6. C.C.L. CC QGB A/1 3 March 1729/30.
7. C.C.L. CCQGB T8/1.
8. Details of the collection of 11 February 1750/51 at 1s. in £1 taken from CC QGB T8/1 are given at Appendix A.
9. The Act of 1727 specifically placed the whole of St Paul's Parish, including that part lying in the County of Kent, under the jurisdiction of the Canterbury Guardians for Poor Rate Purposes, certification of the rate for that part in Kent to be a matter for Kent County JPs.
10. Brent, John, jnr., *Canterbury in the Olden Time*, Simpkin Marshall 1879 p.179-180.
11. Alderman W. Gray, 1695-1784. Freeman 1721. Common Councillor 1724. Alderman 1748-1781. Mayor 1748 and 1760. President of the Court of Guardians 1752 and eight other years. Alderman Gray left a manuscript notebook in which he recorded a variety of information about Canterbury, its government, and his part in it. The Notebook is preserved in the Canterbury Cathedral Library as Supplementary MS No. 6.

12. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/8 13 September 1835.
13. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/8 21 June 1833.
14. Scott, Robert A., *Administration of the Poor Law in Canterbury Under a Local Act of 1727, with particular reference to the years 1834 to c. 1850*, April 1979 University of Kent at Canterbury Dissertation, Appendix A of that paper.
15. Scott (1979). Table in Appendix B of Scott's paper.
16. 54 Geo III 1814 Cap114. 'Act for altering, amending and rendering more effective the Act of 1 Geo C20 for erecting a Workhouse in Canterbury'.
17. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/8 23 August 1831.
18. C.C.L. CCQGB A/7 7 July 1789.
19. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/8 15 March 1821.
20. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/1 20 August 1744.
21. *Idem*. C.C.L. 7 February 1744.
22. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/2 1 November 1748.
23. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/4 29 April 1765.
24. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/4 7 August 1763.
25. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/5 29 December 1766.
26. C.C.L. CCQGB A/2 2 December 1777.
27. C.C.L. CCQGB D3/1 31 December 1792.
28. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/7 22 March 1815.
29. Brent, John (jnr), *Canterbury in the Olden Time*, p.179-180.
30. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/2 6 August 1751.
31. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/3 6 July 1752.

32. C.C.L. CCQGB A/3 19 August 1778.
33. C.C.L. CCQGB D3/14 October 1803 - September 1804.
34. There is evidence that education of pauper children took second place to their employment in manufacture, though some attempt was made to impart the rudiments of reading, writing and 'accounts'. In January 1754 it was ordered that all poor children should be given a year's education when better capable thereof, viz boys at 13 to 14, girls at 15-16. However this was amended to allow boys 13-14 to be employed in weaving, taking education 6 a.m. to 8 a.m. before work in winter, and 8 p.m. to 10 p.m. after work in summer. See CCQGB D2/3 January 1754. By the early 1800s, more regular schooling was provided.
35. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/6 5 February 1811.
36. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/8 3 June 1828.
37. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/8 7 September 1830.
38. C.C.L. CCQCB D2/8 7 September 1830.
39. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/8 23 August 1831.
40. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/8 6 August 1833.
41. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/8 26 November 1833.
42. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/9 6 October 1835.
43. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/9 January - May 1842. CCQGB D3/13 31 November - 20 March 1842.
44. Report of H.M. Commissioners on the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws 1834, p.166-167.
45. C.C.L. CCQGB A/3 4 April 1779.
46. C.C.L. CCQGB A/2 16 February 1778.
47. C.C.L. CCQGB A/3 17 August 1780.
48. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/2 2 April 1751.

49. C.C.L. CCQGB A/1 13 September 1731.
50. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/7 1 January 1816.
51. 1st Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales 1835, p.60.
52. Henriques, U.R.Q. 'Bastardy and the New Poor Law' in P.&P. 1967, 37, pp. 102-129. Information in these paragraphs is drawn from Henriques article, which concludes that although in 1834 the Poor Law Commissioners achieved their own objectives regarding bastardy, by 1844 controversy and public opinion had caused them to lose the fight for the bastardy clauses.
53. C.C.L. CCQGB A/2 12 December 1776.
54. C.C.L. CCQGB A/3 13 May 1779.
55. C.C.L. CCQGB A/4 6 August 1782.
56. C.C.L. CCQGB A/2 9 January 1777.
57. C.C.L. CCQGB A/3 9 July 1778.
58. C.C.L. CCQGB A/6 10 April 1786.
59. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/5 25 July 1768.
60. C.C.L. CCQGB A/8 6 September 1791.
61. C.C.L. CC QGB D2/8, 12 April 1830, 3 August 1830.
62. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/9 30 December 1836.
63. From the extant records of the Court, nine Aldermen held the Presidency twenty-five times in the years between 1728 and 1843: Ald. Tolputt 1749, Mayor Tolputt 1750, Ald. Gray nine times between 1752 and 1764, Ald. Plomer 1765, 1766, Ald. Stringer 1769, Mayor Moya 1780, Ald. Elwyn 1781, 1782, Ald. Brown 1809-1814, Ald. Warren 1821. During these years, some 28 elected Guardians held the Presidency, mostly for two or three consecutive years.
64. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/5 6 October 1767, 23 November 1767, 5 January 1768.

65. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/7 1st October 1816, 2 February 1819, 9 February 1819. It was not until their sessions on 15 July 1822 that the Canterbury Magistrates ordered the Treasurer of the County Stock to publish his accounts. See JQO 21 Canterbury Sessions 1800-1823.
66. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/8 7 August 1832.
67. See Chapter II above 'Canterbury Courts of Justice'.
68. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/9 10 June 1836.
69. C.C.L. CCQGB A/6 1 December 1787, 1 January 1788.
70. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/9 6 October 1837.
71. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/9 3 March 1842.
72. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/9 2 August 1842.
73. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/8 20 May 1834.
74. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/9 22 May 1842.
75. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/9 2 August 1842.
76. C.C.L. CCQGB D2/9 16 August 1842.
77. C.C.L. B D2/9 7 November 1843, 17 November 1843, 21 November 1843.
78. The story of the Guardians' struggle with the Commissioners is told in detail by R.A. Scott in his University of Kent at Canterbury Thesis 'Administration of the Poor Law in Canterbury under a Local Act of 1727 with particular reference to the years 1834-1852'.
79. L.S.S. See Elizabeth Lewis *Poor Priests Hospital. Catalogue of Sources 1893-1930.*
80. L.S.S. See Lawrence Lyle and Joyce Frame *TO BE CONTINUED - A history of the First Hundred Years of the Simon Langton Schools, 1881-1951.* KCC Publication, 1981.
81. L.S.S. U801 756.

82. With the exception of Cogan's Hospital, all these almshouses continue to exist today.
83. *Translation of several charters granted by Edward I, Henry III, James I and Charles II to the Citizens of Canterbury ...* by 'A Citizen' (Bunce acknowledged as the author). Publisher J. Grove, Canterbury, 1791.
84. *Ward's Canterbury Guide*. Henry Ward Canterbury 1843. See Appendix B to this Chapter.
85. L.S.S. U801 756.
86. K.G., 30 January 1795.
87. K.G., 6 February 1795.
88. K.G. 31 March 1795.
89. K.G. 24 April 1795; quoting the promulgation of an order by General the Duke of Richmond on 20 April 1795, signed by J. Maddon, Brigade Major General, Southern Division.
90. K.G. 14 July 1795.
91. K.G. 14 July 1795.
92. K.G. 11 March 1800.
93. K.G. 20 May 1800.
94. K.G. 10 June 1800.
95. K.G. 26 September 1800.
96. K.G. 26 September 1800.
97. K.G. 31 October 1800.
98. K.G. 2 January 1801.
99. K.G. 10 March 1801.
100. Thompson, E.P. *Customs in Common*, Penguin, 1993. See particularly pp.188, 194 and 337.

101. Wells, Roger, *Insurrection. The British Experience 1795-1803*, Alan Sutton, 1983.
102. Wells, Roger, *Wretched Faces, Famine in Wartime England 1793-1801*, Alan Sutton 1988.
103. Christie, Ian R., *Stress and Stability in 18th Century Britain*, Clarendon Press, 1984.
104. Porter, Roy, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, Pelican Social History of Britain, Ed. J.H. Plumb, 1982.

Chapter IV

APPENDIX A

RATE COLLECTION 11 FEBRUARY 1750/51
Extracted from Rate Book CC4GBT8/1

Parish	No. of ratepayers	Highest amount paid by ratepayer			Total collected			
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Holy Cross	25		16	0	6	12	3	
St Margaret's	118	4	15	6	40	1	0	
St Andrew	109	1	1	0	56	1	8½	
St Peter	124		14	0	19	4	4½	
Fryers Rents	10		8	0	1	9	0	
Out Dwellers	5	1	4	0	2	12	0	
St Mary Magdalene	80	1	2	0	25	2	6	
St George the Martyr	173	1	16	0	43	7	11	
Fryers Rents	7		18	0	2	12	0	
All Saints	64	1	10	0	19	0	10½	
St Paul's (City)	185	3	0	0	9	2	0	
St Martin	36	4	10	0				
St Mary Bredman	71	1	10	0	20	9	3	
St Mildred	196	1	13	0	34	19	3	
Out Dwellers	12	1	6	0	5	13	4	
St Mary Northgate	100	4	0	0	27	3	11½	
Out Dwellers	61	2	7	0	29	14	6	
St Alphage	131	1	12	0	35	2	9	
St Paul (Kent)	174	27	10	0	86	18	6	
St Mary Bredin					72	17	0	
Total ratepayers	1680				Total collected	527	11	8

Chapter IV

Appendix B

Charities of the City of Canterbury 1843
(taken from Ward's *Canterbury Guide*, 1843)

APPENDIX.

List of the Charities of the City of Canterbury, vested in the Trustees, shewing the names of the Donors, Nature of the Gift, and Application of the Proceeds.

DONORS.	PROPERTY.	Annual Rents, Divids., &c.	APPLICATION.
Sir THOMAS WHITE. <i>Knt.</i> deed dated 1st July, 1566. THOMAS OUYNTON. Will dated 24th January, 1577.	£104 once in twenty-four years, now increased to £1095 0s. 6d. One Acre of Land, called the Timber Yard, in St. Mildred, in the occupation of O. Snoulton, Esq.	£ s. d. 30 0 0	To be lent to young Men, Freemen and Traders in the City, in sums of £25 for ten years, without Interest. For the Relief of the Poor, and to the maintenance of the Stock of the Hospital of the Poor, called the House of Correction.
BERNARD FRENCH. Will dated 2nd August, 1584.	£40	4 0 0	Received by the Mayor and Commonalty, who by Indenture dated 22nd Aug., 29th Elizabeth, covenanted to employ the same for the benefit of the Poor of the said City, in paying yearly 16 Poor people 5s. each.
JOHN WEBB. Will dated 28th January, 1588.	£50	5 0 0	Received by the Mayor and Commonalty, who by Indenture dated 22nd January, 34th Elizabeth, covenanted to pay yearly to 20 Poor Folk, inhabiting within the Liberty of the City, 5s. each.
JOHN WATTON. Will dated in 1633.	Two Messuages and Gardens, in St. Margaret, in the occupation of William Bedwell; and One Acre of Land in St. Mildred, near the Church Yard, in the occupation of John Fortune.	42 0 0	To provide Gowns of Russat Cloth for Poor Persons above 50 years of age, inhabiting within the Parishes of St. Margaret, St. Mildred, St. Mary Bredin, Northgate, St. Paul, within the said City, St. Mary Magdalen, All Saints, St. Peter, Westgate within, St. George, St. Alphage, St. Andrew, and St. Mary Bredman; the Parishes to be taken alternately.
THOMAS PARAMORE. Will dated 19th December, 1637.	£100	To be lent to 5 Poor Shopkeepers of the City, freely, to be repaid at the end of 5 years.
HENRY ROBINSON. Deed dated 28th April, 1642.	£100, laid out in the purchase of a House and Close in St. Martin's, in the occupation of — Middle- ton, Esq.	£ s. d. 4 10 0	As often as there shall be £5 Interest of the said £100, to be paid to some young Man, born in the City, who has served 7 years apprenticeship in the said City, for setting him up in Trade. Whoever receives the money, to give bond for the payment thereof, in case he shall give over his trade within 2 years.
THOMAS LUDD. Deed dated 28th April, 1649.	A yearly rent of Eleven Shillings, issuing out of a House and Prem- ises in Orange-street, in the Pa- rish of St. Alphage, in the occu- pation of John Terry.	0 11 0	Ten shillings to a Minister for preaching a Sermon on the day of Election of the Mayor, and so to the Clerk.
JOHN COGAN. Will dated 37th July, 1657.	Lands and Tenements in St. Mil- dred and Thanington, now occu- pied by Mary and Thomas Hay- ward, John Sankey, and Thomas Lever Burch.	101 0 0	For the encouragement of Maid Servants, and (after keeping the Tenements in repair) for clothing Fatherless Maiden Children, from 6 to 12 years of age.
CLEMENT BARLING. Will dated 14th April, 1668.	An Annuity of £3, issuing out of Lands in Denge Marsh, in Lydd, in Kent, in the occupation of Mr. Terry.	3 0 0	Thirty shillings to 6 Widows of Ministers in Cogan's Hospital, and 30s. in repairing said house.
EDWARD JOHNSON. Will dated 16th January, 1677.	£100	To be disposed of in Loans of £10 to ten Poor Tradesmen, Freemen of the City, for ten years, without interest.
JOHN WHITFIELD. Will dated 23rd March, 1657.	£150	To be lent to Poor Tradesmen, Freemen of the City, in parcels of £25 a-piece, gratis, for 5 years.
ELIZABETH LOVEJOY. Will dated 25th March, 1694.	The Tithery of Callis Grange, in the Parish of St. Peter, in the Isle of Thanet, held by lease from	552 0 0	The Trustees to provide sufficient to renew the Lease, every Seventh Year. To pay the reserved rent £25 16 8

Chapter IV

Appendix B (continued)

DONORS.	PROPERTY.	Annual Rents, Divids., &c.	APPLICATION.
ELIZABETH LOVEJOY (Continued.)	the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Christ, Canterbury, now in the occupation of Messrs. Cramp and Gannell,		To pay the redeemed Land Tax£29 0 9½ To repair the Chancel, and her husband's Monument and her own. To the Clerk of the Parish yearly..... 1 0 0 To the Vicar, an annuity of 40 0 0 To a Schoolmaster, an annuity of..... 20 0 0 To Jesus' Hospital..... 5 0 0 To St. John's Hospital 10 0 0 To King's Bridge Hospital 5 0 0 To Cogan's Hospital 4 0 0 To St. Thomas' Hospital, Harbledown.... 5 0 0 To St. Stephen's Hospital 5 0 0 To dispose of the residue in relief of Poor Person, or to clothe or put out Apprentices For a Dinner yearly for the Trustees 2 0 0 For the Chamberlain for keeping the Accounts 1 0 0 To the Town Clerk, for writing petitions .. 1 0 0 To the Minister of the parish in which the Mayor dwells, he presiding a Sermon on the 9th of April, the anniver. of the day of her dec. 2 0 0
POOR PRIESTS' HOSPITAL, founded by Simon Langton, Archdeacon of Canterbury, about 1240.	Queen Elizabeth, by Letters Patent, bearing date 5th July, 17th year of her reign, granted to the Mayor and Commonalty the Hospital of Poor Priests, and all the Houses, Lands, &c., thereto belonging, in the City of Canterbury, and the	642 0 0	For the benefit of the Poor, and to provide, clothe, and maintain 16 blue-coat boys, to instruct them in reading, writing, and accounts, and to put them out apprentices.

DONORS.	PROPERTY.	Annual Rents, Divids., &c.	APPLICATION.
POOR PRIESTS' HOSPITAL (Continued.)	County of Kent, now vested by Act 1st. George 4th, in the Guardians of the Poor of the said City		
MARY MASTERS, Will.	£163 16s. 3d.—Old South Sea Annuities.	4 18 2	One-sixth part to St. John's Hospital, One-sixth part to East Bridge, One-sixth part to Maynard's, One-sixth part to Jesus', One-sixth part to Smith's, and One-sixth part to Cogan's Hospital.
THOMAS HANSON, Will dated 30th of April, 1768.	£1750—3 per cent. Reduced Annuities.	52 10 0	One-third part to the resident Brothers and Sisters of East Bridge Hospital, One-third part to the resident Brothers and Sisters of St. John's Hospital, and the remaining 3rd part to the Brothers and Sisters of Maynard's Hospital.
JAMES HIEFT, Will dated 23rd December, 1791.	£900—3½ per cent. Reduced Annuities.	7 0 0	To purchase Great Coats of Woollen Cloth, for aged and decrepid Men, above the age of 50 years, inhabiting in St. Mildred.
MARY FOWTRELL, Will proved 1st February, 1814.	£1057 5s. 6d.—3½ per cent. Reduced Annuities.	37 0 0	The Dividends of £352 6s. 6d. to Harbledown Hospital, The Dividends of £234 19s. to East Bridge Hospital, The Dividends of £234 19s. to St. John's Hospital, The Dividends of £234 19s. to Maynard's & Cotton's Hos.
MARY MILLES, Will dated 1st May, 1822.	£700—3 per cent. South Sea Annuities.	27 0 0	One-half part of the Dividends to the resident Brothers and Sisters of St. John's Hospital, and the other half part to the resident Brothers and Sisters of St. Nicholas' Hospital, Harbledown.
WILLIAM STAINS, Will dated 16th November, 1824.	£180—3 per cent. South Sea Annuities. £700—3½ per cent. Annuities.	5 8 0 7 0 0	For the use of the Charity Schools called the Blue Schools. To be applied amongst the Brothers and Sisters residing in East Bridge Hospital.

DONORS.	PROPERTY.	Annual Rents, Divids., &c.	APPLICATION.
JOHN WHITEHURST, Will dated 15th December, 1827.	£1042 10s.—3 per cent. Consols. This sum will be increased double on the decease of the surviving Annuitant.	31 5 6	To be applied on the 3rd September, in every year, in sums of 10s. to Poor Men and Women, above the age of 50 years, whose weekly earning, whether of Man, Wife, or both, do not exceed 19s., inhabiting within the Precincts of the Cathedral, Archbishop's Palace, and the Parishes within the City, including St. Paul, in Kent.

JOHN NUTT, Secretary.

CHAPTER V

ASPECTS OF CITY LIFE

INTRODUCTION

The direct or indirect influence of the Burghmote and its members extended to many aspects of Canterbury life not the formal concern of the City Authorities. Among the areas of city life examined in this chapter are: the increasing range of social and cultural activities such as social assemblies and dances, race meetings, the theatre, concerts and music making; spa facilities and philosophical and literary societies; the course of industrial and commercial development, and the economic well-being of the people; the achievement of direct communication to the sea; the patriotism of Canterbury citizens and their contribution to the war effort in Napoleonic times. In all this an attempt is made to indicate the contributions made by the City Authorities and its members to city life generally.

Examination of these areas of City life also serves to illuminate three main underlying themes; first, the failure of Canterbury to maintain its pre-eminence among the towns of Kent; second, the degree to which Canterbury remained a market town, dominated and controlled by an elite of the middling sort; and third, the extent to which Canterbury matched the progress of other leading provincial urban centres in the increasing sophistication and range of its leisure and social activities and facilities.

Regarding the first theme, Canterbury's predominance among Kent's towns was increasingly eroded by the rise of Maidstone. The town of Maidstone owed much of its importance to its central position in the county, and to its river. County meetings had since Norman times been held on Penenden Heath, just outside Maidstone, but it was not until the seventeenth century that the Kent Assizes began to be held frequently in the town, in preference to other Kent towns, presumably because of Maidstone's relatively ready accessibility to London and all parts of Kent. The last Kent Assize in Canterbury was held in 1741, and in 1746 the new Kent County gaol was built in Maidstone.¹ From then on, the Assizes were invariably held in the town. The focus of the County had switched to Maidstone, and the town attracted to itself the growing and lucrative patronage of the landed gentry and the county community, fostering a relationship which underpinned the town's regional importance.

More generally, Maidstone's economy thrived. The Medway provided a

route for trade and commerce between farms and towns down to Tonbridge, and the London diaspora, North Kent, East Anglia and the Continent, with Maidstone as the entrepreneurial hub. Specialist industries such as high grade paper making, engineering enterprises, and gin distilleries gave the town a strong industrial base. By 1801, the population of Maidstone, starting at half the numbers of Canterbury in 1700, had almost drawn level, and by the 1830s had equalled and passed Canterbury's size at 15,000, reaching more than 20,000 by 1851. By early mid nineteenth century, Maidstone had become the focus of the County of Kent, to Canterbury's detriment.²

Regarding the second underlying theme, the development of Canterbury's economy was inhibited through lack of a navigable river, affording easy traffic with the surrounding country, and with access to the sea. Attempts to promote a canal to the coast, for goods traffic failed, and early establishment of a rail link to a harbour at Whitstable did not give the expected boost to Canterbury's trade. No sizeable manufacturing enterprise arose to take advantage of the improvements in goods traffic links, and other leading provincial urban centres, particularly those in areas with natural resources such as coal and minerals to exploit and on which to base new industries, overtook Canterbury in importance and size. As this Chapter will indicate, Canterbury remained essentially a market town.

The third underlying theme bears on the concept of urban renaissance, elaborated principally by Peter Borsay. He and his fellow contributors in *The Eighteenth Century Town*³ point to a picture of evolution rather than revolution, in the transition from pre-industrial to industrial urban communities. Borsay's particular concept charts the development of sophisticated social and cultural regimes in eighteenth century towns, with growing investment in the civic ideal - ceremonies, buildings, artefacts, histories, among other attractions. In part, this development resulted, in Borsay's view, from the growth and growing affluence and influence of the urban middle order. Borsay investigates the themes of culture and society in provincial towns 1660-1770 further in his book on *English Urban Renaissance*,⁴ with a wealth of detail of civic and commercial investment, by towns such as York, Exeter and Lincoln, in theatres, race courses, assembly rooms, gardens, walks, clubs, music and other cultural and leisure pursuits.

Borsay makes some reference to Canterbury, but the time scale of his work ends before major cultural activities were founded in the City. The information in this present chapter indicates that they increased considerably towards the latter part of the long eighteenth century. While no doubt such an increase can be attributed to increasing wealth

and leisure of the increasing number of those of the 'middling sort',⁵ a motivation must have been that the provision of sophisticated social and cultural activities also served to continue to attract the custom of local gentry and visitors to the City. Then, too, a major share of the credit for the advancement of social activities and the betterment of the general environment of Canterbury in the last quarter of the eighteenth century must be attributed to the initiative and energy of James Simmons.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Canterbury Races

A prime and regular attraction was the Canterbury races, held a few miles outside Canterbury on the road to Dover, at Barham Downs. The sponsors of the meetings came from the local landed gentry, and the referees of the Races were persons such as the Duke of Dorset and the Earl of Rockingham or their nominees. The main meeting of the year was held in late August or September, originally over four days, later reduced to two or one.⁶ Prizes for the winners were quite high, and the support of the Burghmote and citizens of Canterbury is evidenced by the prizes they subscribed. In 1729 on the 29 August a race of four heats over 4 miles for 20 guineas was subscribed by the vintners of Canterbury. On 30 August a 30 guinea race subscribed by the Gentlemen of Canterbury was scheduled.⁷ The main race, for the King's Plate was most valuable; on 27 July 1741, 100 guineas,⁸ and the same again in 1745.⁹

Assemblies, dances and other social occasions were arranged in Canterbury during the days of the races, and the shops and businesses of the city benefited from the visitors attracted to the City. Hasted, writing in 1798, noted that races were held yearly on Barham Downs and that the King's Plate continued to be the major race. He commented that the races were attended by most of the Kentish Gentry and a great number of people from neighbouring parts.¹⁰

The race meetings continued well into the nineteenth century, but with diminished popularity. In 1840, according to the *Kentish Gazette*, there were still galas in St Peter's Gardens during the races. In 1849, however, the *Gazette* found the races 'scarcely worth mention' and the grandstand¹¹ 'not graced with more than half a dozen members of Kentish families'. In 1847 they were deserted by the Gentry, but a two day meeting in 1856 was somewhat better supported. By 1858 they were reduced to one day, and the meetings were discontinued by 1872.

Assembly Rooms

Public assembly rooms were in use by the early 1700s, and probably doubled as a dancing school. By 1750 new Assembly Rooms were erected mostly by public subscription, at the expense of gentry in East Kent, on a site in High Street at the corner of St Margaret's Street. The rooms were managed for many years by the Whitfield family, which had partly paid for them. Perhaps a first mention of them is in the *Kentish Post* in 1743, which advertised an Assembly on 27 January that year in Francis Whitfield's rooms in High Street, price 2s. 6d.¹² In subsequent years, numerous similar advertisements can be found in the Post. The assembly rooms themselves were noted to be in use by Gostling's 'Walks' in 1825,¹³ and probably continued until the 1840s, when the Canterbury Council sold the property to the bank founded by Simmons and Gipps.

Theatre in Canterbury

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, bands of strolling players were in danger of being treated as rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggars and vagrants as far as the law was concerned; their presence in towns and villages on which they had no right of settlement was apt to be unwelcome. By 1737 performance of 'Interludes, Tragedy, Comedy, Opera, Play, Farce or other Entertainment of the Stage' began to be allowed, provided that a Royal Patent or Licence had been obtained from the Lord Chamberlain, and that a true copy of such Interlude etc had been lodged with him. However such patents were limited to Westminster and places where Royalty resided.

Although prohibition outside the privileged patented playhouses therefore seemed complete, the application of the law was limited. Local justices in the provinces did not, perhaps out of respect for the inclinations of the local population or because of the custom which such a social amenity would attract to the city, apply the law with vigour. To avoid the provisions of the Act, concerts of music could be promoted, with plays as an additional free extra. Another method was for patented London companies to promote a summer season in the provinces when London theatres closed.

Such practices operated in Canterbury and since the groups advertised their presence, they must have had the support, or at least, the acquiescence, of the Magistrates. A summer company of players from patented houses advertised their presence in the City in the years 1738 to 1750,¹⁴ (except in 1742). They were in the city again in 1769 and then from time to time up to 1780, and Canterbury became the centre of

an East Kent summer circuit. Mrs Sarah Baker's Sadler's Wells Company first advertised in Canterbury in November 1772, but at that time their performances did not go beyond various forms of dancing and 'interludes, burlettas, operas and pantomimes'. By 1775 however, her company was presenting double bills of two plays, and by 1788 she had played a number of seasons round the East Kent circuit.

Her venues in East Kent were varied and somewhat makeshift. Canterbury was a special case in this respect. Use was made of the building in the Butter Market put up by Somner in 1665. The upper storey of the building, 52 ft. by 26 ft., was let by the Corporation to visiting companies from 1738 onwards, until 1788, when it was demolished. In 1784 it was let to Mrs Baker for her company. By that time it was known locally as a playhouse, and the lease was so annotated, but the Corporation continued to designate it as a storehouse for insurance purposes. Annual rental was £20 in 1788. In 1735 the Corporation had ordered no plays to be performed without their permission in the City, and the seasons of plays taking place subsequently in their building implies a form of local licensing. Positive official support is indicated by Mrs Baker's advertisement of performances in 1782, 1784 and 1787 as 'by Desire of the Mayor and Corporation'.

In 1788, Justices were empowered to licence Theatrical Representation for a limited time and under regulations, a season being limited to 60 days within a specified four months, and plays restricted to those approved by the Lord Chamberlain. No guarantee of continued licensing year by year was implied, and no open encouragement to the permanent establishment of theatres was given. In 1788, however, Mrs Baker surrendered the lease on the Buttermarket building. As a replacement, with Mayor James Simmons' support, Mrs Baker bought a Dancing School/Assembly Rooms in Orange Street, and by 1790 had turned it into a Theatre at a cost of £3,000. She obtained her first licence, to open the Theatre, from Canterbury Quarter Sessions on 11 January 1790. She continued to make yearly applications, under the terms of the Act of 1788, until the year of her death in 1816, when she was succeeded by her son-in-law, W. Dowton. Further extensive repairs and alterations were carried out in 1817, 1825 and 1838, and it continued as a theatre until its sale in 1853.¹⁵ Mrs Baker also established and owned theatres in Rochester and Maidstone, and her companies regularly toured other towns in Kent. According to John Morris, in his History of the Theatre in Kent 1757-1843,¹⁶ her wealth at her death in 1816 was estimated at £16,000.

Mrs Baker provided Canterbury with a social centre acceptable to and supported by the City Corporation and other institutions such as the

Military, particularly during the Napoleonic wars. Many of her performances were under the patronage of prominent people or institutions, styles as 'By desire of ...'. Among the Military patrons were, the East Kent Volunteers, West Kent Militia, Canterbury volunteers, Canterbury Yeomanry, Canterbury Rifle Corps, Militia units from Lancashire, Cornwall, Somerset and Sussex, and sponsorship was usually in the name of the General or Officer Commanding. A performance in 1805 was by the Desire of 'Non commissioned officers and privates of the Canterbury Volunteer Infantry'.¹⁷ Civilian patronage of Mrs Baker's performances in Canterbury included fewer dignitaries of title or high rank than those sponsoring her in the Kent county town of Maidstone, though in August 1789, the *Kentish Gazette* noted that 'Mrs Bakers Company have been remarkably successful this summer, as it is fashionable for ladies of rank to order plays and on such occasions bring their friends to the theatre'.

The repertoire of Mrs Baker's company was quite large. Performances, which could last as long as five hours, included a double bill of plays, with a number of interludes. It has been estimated from extant play bills, that over the years, she presented eighty full length plays, including eight Shakespeare, eleven tragedies, twenty-two comedies, nine farces and twenty-four musicals. Fifty-two of the plays had been written after 1766.

Kent did not generally attract major stars of the London stage. Companies would normally be led by stars of second order, supported by a mixture of provincials and near amateurs. Canterbury, however, sometimes benefited by visits from Mrs Jordan (1802) and Edmund Kean (1817, 1822, 1825) and Charles Kean (1834). The theatre in Canterbury was of course used for other functions, including musical performances, and by amateur companies. The 'Old Stagers' presented their first performance there in 1842. It would also seem that some connection existed between the Theatre and a private theatre in the Canterbury barracks in Napoleonic times.

It is perhaps of interest that T. Sydney Cooper, the Canterbury artist (1803-1902), when he was still in his teens, was engaged to paint the theatre sometime before 1820. He also travelled with the company to Faversham and Hastings as a scene painter. At Hastings, Edmund Keen, who was on holiday there, was persuaded to lead the company one night as Shylock. After this success, the company failed to draw sufficient audiences to meet its expenses, and Cooper (unpaid) had to walk back from Hastings to Canterbury when the company folded. Nevertheless, when Downton's Company came to Canterbury in 1820, Cooper did scene painting jobs for him.¹⁸

Music, concerts and literature

As early as 1744, advertisements for musical concerts in Canterbury can be found in the *Kentish Post*. In that year, a Grand Concert of Music by Mr Defesh was advertised, to perform 'several new concertos; some pieces with the French horn, a new solo and two concertos by Mr Defesh and the Bassoon by Mr Miller'.

By 1779, a choral society, the Canterbury Catch Club had been founded, and continued in existence until 1865. In its heyday, the Club included an orchestra drawing on some fifty instrumentalists, and had a total membership of 200, with a committee of thirty-five. Members of the Burghmote were prominent in their support for the Club, and the membership also included resident and local gentry, clergy and tradesmen. Local MPs were assiduous in attending the Club's sessions, and when the Mayor paid an official visit, his name was introduced into the Club's Noble Charter Glee as a mark of respect. In 1836, the recently elected Mayor, George Neame, also became President of the Club. According to the *Kentish Gazette* (12 January 1836) when he took his seat, he was given three times three cheers, and the *Gazette* recorded that, in returning thanks he said to applause that 'after well weighing the matter he did not feel that the two offices of President of the Club and Chief Magistrate of the City were incompatible'.

New members were sponsored by existing members and admitted by ballot. Admission fee was half a guinea, subscription 1 guinea a year. No apprentice or minor was admitted. Performances by the Club were staged Wednesdays in the winter months (about thirty Wednesdays) with rehearsals on Saturdays. Programmes typically included about four overtures or parts of symphonies of Haydn, Abel, Bach or Mozart, three or four glees for three, four or five voices, duets, four songs and a catch or round. The performances generally ended with the singing of the Noble Charter Glee, specially written for the Club. After the performance, free and easy singing continued, sometimes until early morning; gin punch in half pint mugs, was the standard drink, with mutton pie to eat.

In discussing the contribution made by John Marsh (1752-1828), amateur musician and gentleman, to cultural life in the English province in the eighteenth century, John Brewer¹⁹ noted that from 1781-1787, Marsh had an estate at Nethersole, near Canterbury, and that during that time he became a leader of concert series at Canterbury, often also deputising for the cathedral organist. Marsh also lived for some time at Salisbury and Chichester, and was a leading member of the singing, or Glee Clubs there. Brewer comments that the Canterbury Glee Club was

larger and more boisterous than those of Salisbury and Chichester, and that Marsh found the Canterbury Club meetings too much like an ale house for his taste. The evenings entertainment at Canterbury usually included:- '... an unlimited quantity of Pipes and Tobacco and Beer ... in consequence of which many of the members amongst the Poorest kind of Tradesman ... used by way of having a full pennyworth for their penny ... to go at 6 and smoke away until 11 or 12. On account of the fumigation from 40 or 50 pipes (which was always enough to stifle a person at first entering the Room and was very disagreeable to the Non Smokers) there were 3 ventilators in the ceiling ... to get rid of the smoke, but the room was so low pitched and bad that notwithstanding this, it appeared as if we were in fog there'.

In its heyday the Club gained a reputation throughout England for its music.²⁰ The Club met for forty years in the Appolonian Hall in Orange Street, specially built for them. In 1831 they moved to the Guildhall Concert Room, and also used the Oddfellows Hall in Orange Street. In 1856 they again moved, to a new Music Hall in St Margaret's Street, and they remained there until the Club disbanded in 1865. The reasons why the Club disbanded are not clear. It was said that the new Hall was uncomfortably large, and that old members had died off without replacement.

A society for the Cultivation of Useful Knowledge was formed in Canterbury on 23 September 1769, with John Calloway as prime mover. This met regularly every Tuesday evening in the house of William Wiltshier, the Guildhall Tavern. According to the 7th edition of the Rules and Orders 1816, every member entering the room paid 8d., 6d. to be spent (on beer!), 2d. to be added to the funds. The catalogue of the Society listed 900 volumes, including the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and books on electricity, mathematics, chemistry, history, religion, law and literature, as well as periodicals such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *English Review*.

In 1825 the Society was reformed as the Canterbury Philosophical and Literary Institute, with a new, imposing building containing inter alia a Museum and a Library in Guildhall Street. The effort to get working men to join and subscribe at 1d. a week did not seem very satisfactory or successful. In 1845 a special meeting of members was convened to buy out the lease and contents of the building by paying off the Bond debts of £1,000 and £300. By the 7 February 1845, the ownership was vested in subscribers of £100 or £50 each.²¹

The Institute had a secretary, a curator, a Librarian and a Treasurer. In 1847 the balance sheet showed receipts of £102 14s. 5d.; Expenditure

£100 5s. 2d., liabilities £77 13s. 5d., Assets £7 13s. 5d. Debts £70. From 1836 to 1847, members paid 6s. 6d. a quarter, and the Institute had twenty-one trustees and six museum directors.

In June 1846, the City Council requested permission of the Treasury to purchase the Institute for £1,000, pursuant to an Act of 8 and 9 Victoria C.43 for encouraging the establishment of museums, and in August the Treasury agreed to a proposal to purchase for £1,600, borrowing on a bond for the purpose. On 12 April 1847, the minutes of the City Council record the borrowing of £1,900 in bonds to complete the transaction. The building, library and museum, together with Municipal Treasures then formed the Canterbury Museum.²²

For a view of the social life of Canterbury in the 1790s it is perhaps worth quoting Hasted:-

'... citizens are wealthy and respectable; many gentlemen of fortune and genteel families reside in it, especially within the precincts of the Cathedral, where there are many of the clergy of Superior rank and fortune belonging to it, and throughout the whole place there is a great deal of courtesy and hospitality. For the amusement of the inhabitants and neighbouring gentry, there is a theatre erected not many years since, and a public assembly room in the High Street ... there are two elegant public libraries and public newspapers from London are daily received, so that they are much resorted to by all the genteel families of the town and neighbouring country. And there are horse races yearly on Barham Downs at which the King's Plate is run for ... attended by most of the Kentish Gentry and a great number of people from the neighbouring parts ... brings a vast concourse of them to ... the City ... for the time, when there are assemblies, plays and other entertainments during the whole race week.'²³

Hasted was of course based in Canterbury, and his subscribers were in the main drawn from the area. Some of his superlatives must therefore be set aside as gloss that he felt necessary to add, but the account gives an acceptable list of social and leisure facilities as seen by a contemporary.

Proclamations and Processions

Canterbury citizens, led by the Mayor and Commonalty, were always ready to brighten their lives by supporting National events with patriotic fervour. Alderman Gray in his notebook,²⁴ gives some interesting accounts of the way in which the City proclaimed significant occasions

in the life of the Nation, and of the processions with which they were celebrated.

War was declared on Spain on 27 October 1739 in the Mayoralty of John Robinson. Proclamations were made at the Guildhall, the Bullstake, St Andrew's Church and Iron Cross or 3 Tuns corners, and then adjourned to the Fountain Tavern 'to refresh ourselves after so great fatigue'.

On 7 April 1744, a Saturday, in the Mayoralty of Jn°. Watts, war was declared on France. A Proclamation procession was formed, consisting of two Farriers alias Pioneers, one Sergeant at Mace on horseback, two Constables on foot, Major General Churchill's Dragoons swords in hand, Constables and Borsholders on foot, Common Cryer on horseback, Sergeant at Mace do., Mace Bearer do., Sword Bearer do., Sheriff and Town Clerk do., Mayor with Orange Coloured Cockade, Aldermen two and two, Common Councillors two and two, some citizens on horseback, two farriers or pioneers, officers servants, three drums, one yellow standard. Processed to Bullstake Market, St Andrew's Church, Iron Bar Lane, declaration at each. Adjourn to Fountain Tavern where the evening was spent in the customary manner.

Peace was proclaimed on 9 February 1748 a Thursday, during the Mayoralty of Alderman Gray. The procession consisted of a company of Cholmondley's Foot, City drums and colours, a large band of musick on horseback. Constables and Borsholders on foot. Common Cryer on Horseback, four Sergeants at Mace do., Sheriff and Town Clerk in a landau with proclamation. Mace and Sword bearers on horseback. Mayor in a chariot alone with horse decorated. Aldermen in chariots two and two in their gowns. Gentlemen's coaches, Common Councillors on horseback in their gowns. Gentlemen on horseback and a numerous assembly on foot. The procession went to Westgate, Bullstake, St Andrew's, Iron Cross or 3 Tuns, and at each location the Proclamation was read. Describing the scene, Alderman Gray writes 'The whole City was like a grove with green holly and adorned with costly garlands. At night a grand firework display at the front of Westgate. First a variety of Fauns and Colours, from Italian Wheels and Stars, second Britannia and Pallas supporting a shield appeared in bright yellow transparency, on each side and at a little distance a (illegible) in green streaming fire in imitation of Fountains, 3rd representing the obelisk standing upon the basis on which the figures were sitting, on the Top the representation of the sun and lastly the whole was concluded (after two single ones) with a flight of 24 Sky Rockets and general volleys of reports. Which performance was attended with the Band of Musick playing the whole time and a crowded audience. After the fireworks were out, the whole city was fully illuminated and we

adjourned to the King's Head Tavern and regaled as usual on public occasions'.

We see from these examples that to organize, lead and orchestrate ceremonial occasions was an important function of the Mayor and his Burghmote colleagues. Such occasions, with the Mayor and his colleagues in their robes and flanked by the military, while giving pleasure to the populace, set the members of the ruling elite apart from the masses, and thereby enhanced their authority.

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

The Dissolution of the monasteries and particularly the destruction of the Shrine of St Thomas robbed Canterbury of its main industry; the pilgrim trade. It is said by Hasted that as a result the City 'fell suddenly to extreme poverty, nakedness and decay'.²⁵ However, in time of Queen Elizabeth I the City's fortunes began to rise with the import of Walloons fleeing from religious persecution. Canterbury became a great centre of wool, cloth making and silk weaving. By 1645 the number of Walloons working in Canterbury was 900, out of a population of perhaps 5,000. The contribution of Strangers to Canterbury's economy was further strengthened by the influx of Huguenots, emigrating to escape the effects of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, there were 126 master weavers in Canterbury, employing 1,300 Strangers and 260 English.²⁶

From this high point the industry declined throughout the eighteenth century, largely because of the cheaper French goods and the rapidly increasing importation of East India silks. By 1710 the number of master weavers had declined to 58, and by 1799 to 10. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the industry in Canterbury, as in other centres such as Cranbrook and Hawkhurst, was virtually dead.

However, John Callaway, Master of the Weavers Company in Canterbury, invented a process to produce 'Canterbury Muslin', a mixture of cotton twist, which provided further employment to weavers remaining in the city. Callaway also set up a spinning factory called Shalok Cotton Mill, at a cost of £3,000, giving employment to 50 people for several decades. After Callaway's death, the mills were rented for the manufacture of Canterbury worsted, but by 1830 this had ceased and the mill pulled down. From 1836 until the end of the nineteenth century a small enterprise to weave damask table linen operated in the city, as the last representative of the cloth weaving industry in Canterbury and East Kent.

As the weaving industry declined, so the hop industry in and around Canterbury grew, providing much needed employment for the labouring poor. In a circuit of 2½ miles round Canterbury, it was estimated in 1800 that there were between 2,000 and 3,000 acres of hop gardens. By the start of the nineteenth century, the hop trade represented Canterbury's major industry.²⁷

Apart from the hop industry, there were in the first half of the nineteenth century, only a few employers of more than a handful of people. Among these were several brewers, Ash and Co. at the Dane John Brewery, Flint and Sons at St Dunstan's, Bear and Co. of Broad Street and a brewery in Stour Street. The Canterbury Gas Light Coke and Water Company was founded in 1819, and was centred on the Norman Castle in Castle Street, which, after removing the top storey, they used as a coal store. Neame's Soap and Candle factory, and Hugman's (subsequently Williamson's) tannery were situated by the side of the Great Stour, giving rise to pollution of the water, and to the smells of boiling tallow and 'soaking putrid hides' in cow's urine. Abbot's Mill and Dean's Mill, both flour producers also relied on the Stour, creating problems with the head of water required to drive the water wheels. Finally should be mentioned Master's Exotic Nursery, for some decades occupying the site now used as Pound Lane car park. Alderman William Masters (Mayor 1840-1) was a nurseryman of national reputation, maintained a collection of extraordinary and exotic plants, which formed a tourist attraction of the day.

COMMUNICATIONS TO THE SEA

Canterbury Canal

The position of Canterbury at the junction of major roads to London, Dover, Margate, Ramsgate, Whitstable and Ashford, ensured that the City's economy benefited by the coaching era, particularly after the tolling of these major arteries and the widening of the streets of the City by the Pavement Commissioners. But for easy and cheap goods transport Canterbury lacked direct access by water to the sea. Fordwich, the port of Canterbury, afforded a link to Sandwich, but its unloading arrangements were antiquated and it became unable to take boats of reasonable size.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the prospect of a canal link from the city to the sea began to attract attention, particularly from Alderman Simmons. In the early 1790s, Simmons at his own expense employed Robert Whitworth the engineer, to survey the land from Canterbury (North Lane, close to the Westgate) to Nethergong by

Northmouth (Wantsum). The canal surveyed would have been 10½ miles long, for vessels up to 100 tons, drawing 8 feet of water. In 1797, things had progressed far enough for the *Observer* to announce that a canal was about to be made from Canterbury to the sea at Reculver, from which much benefit was expected.²⁸ However, Hasted writing at the end of the eighteenth century commented that the plans had been frustrated by the Napoleonic wars. Nevertheless, work on the project continued, and in 1804 Mr Rennie produced a scheme for an upgraded canal of 150 tons, cost £80,000, which was double the earlier scheme. The possibility was also introduced of a connection with the proposed Weald of Kent Canal and with the Royal Military Canal. In July 1804, the *Gazette* published an article commenting favourably on the Royal Military Canal project, not only for its defence value, but also for its peace-time utility. The article commented that the Royal Military Canal 'will be of infinite use to the County of Kent, should ever the projected canal from Yalden Lees ... and Ashford to Canterbury ... take place. This line of canal ... has been found not only practicable but one of the easiest lines of canal ever discovered in this kingdom ... From Canterbury a canal on one level has been projected to communicate with the sea at St Nicholas Bay in the Isle of Thanet capable of carrying sea built vessels (a survey of this canal has also been made at the expense of Alderman Simmons of Canterbury) so that by joining of these two canals, the whole interior of the County of Kent will have a ready and easy navigation to the sea coast at Canterbury, Chatham, Rye and Hythe'.²⁹ We may detect the hand of Simmons in this article, and we may also suspect that he may have inspired Andrews and Dury to include the line of the projected Canterbury-St Nicholas Bay Canal as a reality in the 1807 edition of their 1 inch to 1 mile map of Thanet.³⁰ The line shown in the 1807 map must have been Simmons' latest plan and is probably the one he holds in his hand in the portrait of him painted in 1806, now on display in the Poor Priests' Hospital, Canterbury.

Simmons' election to Parliament in October 1806 would have given him an opportunity to promote the canal, but his death early in 1807 left the issue still unresolved. That the issue remained foremost in his mind to the last there is no doubt. Richard Frend, his supporter in the election, also participated in the election of his successor, and on that occasion said of Simmons and the canal 'in a conversation I had with him not many days prior to his death, I feel a conviction that he would not have ceased his efforts until he had seen vessels floating under the walls of Canterbury; that an object of such magnitude and consequence to your city may yet be completed is my utmost hope.'³¹ After Simmons' death a further survey increased the likely cost to £150,000, but despite this an enabling act was procured in 1811, a company was formed and £80,000 was raised in London, and £70,000 in Kent, mainly

Canterbury.³² Plans and intended levels were drawn up and deposited with the appropriate local authorities.³³ The canal was, however, never started.

After the Act had been passed, Rennie found that the harbour at St Nicholas Bay was sited in quicksand. Whitworth had said that the harbour in the bay would need piling over the whole area, but Rennie in 1804 took the view that the bottom was chalk. Samuel Jones, who surveyed the line in 1810 for the act of 1811 said it was tenacious clay. This formidable obstacle caused faint-hearted delay, and various strategies were mooted, but no firm start was made. In 1824, the Company got together with interested people from Sandwich, and, following a report from Telford, adopted a joint plan to improve the river Stour from Canterbury to Sandwich, with a harbour near Sandown Castle, essentially to allow 100-ton vessels up to Canterbury. The canal line pioneered by Simmons was dropped, and another act was sought in 1825, the time for the Canterbury Navigation and Sandwich Harbour Company, with a capital of £100,000, of which about £70,000 had already been subscribed. By 1825, however, the Canterbury and Whitstable Railway Act had been procured, including a harbour at Whitstable, at an estimated cost of £31,000. In June 1827, the Canterbury Navigation scheme finally disappeared.³⁴ With hindsight, even if Simmons had managed to bring his scheme to fruition in the 1790s, it might, like many other canals, have had only a few decades of life before the railways overtook it.

Perhaps the *Kentish Gazette* in its issue of 22 March 1825 sounded the death knell on the Stour-Sandwich version of the canal. The *Kentish Gazette* wrote '... that any advantage can result from this undertaking ... subject of greatest surprise ... to suppose that the ... city of Canterbury can derive the least benefit from it is truly absurd ... or that shareholders can reap even 1 per cent for an outlay of £80,000 ... to form a navigation of 70 miles in order to arrive at a point only six miles distant by land is childish and ludicrous'.

Canterbury and Whitstable Railway³⁵

Nevertheless the attempts to promote a canal from Canterbury to the sea had highlighted the need for the City to have more convenient access to a port, and the move to promote a rail link to Whitstable was born as the canal project died. The *Kentish Gazette* of 5 November 1824 reported a meeting, chaired by Alderman John Brent (Mayor 1844, 1849), to form the Canterbury Rail Road Company with capital of £25,000, to be taken up in 500 shares at £50 each. Curteis and Kingsford, solicitors, and Smythe Robinson of the Economic Fire Office were also prime movers.

It was estimated that at least 29,000 tons of goods went by road to and from Whitstable each year, representing a possible revenue of £5,000 a year at 5s. a ton. A tramway or Rail Road was to be constructed to Whitstable, with the motive force of steam. At Whitstable a harbour with sufficient piers, wharfage, etc would be built, and the train way to Canterbury might take one of three alternative routes. An 11 mile stretch would take in Fordwich, Sturry, Westbere, Herne and Swalecliff; a 7½ mile possibility would go by way of Mayton Farm; and the shortest route (eventually preferred) of 6 miles would go via Tyler Hill and Clowes Wood.

The Royal Assent to the Railway Bill was given on 10 June 1825, ten days before assent on the abortive Canal Bill. George Stephenson was engaged as engineer consultant, and his advice advanced the estimated cost by £5,000 to £31,000, to take into account the difficulty of digging a tunnel of half a mile length through Tyler Hill to achieve the direct 6 mile route. In the course of procuring the bill, the Whitstable Turnpike Road Trustees tried to get a clause in it for compensation of possible loss of their revenues, but the attempt failed. The *Kentish Gazette* greeted the passage of the Bill with enthusiasm, writing on 14 June 1825 that the project was 'of the greatest importance to Canterbury and the adjacent country ... county members entitled to great praise ... for affording their ... support to this Bill ... will place ... City for all purposes of trade and advantage of commerce at the mouth of the Thames ... people of Whitstable also participate in the success of the undertaking'.

The start of the project was somewhat hampered by the fact that George Stephenson was too busy with other projects to get down to Canterbury, and his appointed deputy, John Dixon, a young man in his early twenties, was also not greatly in evidence. However, on 31 October at a special ceremony at the foot of Tyler Hill, C.W.R. Chairman John Brent cut the first sod for the tunnel. The work proceeded slowly because of funding difficulties, and powers to increase the capital by £19,000 were sought. It was not until 17 May 1827 that the *Kentish Gazette* was able to record that workers from the two ends of the tunnel had met, and by 16 July, bricking the tunnel had been completed. Work then stopped gain for lack of funds, and did not restart until May 1828.

Robert Stephenson, standing in for his father, had advised that the gradients on the terrain were such that two stationary steam engines would be needed to haul the train and coaches up the steepest gradients of 1 in 50 and 1 in 57. One stationary engine would be at Tyler Hill and the other at Clowes Wood. In addition, a steam locomotive, the

Invicta, would be employed on the last stretch of the line to Whitstable. The 25 h.p. stationary engines cost £1,550 each, the Invicta £635.

Finally, after five years of effort, the line was officially opened on 3 May 1830. It operated principally as a goods line, undercutting road transport, though passengers in rudimentary open carriages were carried at 9d. for adults, 6d. for children. A disadvantage was that the harbour facilities at Whitstable were very poor; docking depended on the tide. A greater disadvantage was the fact that Invicta could not be relied on to haul the trains on the incline from Whitstable Harbour to Clowes Wood, a distance of 2 miles. As a temporary measure, 4 strong horses were used instead of Invicta, and as a permanent measure a third stationary steam engine was put at the top of the incline, at a cost of £582 for the engine and £275 10s. 6d. for its housing. After a few months of operating, therefore, Invicta was effectively taken out of service, though it continued for some time to work on a level section close to Whitstable.

Work to improve the harbour cost a further £10,000, and by 1833 the proprietors had acquired their own steamship to operate out of Whitstable to London, at a cost of £5,396. Debts however were mounting. The initial construction which had been estimated at £5,000 a mile, had actually cost £14,350 a mile. In 1838 the proprietors leased the line to Nicholson and Bright, but in 1841 that firm went bankrupt, and the C.W.R. directors were forced to take over the operation of the line. The lease was offered at £3,500 a year, with no takers.

Meanwhile, Railway mania in the rest of the country proceeded apace, and the C.W.R., operating with three stationary steam engines cable-hauling, with no locomotive and also using horse power taking at least 40 minutes for a six mile journey, began to appear increasingly out dated. Silting problems with the Whitstable Harbour added to difficulties. The Directors, in debt as the C.W.R. was, had no funds to correct the problems and modernize. The South Eastern Railway Company, well funded, had in the early 1840s completed a line from London to Dover via Ashford, and were intending to link Canterbury with Ashford. On 22 March 1844, Alderman Henry Cooper then chairman of the C.W.R., announced that discussions had started with S.E.R. for a sale or lease. Starting his demand at £3,000 a year for lease, Cooper finally settled for £1,200 a year for the first year of a 14 year lease, with an option for S.E.R. to buy the line any time before September 1852, at a price of £66,000 cash, plus liquidation of the C.W.R.'s debts at £39,970.

On 30 September 1844 S.E.R. took charge of the line, and the C.W.R. Company was finally dissolved at the end of 1853. The S.E.R. relaid the line from end to end at a cost of £16,000, and in February 1846 the line from Ashford to Canterbury opened. On 3 April 1846 the Canterbury to Whitstable Railway started to operate by steam locomotive. From that point on, the control of Canterbury's rail links was out of the hands of local interests.

It must be noted that, from start to finish, while no record of any official policy of the Burghmote or Council has been found, the C.W.R. was very much a Canterbury local effort, supported and maintained by members of the Burghmote or Council, local dignitaries and their money. Of the nineteen directors of the company, at least fourteen can be recognised as Canterbury people, most of them, at one time or another, Councillors or Aldermen, and several Mayors, viz John Brent, George Baker, George Frend, Charles Pearson, William Henry Baldock, Richard Halford, William Baldock, Edward Kingsford, Samuel Kingsford, Edward Kingsford Junior and James Warren. The Committee of Management formed in May 1830 when the railway started operation had Simpson Kingsford (Mayor), Richard Halford, John Brent (Alderman and sometime Mayor), T.L. Burch (first Treasurer of the City Council in 1836), chaired by George Plomer, with his son G. Plomer junior as Secretary of the Committee. In 1843, when the lessees of the line went bankrupt and a Committee was reformed to manage the railway for the Directors, George Neame (first Mayor of Canterbury under the new regime in 1836) was chairman, with T.L. Burch (Treasurer of the City Council) as Secretary.

For the investors, it was never the profitable enterprise they thought it might be. Those who sold shares in the 1830s and 1840s got only a fraction back of their outlay - it was said at one point that a £50 share could be had for 5s. - but those who hung on eventually recouped their outlay (but without interest for twenty years) when the C.W.R. was sold to the S.E.R. in 1853. The price paid was about £100,000, of which nearly £60,000 went to pay the full value of the share capital, and about £40,000 to clear mortgages and debts.

It is clear that, while the enterprise of local capital seeking to open up direct and economic lines of commercial traffic with the world outside Canterbury, and particularly with the London diaspora, must be recognised, there was never enough money to do the job properly. And, in any event, no great commercial activity appeared in Canterbury bursting to take advantage of such a link. Canterbury remained essentially a market and service industry town, with no substantial factories demanding outlets for manufactured goods or access to raw materials with which to make them.

That is not to say that Canterbury at large did not derive significant benefit from the C.W.R. and its successors. The *Kentish Gazette* on January 13 1832 commented that 'the advantages derived from the establishment of the Canterbury and Whitstable Railway by the inhabitants of this city and neighbourhood are too universally felt not to be appreciated. The simple fact that since it came into operation the carriage of merchandise, coal and passengers had been lowered by at least half, and thereby saved to the public since the opening of the railway in May 1830 at least £10,000, was a most convincing and conclusive proof of the advantage resulting from the employment of steam and mechanical power'.

However relieved the proprietors of the C.W.R. (some of them City Council members) may have been when the S.E.R. took the railway and its debts off their hands, the Council itself did not hesitate at the same time to attack the broad policies and plans of the S.E.R. The Council's concern was to secure for Canterbury a direct line to London and Dover.

In 1846, the Council got up a petition to Parliament in favour of a London-Canterbury-Dover line. Again, in 1847 the Council minutes record a petition against a Bill for a railway line from Strood through Chilham, on the grounds that it would perpetuate the monopoly of the S.E.R. in Kent 'which your petitioners are prepared to prove that the Directors of the Company have not hesitated to exercise in a manner inconsistent with representations made by them to Parliament and prejudicial at one to their proprietors and to the public at large ...'. The desire of the Council to achieve a direct line between London, Canterbury and Dover was obviously very strong, but such a line was not constructed until decades later, and then by a rival railway company.

CANTERBURY SPA

In 1693, mineral springs were discovered in Canterbury, in St Peter's near the Westgate, offering the possibility of exploitation of Canterbury as a spa town. Hasted described them as 'strong chalbeat' and commented that 'they had been taken with good success'.³⁶ They were discussed by Dr Scipio des Moulins in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1700 as 'very useful in the diseases of the breast, as in asthmas, coughs, rheums, and catarrh. It has cured several given over of consumptions of the lungs. Most disorders of the stomach are cured by these waters'. He made claims for cures of other diseases and disorders and he concluded that 'for four years I have prescribed them to many scores of persons every season, and I could never observe any inconveniency or ill symptoms arise from the drinking of them'.³⁷

Attempts to use the springs to attract visitors to Canterbury as a spa, as a rival to Tunbridge, met with some success at first. Visiting Canterbury in 1697, Celia Fiennes noted 'Here is a spring in the town that is drank by many persons as Tunbridge and approved by them, but others find it an ill water; one Gentleman in the same house I was in complained of a numbness in his limbs after drinking it sometyne, which is quite contrary to Tunbridge waters ...; the taste of the spring in the town seems to be from a mixt soyl and bears a likeness to the Sulphor Spar Epsoms and the Iron Springs too which are at Tunbridge; what its operation is I cannot tell only tasting half a glass of it which I did not like; the well is walled in and paved about for the Company to stand just at the head to drink'.³⁸

However efficacious the wells may have been they did not succeed in rivalling Tunbridge as an attraction. In 1804, the 5th edition of Gostlings 'Walk',³⁹ noted that 'The waters have been prescribed and taken with good success, from the first discovery of them, but never were so much in fashion as to crown the town with company.' In 1830 the springs had become part of a nursery garden created by Mr Masters (Mayor 1840-1), and were evidently receiving renewed attention. The Canterbury Guide of that year, after commenting that the mineral waters had of late years been neglected, described how Mr William Masters had been at considerable expense in incorporating them as part of the attractions of this Nursery Gardens. Masters had rebuilt the wells 'furnishing appropriate conveniences, ... laying out the grounds for the comfort and convenience of the subscribers, who resort there in great numbers during the season, which commences on the 1st of May and ends on the 30th September'.⁴⁰ The 6th edition of Gostling's Guide, in 1825 noted the same development, adding that 'the effect of the medicine may be considerably augmented by the exercise of walking in the nursery, which is filled with beautiful and rare exotics'.

It would seem that for some decades in the early nineteenth century, Masters Exotic Garden with its mineral springs formed a valuable part of the attractions Canterbury could offer to the visitor,⁴¹ though never to the extent of constituting a fashionable spa.

CANTERBURY IN WARTIME

The French declaration of war in February 1793, coming shortly after the September massacres of 1792 and the execution of Louis XVI in January 1793, constituted no surprise to the British government. Among other measures to strengthen defences, Militia forces were embodied in December 1792, local volunteer forces were raised in 1793-4, and measures to increase recruitment into the Navy implemented in 1795.

Measures such as these, affecting the civilian population of the country, were organised through the Lieutenancy of the County, with the assistance of Magistrates in Quarter or Petty Session. Although the City of Canterbury was a county in itself, for defence purposes the City authorities took direction from and responded to, the Lieutenancy and Quarter Sessions of Kent County.

For Naval recruitment, a County was by Navy Acts to provide a specified number of recruits. Kent (including the Cinque Ports and Canterbury) was required to provide 440 volunteers. Kent Magistrates in Quarter Session at Maidstone directed Canterbury to find twelve. In April 1795, Canterbury Magistrates in Petty Session, chaired by John Hodges, Mayor, and assisted by churchwardens from each of the fourteen parishes of Canterbury duly nominated twelve volunteers, and certificated them for the £20 bounty for each on recruitment. These actions were recorded in the minutes of the Maidstone Quarter Sessions of 14 April 1795.⁴²

Militia in Kent, founded in 1760, were organised into a West Kent Battalion of 10 corps, total strength 650 men, and an East Kent Battalion of 5 corps, total strength 350 men. Canterbury's contribution to the East Kent Battalion was one corps, consisting of 1 Major, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 3 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 2 Drummers and 60 privates. Strength returns for the years 1767-1776, certified by the Lord Lieutenant of Kent, show that those numbers were maintained for those years. Similar returns for 1826 and 1851 show comparable strengths and it may be assumed that the Kent Militia called up in 1792/3 numbered about 650 for West Kent and 350 for East Kent.⁴³

Volunteering

In addition to the regular Army forces (probably about 100,000 strong in 1792) and the Militia battalions, the need was felt for a backup of Volunteer forces to serve locally when required in the event of invasion or to assist in maintaining internal order. The move to raise such forces seems to have been somewhat spontaneous. Within a year an estimated 340,000 country wide had joined the volunteers. In order to ensure some uniformity in their formation, regulation and control, the Secretary for War, Henry Dundas, wrote to Lord Amherst, Commander in Chief in February 1793, giving guidance on the raising of Volunteer Forces. That guidance was transmitted to County Authorities, and on 8 April 1794, the High Sheriff of Kent (Richard Carew) convened a general meeting of the Nobility, Clergy, Yeomanry and principal land owners of the County, to present to them for their agreement, a plan by the Lord Lieutenant (Duke of Dorset, present at the meeting), to raise and

finance Volunteer troops of cavalry. The meeting approved the plan, and appointed a committee to put it into operation.

The Troops of cavalry were to be drawn from gentlemen and yeomen and 'such persons as they shall bring forward to be approved by the Lord Lieutenant...'. Each Troop would be headed by a Captain (temporary appointment and commission by the Lord Lieutenant under the authority of his Majesty) and would be fifty strong, including officers. The volunteer troops would have no levy money, no pay unless called out and embodied, and would find their own horses and clothing. The Government would be asked to supply arms and accoutrements, as usually allowed to the cavalry. The Government would also pay for one sergeant per troop, horses and clothing to be supplied by the Corps. In addition to being liable to call up or embodiment on the appearance of, or the actual occasion of, invasion, the Troops could be called upon for the suppression of riots and tumult within the County.

A subscription list within the County was opened immediately and within a few weeks over £15,000 had been offered from over 120 subscribers in amounts from £5 to £500, including nearly fifty subscriptions of £100 or over. The Duke of Dorset gave £500, Lord Darnley £300, Lord Romney £300 and Lord Bagham £200. The going rate for MPs seemed to be £100 each. From the clergy, the Archbishop of Canterbury pledged £200, the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury £200, the Dean and Chapter of Rochester £105, and a dozen other clergymen subscribed.

The fund was intended to defray expenses which might occur in the equipment, formation or continuance of the volunteer troops, and to assist in the general defence of the County in such manner as the Committee thought fit, under the sanction of Parliament.⁴⁴ The committee met for the first time on 15 April 1794, and inter alia, decided that every Captain, in forming his troop, would be allowed £7 for each man recruited and approved, against the cost of fitting out. An amount of 60 guineas was allowed for finishing each sergeant with horse and clothing.⁴⁵

Coastal towns such as Dover, Deal and Sandwich, taking their lead from the County Committee separately started their own funds to provide for their protection. However, on 3 May 1794, these efforts were brought together and co-ordinated by a meeting of delegates from the Cinque Ports and their members, under the chairmanship of William Pitt as Lord Warden. They decided to form a committee of the Ports, towns and members to direct and apply money already subscribed for that purpose. A total of £6,289 13s. was available, of which £1,451 11s. was specified to local purposes, £2,198 13s. for general fund and £2,639

9s. not 'particularly appropriated'.⁴⁶ It was agreed that all subscriptions not earmarked for any particular service should be appropriated equally between the local defence of respective places, the remainder to be used for general purposes under the direction of the Committee.

The number of infantry proposed for the defence of the several places amounted to 1560, of which 1133 had already been enrolled. For the general defence of the Cinque Ports it was agreed that six troops of volunteer cavalry should be raised, fifty in each. The committee appointed began detailed work on 17 May.

Canterbury had, along with other towns such as Ashford, Chartham and Maidstone, responded to the County appeal, and some 30 citizens had subscribed a total of nearly £600. However, it was not until 12 May 1794 that Canterbury decided to raise a volunteer force of its own. On that day, a 'numerous and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of this City and County' met under the Chairmanship of the Mayor, Richard Frend, and decided on a plan to raise volunteer companies of infantry for the defence of the City and the neighbouring countryside.⁴⁷ Unanimity in their objective was not however achieved until the meeting had discussed a 'string of resolutions' whose purpose was to 'deny the necessity of Armed Associations and to petition Parliament to put a speedy end to the war, which it was asserted to have been ruinous to the trade and commerce of the Country'. These resolutions were negatived 'almost unanimously', and after they were disposed of the 'business of the meeting was conducted with the greatest unanimity and zeal'.⁴⁸ A prime mover in the meeting was John Hodges, Attorney, Canterbury Alderman (and future Mayor) and a joint secretary of the County Committee, who would therefore have had the confidence of the Lord Lieutenant.

A Canterbury Volunteer Committee was formed, and some account of its work survives in a Minute Book.⁴⁹

The Committee thought that about 300 volunteers could be expected, and it was decided that they should be organized into companies, each company to consist of 1 captain, 2 Lieutenants, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 2 drummers and 60 privates armed with firelocks. Each officer should be chosen by the company, approved by the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Kent, and commissioned in temporary rank by the King. Two days a week practice would be arranged, with pay for NCOs and privates at 1s. per day. Clothing and arms and accoutrements, it was expected, would be supplied by the national government. It was stipulated that the volunteers would not be removed out of Kent unless

by their own free will, but on the appearance of invasion would be liable to be embodied.

However, according to the *Kentish Gazette* of Tuesday March 27 1798, the Canterbury Volunteers were asked of Secretary Dundas through the Lord Lieutenant, whether in the event of actual invasion or its immanence, they would extend their service to the limits of the military district comprising Surrey and Sussex as well as Kent. In response the three companies resolved unanimously that they would be ready in the case of imminent danger to serve in any part of Kent, and in the case of actual invasion, in any part of the Kingdom.

A subscription list to defray costs, of which the Government was expected to meet only a proportion, was opened, and the Burghmote, approving the scheme, donated 100 guineas.⁵⁰ A committee was formed to supervise the raising of the companies, consisting of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Sheriff and those persons subscribing more than 2 guineas to the fund. By the 22 May 1794, No. 1 volunteer Company had been raised with James Simmons (former Mayor, Banker and Alderman) elected as its Captain and Henry Gipps (Simmons' partner in banking) and John Hollingbery Stringer (woollen draper and Alderman) as Lieutenants. By July, two further companies had been raised. The committee had some difficulty in excluding undesirables from becoming volunteers, and it was eventually decided that every volunteer should be a householder rated for the Poor at not less than £4 p.a. or be a son of such a householder, or be a subscriber of 2 guineas or more, or be recommended in writing by any three members of the Committee; the Town Clerk to control the enrolments. No articled clerk or apprentice would be enrolled.

The form of uniform was a matter for great debate. It was finally decided that officers and men should wear uniforms of the same quality, with officers and sergeants wearing swords in their white cross belts. Commissioned officers should be distinguished by wearing leggette, and could wear epaulettes at their own expense. The total cost of equipping the three companies was estimated at about £900 more than the amount central Government would be supplying. Central Government was, it would seem, somewhat tardy and reluctant in meeting its share of the enterprise. On the 24 May the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant for Kent, acknowledged receipt of information on the raising of the Canterbury Volunteer Companies, asking for names of the officers so that the King could award temporary Commissions and pointing out that Commissioned Officers would be paid only by the day, as for other ranks. By 12 June, a proper application for pay and expenses was made. By the end of July, the uniforms had been made, and it was decided to write to all those

who had promised to subscribe, asking them for immediate donations so that bills could be paid. On 6 August, the Committee had had sufficient response to agree to pay 50 per cent of each bill.

At this point enthusiasm for the enterprise appears to have waned somewhat, at least as far as Committee meetings were concerned, possibly because Government contributions in terms of money were slow in coming. The Committee, which started out over 30 strong, failed to meet throughout August and September, for lack of a quorum (seven members). No further meetings are recorded until March 1795, when, on 21st of that month the Treasurer (Alderman Hammond) reported that £311 2s., the amount allowed by Government towards the clothing, could now be drawn down. The tradesmen could therefore be paid in full. The last meeting recorded in the minute book took place on 4 May 1795 when only five members were present, and the only business transacted was the replacement of one lieutenant by another.

Since a French invasion did not, of course, materialize, it seems highly unlikely that the Canterbury Volunteers saw any action, but they continued in existence until threats of invasion receded. Some mention of them can be found from time to time in official and unofficial papers. On 28 March 1795 when militia men stationed in Canterbury had intimidated traders into selling provisions below the market (but very high) prices, the Mayor called out a Captain's Guard of the Volunteers to assist him in quelling the unrest. By that time, the Militia had gone back to barracks, so no confrontation took place.

Another reference to the Volunteers was on 12 November 1795 as reported in the *Kentish Gazette*, when Captain J. Simmons, accompanied by Sir John Honeywood Bart., and George Gipps Esq., MPs for Canterbury, presented a loyal address to the King on behalf of the Canterbury Volunteers congratulating his Majesty on his escape from an attempt to offer 'outrageous violence' to his Majesty's person.

On 3 April 1798, the Mayor wrote to Lord Romney, Lord Lieutenant, regretting that Canterbury had not been invited to either of two meetings called to discuss the internal security of Kent, nor had Canterbury been waited upon by either of Lord Romney's two Deputy Lieutenants. The Mayor hoped that Lord Romney would be pleased to give directions to Mayor and Justices at this important crisis. The Mayor went on to suggest that consideration might be given to the appointment of a Deputy Lieutenant for the City and County of Canterbury. Should this suggestion meet with Lord Romney's favour, the Mayor would supply him with names of persons suitable for the post. Lord Romney undertook to consider the suggestion and take legal advice.

On 16 April 1798, a deputation of the Mayor and four Aldermen/Magistrates met Lord Romney at Sittingbourne to discuss the matter. Resulting from that meeting, the Mayor and Magistrates undertook to raise three further companies of infantry volunteers, additional to the three already raised, totalling 200 extra men. £1,000 for Clothing and Accoutrements was to be raised by public subscription, the Government to supply arms, belts and cartridge boxes. Another meeting with Lord Romney at Sittingbourne took place on 25 June, and in August the Burghmote made Lord Romney a Freeman of the City by gift. However, the suggestion about the appointment of a Deputy Lieutenant does not seem to have been followed up.⁵¹

Nor apparently, did the promised recruitment of an extra three companies of Volunteers for Canterbury take place at that time. At the review of the Kent volunteers by King George III at Mote Park, Maidstone on 1 August 1798, the Canterbury Contingent consisted of three companies (not six), under Captains Simmons, Hodges and Stains.⁵² This gathering of West and East Kent Volunteers must be reckoned as the highlight of their existence. The whole assembly of some 90 companies was drawn up for inspection before marching past at the salute. Manoeuvres followed, in which the East Kent Companies defended the New bridge in the Park, and the Dam Head, against the (twice as numerous) West Kent. Dinner was provided for all ranks, with 1 bottle of wine between two people, 'to guard against inebriation'. Captain Simmons commanded the centre of the East Kent line (10 companies, three from Canterbury, two from Faversham and one each from Sittingbourne, Wootton, Cliffsend, Ashe and Milton). The King expressed his heartfelt satisfaction at their military appearance.⁵³

In 1802, after the Treaty of Amiens, moves to disband Volunteers took place. However by 1803, war had begun again, and enthusiasm for Volunteers was rekindled. In the Chamberlain's account for 1802-3, the Burghmote are recorded as giving a further £100 for their support. It was not until 1810, when the danger of invasion had finally disappeared, that general disbandment of the Volunteers was ordered.

A body of studies on volunteering serves to set this somewhat fragmentary information on Canterbury's experience into countrywide perspective, and perhaps suggests modifying existing insights to some degree.

Sebag-Montefiore, in 1908,⁵⁴ published an account of the whole movement, depicting it largely as motivated by patriotism in the face of possible and imminent invasion. Western in 1956⁵⁵ modified that view by attributing an anti-revolutionary role to volunteering. He considered

that the forces raised helped to render disloyalty unfashionable, sedition dangerous and insurrection impossible. He also pointed to other motivations for volunteering, particularly for the poorer sort, such as extra pay for days at drill, extra clothing, and freedom from militia service. Cookson, in a paper in 1989,⁵⁶ doubted the reality of an anti-revolutionary role, stating that once volunteer corps had been formed, not one major vigilante action and no real counter-revolutionary initiative could be ascribed to them. However, in Cookson's view there were varied and complex reasons for volunteering, in addition to patriotism. Not the least of these was the opportunity offered to the elite of towns to act independently of 'the County', mobilizing local communities essentially under the control of their own elite.

In 1986, Colley⁵⁷ suggested that, in the period 1750-1836, a wider sense of British identity was created among the population of Great Britain, assisted by three main developments. These were:- the series of wars with France and the widespread mobilization for defence that these occasioned; the 'revolutions' in communications and travel, binding localities closer together; and the doubling of the population, leading to a preponderance of young under the age of 25, who were, according to Colley, 'surely susceptible of new ideas'. The consequential burgeoning of patriotism and national consciousness, as evidenced particularly by the mass volunteering in the years 1794-1805, must, according to Colley, be seen at least as much due to spontaneous popular movements from below as from a consciousness promoted from above by Government. However, Colley considered that although such movements from below were patriotic, they provided opportunities for assertion of parity with the landed gentry, and that, between 1750 and 1830, a wide spectrum of aspiring social groups found the language of patriotism and nationalism ideal vehicles for the promotion of self interest.

Building on the theme of her paper of 1986, Colley in 1992⁵⁸ viewed volunteering as part of a long process of the invention of Great Britain and Britishness, and the forging of mass allegiance to those ideas as necessary reactions to pressures exerted by the long succession of wars against the French 1689-1815. The challenge to the political and religious base of the country over that period made necessary the progressive mobilization of the people, 'not just with consent, but also with active cooperation of large numbers', and volunteering may, according to Colley, be seen as one part of that process.

More recently, Cookson has chronicled the rise and fall of volunteering

in his book *The British Armed Nation 1793-1815*.⁵⁹ He questioned Colley's view that the thousands of ordinary folk who enlisted for home defence represented the depth and authority which nationalistic feelings had assumed in British society, believing that the 'thickening' of local government which went with volunteering added patronage and authority out of the state's reach. Volunteer forces in towns were manned by carefully supervised and selected property owners commanded by local rulers or notables. Urban elites promoted themselves through patriotism, and thereby reinforced existing social and governmental structures.

Cookson traced the rise and demise of volunteering from its beginnings in 1794, through its peak with a strength of 146,000 in 1801, to disbandment during the brief period of peace in 1802, on to revival in 1803, ending in final demise by 1810. Starting mainly as purely local defence forces against possible invasion, by 1798 a large proportion had agreed to extend that role to serve when requested in wider Military District Areas, or, in some cases, country-wide. Thereby, the inclusion of a sizeable number of volunteer infantry forces in the overall Defence Plan became feasible. When the volunteers were revived in 1803, even greater numbers came forward, reaching a peak of 380,000 in 1804. However, from their inception, the inefficiency of essentially civilian forces, their low status officers, their lack of military discipline and order, and the consequential difficulty of control of them by the Army, raised questions about their usefulness in reality, and moves were made by successive central governments to replace them with militia forces. By 1808-9, at least three-quarters of the volunteers had transferred to newly raised local militia forces voluntarily.

That the volunteer movement vanished without too much protesting may be surprising, but the enthusiasm of 1803 was followed by a strong decline in numbers, no doubt influenced by reduction in volunteer allowances, from the 1s. a day originally obtaining. Then, too, after Trafalgar in 1805, the threat of invasion receded and greater emphasis was put on the need to rebuild up forces to fight outside the country.

Against the background of the above summary of the rise and demise of volunteering, it can be seen that the Canterbury experience fits well into the general picture, illustrating both the theme of patriotism, and that of the status of the ruling elite benefiting by their leadership and control of the local volunteer forces. In sum, the Canterbury movement was initiated through a town meeting called and chaired by the Mayor, and implemented through a Committee led by Burghmote members. The officers of the force, nominally elected by its

members, were prominent among the city elite. The lower orders were excluded from the force through a property owning qualification, regulated by the Town Clerk. Initially, the prime object was to defend Canterbury against invasion, but from 1798 the force pledged itself to be available for wider service within the Military District and County. Although the force had some military attributes, all ranks seemed to participate in decision making, and distinction between ranks was somewhat blurred, if only because uniforms were of the same material for all ranks. Discipline would seem to have remained civilian in nature, operating through existing relationships between social classes. The line of command is not clear, but would appear to have been through the Mayor and Magistrates to the Lieutenancy of the County of Kent. The Canterbury Volunteers were, therefore not well adapted to command by the Army, or to inclusion in overall Military Defence Plans. We may conclude that, although the prime motivation for volunteers in Canterbury may have been patriotism, participation in and management of the movement in Canterbury enabled the ruling elite to enhance their authority in the City and their standing in the County and Country at large.

The Burghmote seemed ever ready to observe its patriotic duty, and always anxious to be seen to be doing it adequately. On 20 February 1798, it was resolved that the Burghmote should contribute £300 voluntarily from the Chamber to the Government for the defence of the Country, and they voted a further sum of £200 annually during the continuance of the War. They earnestly recommended fellow citizens likewise to subscribe. The £300 was borrowed: £150 through Alderman Simmons from his Canterbury Bank, and £150 through Aldermen Halford and Parker through their Union Bank. In March 1798, the Burghmote found itself in sufficient funds to discharge the loans.

However, contributions to the war effort, together with other financial demands such as redemption of Land Tax and Income Tax, seem to have stretched the resources of the Burghmote somewhat. In 1798, the Mayor's salary was reduced from £130 to £100. In 1795 they had already decided that the funding by the Burghmote of all entertainments, except that on the King's Birthday, should be discontinued for a year, and they had renewed that ban year by year until in 1798 they decided that the King's Birthday should be celebrated at the expense of the City; that is that those attending would pay for their own drinks. Other economies were made, but acts of charity towards the poor, particularly in 1795/6, 1800/1 continued to be made.⁶⁰

A MARKET TOWN

Despite attempts to broaden Canterbury's industrial and commercial base, to improve its communications to London and the sea, and to attract visitors and their custom through social amenities, functions, and other facilities, the City through the long eighteenth century remained essentially a market town, declining in importance relative to other major urban centres in the county and country. Although the population of Canterbury increased from about 5,000 in 1700 to 10,000 by 1800 and to 15,000 in the 1820s, the City's place in the league table of population of cities and towns in that period slipped markedly. In 1700, Canterbury was an estimated tenth in size of provincial centres, behind Norwich, first with 21,000, Exeter third with 12,500 and York fifth with 10,000. By 1750 Canterbury had slipped to twenty-third (Bristol first, 50,000, Norwich second, 36,000, Exeter sixth, 16,000 and York seventeenth, 11,400), and the relative downward trend continued in the nineteenth century.⁶¹ In Kent, by the early nineteenth century, Canterbury had been overtaken by Maidstone, as the largest town, with a population of 20,000 by the mid nineteenth century.⁶²

The economy of Canterbury, the nature of its businesses, and the distribution of wealth within it, changed little during the long eighteenth century. Evidence for this may be drawn from surviving records of tax returns from the City to central government. A comparison of Window Tax returns for 1721⁶³ with those for 1787⁶⁴ show that the total number of returns listed in 1721 was 804; in 1787, 850. As might be expected, the increase in number of households had taken place in parishes on the boundaries of the City; St Mary Northgate showed an increase from 43 to 64, and Holy Cross Westgate/St Peter's from 86 to 110. Other parishes showed small variations either way. Surprisingly, the number of larger houses seemed to have declined. In 1721, houses with ten or more lights numbered 439, and with twenty or more, 121; equivalent figures for 1787 were 369 and 87. We may suspect that this apparent decrease in larger houses may be more a function of attempts to reduce tax liabilities than a true reflection on the quality of housing. The returns indicate however that the majority of the larger houses continued to be located in the central parishes of St Andrew, St George, St Margaret and St Alphage.

This latter fact is illustrated by window and house tax returns for 1775.⁶⁵ Of the 846 returns, 470 houses had a rental value of £5 p.a. or above, and of these, 217 housed retail shops. The majority of the retail outlets were located in the area along the High Street and St George's, from the High Bridge to St George's Gate. In this area the

parishes of St Andrew, St George, St Margaret and St Alphage in 1788 had a total of 146 retail outlets. St Andrew's parish alone had 71 retailers out of 93 houses total. These included 8 drapers, 7 butchers, 6 grocers, 4 haberdashers, 4 shoemakers, 3 staplers, 3 ironmongers, 2 victuallers, 2 hosiers, 2 watchmakers, 2 milliners, and in addition 1 gingerbread maker. The neighbouring parish of St George's had a lesser number of 30 retailers, with a similar range of specialities, but including also 3 attorneys and 2 coachmakers.

Tax returns of 1785⁶⁶ are particularly interesting about the social structure and distribution of wealth in the City. The return covers duty on retail shops (calculated as a proportion of rental value, e.g. £1 0s. 6d. for a rental value of £18 p.a.); male servants, at 18s. 9d. a man; female servants 1s. 10½d. or 3s. 9d. a woman (difference not specified); carriages with four wheels £5 5s. 0d.; carriages with two wheels £2 12s. 6d; wagons at 2s. each; and carts at 1s. A table of the main points from the returns is given at Appendix A.

From this, we may note that the richer people lived among the commercial activities in the busy centre, congregating mainly in St Andrew's, St George's and St Margaret's. The poorer folk inhabited the parishes on the boundaries such as St Mary Northgate, St Peter's and St Mildred's. No titled people figure on the returns and only a few names such as that of E.H. Sondes (with two male, two female servants, one 4-wheel carriage, three horses and one wagon) may be connected with landed gentry. Members of the ruling elite, such as John Nutt (Town Clerk), Charles Robinson (Recorder and MP), James Simmons (twice Mayor), George Gipps (MP and ex-Mayor) Richard Halford (Chamberlain), John Denne and John Lade (ex Mayor) not surprisingly figure among the richer. The establishment of George Gipps, MP, with two male, two female servants, two 4-wheel carriages and four horses is particularly impressive. Also to be noted is that local clergymen were able to keep sizeable establishments. For instance, Rev. Mr Brandon kept one 4-wheel carriage, three horses, one male and two female servants; Rev. W. Benson had one male and four female servants.

In sum, in the period up to 1790, the tax returns studied are consistent with the picture of a workaday market town, with no great (or even lesser) personages of title, and few with land owning connections, living in the town, and with the richer members of the community (also members of the ruling elite) living in or near the premises of their commercial interests mainly in the centre of the town. Although the population and the number of houses increased (mainly in the poorer areas on the boundaries of the town) from 1721 to 1790, the general picture does not change during that period. No new

industries appeared which could employ more than a handful of people.

By 1811 the population had increased to over 10,000; by 1831 to 15,000 and the housing stock to over 2,000. Since the space for expansion within the City walls was limited, the expansion took place outside the walls in the suburbs. The centre of the City continued to be the market centre for the surrounding area. In the 1830s two Produce markets were held weekly on Wednesday and Saturday, and several fairs during the year. The principal statute fair was held for eleven days in October, at which servants of both sexes were hired for the year.

By 1839 the number of retail outlets in the City had grown roughly in proportion with the increase of population, reaching a figure of 650 shops and over 100 public houses. In all about 100 different trades or specialities were listed in a commercial directory for 1839,⁶⁷ including 29 grocers plus 43 grocers and sellers of sundries; 59 boot and shoe makers; 57 bakers; 45 butchers; 38 taylors, 23 milliners; 17 linen drapers; 13 hairdressers and 9 booksellers and stationers. No large industries are listed, and the concentration of retail outlets and specialist tradesmen and manufacturers continues to be in the city centre. Canterbury continued to be a market town though larger and perhaps with a wider range of expertise.

CONCLUSIONS

Finally in reviewing the evidence in this chapter of the direct or indirect influence of the Burghmote and its members on aspects of Canterbury life not their formal concern, questions can be raised as to how far the Burghmote (and the ruling elite more generally) were agents for civic improvement; how far could social progress within the City be described as an urban renaissance; and how far could developments in the City be portrayed as commercialization of leisure.

Chapter I has shown that the main business of the Burghmote throughout the long eighteenth century remained the control of the commercial life of the City, through ownership of the markets and control of the Freemen and Guild rolls. However, in this present chapter it has been shown that the Burghmote Minutes demonstrate strong support for the Canterbury Races; that Burghmote property was let for use as a theatre from the 1730s, and a permanent theatre was erected in the 1790s with the assistance of Burghmote members; and the Assembly Rooms were Burghmote property. Regarding civic improvements, the Burghmote assisted and worked in parallel with the Pavement Commissioners as prime movers in transforming Canterbury from medieval squalor to Georgian elegance in the years 1787-1790, with James Simmons as both

Mayor and Treasury of the Commissioners in the key year of 1788-9. Additionally, Simmons financed and created the Dane John pleasure gardens from rough pasture (and rented to him by the Burghmote at a peppercorn rent). Public baths and medicinal spa waters were also promoted, with assistance from the Burghmote.

There is therefore evidence that the Burghmote and more generally the ruling elite were agents in promoting or assisting in major efforts to provide social, leisure and civic improvements. Individually and in sum, these were not as impressive as, and were promoted later than, in other towns such as York or Exeter, but nevertheless a degree of urban renaissance presided over by the ruling elite took place.

It is difficult to argue that these amenities were commercial in the sense that their chief object was to produce great profit for the operators, but together they increased the attractiveness of Canterbury as a market town, and so helped to bring the custom of the local gentry and visitors to the City's many shops, trades and specializations. In that sense, there was a somewhat deliberate commercialization of leisure in which the Burghmote and more generally the ruling elite took part.

Chapter V

Notes

1. Russell, J.M. *The History of Maidstone*. London, Simpkin Marshall 1881.
2. Clark, P., and Murfin, L. *History of Maidstone*. Alan Sutton, 1998.
3. Borsay, P. (ed.) *The Eighteenth Century Town* (Introduction by Borsay and a chapter by him on 'English Urban Renaissance; the development of provincial Urban Culture 1680-1760'). Longman Green 1990.
4. Borsay, P. *The English Urban Renaissance; Culture and Society in the Provincial Towns 1660-1770*, Clarendon 1989.
5. 'Middling sort'; the import of this description is taken as the definition attributed to Shani d'Groze in *The Middling Sort of People', Culture Society and Politics in England 1550-1800*, edited by Barry, J., and Brooks, C., Macmillan 1994. This defines the 'middling sort' as those who worked for an income with their hands, selling a product and probably not employed by anyone. This is taken to include tradesmen, shopkeepers and craftsmen and professionals such as lawyers and apothecaries - the types from whose ranks the ruling elite of Canterbury was drawn.
6. L.S.S. *Bridge as Portrayed in Historical Sources prior to 1939*, p. 86. Group Research Project 1975, Ed. John Whyman.
7. K.P. No. 1172, August 6-9, 1729.
8. K.P. April 28 to May 1, 1741.
9. K.P. No. 2857, July 6-10, 1745.
10. Hasted, E., *History of Kent*, 2nd Edition, 1798, vol. XI, p.101-2.
11. The Grandstand had been erected in 1774 'a handsome building near the starting post ... for the reception of company with offices underneath for their refreshment'. See Gostling, W., *A Walk in and About Canterbury*, Blackley, Canterbury, 1825, p. 363.
12. K.P. January 18-21, 1743.
13. Gostling *loc. cit.* p. 75.

- 14 K.P. 1738, No. 2795, August 18-22, advertised plays on the 22nd, 'The Provoked Husband' and 'Tom Thumb' and on the 24th 'The Relapse or Virtue in Danger' and 'Tom Thumb'. Tickets at 2s. 6d. Boxes, 2s. Pit, Gallery 1s., Pigeon Holes 1s. 6d., Upper Gallery 6d.
- 15 The size of the auditorium was said to be 71 ft 6 ins by 45 foot, with Boxes at 3s., Pit at 2s. and gallery at 1s. A full-ish house was estimated to bring in £90. *The Kentish Travellers Companion*, 4th edition 1794, reported that in 1774 'an elegant concert room was erected by subscription, which was then purchased by Mrs Baker and converted into a beautiful little theatre. Her company, which is very respectable, performed the weeks of and after the Canterbury races.' In 1825, Gostling (*loc. cit.* p. 354), depicted recent alterations to the Theatre in glowing terms, describing the theatre as showing considerable taste, both outwardly and internally.
- 16 Information on this section about the theatre in Canterbury was largely drawn from *Taking the Town - A compleat and authentic account of the Thespian Art within the County of Kent 1737-1843*, John Morris (typescript copy in the UKC library, no date, c. 1992?).
- 17 From advertisements in the *Kentish Gazette*, it appears that in 1795, Mrs Baker had six performances sponsored (five of them by the military), in 1796 three (one military) and in 1797, nine (five military). A Ph.D. thesis on Sarah Baker's entrepreneurial activities in the Theatre in Kent is under preparation by Jean Baker in the University of Kent at Canterbury.
- 18 Cooper, T. Sydney, *My Life*, two volumes, Vol. I., Chapters III-V., R.A. Bentley and Sons, 1890.
- 19 Brewer, John, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, Harper Collins, 1997, pp. 563-4.
- 20 See:- *Canterbury Chronicle* No. 39, September 1943, p. 13 (which includes a reproduction of a coloured print of the Club in session in 1856); *Canterbury Catch Club programmes 1857-1861*; *Canterbury Catch Club Notes 1802-1865*; the *Music Student* May 1929 vol. xii, no. 8, p. 468. All the above available in the Local Studies Section of the Canterbury Library, under reference U802 272.
- 21 See Gostling, W., *Walk in and about the City of Canterbury*, 1825 edition p. 65-66 for a description of the Philosophical and Literary Institute building erected in Guildhall Street in 1825. It was described as having an exhibition room, a lecture room

taking 200, a committee room and four other meeting rooms. The front of the building was ornamented with four impressive Ionic style columns. The numbers of members were said to be considerable and comprised the names of many respectable and intelligent individuals. Subscribers were: £100 each, Richard Frend, George Ash, Henry Cooper, Thomas Lever Burch, William Rigden, William Master, Thomas Williamson, William Ford Hilton; £25 each, William Plummer (Mayor), George Neame, Richard Fletcher Bowley, Robert Sankey, John Pout, Thomas Philpot, James Homersham, Robert Walker, Dr Edwards, William Henry Furley, James Wear, Rev. John Peel, Charles Brook, Henry Ward, George Buckley and Charles Rook.

- 22 See: a) Kent Newsletter Vol. III, Feb. 1951, F. Higenbotham; b) Canterbury Philosophical and Literary Institute Records 1843, List of Members 1830-1847, Rules and Regulations, Reports 1828, 1829, 1830; c) Canterbury City Council Minutes Book No. 2, 12 April 1847. a) and b) available in Canterbury City Library, Local Studies Section, c) available in Canterbury Cathedral Library.
- 23 Hasted, E. *History of Kent*, Second Edition, Vol. XI, p.101-2.
- 24 C.C.L. Alderman Gray's Notebook. Supplementary MS No. 6.
- 25 Hasted, *loc. cit.* p. 91.
- 26 See: a) Victoria History of Kent 1974 (reproduced from edition of 1932), pp. 403-416; b) Hasted *op. cit.* pp. 94-98; c) Ireland, *History of County of Kent*, 1828 Vol. p. 127; d) Gostling, *Walk in and about the City of Canterbury*, 5th Edition 1804, p. 2; e) Abell, *History of Kent*, pp. 102-103, 173-174, 279.
- 27 *Gostling (1825), op. cit.* p. 1, footnote reveals the increasing importance of the hop trade to Canterbury, viz:- 'In 1773 the Hop Duty of the whole Kingdom amounted to £45,847 18s. 10d. of which the eastern division of Kent paid out Canterbury £10,737 0s. 6d., the western at Rochester £14,958 5s. 4d. In 1778 the total amount of duty was £159,891 2s. 10½d., of which the eastern part of Kent paid £36,802 3s. 6d. and the western part £42,046 0s. 1½d. In 1794, the total was £203,060 2s. 0½d. of which the Kent collection amounted to £258,836 5s. 3½d., of which £56,394 was paid to the Canterbury collection, and £95,169 in that of Rochester.'
- 28 The Observer, 10 September 1797.
- 29 K.G., 19 October, 1804.

- 30 Bartlett, A. 'The Canal that never was', *Bygone Kent* Vol. 17, No. 2, February 1986, p. 87 (footnote).
- 31 K.G. 3 February, 1807.
- 32 50 Geo. III Cap 144, 10 June 1811.
- 33 Kent Record Office, 'Plan of intended Harbour and Set Dock in the Isle of Thanet, and the Canal leading thence to Canterbury surveyed by Samuel Jones 1810'. G. ROM 21, and also East Kent Levels, SEK 2, 5-7, 9.
- 34 Hadfield, C., *Canals of the South and East England*, David and Charles 1969, p.51-6.
- 35 Sources of information in this section on the Canterbury Whitstable Railway:- Fellows, Reginald B., *The Canterbury and Whitstable Railway 1830*; Hart, Brian, *The Canterbury and Whitstable Railway*, (White Swan Publications, 1991); Goodsale, Robert H., *Whitstable, Seasalter and Swalecliff*, p.159-178 (Cross and Jackman, Canterbury, 1938); *Kentish Gazette*: dates given in text; C.C.L. Canterbury City Council Minute Books No. 1 and 2, dates given in text.
- 36 Hasted *loc. cit.* 2nd edition, Vol. XI, p. 94.
- 37 The Canterbury Guide, 1830 (Henry Ward, Sun Street, Canterbury) p. 16.
- 38 Fiennes, Celia, *Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, republished 1947, Cresset Press, p. 125.
- 39 Gostling, *loc. cit.* 5th edition 1804, p. 60.
- 40 The Canterbury Guide, 1830, (Henry Ward, Sun Street, Canterbury).
- 41 Gostling (1825).
- 42 Kent County Archives, Q.ANI. Minutes of Kent County Quarter Sessions, pursuant to Navy Acts of 35 Geo III C5, 9, 19 (1795). Further Acts of 37 Geo III C4, 24 (1797) required Kent to find a further 570 volunteers, some of which were allocated to Canterbury.
- 43 Kent County Archives Q/RSt 14/1-14. Recruitment Certificates Strength East and West Kent Militia.
- 44 K.G. 11 April 1794.
- 45 K.G. 18 April 1794 and 21 April 1794.
- 46 K.G. 6 May 1794. the list of subscribers included substantial amounts from each of the five ports, two ancient towns and seventeen member towns. William Pitt gave a handsome £1,000 and

- the Lieutenant of Dover Castle £100.
- 47 K.G. 13 May 1794.
- 48 *Ibid.*
- 49 C.C.L. Canterbury Volunteers 1794 Minute Book N.43. See also
K.G. 23 May 1794.
- 50 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 10, 20 May 1794.
- 51 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 10, Burghmote Minutes; information as dated in
the text, taken from the Burghmote minutes.
- 52 In *List of Officers of Militia and Volunteer Infantry*, 7th
edition, 1800 (National Army Museum Library, London), p. 239, the
officers of the Canterbury volunteers are listed as follows:-
Captains James Simmons, John Hodges, Richard Stane, J. Hillingby
Stringer, Thomas Hammond; Lieutenants Richard Mount, John
Matthew, Richard Sankey; Ensigns Edward Hurbrook, John Cheaval,
J. Sladden Brown.
- 53 Bloomfield, Peter, *Kent and the Napoleonic Wars, Kentish Sources*,
No. X, Alan Sutton for Kent Archives Office, 1987.
- 54 Sebag-Montefiore, C. *History of Volunteer Forces* London 1908.
- 55 Western, J.R. 'The Volunteer Movement as an Anti-Revolutionary
Force 1795-1801' in *English Historical Review* 71, 1956, pp.603-
612.
- 56 Cookson, J.E. 'The English Volunteer Movement of the French Wars
1793-1815. Some Contexts' in *Historical Journal* 32 (1989).
- 57 Colley, L. 'Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in
Britain 1750-1830' in *P. & P.* 113, 1986, p.97.
- 58 Colley, L. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* Yale 1992.
- 59 Cookson, J.E. *The British Armed Nation 1793-1815*, OUP 1997,
pp.66-94.
- 60 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 10. Dates as given in text.
- 61 McInnes, A. *The English Town 1660-1760*, Historical Association,
London, 1980, p.6, lists estimates of population size of
provincial towns.
- 62 Clark, P. and Martin, L. *Maidstone*, (Alan Sutton, 1998).
- 63 C.C.L. CC BW 521.
- 64 C.C.L. CC BW CW 587.

Chapter V

Appendix A

(Summarised from B/C/R585 in the Canterbury Cathedral Library
 RETAIL, SERVANTS, CARRIAGES, HORSES, WAGONS, CARTS
 TAX RETURNS CANTERBURY 1785

Parish	Returns	Retail	Servants	Carriages		Horses	Wagons	Carts
				4 wheel	2 wheel			
All Saints/St Mary Bredin	40	24	32	18 ¹	1	51 ²	0	0
St Mary Northgate	23	4	12	0	4	9	5	17
St Alphage	46 ³	19	43	0	2	7	1	2
St Mary Magdalene	40 ⁴	27	19	1	0	17	0	1
St Paul	21	8	15	0	0	4	0	2
St Andrew	80 ⁵	67	50	0	4	22	0	1
St George	70 ⁶	26	41	19	2	19	3	6
St Mary Bredman	21	0	15	2	1	8	7	13
St Margaret	59 ⁷	26	41	4	2	13	3	9
St Mildred	28 ⁸	4	39	0	4	12	2	8
St Martin	6 ⁹	0	4	1	2	4	0	0
St Peter/Westgate	41	15	25	1	1	7	3	3
Totals	475	220	306	46	23	175	24	62

TOTAL AMOUNTS PAID 1785

	£
All Saints/St Mary Bredin	150 ¹⁰
St Mary Northgate	18
St Alphage	24
St Mary Magdelene	39
St Paul's	6
St Andrew	76
St George	128 ¹¹
St Mary Bredman	25
St Margaret	65
St Mildred	16
St Martin	5
St Peter/Westgate	12
Total	£564 ¹²

Chapter V

APPENDIX A continued

Notes to table:

1. John Nutt and Company kept 6 4-wheel carriages, Thos. Lowen also 6 4-wheel carriages and Jn^o Young also 6 4-wheel carriages.
2. John Nutt and Company kept 30 horses.
3. Rev. Mr Heron and Rev. Mr Burch each kept 2 maids; Rev. Mr Benson had 1 male, 4 female servants.
4. Charles Robinson, Recorder, kept 2 male, 2 female servants and 2 horses.
5. Edward Heard kept 1 male, 2 female servants; John Denne, 1 male and 3 female, and 2 2-wheel carriages with 2 horses; John Lade Esq (sometime Mayor), 3 male, 3 female servants and 3 horses.
6. James Simmons kept 1 male, 2 female servants and 2 horses; Rev. Mr Brandon 1 male, 2 female servants, 1 4-wheel carriage and 3 horses; Ed. Plomer had 1 2-wheel carriage, 1 wagon, 1 cart and 1 horse; Thos. Parker had 13 4-wheel carriages, 30 horses and 2 wagons; E.H. Sondes kept 2 male, 2 female servants, 1 4-wheel carriage, 3 horses and 1 wagon; John Keeler had 4 4-wheel carriages and 2 horses.
7. Geo. Gipps (MP) kept 2 male, 3 female servants, 2 4-wheel carriages and 4 horses; Thos. Richardson 1 male servant, 2 4-wheel carriages; Thos. Sankey 1 female servant, 1 2-wheel carriage, 1 horse; John Dean, 1 male servant, 1 2-wheel carriage, 2 horses.
8. Henry Inmest kept 2 male, 17 female servants, 1 2-wheel carriage, 16 horses, 2 wagons and 2 carts; Dr Carter, 1 male, 2 female servants, 2 horses; Mrs Newman, 1 male, 3 female servants, 2 horses.
9. Charles Pyott had 2 male, 2 female servants, 1 4-wheel carriage and 2 horses; John Ansten kept 1 2-wheel carriage and 3 horses; John Pearce 1 2-wheel carriage and 1 horse.
10. Includes tax of £5 5s. each on 18 4-wheel carriages owned by three carriage masters in the area, a total tax of £94 10s., and tax at 5s. each for 30 horses kept by one carriage master, total £7 10s.
11. Includes 13 4-wheel carriages at £5 5s. and 30 horses at 5s. each, kept by 1 carriage master. Total tax £75 15s.
12. £170 5s. is for carriages and horses kept for hire; see notes 10 and 11 above.

CHAPTER VI

INFLUENCE ON THE CITY OF THE CATHEDRAL, PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, AND THE MILITARY

INTRODUCTION

The market town of Canterbury was also a Metropolitan City, the seat of the Archbishop, containing within it the Cathedral, its precincts with the Dean and Chapter and the associated community of Clergy and their dependents. The permanent presence of a wealthy and nationally important enclave within the City not only conveyed national prestige but also represented a significant part of the City's economy. As a County Borough, two members were returned to Parliament by the Freemen of the City. This privilege was highly regarded and jealously exercised by the citizens. Canterbury was no Pocket Borough. Its elections tended to be hard fought, by methods which included bribery and corruption, and with the results somewhat unpredictable. Election fever, however, drew outsiders into the City with a consequent boost to its economy. And, from 1795 onwards Canterbury gained a significant increase in its population through its establishment as a military centre, housing cavalry and infantry regiments in permanent barracks built just outside the City walls; a cause for possible commercial exploitation.

It is of interest to examine below in more detail the degree to which, and the manner in which each of these three separate activities interfaced with and influenced the City Government and its finances, and, more broadly, the commercial and social life of Canterbury.

CATHEDRAL AND CITY

Separation between the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral and the City and County of Canterbury as far as matters of local government were concerned was almost complete throughout the long eighteenth century. The clear division between authorities with jurisdiction for local matters in the precincts and those responsible in the surrounding City is unambiguously expressed in the Dean and Chapter's answers in 1671 to Archbishop Sheldon's articles of enquiry about jurisdiction within the Cathedral Close.¹

The Archbishop posed five questions; below is a summary of the Dean's reply through the Commissary of the Diocese.

1. The Mayor and Corporation of the City neither had nor claimed any

jurisdiction in the Precincts. The City Mace and sword were lowered and veiled when within the precincts and Cathedral, acknowledging that the church and Close constituted a law unto itself and lay outside the competence of the City Magistrates.²

2. No writ could run in the Close unless prior application had been made to the Steward of Liberties to grant his precess or warrant empowering civil authorities to proceed.
3. For tax purposes, including parliamentary subsidies and royal aids, the precincts fell outside the City of Canterbury and were part of the County of Kent.
4. When the Mayor and Corporation attended prayers in the Cathedral they were placed in the uppermost stalls and seats of the quire or alternatively on the south side of the church, 'among the gentlemen', both positions to satisfy magisterial self esteem.
5. The Church of Canterbury was wholly and altogether exempt from City jurisdiction and that by the Charters of the City.

Indeed, the Charter of James I (1609), under which the City operated in the eighteenth century and up to 1835, not only specifically excluded the Precincts from the jurisdiction of the Mayor and Commonalty, but also effectively debarred the Dean and Chapter and individual members of the Community in the Precincts from participation in the local Government of Canterbury. Very few persons styled as clerical or reverend can be found listed in the roll of Freemen, and of those few most became Freemen³ by birth and were resident in the City. Since Councillors, Aldermen and Mayors had to be Freemen of the City, it is not surprising that no reverend gentlemen held these offices, nor, since the Magistrates of Canterbury were the Mayor and those Aldermen who had performed the office of Mayor (in addition to the Recorder, an appointed, salaried post for a man with a legal background) could the clergy play any part in the Magistracy of Canterbury.

The Court of Guardians of the Poor of Canterbury, like the Burghmote and the Magistracy, also stood apart from, and had no jurisdiction over, the Precincts. By the Act of 1727, the Guardians of Canterbury were the Magistrates for the time being, plus 28 representatives; two chosen by each of 14 parishes. Local City parsons occasionally served as parish appointed Guardians, but there is no record of any parson serving in the elected post of President of the Court. In matters affecting the Poor house, the Precincts were part of the County of Kent, and, therefore, from the point of view of Settlement, alien to

the parishes of the City. There are examples of disputes and actions between City Parishes and the Precincts regarding settlement (see Chapter 'Care of the Poor').

On the other hand, when the Corporation of the Commissioners of the Pavement for Canterbury was set up in 1787, the Corporation's jurisdiction extended to all areas within the walls of Canterbury, including the Precincts and other Ecclesiastical enclaves. The Dean, Vice Dean and 11 Clerks in Holy Orders were appointed Commissioners, along with some 250 other prominent citizens and residents of the City. By this Act, the Precincts became liable to taxation by the commissioners, who based their valuations in the main on those used for Poor Law purposes. In the case of the Precincts and other similar areas outside Canterbury Poor Law Guardians jurisdiction, a rate of 1s. for every yard running measure of front of a street was charged. While, as noted above, the church had representation as Commissioners, there is no evidence that their commissioners played major roles in the Pavement Commissioners affairs.

Jurisdictional separation was therefore almost complete, but economic, and to a lesser extent social, bonds between the two communities were formed, sometimes to mutual benefit, sometimes to mutual hostility. Ownership of land and the use of patronage connected the Dean and Chapter intimately to the locality.⁴ A major impingement on the City was the role of the Dean and Chapter as landlord. C.R. Bunce's schedule of Cathedral rentals in 1805 showed a total of 91 properties in the City, largely in St Andrew's parish, with some in St Mary Northgate, St Mary Bredman, St George's, St Alphage, All Saints, St Paul's and Holy Cross Westgate.⁵ Bunce's schedule also noted that 36 Canterbury estates had recently been sold to redeem Land tax. It would seem therefore that the Cathedral in the eighteenth century held some 130 properties in the City. We may compare that number with the returns for the City for Tax on Retail, Servants, Carriages, Horses, Wagons and Carts. A total of 475 returns from properties in the City were made in 1785, of which 220 paid tax as retailers.⁶ In 1775, window and house tax returns for the City totalled 846, of which 470 properties had a rental value of £5 or more, and of these 217 were retail shops. On this evidence, Cathedral rentals probably constitute at least one seventh of the total housing of the City, or, assuming that Cathedral property would largely be in the £5 p.a. upwards category, perhaps as high as one third of that sort of property. However, looking closer at St Andrew's parish, which was (and still is) at the centre of Commercial life in the City, the 1785 tax return shows a total of 80 properties in the parish, of which 67 were retail. This is to be compared with the total of 57 Cathedral leases in the parish

in 1805.

From this evidence, it is clear that the Dean and Chapter were always in a position to influence and set the standard for property values in the City, particularly for those in the commercial centre, and thereby to assist or hinder its economy. According to Collinson, Ramsay and Sparks in their book *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, the aspirations of the Chapter were invariably to be paternalistic landlords, charitable to tenants and with a moderate fine policy within the local society. In practice however, some of the Chapter's actions were not always liked by the citizens. In the 1720s, the Chapter's increases on fines for renewal were resisted and by 1727 tenants had forced a return to former levels. The tendency for the Chapter to give only relatively short leases made it difficult for tenants and shopkeepers to plan for the long term. This was particularly noticeable on the late 1780s, when modernization of the streets by the Pavement Commissioners had created an enthusiasm among the general populace for re-working their properties with Georgian style frontages. Writing in the late 1790s, Hasted commented that 'Houses throughout Canterbury were altered to a cheerful and more modern appearance, and most of the shops were fitted up in a handsome style ...', but he added that the short tenure in which some of the tenants held their properties from the Church deterred them from 'hazarding more on such uncertain property, and had this not stopped their ardour, the City would in all likelihood have been second to none in the Kingdom'.

The financial advantage to Canterbury City of having a stable enclave of relatively rich people in its midst, while difficult to quantify, must have been substantial. The Dean and Chapter's holdings of property and land, not only in Canterbury, but also, more importantly, throughout Kent, produced revenues a substantial proportion of which would have been spent with Canterbury tradesmen and shopkeepers. The Dean's income of £540 p.a. in the mid 1700s rose to £1,200 by 1800 and £2,000 by the 1830s. A Prebend's income rose from £350 to £1000 in the same timescale. The custom and employment generated on a continuing basis by the Clerical Community in Canterbury constituted the Precincts as perhaps the most important benefactor and employer within the walls of the City.⁷

While economic benefits flowing from the Precincts to the citizens and inhabitants of Canterbury occasioned many business links between the two communities, there is no evidence that the Cathedral clergy and the elite of the City mixed socially to any great extent. It may be significant that a search through the more than 1500 names of people prominent in the Canterbury district and further afield, mentioned in

the Diary of the Reverend Joseph Price, Vicar of Brabourne 1767-1786, has not identified with assurance any significant Canterbury citizen. Price, on his own showing, cultivated a wide range of contacts of possible use to him, including many in the Precincts, but not it seems in the City. Had there been significant social interplay between the Precincts and the City, it might be expected that Price's diary would have reflected this.⁸ Joseph Price belonged to a dining club of clergymen. The point that such clubs helped to foster a sense of professional identity among the clergy is made by Jeremy Gregory in his introduction to the 'Speculum of Archbishop Thomas Secker'.⁹ They also helped to emphasise social differences between the clergy and much if not most of the society in Canterbury.¹⁰

This social separation could only have been assisted by the fact that few residents in the small tightly knit community in the Precincts were not directly connected to the Cathedral. The Dean and Chapter were wary of releasing property in the Precincts to people from the City,¹¹ but some houses - for instance those of the Six Preachers whose obligations for residence were not onerous - were from time to time leased out.¹² Public access to and the staging of public events in the Precincts in the early to mid 1700s was permitted. Four fairs a year were held there, including the annual Jack and Joan fair at which the hiring of farm workers and servants for the year took place. However, this and other incursions by the general public caused residents to think that the Precincts was not a quiet place. The practice of soldiers parading there was forbidden in 1780, and in 1784 an order was made to discontinue admitting rabble during the Holydays, to the Fairs, or as visitors to see Bell Harry, etc. To keep out disorderly persons, four assistants to the Constable were engaged during the winter season. By the early nineteenth century, after the Napoleonic Wars, the Fairs had been removed from the Precincts to the Cattle Market, outside the walls.¹³

Despite the problem which control of visitors to the Precincts produced, the Chapter recognised the position of the Cathedral as a tourist attraction, and therefore as the source of a minor industry in Canterbury. The Chapter and its members assisted in promoting the Cathedral's attractions by producing or assisting in providing guide books and histories. W. Gostling (a minor canon) wrote 'Walk in and about Canterbury' in 1727, and other books on the Cathedral by Britton and Barnaby should be mentioned. Edward Hasted, a friend of Gostling, was a frequent visitor to the Precincts while compiling his 'History of Kent' from which was derived a separate volume for Canterbury.

Social and community life of the clergy was not entirely confined to

the Precincts. Prebendaries provided links with the wider world, and minor canons with the City and Diocese. Some Precincts residents participated in activities in the City - William Gostling was active in supporting the Canterbury Music Society. The Theatre in Canterbury attracted custom from the Precincts and a play by a resident was put on there.

Throughout the eighteenth century, Archbishops of Canterbury had no Residence in the Metropolitan City, and rarely spent any time there. Even their own inductions were conducted by proxy. However, Archbishops on their periodic visitations to the Precincts were formally entertained by the Mayor and Commonalty, generally in the Guildhall, and tokens and speeches of mutual esteem would be exchanged. In return, the Archbishop would host a dinner for the City Fathers, and invite them to a service in the cathedral at which he would preach a sermon. Archbishop Secker (1758-1768) visited the City twice during his term of office. In 1764 he went there to deprive Sir S. Bickly, Vicar of Bapchild, who had been convicted of sodomy at the Assizes, of his Vicarage. Secker fell ill, and was obliged to stay a month in the Precincts House of his nephew, Prebend G. Secker. Another visit in 1766 cost him £547 in expenses, including a gift of £46 10s to the poor of Canterbury. Secker had to withdraw because of illness from an earlier visit planned for 1761, and the Visitation was carried out on his behalf by Bishop Green of Lincoln. At this visit, a gift of £46 10s to the poor is recorded.¹⁴

In the years from 1784 to 1834 Archbishops were entertained on their visits to Canterbury by the Mayor and Commonalty on at least eight occasions. In 1795, the Burghmote decided that the entertainment to be offered should not cost more than £30; in 1800, £50, but the actual cost was £42. 10s.; in 1806, when the bill was £72 2s 2d; 1810, not exceeding 60 guineas; 1819, 60 guineas; 1823, 60 guineas; 1827, 60 guineas, and in 1832, 60 guineas.¹⁵

In a rare exchange with the Archbishop aside from visitations, in 1791, the Burghmote wrote to Archbishop Moore about remuneration of the Brothers and Sisters at Eastbridge Hospital (St Thomas's). The Burghmote had received a petition from the Brothers and Sisters, complaining that they were not receiving their due share of the revenues of the Hospital, the lion's share of which was enjoyed by the Master of the Hospital (a Trollopian situation?). The Archbishop in reply, raised the stipends of the Brothers and Sisters by £3 13s a year, and granted them an extra load of wood worth 10 shillings. He also decreed that the members of poor children being taught at the Hospitals School should be raised from twenty to thirty.¹⁶

In the early nineteenth century, Chapter links with the City were distinctly limited and 'any sense of mutual sympathy and friendly feeling distinctly lacking'.¹⁷ Relations between the Church and the City of Canterbury would not have been helped by the unseemly behaviour of citizens towards Archbishop Howley during his visit in 1832. The Archbishop, at a time when feelings for and against the Reform Bill were running high, was known to be against the Bill¹⁸ and reformers in Canterbury were determined to make themselves offensive. On his way to attend the Civic Banquet in the Guildhall, his Grace's carriage was stopped in the High Street by missives and threats, and, despite appeals to the crowd by City Magistrates, he was forced to turn back and retire to the Deanery.¹⁹ After this unfortunate event, the Mayor on behalf of the Burghmote wrote to apologise to the Archbishop and to record 'grief and melancholia with which we have reflected on our City being made a scene of such a flagrant and disgraceful outrage'. The Archbishop's reply assured the Mayor that he 'never for one moment supposed that the respectable citizens and inhabitants of Canterbury were in any way accessory to the proceedings on my entrance'.²⁰ Archbishop Howley nevertheless did not visit Canterbury again.

In the early 1840s there was tension again between the Cathedral and the City. Frequent clashes occurred over encroachment onto property belonging to the Dean and Chapter. By 1897 however, the climate had changed, and Dean Alford's popular services and his whole attitude and demeanour had endeared him to the population of Canterbury.

Co-operation between Cathedral and City was however noteworthy in the years of food shortage and high prices, 1795-6 and 1800-1. In those years the Dean and Chapter acted in concert with the Mayor and commonalty to ensure that the industrious poor did not starve. In 1795 a public subscription fund sponsored jointly by the two authorities, and with substantial donations from each, produced sufficient funds to relieve nearly 3,000 people with tickets for bread and flour. In 1800 the Cathedral vestry decided to raise a fund to run a soup kitchen in the Precincts, and they were quickly joined in this enterprise by the City Authorities. Over 1,000 people a day were supplied with soup for 9 weeks. The exercise was repeated in 1801 (see Chapter IV, Care of Poor). These episodes demonstrated that, whatever the distance between Cathedral and City as official activities, common humanity and a desire to maintain civil order brought them together to face urgent crises.

In sum, the rights and jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter and of the City Authorities (including the Poor Law Guardians and the Magistrates) were such that the two were quite distinct separate authorities in a secular sense, with no direct formal links between the two. An

exception was the Pavement Commissioners set up in 1787, which included the Precincts under its authority. The clergy had representatives among the 250 Commissioners, but in practice they played no significant part in the commissioners affairs. The Chapter's main influence in Canterbury and its economy was as major landlord of properties in the commercial heart of the City, as employer of labour with the City, and as customers of its businesses and shops. In the uneasy landlord-tenant relationship, the Chapter willy-nilly helped to set the standards for property values, and there is some evidence that their policies may, from time to time, have inhibited long term planning by tenants. Socially, life in the small community of the Precincts proceeded largely independently of City life, though with some contacts through the Theatre and music making. While relations between the two entities were generally polite and respectful, nevertheless a gulf existed between the citizens and the Cathedral dignitaries which was particularly wide in the early 1830s at the time of the Reform Act. In times of crisis, however, when, as in 1795-6 and 1800-1 food shortages and high prices threatened the industrious poor with famine, and consequently civic disturbance threatened the peace, leaders of the two communities acted together to manage the crisis, chiefly by providing voluntary relief. Archbishops of Canterbury had no residence in Canterbury and paid only short formal visits at irregular intervals every few years to the Cathedral and City. Such visits invariably included a formal entertainment of the Archbishop by the Mayor and Commonalty, but throughout the long eighteenth century the face which the Anglican church presented to the citizens of Canterbury was that of the Dean and Chapter.

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND ELECTIONS IN CANTERBURY

No great magnate dominated the City, and neither the Burghmote nor the Parliamentary seats were under the control of a Patron or a leading personality of the local or Kent gentry. The elite of the City, the neighbouring landowners, the Dean and Chapter and perhaps to a lesser extent the magnates of Kent County, all had influence in the choice of Parliamentary candidates which they from time to time brought to bear. Politics and political parties as such seemed to play only a nominal role in the elections of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century; personalities, power, position and financial pickings played major roles. Except on two occasions, Parliamentary elections in Canterbury in the eighteenth century, early nineteenth, were contested.

For the first half of the eighteenth century,²¹ the elections were dominated by country landowners with seats close to Canterbury, their

political allegiances sometimes unclear or undeclared, and when known, of either main party. Sir Thomas Hales (2nd Baronet, of Bekesbourne first elected MP in 1715) was a staunch Whig, but his brother in law Samuel Milles (of Herne, chief steward of St Augustine's, elected with Hales in 1722) was a Tory. From 1754 to 1790,²² eight men sat for Canterbury, four of them Canterbury people (Richard Milles of Nackington married to the daughter of a Canterbury prebendary; William Lynch, son of Dean Lynch; George Gipps, Harbledown, apothecary, turned, hop factor and banker, former Mayor of Canterbury and Alderman; and Charles Robinson, Recorder of Canterbury); and three lived near Canterbury. Only William Mayne, Lord Newhaven, was a rank outsider. In the period 1796-1820,²³ Canterbury had nine persons as members, either Canterbury citizens or Kentish gentry. Gipps continued to sit until his death in 1800, and other Canterbury citizens who served as MPs were John Baker (of St Stephen's, Sheriff of Canterbury in 1786) and James Simmons (twice Mayor, Alderman, banker and Canterbury's tycoon).

The returning officer for Canterbury was the Sheriff and the electors up to 1835 were the Freemen. According to Hasted in 1800, the Freemen in 1800 probably numbered 1560, of whom 890 were resident, 660 non resident. By 1830, according to Ward's *Canterbury Guide* of that year, the numbers of Freemen had increased to about 2,500. Throughout the eighteenth century, with the total population rising from about 5,000 to about 10,000, with about 1,000 resident Freemen, it can be seen that perhaps up to half the adult male population of the City had the vote and would therefore have a direct interest in Parliamentary Elections. This fact, together with the influx of non resident freemen journeying to Canterbury to register their votes, ensured a ferment of interest and activity at election times.

The City Authorities, the Freemen and the economy of the City generally all benefited economically from Parliamentary elections. The elite of Canterbury could gain social standing and economic advantage from their association with landed gentry in assisting and promoting candidates. The economy generally benefited from the extra trade which the elections and non resident freemen brought into the City. The City Authorities collectively benefited directly from the surge of new registrations of Freemen by purchase. In Parliamentary election years extraordinarily high numbers of Freemen by purchase are recorded, each bringing £20 into the Burghmote's coffers. The resultant bonus of several hundreds of pounds (in one year, over £600) represented a very substantial addition to Burghmote funds (see Chapter I for further details). Bribery and corruption surrounding the elections provided ready opportunities for Freemen to benefit financially, and this fact

is an obvious reason for the surge of new Freeman registrations in the period immediately before an election.

In common with many other constituencies throughout the country in the eighteenth century, bribery, corruption, menace and malpractice, feasting and drinking were standard features in most contested elections, both for the Mayor and Parliamentary representation alike. Money changing hands in municipal elections was perhaps measured in shillings or a few pounds, whereas in Parliamentary elections the stakes were much higher, and more people probably benefited. It cannot be said that the Reforms of the 1830s improved matters - perhaps to the contrary, since mid Victorian times saw two suspensions of Canterbury's parliamentary representation arising out of corruption proven by two separate Royal Commissions. The enfranchisement of the poorer sort of minor tradesmen and labourers by the Reform Act might have resulted in an increase in easily bribable voters.

Instances of irregularities in elections in the eighteenth century may be noted. In 1715, Sir Francis Head petitioned against his defeat on the grounds that the Sheriff was partial to the winners, but the petition was not heard, and the election stood. In 1734, Sir Thomas Hales won a petition against his defeat on the grounds that the Mayor and the Sheriff had refused to count a substantial number of votes for Hales because the voters' qualifications were suspect.

A more interesting case was that in 1761 of William Mayne (Lord Newhaven), who, with little or no connection with Canterbury, was defeated, despite support from such grandees as the Duke of Dorset, the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Bute. Sir Lewis Namier, in his *Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* has discussed in detail the manoeuvrings which occurred at this election.²⁴ In brief, an active campaign for Mayne by supporters and agents in Canterbury laid great emphasis on his supposed influence at Court, to the extent that "a critic of the day drily suggested that 'hopes might be entertained of having a greater part of the Court Calendar filled up with Freemen of Canterbury.'"

Namier's quotation is from Thomas Roch's contemporary pamphlet *Address to the Electors of the City of Canterbury*²⁵ in which he opposes some of the unscrupulous tactics used by Mayne's local agent to gain votes. According to Roch in addition to magnifying Mayne's influence and power at Court, these included - promises to pull down St Andrew's Church (which sat inconveniently in the middle of the High Street) and rebuild it in a more convenient place; paying off the Work House debts; building Barracks; threatening local worthies such as W. Loftie (ex

Mayor) and William Frances (surgeon and apothecary) that relatives of theirs in the Services would never gain advancement unless the Loftie and Francis families voted for Mayne; promising so many poor Freemen hospital places and other annuities that (according to Roch) 'if two thirds of the houses in the parishes were sold, to endow the rest, there would not be sufficient room for reception'; threatening a Freeman that he would be turned out of his rented house unless he voted for Mayne; buying £200 of silver plate from the son of the then Mayor, William Gray; and, again according to Roche, generally implying that Mayne would 'do everything to make us a happy people - idle were to be employed, the naked clothed, the hungry fed ... and to convince us how vain it would be for any man to oppose.'

No doubt these and other such tactics had been used before in Canterbury elections to gain votes, but on this occasion the foreignness of Mayne, whom Roch styled as a 'North Britain', told against him. As a counter to Mayne's campaign, local Tories worked up a cry of 'No Scotch, No Foreigner', against Mayne to good effect. Although Sir James Creed, with whom Mayne was bracketed as a candidate, was successful, Mayne was defeated. The other successful candidate was Milles, from a well known local family. Namier draws the conclusion from all this that prejudice and personality could play a stronger role than national party politics in a City such as Canterbury. It may also have been that on this occasion unscrupulous and corrupt practices, exposed by Roch, contributed to Mayne's defeat. It should be noted that Mayne gained the seat in 1774, being then not such an alien to the electorate, but he lost it again in 1780, to local candidates Gipps and Robinson.

Parliamentary elections towards the end of the eighteenth century continued to emphasise the independence of the Canterbury electorate and the unpredictability of the result which corruption and other influences might produce. In 1784, Gipps and Robinson were re-elected, and on that occasion, the Sheriff refused to accept votes for James Trotter and James Lynch, because they were not sure as to their qualifications. Zero votes were registered for them. In the 1790 election, Gipps and Sir John Honeywood of Evington (Robinson did not stand again) were elected against Lord Daer and the Hon. Lewis Watson. In 1796, the County Whig alliance of John Baker and Samuel Elyas Sawbridge defeated Gipps and Honeywood, but a petition alleging bribery and corruption was upheld and the election declared void. A rerun again returned Baker and Sawbridge, but after a further petition and counter petition, they were ruled ineligible and Gipps and Honeywood took their seats.

In the nineteenth century the Royal Commission of 1853²⁶ established to look into the corrupt election of 1852, extended its enquiries into and revealed corrupt practices as far back as 1820. The Commission established that all Canterbury elections from time immemorial had operated a coloured card system as a substitute for head money to induce Freemen to vote. Before 1820 the voter nominated a colour (Red/Tory, Blue/Liberal) was given a ticket and cashed it in after the election for sums up to 20s. After 1847, acting on a legal view that this was probably bribery, a new plan by the Tories encouraged the elector to nominate two colourmen, receiving two tickets with names of nominees, each worth 10 shillings. Although the Commission held this to be a corrupt practice, they hesitated to condemn it as bribery, but they certainly held that the colour card system paved the way for direct bribery in the 1852 election and to a lesser or greater extent in elections previous to that date. Examples given by the commission were of the 1841 election, where direct bribery was estimated to have cost some candidates probably £4,000 each. The defeated candidate spent £3,000 in bribes and claimed he was '... at the head of the poll for nearly two hours ... but then a large sum came down the other side - £5,000? - after that we got gradually lower in the poll'. In 1847 the Liberals were estimated to have spent £1,500 and the Conservative £3,000 in direct bribery. In the 1852 election, one of the successful candidates, Henry Plumptre Gipps, disclaimed knowledge of corruption. His appeal to the House of Lords confirmed that bribery had taken place without his knowledge, but the expense of the appeal ruined him financially, and he retired to Belgium a broken man.

Prominent Canterbury citizens who emerged with least credit from the enquiry were John Brent Snr (Mayor 1844, 1849) and Thomas White Collard (Sheriff 1859), but their apparent disgrace did not seem to affect their standing in the local community. When representation of Canterbury was resumed, the two seats were occupied by a Liberal and Conservative, but corrupt practices were soon began again, and resulted in a further Commission being convened in 1880, which disenfranchised Canterbury for five and a half years. As a matter of interest, by 1880 the electorate had risen to over 3,000, a great number of them minor tradesmen and labouring men enfranchised as a result of the Reform Acts of the 1830s. Of the total electorate, the Commission estimated that 500-600 voters were accessible to bribery and 240 people were listed in the Report, 61 for offering and 180 for accepting bribes. The bribes were relatively small, in the £5-£10 range, and were represented as being recompense for 'loss of time' and travel expenses. Again, the careers of local dignitaries named as involved in bribery did not seem to suffer - one became Mayor ten times and was eventually knighted.

The minutes of the Burghmote in the eighteenth century and up to 1835, and the early minutes of the Council from 1836 onwards make very few references to dealings between the local authority and the City MPs. Support for the City's MPs for Acts of Parliament sponsored by or affecting the Burghmote would formally be requested by the Burghmote, and supplied by the MPs, for which they would be formally thanked by the Burghmote. For example on 24 January 1797, the Burghmote requested the Canterbury MPs oppose a Bill to 'regulate the trial of Causes and Indictments which arise within the limits of certain towns and corporations' on the grounds that the rights and privileges of the City would be affected. Then too, petitions and loyal messages to the King and other Royal persons would normally be routed through the City's MPs, or they would be presented by a Burghmote delegation including the MP, formed to deliver the message. For example, the Loyal address and honorary Freedom of the City was presented to the Prince of Wales on 16 October 1798 at Chilton Place (near Canterbury) by a Burghmote delegation, including MPs Gipps and Honywood. Whatever may have been the depth and range of informal contacts between Canterbury MPs and Canterbury elite, there is no evidence of regular contact at a formal level - and this despite the fact that George Gipps MP for twenty years from 1780 to 1800 remained an Alderman and member of the Burghmote for 17 of those years, though he seldom attended any meetings of the Burghmote during that time. Also, his fellow MP from 1780-1790 was Charles Robinson, Recorder of Canterbury.

The dozen or so formal petitions presented to the Sovereign by the Burghmote in the years from 1700 to 1835, couched in the flowing language of the time, were loyal expressions of patriotic support for the Protestant House of Hanover and of thanks and congratulations for actions taken under the Sovereign's aegis. Petitions in the early decades of the eighteenth century showed strong anti Papist sentiments. In May 1710,²⁷ the Burghmote expressed to the Queen full support for Protestant Succession, promising to 'endeavour to choose representatives at the next election who will not be afraid to justify that duty we owe to God and your Majesty as his Vice regent'. This petition may not have found full favour with all the members of the Burghmote. A paper called the Flying Post was circulated in the City, on the subject of 'Protestations of Several Aldermen of the City against the petition Address with reasons for doing the same'. It was condemned by the Burghmote as a scandalous libel, and ordered to be publicly burnt by the common Crier. By July 1710,²⁸ the culprit had been uncovered, and the Burghmote passed a long and wordy motion condemning one of their number, Alderman John Lee, for the scandalous libel written in his own hand. Lee reportedly confessed, and was removed from his office. In April 1713,²⁹ in thanking the Queen for a

glorious victory, a Burghmote petition added that the Country was now 'delivered from Foreign powers of a Papish Succession'.

The manoeuvrings of the Old Pretender in 1715 passed without mention in the Burghmote minutes, but in March 1743,³⁰ in an address to the King through Canterbury's MPs, His Majesty was assured of support even to the death against the 'wicked contrivance of your Majesty's open and avowed enemies abroad in conjunction with Traitors and Conspirators at home to invade your Majesty's Kingdom in favour of a Papist Pretender.' In September 1745,³¹ the Burghmote communicated to the King its abhorrence of the attempt then being carried out by some disobedient and rebellious subjects in favour of the Pretender. The petition added 'The settlement and continuance of the Crown in your illustrious House is the only security of our religious and Civil rights'. Constant support was assured - 'no danger will divert us.' In June 1746,³² a message of congratulations on the victory over rebellious subjects was conveyed.

From the above, some conclusions may be drawn about the impact or otherwise of Central government and parliamentary affairs and elections on Canterbury local government. Local government proceeded largely independent of central government affairs at least at formal levels. Throughout the eighteenth century however, the Protestant Monarchy of the House of Hanover received strong support from the Burghmote, expressed in a number of occasional petitions, full of patriotic loyalty.

Not surprisingly, measures in Parliament only received Burghmote attention when they directly affected Canterbury. Parliamentary elections were however of great and continuing interest to the elite of Canterbury, the City Authorities, the Freemen and the commercial life of Canterbury. As the Sheriff had charge of the elections, the Authorities controlled and benefitted from the Freemen vote and the 1000 or so Freemen were the voters. The elite of Canterbury gained kudos (and possibly money) from associating with landed gentry in promoting candidates; the City Authorities, money from the Sale of Freedoms; Freemen, money and favours from the sale of their votes; and the City generally from the influx of non residents Freemen and others coming into the City for the Elections. No single personality dominated the Canterbury constituency. Politics and political parties as such played only a somewhat nominal role in the elections; power, position, financial pickings and personalities played major roles. A result of this was that Canterbury MPs with few exceptions were drawn from people living locally in or near Canterbury. For the first half of the eighteenth century, landed gentry with estates close to the City

supplied the MPs. For the second half and into the nineteenth century, some personalities from Canterbury's local government were elected to Parliament, thus seeming to offer a promotion route from local to national politics. Bribery, corruption and malpractice were standard features of most contested elections in the long eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth century Canterbury's Parliamentary representation was suspended twice as the result of Royal Commission enquiries.

MILITARY PRESENCE IN CANTERBURY

Before the mid 1790s there was no permanent military presence in Canterbury. Of course, in the earlier years of the eighteenth century troops often marched through on their way to the coast, and when necessary were billeted in the City in inns or houses at standard daily rates.³³ Such visits were not always appreciated by citizens or the Burghmote. In 1759, the Burghmote decided that a place should be provided to park the soldiers' baggage and gunpowder instead of using the market place or the Flesh Shambles - the danger of fire and being blown up was too great.³⁴ Then, too, billeting was unpopular, largely because the per diem rates scarcely allowed a profit. By 1780, the Burghmote had taken to appointing a Billet Master for the City to facilitate matters.³⁵

Following a general decision by central Government to build permanent barracks for soldiers at strategic points in the country, Canterbury, with its command of the main roads to Dover and the coast, was chosen as one of these sites. For this purpose, 6.652 hectares of land on the outskirts of the City off the road to Sturry was bought on 10 April 1794 from Sir E. Hales for £1,980.³⁶ This was extended by purchase of a continuous parcel of land from William Moss for £525 on 19 December 1812,³⁷ of 1.426 hectares. Further extensions of 5.817 hectares were bought from William Baldock's devisees on 12 March 1815,³⁸ 2.834 hectares from T. de Lasaux and others for £18,000 on 7 February 1813³⁹ and 13.710 hectares on 14 July 1826 from W.H. Baldock and T. de Lasaux for £15,293.⁴⁰ The first brick for the new (Cavalry) Barracks was laid on 6 May 1794 and on 1 October 1795 the Barracks had been completed and were occupied by the New Romney Light Dragoons, commanded by Col. Cholmeley Dering. The cost has been estimated at £40,000.⁴¹ The Infantry Barracks, on the Canterbury site of the Cavalry Barracks, were added later during the Napoleonic Wars, to house a Battalion.

The presence of a large body of military permanently established just outside the City conferred on Canterbury obvious financial benefits. A footnote to the 5th Edition of Gostling's *Walk in and around Canterbury* published in 1804, commented, 'Between the years 1792 and

1803, when many other towns in the British dominion severely suffered from the paralysing effects of war, the City of Canterbury considerably increase in size and population - but this prosperity may partly be ascribed to its being the chief military station in the Southern District of England and having a General's Staff, a Park of Artillery and several regiments constantly stationed in the vicinity.'⁴²

The custom in goods and supplied which the presence of 2,000-3,000 military must have brought to a market town of perhaps 11,000 (in 1800) would have been considerable, and parts of the town closest to the Barracks, such as the Northgate area, established entertainment of all types for the soldiery. The social activities in the town centre, such as the Theatre, benefited by the presence of Officers. Some indication of the importance to Canterbury's economy of the contribution to it from the Barracks may be judged from the fact that in 1805 the inhabitants of Northgate protested to the Duke of York (C. in C.) and to the Earl of Chatham (as Master General of the Ordnance) about 'the injury they would sustain by soldiers in the Barracks being prevented from using ways and gates from the streets to them'. The immediate cause of this protest is not clear, but it would appear that the soldiers were being denied access to the fleshpots of Northgate. The Burghmote ordered the petition to be formally transmitted by the Town Clerk.'⁴³

A military presence of the size of the contingents at Canterbury changing from time to time in its composition,⁴⁴ could hardly be expected not to create some trouble in the City. Indigent females, often with children, left behind after the regiment had been posted out, bastards fathered on Canterbury women, were unwelcome charges on the Canterbury Poor Law Guardians. For example in 1797 a fund was set up, to which the Burghmote contributed, to support wives and children left without support in the Barracks by the unexpected move of the Cornwall and Norfolk regiments to Sheerness. Then too, fracas involving soldiers occurred occasionally. The most serious of these took place during the famine and high prices in 1795, when soldiers of the South Hants Militia, then in the Barracks, seized meat and bread from shopkeepers in the town, refusing to pay the full price. The Mayor had to send for the General from Dover, and to use the Canterbury Volunteers for protection (see Chapter IV).⁴⁵

From time to time, the Military stationed in Canterbury supported the City Authorities in formal functions. Burghmote Minutes in 1820 record thanks to the East Kent Yeomanry, the 14th Regiment of Light Dragoons, the 6 Battalion Royal Veterans and four companies from the Infantry Depot for their assistance in proclaiming the accession of George IV

and in 1823 the King's Hussars were thanked for the playing of their band at a reception for the Archbishop. In 1838 the Infantry Barracks were occupied by the 45th Nottinghamshire Regiment of Foot, a detachment of which on the request of the Civil Magistrates marched out against Sir William Courtenay in the 'Siege of Bossenden Wood'. An officer was killed in the melee, the last to die in action on British soil. It was not until 1873 that the Kentish regiment of the Buffs took possession of the Infantry Barracks.

Canterbury Burghmote Minutes record few dealings with the military in the Barracks, and on the whole it would seem that the financial benefits of their presence outweighed any disadvantages. However, without further research - beyond the scope of this present work - it is not possible to quantify the rewards to Canterbury. The fortunes of at least one Canterbury citizen may be thought to be derived from the military presence. William Baldock, who died on 21 December 1812; was commemorated in the *Observer*⁶ as follows '... instance of accumulation of wealth from small beginnings ... died little more than sixty, possessed of one million one hundred thousand pounds ... carried the hod as a bricklayer's labourer, but amassed enough money to build barracks at Canterbury which he let to the Government at a rate of 6d. to each soldier, a practice so profitable that in a few years the building was his own, and he continued to acquire wealth in various ways.' Another Canterbury worthy who may have derived substantial benefit was Alderman James Simmons, whose Abbots Mill, erected in 1790, achieved a turnover of £40,000 p.a. some of which at least must have included sales of wheat and meal to the military.

Chapter VI

Notes

1. Beddard, Robert, 'Privileges of Christ Church Canterbury; Archbishop Sheldon's Enquiries of 1671', *Arch. Cant.* lxxxvii, 1972.
2. See Gostling's *Walk in and about Canterbury* 5th edition 1804, Footnote p. 257 which elaborates on this procedure, and notes that 'the sword is not placed erect as in 'our parish churches'. Also to be noted is that in 1687 when Henry Lee, Mayor of Canterbury, rented a house in the Precincts, his lease required him to leave the Mace, symbol of his authority, outside the Precincts.
3. Joseph Meadows Cowper in his *Roll of Freemen of the City of Canterbury from 1392 to 1800* (Cross and Jackson, Canterbury 1903), comments in his foreword on p.xi 'The clerical element in these admissions is conspicuous by its absence. We have no Archbishop of Canterbury nor have we a Dean of Canterbury, but we have Nicholas Sympson, who claimed his freedom as the sone of John Sympson, shearer, and this Nicholas afterwards became a Prebendary of Christ Church'. Sympson's date of admission was 1575, and he seems to be the sole 'Clerk' included in Cowper's list of Freemen Admissions from 1392 to 1800. More recently Stella Corpe and Anne Oakley have produced lists of Canterbury Freemen admissions. A trawl through these lists for 1700 to 1835 indicates that in that 135 year period some 28 persons styled as 'clerks' or 'reverends' were admitted. This number is still a very small fraction of the total admitted in that period.
4. Collinson, Patrick; Ramsay, Nigel; and Sparks, Margaret; (eds), *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, OUP 1995, Chapters V and VI.
5. C.C.L. Bunce, Cyprian Rondeau, CCC Schedule 2, 1805.
6. See Chapter V on Aspects of City Life, and footnotes and Appendix A of that chapter for details of these returns.
7. Collinson et al. *op. cit.*
8. Ditchfield, G.M. and Keith-Lucas, B. (eds), *A Kentish Parson. Selections from the Private Papers of the Revd. Joseph Price, Vicar of Brabourne 1767-1789*, See particularly p.14, 154, also Index to diary and Index to full text.

9. Gregory, J., 'The Speculum of Archbishop Thomas Secker', *C. of E. Record Society* Vol 2, 1995.
10. I am indebted to Dr Grayson Ditchfield for assistance in consulting Price's Diary and Index, and Gregory's 'Speculum'.
11. Collinson et al. *op. cit.*
12. For instance, James Simmons began printing his newspaper the *Kentish Gazette* within the Precincts.
13. Gardiner, Dorothy, 'The Berkeleys of Canterbury', *Arch. Cant.* lxiix, 1955.
14. *An Autobiography of Thomas Secker 1758-1765*, ed. John S. Macaulay and R.W. Greaves, University of Kansas, 1958.
15. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 10, 19 May 1795, AC 11, 28 April 1800, 29 July 1806, 17 April 1810, AC 12 5 June 1819, 24 June 1823, 19 June 1827, 24 July 1832. A search of the Burghmote minutes from 1700 to 1784 revealed no mention of visits by Archbishops.
16. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 10 4 Jan, 1791.
17. Collinson et al., *op. cit.* Chapter VI, p. 284.
18. Gardiner, Dorothy, *Canterbury*, Sheldon Press, 1923, pp. 117-118.
19. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 13, 21 August and 16 October 1832.
20. The Archbishop (William Howley 1766-1848) spoke on behalf of the Bench against the second reading of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords in October 1831; Brock, Michael, *The Great Reform Act*, (London 1973), p. 244.
21. Thorne, Roland, *History of Parliament* vol. I, *The House of Commons 1715-1754*, 2 vols, H.M.S.O., 1970.
22. Namier, Sir Lewis and Brooke, John, *History of Parliament Vol I, The House of Commons, 1754-1790*, 3 vols, H.M.S.O., 1964.
23. Thorne, Roland, *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1790-1820*, 5 vols, Vol II, Secker and Warburg, 1986.
24. Namier, Sir Lewis, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, 2nd edition, 1963, London, p. 99-102.
25. L.S.S. Roch, Thomas, *Address to the Electors of the City of Canterbury*, 2nd edition MDCCLXI, R. Stevens, London, MDCCLXI.
26. L.S.S. Canterbury Bribery Commission, 1853, C18/1697.
27. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 8 p. 342.
28. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 8, pp. 434-436.

29. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 8, p. 488.
30. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 9, p. 1089.
31. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 9, p. 19.
32. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 9, p. 38.
33. According to *Regimental Location Lists*, compiled in manuscript in the National Army Museum, London, the following Regiments were located in Canterbury in the years before 1790:- 14th Foot 1742, 45th Foot 1742, 8th Dragoon Guards 1752, 11th Dragoon Guards 1754, 14th Foot 1760, 19th Foot 1760, 7th Dragoon Guards 1771, 1772, 13th Foot 1780.
34. C.C.L. C.B.M., AC 9, 4 December 1759.
35. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 9 21 November 1780.
36. No. 16 in MOD Land Agents records in Canterbury.
37. No. 58 in MOD Land Agents records in Canterbury.
38. No. 61 in MOD Land Agents records in Canterbury.
39. No. 60 in MOD Land Agents records in Canterbury.
40. No. 64, in MOD Land Agents records in Canterbury.
41. Kentish Register Vol III, p. 426-7 and *Old Cavalry Station* by B. Granville Baker 1934, p. 80.
42. Gostling, *Walk in and Around Canterbury*, 5th edition, 1804, footnote to p. 3.
43. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 11, 24 September 1805.
44. The *Regimental Location Lists* compiled in manuscript in the National Army Museum, London, indicate the following regiments as stationed in Canterbury during the Napoleonic Wars:- 7th Dragoon Guards 1800, 1st, 15th, 18th Dragoon Guards 1800-1801, 2nd Dragoon Guards 1810-1811, 1/9 Foot 1811, 1814, 1/18 Foot 1805, 1/52 Foot 1808.
45. C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 10, 28 March, 1795.
46. Harvey, Wallace, *The Seasalter Company - a Smuggling Fraternity, 1740-1854*, Whitstable, Emprint, 1953, p. 17 onwards.

CHAPTER VII

COMPARISON WITH OTHER COUNTY BOROUGHES

INTRODUCTION

Published work relating to the finances and government of Lincoln, York and Exeter - each, like Canterbury, County Boroughs operating under Royal Charter up to 1835, and also, like Canterbury, cathedral towns - has been studied.¹ This chapter compares the main features revealed by such work with Canterbury's experience in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

THE CORPORATIONS 1700-1835

The oligarchic local governments of Lincoln and Canterbury were basically similar, with a Corporation of Mayor, Councillor and Alderman, whose chief business was to run the markets, manage Corporation property, maintain the closed shop of the Freeman's roll, and provide a general focus for celebrations and events in the City. The Mayor and Aldermen as Magistrates together with a Recorder appointed by the Corporation, administered justice in the City, and provided an oversight over a range of administrative and quasi-judicial matters not directly dealt with by the whole Corporation. York had a similar set-up except that the Mayor, Aldermen as Magistrates, and the Recorder formed an Upper Chamber, and Common Councillors a Lower Chamber. There was constant dispute between the two Houses as to their respective roles, but the Upper House generally dealt with all the important matters. York had twice as many Aldermen and Councillors as Lincoln or Canterbury, probably reflecting in part the larger population. Exeter's ruling body, the Chamber, was similar in size to those of Lincoln and Canterbury, despite the more numerous population. The Chamber, composed of Mayor, 8 Aldermen/Magistrates, ordinary members and Recorder was equally oligarchic and self sustaining.²

The income of the Corporations of Lincoln, York and Canterbury was drawn from similar main sources:- rents of Corporation property, fines for Freeman admittance, market dues, and miscellaneous sources such as fines for renewal of leases and for exemption from office. In the case of Exeter, in addition to those sources, dues from canal, quay and wharfage of the Port of Exeter formed a large part of the yearly income.³ Main items of expenditure were similar for each city:- salaries and expenses of officers, upkeep of property and markets, ceremonial occasions. At Lincoln there was also expenditure on roads and canal and river waterways; at York, on upkeep of roads, bridges and

the River Ouse; and at Exeter there was massive expenditure on maintaining the canal, quays and wharfage. In each case the Mayor received a relatively large salary, though never sufficient to meet all his entertainment responsibilities and expenses. York's Mayor received not less than £400 a year, out of which he had to meet the expenses of the staff of the Guildhall in which he was expected to live. Exeter's Mayor received an even greater sum of £575 p.a. out of which he had to finance a punishing schedule of dinners and entertainments.

None of the Corporations levied rates. Extraordinary requirements of a capital nature, and additional large commitments of a continuing nature; were met by the Corporations in somewhat different ways, but never by seeking to empower themselves to raise rates directly from the citizens. Canterbury tackled the problem of the rising cost of the Poor as early as 1727, by obtaining an Act of Parliament creating a separate Corporation of the Guardians of the Poor for the whole of the City, with rating powers. In so doing, the Burghmote, in what might only be regarded as a generous move, handed over to the Guardians the Poor Priest's Hospital and its substantial income from endowments (equal to the yearly income of the Burghmote itself) for use as a workhouse. Exeter had acted similarly even earlier than Canterbury, following Bristol in forming in 1699 a Corporation of the Poor. As with Canterbury, Guardians were elected by the Parishes, with the Mayor and Aldermen as ex officio members. In Lincoln, it was not until after Gilbert's Act of 1782 that local promoters started a communal poorhouse, used mostly by rural parishes, and not until 1796 that this was taken over by a Corporation of Directors as a House of Industry for the whole city under a Private Act. In York, the 30 City parishes maintained separate poor law authorities throughout the eighteenth century. York Corporation exercised some supervision over the parishes, but settlement disputes between the parishes in the Law Courts were frequent. In 1768, some limited co-operation was established, and in the 1820s eight parishes combined in a central workhouse. A Union of the city parishes, together with 40 rural parishes in the Ridings around York, was finally established by the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, and a Workhouse intended for 2,000 paupers created.

As with the rest of the Country, the cost to the Poor Rate of maintaining the poor in the Boroughs rose alarmingly in the Napoleonic Wars and into the nineteenth century. In Canterbury, the annual cost to the Guardians rose from £1,500 p.a. to at least five times that sum in the 1820s, declining somewhat to between £4,000 and £6,000 a year in the late 1830s. Figures for Lincoln show expenditure of £1,300 in the 1750s, rising to £4,800 in the early 1800s. Exeter's poor rate was

fixed in 1699 at £2,900 a year. This led the guardians into debt over the years, reaching £3,000 owing by 1750. In the year 1830-31, a total of £4,700 was spent on out relief.⁴

The famine and high price years of 1795-6 and 1800-1 were difficult times for Canterbury, Lincoln and Exeter. The distress of the poor, deserving or undeserving, was so great that extraordinary measures were taken to alleviate it. In each city, voluntary subscription funds were raised by the better off, led by the City Fathers, to be used to supply cheap food, soup kitchens, etc. In Canterbury, the Mayor and his colleagues combined with the Dean and Chapter in raising over £500 in 1795-6, spent on providing cheap bread and flour relief to 2,500 people; and in 1800-1 raising over £1,000 giving relief to over 3,500. In Lincoln, over 3,000 people benefited from voluntary relief in 1795-6, and in 1800-1 similar efforts supplied cheap meat, potatoes and made a soup kitchen available to a substantial part of the population. Exeter faced perhaps more difficult situations with a larger population, and with the decline in the wool trade and in the use of its port. In 1784, as an exceptional measure, 2,300 families (7,000) people were relieved. Similar measures were taken in 1795-6, and in 1801 at a single public meeting, £2,000 was pledged at reduced and reasonable prices. Although there was some unrest in Canterbury and Lincoln during those times, rioting seems to have been avoided. During the difficult years 1795-6 riots were reported in the countryside around Exeter, but it is not clear how far these affected the City itself. Although no doubt motivated in part by philanthropy and pure pity, nevertheless these measures constituted a form of crisis management by the elite of the Boroughs, anticipating and thereby forestalling the possibility of unrest and riots.

Lighting and paving the streets, initially the concern of the parishes answering to loose control by Magistrates in Quarter Session, was the subject of somewhat different treatment in each Borough as the eighteenth century wore on. In Canterbury, an Act of 1787 established a new Corporation of Pavement Commissioners with jurisdiction over the whole city, including some enclaves not subject to Burghmote control. The Pavement Corporation had rating and toll raising powers, and within the space of a few years at the expenditure of £10,000 borrowed on security of the rates and tolls, had transformed Canterbury's narrow and crowded streets into something resembling Georgian elegance. Lincoln's lighting and Paving Commissioners Act of 1791 had limited scope. Rates were limited to 6d. in £1; street improvements were hardly attempted, and the main burden of implementation remained with the Parishes. The main road through the City was part of a Turnpike Trust, and the City Corporation from time to time contributed to the

cost of its maintenance. In York, responsibility for the maintenance, watching and lighting of the streets remained principally with the separate parishes, overseen by the York Corporation, until 1825 when an Act was procured to appoint City Commissioners for this purpose. There was ample scope for conflict and overlap between the new body and the City Corporation, and a further complication was that 54 parish constables continued to be appointed by the Magistrates. A conflict on lighting was severe enough to go to arbitration. Exeter procured an Act in 1760 to set up an Improvement Commission, at first concentrating on lighting. In 1809 another Improvement Act provided for elected Commissioners from the parishes, with ex officio representation from the Mayor and Aldermen, and a further act of 1832 authorised the raising of £6,000 for pavement improvements.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ACT: 1835 ONWARDS; THE COUNCILS

The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 dissolved the old oligarchic corporations in the old Municipal Boroughs, cancelled the Royal Charters which had given them their authority, substituting Councils elected by Burgesses for limited periods of time. The electoral roll of Burgesses - householders and ratepayers - was somewhat wider based than that of Freemen, a concept effectively abolished by the 1835 Act.

In addition to this introduction of a degree of democracy into local government, other associated changes to modernize and clean up the old Municipal Boroughs were:-

The new Councils were authorised to raise Borough rates for expenditure on strictly defined purposes;

Local full time police forces, under the control of the new Councils through a Watch Committee and paid for out of the Borough rate. Generally this meant transferring the obligation for watching from Improvements Commissions to Councils.

Stricter control over the use of Council's assets, to ensure they were used for the good of the Community.

Rules to prevent Aldermen and Councillors from profiting from Council expenditure.

Charitable trusts were removed from Council's care, and placed under appointed Trustees.

Appointment of Justices of the Peace ceased to be automatic by virtue of office, and placed under central Government control.

An incidental change caused by the legislation was that national politics began to have an increasing influence on local affairs.

Apart from these main changes, the powers of the new Councils remained

effectively the same as that of the old Corporation. Courts of Guardians and Pavement/Improvement Commissioners continued to co-exist with local Councils. However, the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 began to control Courts of Guardians through Poor Law Commissioners appointed by and responsible to Central Government. Regarding Improvement/Pavement Commissioners, the 1835 Act took the view that these should be subsumed by the new Councils, but made no definite direction to that effect. It was not until the late 1860s that Lincoln, Exeter and Canterbury's Commissioners were merged with their local Councils.

The authorities of all four Boroughs were in considerable debt when they handed over power to the newly elected Councils in 1836. The basic reason for debt was the same in all four; each had been faced with necessary capital expenditure which could not be met from normal income, and for which they could not have recourse to rating. In Canterbury's case, debts were over £15,000, largely due to projects such as a new Cattle Market, a new indoor Corn Market and the widening and straightening of exit roads to the coast, Lincoln's debts of £29,000 included £4,380 for a new sessions house and gaol, the purchase of the remaining part of the city fee farm rent, £6,652 spent on the City Race Course and Stand, the purchase of an inn next to the Stonebow council Chamber (and the favourite house of the Aldermanic Bench), and the maintenance of the Foss Dyke, a 9 mile canal of Roman origin connecting the River Witham at Lincoln with the Trent at Torksey. York's debts of £21,000 arose in part from the Corporation's responsibility as Trustees of the River Ouse Navigation, which gave rise to a recurrent need for costly dredging and maintenance of bridges. The Chamber of Exeter left massive debts of over £140,000, of which £105,827 had been spent on widening and maintaining a canal and improving the quays and wharferage in an attempt to revive Exeter as a port. At the end of the chamber's life, 47 per cent of its expenditure went on servicing debts. The Chamber's internal controls of the management of the Port left much to be desired, and some of the debts were attributed to mismanagement and embezzlement.

The old authorities, however, had in 1836 handed over to the new councils portfolios of property of more than sufficient value to pay off the debts. In Canterbury, the new Council by 1839 had sold off 35 lots of property to clear all debts. A sizeable portfolio still remained to produce a useful, if somewhat reduced yearly rental income. Similarly at York debts were soon liquidated, though the necessary sale of property reduced the councils income by £700 p.a. At Lincoln, the Mayor and Corporation in the months before the handover to the new Council had decided to allow lessees of Corporation property (amongst

whom were, of course, members of the Council and their families and friends) to purchase at 25 per cent of gross value if mainly land, and 20 per cent if mainly houses. Despite opposition, the sale was virtually the last act of the Old Corporation, and the moneys received were to be applied to discharge some of the debts. Nevertheless, sufficient property remained in Council's hands to clear the remaining debts in 1847,

One feature of the change over in 1836 which would have affected citizens directly was the raising, for the first time, of a Borough rate. The effect may have been masked somewhat by the fact that the Borough Rate used Poor Rate valuations, and was, in the first few years at least, collected through the Poor Law authorities. And the County rate, also collected through Poor Law mechanisms, would have been discontinued when the responsibility for the costs of justice and new gaols was given to the new Councils. Then, too, the transfer of responsibility for watching the streets from the Pavement Commissioners would have decreased the Pavement rates accordingly. On the income side, Freeman's fines had been abolished, and Council's income from property was somewhat diminished by the need to sell off lots to liquidate debts. The result of all this would have been a recognisable sharp rise in rates from 1835 onwards.

In Canterbury, the creation of a full time police force came in for immediate criticism as being too large and therefore too costly. Public pressure eventually caused a reduction in the force, with consequential savings of perhaps £200 a year. The first Budget for the New Council showed an increase of expenditure of about £1,000, and rates totalling £2,000. In York, the new Council estimated an expenditure of £6,000 p.a. as against an income of £3,600 (without rates). A rate of 2d. in the £1 three or four times a year was needed to make up the shortfall. Although the debts of the Old Corporation had been quickly liquidated, by the mid nineteenth century, the expansion of public services had created a further debt of £60,000, and the Borough rate had risen to over twice the total of the County, and the Improvement and Lighting rates in 1835. On the other hand, in Lincoln, the council set its face against raising a Borough rate for fear of unpopularity with the electorate. It was not until 1874 that a Borough rate of 2½d. in the £1 was raised to pay off a debt of £800, connected with the expense of calling out the military to quell election riots. Up to that time, the Council had largely remained within its own income, though occasionally they had persuaded Central Government Treasury to allow large items of capital expenditure to be met by sale of property.

The change in the political complexion of local governing bodies after the 1835 Act was striking. In Canterbury, few of the old Burghmote survived, and Reformers were in a comfortable majority in the first Council. Similarly, in Lincoln, only four members of the Old Corporation kept their seats, and Reformers swept the board. At Exeter, the result of the first election was a tie, eighteen councillors to both parties. However, one Liberal did not accept the oath, and so the Conservatives had a controlling majority of one. Their domination of the Council then lasted for 60 years. From 1835 local elections were fought much more openly on party lines. That, together with the broadening of the electorate to include some of the poorer tradesmen and labourers, increased the degree of bribery and corruption in local as well as parliamentary elections.

COMMERCIAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

It is interesting to consider how far and by what means local authorities in these Municipal Boroughs in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were successful in fostering, maintaining or increasing the commercial, economic and social well-being of their Boroughs. In Canterbury, Lincoln and York, we see a somewhat similar pattern. All three were, and remained, essentially market towns, with a great variety of shops, craftsmen and small industries of many types, reliant on trade with the countryside round them, and more particularly on the custom of nearby landowners. In all three, Corporations were active, in conjunction with commercial interests, in promoting social attractions as a means of gaining that custom. Early in the eighteenth century, York set itself up as a fashionable metropolis of the North, investing in the 1730s in a theatre, racecourse, assembly rooms, pleasure walks, and sponsoring a hunt. By the mid century, the splendid Mansion House had been built, housing the Lord Mayor with elegant reception rooms for formal gatherings and other entertainments. As a county town, York was the centre of county assizes, quarter sessions and administration, which regularly attracted the gentry, in rounds of social pleasure and culture.

Similarly, county assizes and quarter sessions courts met regularly in Lincoln as the county town, bringing with them the custom of the gentry. Lincoln was, however, never the social centre which York managed to be, and it suffered from the disadvantage that the administrative and social activities of the county and the clergy were concentrated in the Upper Town area of the Castle and the Cathedral, where the City Corporation had little or no authority. The Lincoln races, sponsored by the Corporation, and held on common land on the outskirts of the Lower Town, provided, however, an occasion for the

gentry to enjoy and patronise the amenities of the City. The social divide between the Lower and the Upper Town persisted until well into the twentieth century.

After the Civil War, Canterbury began to lose its pre-eminence in Kent County to Maidstone. By the end of the eighteenth century Maidstone had indeed become the centre of county activity, with consequential trade and commercial spin offs. Canterbury nevertheless had its attractions for the local gentry in its race meetings, theatre and plays, assembly rooms, music, literary, and philosophical societies, and gardens and walks. There was even an (unsuccessful) attempt to capitalize on the discovery of Chalybeatic springs and to turn the city into a Spa resembling Tunbridge Wells. Again, the social attractions of Canterbury could by no means match those of York.

Exeter, on the other hand, is reckoned to have been in the elite cadre of provincial capitals in the eighteenth century, along with York. Reaching a peak of textile manufacturers by 1700, the City had by that time established walks and gardens, a theatre, and cultural and scientific societies, etc. to such an extent that when later in the century commercial and industrial decline set in, the effect was in part cushioned by the broader service and consumer role which had been developed.

INDUSTRIALISATION

In terms of growth and industrial and manufacturing activity, neither Canterbury nor York participated significantly in the Industrial Revolution. Part of the reason for this may lie in the inhibition of enterprise inherent in the Freeman and Guild regime zealously guarded by the old Corporations. However, the force of Guild controls had largely been dissipated by the end of the eighteenth century (certainly in Canterbury), and the abolition of the Freeman concept in 1835 was perhaps not much more than a recognition of the state of affairs existing in reality. Other reasons, somewhat different in each city may be advanced.

Regarding Canterbury, by the mid eighteenth century its weaving industry had declined to the vanishing point, put out of business by cheaper cottons and imports from overseas. A short lived renaissance in the closing years of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth, centred round the invention of Canterbury muslin (a mixture of cotton and silk), had died out by the 1820s. Canterbury's increasing involvement with the hop industry to some extent filled the employment gap; and the creation of a permanent station in the city for

3,000 infantry and cavalry from 1795 onwards must have brought extra trade. Apart from these, the only other types of employment for more than a handful of people were brewing, and leather production. Canterbury's efforts to improve its commerce by opening up direct connection to the sea, London and overseas through a canal never came to fruition, but local initiative did achieve an early railway in the 1850s to the port of Whitstable. While this may have reduced the price of goods haulage between Canterbury and Whitstable, no surge of industrial activity occurred to take advantage of the improved communications. And, for one reason or another, a rail link from Canterbury to London was not achieved until the mid 1840s, and then at first only through a link line to Ashford.

On the other hand, major industrial undertakings were established in Lincoln by the beginning of the nineteenth century, and were extended throughout that century to the extent that the majority of the population was employed in foundries. Situated on the River Witham, Lincoln had an essential link by water for goods traffic through the Foss Dyke (a 9 mile canal of Roman origin) to the River Trent and hence to the Humber. By the river Witham and a series of locks and canals, goods traffic was carried to and from the Wash. In the seventeenth century, the Foss Dyke had been allowed to silt up and become barely usable, but in the 1740s the City Corporation leased the canal to an entrepreneur for £75 p.a., on condition that a depth of 3 ft. 6 ins was maintained throughout the waterway. Restoration was achieved at a cost of £3,000 (a sum which the Corporation balked at finding from its own resources), but the income from the tolls (which were the sole property of the entrepreneur) rose from £75 in 1740 to over £500 in 1750, and continued to rise to reach a peak of £5,000 p.a. Lincoln's trade flourished accordingly. The first coals the canal carried to the City were not much more than half their former cost.

Industry at Lincoln at that time was small scale, mainly in milling, malting and brewing, and tanning. Early iron foundries in Lincoln undertook a variety of work, but it was the development of agricultural threshing machines which raised them from millwrights or blacksmiths with half a dozen employees into substantial foundries. Lincoln, along with other Lincolnshire towns was by the 1830s and 1840s in the forefront of the engineering applications of steam power for all types of agricultural machinery. Later in the nineteenth century, Lincoln's foundries began to produce steam rollers, boilers and subsequently oil engines, motor cars and tanks. By the beginning of the twentieth century Lincoln's population had risen to nearly 50,000, and the foundries, established mainly adjoining the waterways, employed the majority of the working population.

The industrial revolution passed York by. The River Ouse had always provided the main means of transport of goods but progress may have been hampered by the fact that the old Corporation of York (and the new Council) found it difficult to provide funds, as Trustees of Ouse Navigation, to keep the river dredged and the bridges and wharves in good repair. The relatively high price of coal, half as expensive again as at Leeds, may have played a part in hampering York's progress, but this would represent only a small part of the total cost of manufacture and marketing a product. And it must be noted that, when the railways came, bringing cheaper coal and easier transport, no revolution in the City's industry occurred. Whatever the reasons, the custom of the gentry remained a prominent part of the City's economy in the first half of the nineteenth century. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the railways provided the first large scale factory in the city, with 1,200 men in the station and works, and by the end of the century employed 5,560 men, half in carriage construction.

The story of Exeter's economy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century is one of decline. In 1700, Exeter was a city and port of national significance, second only to Bristol in the south, and surpassing York and Norwich. Manufacture of serge cloth was at its height, and trade through its port at a peak. After 1715, Exeter's share of the national cloth trade declined, and by 1790 was moribund. Volume of trade through the port similarly declined. Few vessels other than coasters reached the quay due to silting. Despite very expensive efforts by the Corporation to deepen and widen the Channels and to improve the quay and wharferage facilities, decline continued, and Dartmouth had outstripped Exeter in national importance. By 1805, Exeter's population had grown to 17,400 from the 13,000 in 1700, a small increase compared with other towns. From being fourth or fifth on the national scale of size, Exeter had sunk to fifteenth. In the Napoleonic war years, Exeter as a garrison town benefitted from the presence and society of the military. By 1830 however, the city was relapsing into the status of a large market town. Its coaching trade was at its peak, employing perhaps 500 males in the city.

CONCLUSIONS

Several broad conclusions are suggested. Experience of local government in Lincoln, York, Exeter and Canterbury in the eighteenth to mid nineteenth century was broadly comparable. In each, oligarchic self-perpetuating Corporations ruled commercial life, with no recourse to direct taxation. All four coped with increasing expenditure on the poor, and on paving, lighting and watching by setting up separate Courts of Guardians and Improvement Commissioners with tax raising

powers. Social activities and leisure facilities were fostered by each, partly because they attracted custom and money to the Boroughs from landed gentry and visitors. All four Boroughs bequeathed a legacy of considerable debt to the Councils which succeeded them, but also bequeathed portfolios of property more than sufficient to liquidate the debts. The Royal Charters under which the Boroughs operated ensured that the totality of local government was in the hands of people engaged in commerce and trade, living and working in the Borough. That this may have helped the ruling elite to remain in close touch with the feelings of the populace is demonstrated in each by their handling of crisis management in the years of high prices and famine in 1790-1 and 1800-1. To this extent the Boroughs may have constituted areas of relative stability and continuity.

The powers of the new Councils subsumed most of those of the Corporations, with the additional powers to set up local paid police forces and to levy Borough rates. The appointment of Magistrates ceased to be automatic by reason of local government office but became a function of central government. One result of the changes in each was that the total bill which the ratepayers had to meet for local government services more than doubled.

Chapter VII

Notes

- 1 Secondary sources on which this comparison of Canterbury with Lincoln, York and Exeter is mainly based are: Newton, Robert, *Eighteenth Century Exeter*, University of Exeter, 1954; Hill, J.W.F., *Georgian Lincoln*, C.U.P. 1972; Hill, J.W.F., *Victorian Lincoln*, C.U.P. 1974; Page, Hiram (ed.), *Victoria County History: York*, Constable, 1907; Morell, T.B. and Watson, H.G., *Development of Local Government; How York Governs Itself*, 1928.
- 2 For comparison, the population of Exeter in c. 1750 was 16,000, York 11,400 and Canterbury, 8,600 - as given in the league table of town populations by Angus McInnes in *The English Town 1660-1760* (Historical Association, 1980). At the same time, Lincoln would not be more than 5,000.
- 3 Comparative finances for yearly income of the ruling bodies are, Canterbury £500 p.a. in 1700 rising to about £2,000 p.a. in 1800. York in the 1750s had an income of about £2,000. Lincoln's income in 1700 was c. £700 p.a., rising to c. £3,000 in 1800. Exeter's income in c. 1760 was c. £3,500 rising to £10,000 in the 1800s. About half Exeter's income was from port dues.
- 4 Comparable figures for the cost of relief of the poor in York were not available from the sources studied. The information may not be readily available since the 30 parishes of York separately looked after their own poor until 1835.

CHAPTER VIII

SOME EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CANTERBURY PERSONALITIES

INTRODUCTION

Of the Aldermen and Mayors of Canterbury in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, only two achieved prominence on the national scene; George Gipps MP, and James Simmons MP. Two other Mayors stand out from the general run: Cyprian Rondeau Bunce, for his reorganisation of Canterbury's ancient records, and William Gray, for the light which his notebook throws on the local events in his lifetime. Short accounts of the life and work of each of these worthy men is given below.

Additionally two rather more colourful cases are summarised: Mark Thomas, a Chamberlain who absconded to France, and John and Elizabeth Bell, Master and Mistress of the workhouse, who stole workhouse property and emerged unscathed.

GEORGE GIPPS, ESQUIRE, MP

George Gipps was the third son of Henry Gipps of Ashford, baptised in Ashford Church on 10 January 1729-30. In 1744 he was apprenticed to Charles Knowler,¹ apothecary of Canterbury, and on 23 April 1751 he became a freeman of Canterbury by reason of his apprenticeship to Knowler, by then deceased.

On 2 August 1755 he married Elizabeth, daughter of John Roberts a hop factor of Harbledown, whose home was Hall Place, Harbledown, on London Road just outside Canterbury. Hall Place became George Gipps' main place of residence, and at some early time after his marriage he gave up doctoring to become a successful business man, dealing in hops. Elizabeth died on 28 August 1775, after twenty years of marriage; there were no children.

George Gipps initially became a common councillor on 27 May 1755, but resigned on 20 June 1758, paying a fine of £20. On 22 November 1768 however, he resumed his seat and his fine was returned to him. On 28 July 1772 he became an Alderman, and in 1773 when John Taddy died halfway through his Mayoral year, Gipps was, on 22 March, chosen and sworn mayor for the remainder of the mayoral year.

In 1780 George Gipps was elected, as was Charles Robinson, Recorder of Canterbury, as MP for the city. In 1784 he and Robinson were

comfortably re-elected, and again in 1790 he was re-elected with Sir John Honeywood, Robinson having retired. In 1796 the poll gave the following result: John Baker 777, Samuel E. Sawbridge 754, George Gipps 739, Sir J. Honeywood 716. A petition alleging bribery was investigated by the House of Commons and the election declared void. A fresh election produced the result: John Baker 485, Samuel Elias Sawbridge 470, Sir J. Honeywood 195, George Gipps 185. A further petition was presented, and the ineligibility of Baker and Sawbridge was confirmed. It was resolved that Gipps and Honeywood ought to have been elected. and Gipps and Honeywood took their seats again. He continued to serve as MP until his death in 1800. Gipps kept his seat as an Alderman until 1795, when on 24 February that year he was discharged on the grounds that he had moved out of the City to Harbledown. While he was an MP he seldom attended Burghmote or Magistrates Sessions. Perhaps a reason for his resignation in 1795 was that on 30 December 1794 the Burghmote, worried about persistent absenteeism among its members had increased fines for absence considerably.

It would seem that Gipps was not a committed party man though after 1783 he gave general support for Pitt's government. In Parliament, he voted against North's administration, supported Peace preliminaries in 1783, voted against Fox's East India Bill 1783, voted for Parliamentary reform on 7 May 1783 and was hostile to the repeal of the Test Act in Scotland 1791. He was active for Canterbury in promoting improvement bills such as the Pavement Act of 1787, and various acts to set up Toll roads out of Canterbury. There is no evidence of his speaking in the House before 1790, and no speech of his survives.

In addition to dealing in hops, Gipps bought and sold houses and property. In 1763 he was involved in purchasing property in Biddenden, Frittenden and Smarden. In 1789 he bought the whole of Elmley Island, part of Sheppey, but at that time detached from it by a water course. The estate there was about 3,000 acres, and it remained in his family for over seventy years. In 1795 he bought Whitfield House in St Margaret's Street, and resold it to Mrs Lydia Friend, who used it as a school for young ladies.

But his largest purchase concerned the dissolved priory of St Gregory's in Canterbury, the lease of which he took from the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1773. Just before his death he purchased the freehold of the estate. This consisted of a collection of properties on or around the old priory site producing yearly rentals of £187 11s., and a number of tithes and rents of parishes and parsonages including St Dunstan's, Westgate, Northgate, Thanington, Goldstanton (Ash - Wingham), Bekesbourne, Nackington, Ore, Rushbourne, Stalisfield, East Waltham,

Bethersden, and Elmsted, valued together at £935 p.a. - total yearly value of the estate £1117 16s. 8d. Some advowsons of the parsonages were included.

Gipps joined James Simmons and Henry Gipps (his nephew) in the Canterbury Bank, the first in Canterbury, founded 5 July 1788. The curious feature of this was that the advanced literature announcing the foundation of the Bank showed George Gipps as one of the founders, but it would seem that he did not actually join the Bank until a year or so after its opening. He and Simmons contributed £2,500 each to the Capital of the Bank. George Gipps' apparently tardy entry into the Bank may indicate some financial embarrassment because, as noted above, he was at that time negotiating the major purchase of Elmley island. The Bank was a great success, and would have added a few thousand pounds a year income to each of its principals.

As MP, Gipps was involved in major events in the life of Canterbury. On the 29 September 1798, the Prince of Wales was in Canterbury to attend a dinner in the Assembly Rooms on the day of Mayor William Sankey's assumption of office, and to receive the honorary freedom of Canterbury, Gipps would have been present. On 2 October 1796, the Prince dined with Gipps at Harbledown, and among the guests were the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Sondes, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir John Honeywood and Sir Robert Laurie. Again, in 1799, a deputation from the Court of Burghmote, robed and attended by city officers, waited on the Rt. Hon. Lord Romney, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Kent at the seat of George Gipps Esq., MP at Harbledown, and presented him with the freedom of the City.

On 27 November 1780, Gipps married for the second time, to Sarah, daughter of Samuel Stanton of Harbledown, a merchant trading into Barcelona. They had two sons; she died on 2 June 1789 aged 41 years. His third wife, in 1792, was Elizabeth, daughter of Dr Lawrence, a physician of Canterbury. They had no offspring. She survived him and died in 1812.

Gipps died on 11 February 1800 leaving a reputation for integrity and gentle unaffected manners, and his will, dated 13 September 1796, with a codicil on 25 September 1799, left an annuity of £100 to his third wife, in addition to the marriage settlement, and the use of his house in Harbledown for the remainder of the lease, and thereafter another house in Harbledown or a house he had lately occupied in Canterbury. After leaving tokens to his brother-in-law and executor, Sir Souldan Lawrence (a High Court Judge) and to his nephews George and Henry, and legacies to his servants, he left the remainder to be divided between

his sons Henry and George. He specified that as soon as George came of age, he could choose to have Elmley and £1,000, leaving the rest to Henry, or to give Henry Elmley and £1,000, and have the rest for himself. The main will was made before his purchase of St Gregory's estate, and the codicil mentioned that fact but confirmed the terms of the main will. In the event, George chose the remainder (which included St Gregory's and was consequently the more valuable) leaving Elmley and £1,000 for Henry.²

JAMES SIMMONS, MP

The story of the remarkable career of this man has been told by the present author in a recent dissertation for a local history diploma, and subsequently in an article in *Archaeologia Cantiana*.³ A detailed account of his work is not therefore necessary, but a summary of the main events in his life is essential to an understanding of Canterbury's local government in the late eighteenth and very early nineteenth century.

Simmons was born in Canterbury in 1741, son of a peruke maker who died shortly after Simmons' birth. As a ward of John Lade (prominent citizen and Mayor) Simmons attended King's School. He was apprenticed to a stationer in London, and practised his trade there for several years before returning to Canterbury in 1767, claiming his Freedom there by birth. He set up trade as stationer, printer and publisher, and, against severe local opposition, founded (and edited for the remaining thirty-six years of his life) the *Kentish Gazette*. He also kept a circulating library and ran a medicine business. His publications included the first edition of Hasted's *History of Kent*, and five editions of Gostling's *Walk in and About Canterbury*.

Common Councillor in 1769, Sheriff in 1772/3, Alderman 1794, he became Mayor for the first time in 1776. In 1782, central government appointed him Distributor of Stamps for East Kent, a lucrative appointment adding substantially to his income, as a reward for his newspaper's support of Rockingham Whigs. From 1787 to 1791 Simmons as Treasurer of the Pavement Commissioners was the prime mover and organizer of the modernisation of Canterbury's streets, transforming the City from medieval squalor to Georgian elegance. While remaining Treasurer, he became Mayor for the second time in 1788-9, and in that capacity he organized a new road through Castle yard to Wincheap, and reorganized the Butter Market. Also in that period, in 1788-9, with George Gipps MP, and Henry Gipps (George Gipps' nephew) he established the first bank in Canterbury, and ran it successfully for the rest of his life. In 1791, in partnership with Alderman Royle (distiller) he

paid a large premium (£2,450) for and rented Abbot's and King's Mills from the Burghmote, rebuilding Abbot's Mill to a splendid design by Smeaton in 1792. At its height, the mill achieved £40,000 of business a year.

Also at this time, by 1790 he had embarked on his great philanthropic work of improving the Dane John, and by 1793 he had transformed the rough pasture land into a pleasure garden and walks. At this time too, he was already working on a plan, at his own expense, to build a canal from Canterbury to the sea, an imaginative project whose development the outset of the Napoleonic Wars interrupted. The war and threat of invasion gave Simmons yet another role. In 1795 he was in the forefront of Canterbury's efforts to raise three companies of volunteer infantry. He became Captain of the first company raised and in that capacity led the East Kent contingent at a review of Kent volunteers at Maidstone by King George III in 1798.

In October 1806, Simmons, by then styled 'Father of the City' was elected MP for Canterbury by acclamation. He took a house in Westminster, but his tenure as MP was short lived. He died in London in January 1807. He left no legitimate children, and the main beneficiary of his will was his natural son, also named James Simmons. His executors were enjoined to realise his assets (with a gross value of about £60,000) to provide for legacies. His businesses were therefore sold, and the memory of James Simmons, stationer, printer, publisher, newspaper proprietor, seller of patent medicines, Distributor of Stamps, mill owner, banker, canal promoter, benefactor and shaper of Canterbury, creator of Dane John, Captain of Volunteers, Alderman, twice Mayor, MP and 'Father of the City' quickly faded.

There is no doubt that in the last twenty-five years of his life, Simmons dominated the government and commercial life of the City. He was either the prime mover of, or influential supporter of, all of the major events in the life of the city during that time. While his position on the Burghmote may have assisted his progress in gaining for him beneficial leases of Burghmote property which he used to good commercial effect, the strength and vitality of the man is demonstrated particularly by his manifold activities in the peak years between 1787 and 1795, when as Treasurer of the Pavement he rebuilt Canterbury's streets at a cost of £10,000 and at the same time was Mayor; built a mill costing £8,500, founded Canterbury's first bank with a capital contribution from him of £2,500, landscaped the Dane John at a cost of £1,500, sponsored with his own money the promotion of a canal to the sea, became Captain and prime mover of the City's volunteer infantry; while continuing to edit the Gazette and be Distributor of Stamps.

What more he might have achieved for Canterbury had he survived long enough to have made his mark as an MP must remain a matter for speculation.

CYPRIAN RONDEAU BUNCE

Cyprian Rondeau Bunce was the second son of the Reverend John Bunce, Vicar of St Stephen's, Hackington, Canterbury, and his third wife, Sarah Alkin, widow of Francis Alkin, and daughter of Claudius Rondeau, who came to England as a protestant refugee before 1700. Bunce attended King's School, leaving in 1761, returning to Canterbury in 1765 to set up as an Attorney in St Peter's. In 1776 or 1777 he married Catherine, the daughter of George Frennd, Freeman and Victualler, and thereby obtained his freedom by marriage.

On 11 November 1777 he was elected Common Councillor. He served as sheriff in 1778-9, was elected Alderman on 14 October 1788, and served as Mayor 1789-90. On the death of James Simmons in January 1807, he became senior Alderman, and was elected to the Mastership of Maynard's Hospital. He died on 26 July 1807 and was buried in St Stephen's. His wife and daughter had died in 1781.⁴

His lasting contribution to Canterbury's local government was as an antiquary. He devoted a great deal of his time in the 1790s to cataloguing, summarising, and indexing Canterbury's records and charters which before his work were in a state of confusion. As part of his work, in 1797, he produced a 'Memorial', a complete review of the Burghmote's estates and rentals, with recommendations as to which might with profit be sold and in what manner, and which should be retained. His recommendations were implemented as a preliminary to the expensive construction of a new Cattle Market.

His efforts were recognised by the Burghmote on 28 September 1802⁵ when they voted £250 for his services in 'arranging records and for the Books and Ancient documents he has produced'. The Burghmote minute listed Bunce's work as follows:

1792. Index of all charters, records, books, papers, terriers and rentals in one volume; index of estates and rents.

1797. Statement of all receipts and payments of the Mayor and Corporation.

1798. Register of charities of the city. Abstracts from the earliest accounts of them.

1801. Copies of ancient and modern charters. Selection in six volumes with indices of variety of paper and parchment instruments taken from the chamber.

Some of Bunce's work (attributed to a 'citizen') was published in book form in Canterbury by W. Bristow in 1791, as 'Translation of several charters etc granted by Edward V, Henry III, James I and Charles II to the Citizens of Canterbury' together with 'a list of Bailiffs and Mayors from 780 onwards, with a description of the Boundaries of the City and many curious particulars never before published'. His 'Minutes' of Canterbury, a series of forty-three articles dealing with all aspects of Canterbury life from the thirteenth century onwards were published in the issues of the *Kentish Gazette* from September 1800 to December 1801.

Significant contributions to Canterbury life by Bunce as a Burghmote officer should be mentioned. In 1793, he produced for the magistrates a report on the state of the Gaol, which resulted in a vote of £200 for repairs.⁶ In 1802, when the Dane John Gardens had for some years languished after Simmons had handed the lease back to the Burghmote, Bunce took over the management through a newly created Burghmote Committee on the Dane John, rescuing the gardens from neglect. Bunce was also a Commissioner of the Pavement, attending the first meeting of the Commissioners in 1787. In 1804, Bunce's work in reorganising Canterbury's records was brought to the attention of the Dean and Chapter, and he produced for them a catalogue of their estates and rentals. A different, human, aspect of Bunce's life is provided by a note in the Sessions record of 17 July 1791, which records the indictment of Cyprian Rondeau Bunce for Bastardy. There is no evidence that the matter was brought to trial, and on 9 January 1792 it is recorded that the recognisances entered into by C.R. Bunce be discharged. Presumably his fellow Magistrates and the Court of Guardians were content to see the matter settled out of court.⁷

While Bunce's work in local government is worthy enough, he stands out of the ordinary run by reason of his antiquarian activities. His work on Canterbury's records constitutes an invaluable reference point for any student of the City's history.

ALDERMAN WILLIAM GRAY

William Gray lived, worked and died in Canterbury, achieving the highest positions locally over a long life span, without any suggestion of impingement on the broader county or national scene. Born in Canterbury in 1695, Freeman in 1717, he set up trade in St Mary Magdalene's parish in 1748 as a tallow chandler. He became a common councillor in 1724 and Master of the Guild of Grocers in 1734. After twenty-four years as Councillor he was elected Alderman in August 1748 and then a month later, as Mayor for 1748-1749. In 1752 he was elected

President of the Court of Guardians and re-elected to that office a further eight times in 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1762, 1763 and 1764. In 1760-61 he served his second term as Mayor. In 1768, as Senior Alderman he was elected to be office of Master of Maynard's Spital, and he continued to serve as Alderman and Master until 1783. He died in 1784, aged 89.

This worthy man left a note book, attributed to him, in which is recorded many interesting details of officialdom in Canterbury. That he served twenty-four years as a councilman before election to Alderman is surprising and even more surprising is his election to Mayor a month later. His notebook records that in the 1748 Mayoral election he polled 338 votes to Alderman Robinson's 277 and that Robinson attempted to gain the election by 'dint of money'. His election in 1760 was by 373 votes to 137. His notebook gives fascinating details of the formal organisation of celebrations of national events in Canterbury, together with information on Guilds, the inner workings of the workhouse, the Burghmote's debts, the Charities run by the Burghmote, Burghmote procedures and personalities, and some account of misbehaviour of officers.

No details of Gray's personal life is given in the notebook. However, the impression given is of a man whose life was dominated by public service, which he undertook at a time when a number of his contemporaries were refusing office. Apart from a feeling of power and self importance, what he got out of it is not clear. It is however obvious that without the work of people like him in Canterbury's local government in the eighteenth century, the system would not have worked as well as it did.⁹

MARK THOMAS

The dangers of the accounting system, whereby the moneys of the Burghmote were totally in the hands of a Chamberlain and not operated through a banking account in the Burghmote's name, are obvious. Safeguards against loss, fraud or embezzlement were threefold; first the standing and known character of the Chamberlain, who generally had served some years as Alderman and a term as Mayor; second, the requirement for a £2,000 bond legally binding the Chamberlain and two sureties of known fortune and character; and thirdly, scrutiny of the accounts yearly by a specially nominated Committee of the Burghmote. Normally from year to year during the Chamberlain's term of office (for life) things went smoothly, and care was taken to renew the £2,000 bond and the two sureties when necessary. However, trouble could arise in the change of Chamberlains, either through death or resignation,

particularly if the change was unexpected.

The case of Mark Thomas illustrates the problem. Thomas, styled as a gentleman, became a Freeman by purchase in 1738, was elected Alderman in 1744, and Mayor the same year. In 1753 he was elected Chamberlain, and he held that office until he resigned on 6 November 1773.⁹

Normally, the retiring chamberlain (or his executors) handed over whatever moneys were due from his to the new Chamberlain, and nothing more than formal note of this action is recorded in the Burghmote's minutes. In this case, a minute of 6 November 1773 records that an audit of Thomas's accounts showed that there remained in his hands on account of Burghmote charities £1,452 19s. 0½d., plus £401 3s. 2d. balance of Burghmote income for the current year, and £52 9s. 6d. positive balance from the previous year: a total of £1,906 11s. 9½d. An order of Burghmote called upon Thomas (or his securities, a Mrs Parker and a Mr Toker of Ospringe) to answer his debts.

Thomas resigned nearly two months before accounting day for the year, the end of December; before his resignation he had disbursed £394 11s. 0d. in the year 1772-1773 and Alderman Scudamore, his successor disbursed £292 19s. 1d. The accounts for 1772-3 and for 1773-4 were presented by Scudamore in the usual form and show no peculiarities.

However, Alderman Gray, in his notebook records that Mark Thomas, Chamberlain, absconded to France, leaving his securities to answer for his debts amounting to 'nearly £2,000 with the Charity money'. And on 20 September 1774, the Burghmote excused Thomas from the office of Alderman, since it 'appears to this Court that Thomas is removed from the City and inhabits at Arle in Artoisin, France'.¹⁰

The evidence seems strong, though not conclusive, that Alderman Mark Thomas absconded to France with £2,000 of Burghmote money, leaving his two securities to make good the loss. They appear to have done so, though how and in what time scale is not clear. The Burghmote minutes are silent on the matter and the Chamberlain's yearly accounts continue to be produced in the same yearly form, with no indication of anything untoward. If Thomas did abscond, it seems likely that his securities made good the potential loss. Thomas probably lived for a decade or so in exile, for on 18 March 1788, a Mark Thomas was made a Freeman on account of his father, Mark Thomas, gentleman, deceased.¹¹

THE CASE OF JOHN AND ELIZABETH BELL, MASTER AND MISTRESS

According to Alderman Gray, John and Elizabeth Bell, Master and

Mistress of the workhouse, gave notice to quit in 1737. They had hired a house in St George's to live in. For three months they transferred furniture etc. to their house from the workhouse, but evidence from servants in the workhouse indicated that they had taken workhouse property. A search warrant proved that this was the case, and in 1738 on assize before Sir Edward Probyn found a Bill against them.

However, the Sheriff, Mr Parker, found that he had not the power to empanel a jury to have the case tried because he had made himself party to the prosecution by signing an order at the workhouse, where he was a Guardian, to have the Bells prosecuted. The prosecution was halted on Bail for some months, and the Guardians and the Bells mutually agreed that the action should be dropped. Alderman Gray comments 'so this mighty affair ended, but not without great expense to the Chamber, who (sic) entertained the Judge, and also to the Workhouse'.¹²

Chapter VIII

Notes

- 1 George Knowler (surgeon) was elected Councillor 24 July 1753, and Alderman 7 October 1755 and Mayor in 1759 and again in 1763. A John Knowler was Recorder of Canterbury from 1733 until his death in 1763. Gilbert Knowler was Chairman of the Pavement Commissioners, set up in 1787.
- 2 I am indebted to Brian Gipps of Egerton House, a direct descendant of George Gipps, for information contained in this note including information on Gipps' will. Mr Gipps has also provided a copy of his privately printed monograph, *History of the Gipps family*. Hasted, 2nd Edition, Vol. XI, p.58, 106, 112, 246, 259 and Vol. XII, p.144, 147, 610, 660 and 662 has also been drawn on.
- 3 Panton, F.H., 'James Simmons: a Canterbury Tycoon', *Arch. Cant.* cv (1988), p.215; Panton, F.H., *James Simmons: a Canterbury Tycoon*, Local History Diploma Dissertation, University of Kent, May 1988.
- 4 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 9, AC 10, AC 11. Dates as given.
- 5 C.C.L. C.B.M., AC 11, 28 September 1802.
- 6 C.C.L. Canterbury Quarter Session, JQO 20, 11 January 1793.
- 7 *Idem*. 11 July 1791 and 9 January 1792.
- 8 C.C.L. Alderman Gray's Notebook. Supplementary MS No. 6.
- 9 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 9, 9 January 1753 and 6 November 1773.
- 10 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 9, 20 September, 1774.
- 11 C.C.L. C.B.M. AC 10, 18 March 1788.
- 12 C.C.L. Alderman Gray's Notebook, Supplementary MS No. 6, p. 137.

CHAPTER IX

CANTERBURY COUNCIL 1836 -

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ACT 1835¹

This Act was the culmination and the consequence of a thorough Commission of Enquiry into the ways in which Boroughs such as Canterbury and other types of local government in England and Wales conducted their affairs. Although the Commissioners visited and exhaustively questioned local authorities about their affairs, and produced in their report fascinating and detailed descriptions of how the business of local government was carried on, very few references to their work can be found in the Burghmote minutes. On 26 November, 1833, the Burghmote ordered that the City Chest be opened and Charters, etc., be produced to the Commissioners and that their investigations should be attended by the Recorder. In August 1835, when both Houses of Parliament had agreed to a Clause in the 'New Municipal Reform Bill' (then before them), which would abolish exclusive rights of trading (i.e. abolish the concept of the Freedom of the City), Ald. H. Cooper gave notice that in the event of the Bill not passing the session, he would move in the Burghmote that any person might trade in Canterbury without being obliged to become free of the City. Some members of the Burghmote, at least then, were in support of one of the main proposals of the Act.²

The Act was indeed severe in its condemnation of regimes such as that in Canterbury, and somewhat radical in its proposals to replace them. The Act stated that existing Corporations had 'not of long time been and are not now useful and efficient instruments of local government'. All extant Charters, etc., inconsistent with the Act were repealed and the privileges (and the restrictions) of Freemen were abolished - 'every person in any Borough may make and keep shop ... and use every lawful trade occupation mystery and handicraft ...' Self-perpetuating oligarchies of the old Boroughs were abolished. In their place Councils were established with Councillors and Aldermen elected for set terms of office by the voters in the Borough. The voting element in the new set-up was the Burgess, who had to be an owner of property or inhabitant within the jurisdiction of the Borough, paying Poor and Borough rates. Burgesses were organised into wards for election purposes, the numbers of wards and Councillors calculated according to the number of inhabitants. The numbers of Councillors in a ward were to be dividable by 3, and each ward would have one Alderman to three Councillors. The Councillors and Aldermen elected a Mayor each year from among their number.

The Act made provisions which attempted to clear up existing anomalies and inconsistencies in the old structures. The enforcement of law and order was clearly made a responsibility of the new Councils, through a Watch Committee appointed by the Council, with a full-time police force paid out of the rates. Provision was made for those parts of old Boroughs not governed by the Boroughs (of which there was a number of examples in Canterbury) to be brought within the Boroughs' jurisdiction for all purposes, including rates. Exemption was provided for some areas of Crown activity, such as military depots.

The Act noted that it would be expedient for the powers vested in Trustees under Acts for Paving, Lighting and Watching, etc., to be transferred to the Body Corporate of the Borough, but made no definite order that that should be done. Mention of Poor Law Guardians was restricted to the fact that they should be used to establish and keep lists of Burgesses, and to collect Borough rates.

All the assets and debts of the old Corporations were vested in the new Councils, and it was made lawful for the new Council to question in retrospect any transaction made before the hand-over, which may not have been bona fide. New Councils were authorised to form a Borough fund with strictly defined purposes, one of which was to pay off outstanding debts and bills of the Old Corporations. Councils were empowered to levy rates with all the powers of Magistrates in Quarter Sessions, and to apply such funds for the specified purposes only, such as salaries of Council officers, the compilation of electoral lists and the conduct of elections, and the prosecution, maintenance and punishment of offenders, maintaining Gaols, Houses of Correction, Corporate buildings and Police force. If the Borough fund more than met these calls, the remainder should be applied for the public benefit and improvement of the Borough (and not for the personal benefit of members of the Council).

The strict rules as to the use of Council funds were plainly aimed at dubious practices of the old Boroughs, and other stipulations were made with this aim in mind. The custom of taking or allotting commonlands and Public Stock for particular benefit of Burgesses or Freemen and not applying these to public purposes was forbidden. Councillors were not allowed to hold offices of profit within the gift of the Council, nor any interest in contracts or employment of the council, except in lighting, water, or fire insurance.

CANTERBURY COUNCIL 1836-

On the 8 December, 1835, the Burghmote minutes recorded that the King

in Council had approved proposals by the Revising Barristers to divide Canterbury, as a medium size town, into three wards (Westgate, Dane John and Northgate) instead of the six of the old Burghmote.³ The description of these wards included for the first time all those establishments in the City, mainly ecclesiastical, over which Canterbury Burghmote had had no jurisdiction. To make quite certain that jurisdiction extended over all areas with the City boundaries, the Barristers' judgement added that 'if any Chapelries, Chancies, Districts, Hospitals, Liberties, Precincts, Sanctuaries or other privileged places have been omitted all such places shall be deemed to belong to the ward in which they are situated'.

The Burghmote Minute Book's last entry was for 22 December, 1835, and the names of the 36 members of the last Burghmote were recorded. The first entry in the new Council minute book is dated 31 December, 1835, and records the names of the 18 newly-elected Councillors. Only five of these were survivors of the old Burghmote. At the first meeting of the council, six members were elected aldermen, and some days later a further election in the ward produced a further six Councillors to replace those promoted Aldermen. Two of these had been members of the old Burghmote. George Neame was elected Mayor, and John Nutt continued in the office of Town Clerk. The net result was that 17 members of the old 36 member Burghmote had put up for election, and seven were elected to the new 24 member Council. The Reformers were victorious over the Conservatives. (See Appendix A for details of the 1835/36 elections).

Changes in Franchise

The Reform Act of 1832 and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 introduced profound changes in the roles of electors for Parliamentary and Municipal Elections in Canterbury, as in other Corporate Boroughs.

Before 1832, Freemen of Canterbury were the voters in Parliamentary elections and in the annual election of the Mayor. In 1830,⁴ the electoral roll of Freemen showed a total of 2,346, of which 1,287 were resident within 'the boundaries of the City', 592 in neighbouring parts of Kent, 362 in London and 105 elsewhere, principally in the Home Counties. In that year, the record of votes actually cast amounted to a total of 1,995; 1,131 resident, 512 from Kent; 283 from London; and 92 from elsewhere. On that showing, non-resident Freemen polled over 40 per cent of the vote, and therefore must have represented a considerable challenge (and expense) to candidates.

The Reform Act of 1832 removed the right of non-resident Freemen to vote in parliamentary elections, but extended the vote to include

owners of property rental at £10 p.a. or more. The List of Electors for 1832-33 for Canterbury accordingly included 1,208 resident Freemen and 302 entitled to vote by property qualification; a total of 1,510 voters. The poll for the parliamentary election in December 1832 shows a total vote of 1,203, with 370 unpolled electors.⁵

The 1835 Act abolished the old Burghmote and substituted a Council elected by Burgesses, who were defined as all resident ratepayers of over two and a half years standing. Existing Freemen voters within 7 miles of the City were allowed to retain their votes for life. Resident Freemen who were qualified by birth or servitude were retained on the role of voters, but those who had obtained Freedom by marriage were not. The result of this was that at least in the early years from 1836 onwards, the Parliamentary roll of voters was twice that of Municipal voters. Returns in 1837 showed a total of 1,835 Parliamentary voters, compared with 926 Municipal voters. Of the 1,835 voters 1,035 Freemen voted only in Parliamentary elections. Of the 926 Municipal voters 216 were not also Parliamentary voters. This must have represented a system of some obscurity for targeted canvassing.⁶

In the first election to the new Council on 26 December 1835, the Poll of returns show a vote of 753 out of a total of 867 eligible voters (Appendix A). A study of the Poll record for this election reveals the degree to which the old regime was swept away.⁷ In each of the three wards, 12 candidates were nominated for six vacancies, under two lists of six candidates each, obviously from the two major parties. In each ward a majority of voters voted for all six candidates of one side or another. In the Dane John Ward, of the 272 Burgesses voting, 85 voted for all six on one side, and 57 for all six on the other. In the Northgate Ward, with 218 Burgesses voting, 99 voted for one bloc and 45 for the other. In Westgate, with 263 Burgesses voting, 135 were for one bloc and 69 for the other. In mixed voting, the six votes were mainly given to four or five candidates from one bloc, and one or two from the other. In the Westgate and Northgate wards, which contained the majority of the poorer residents, bloc voting ensured that all six of one bloc were elected. In the Dane John Ward (which contained the richer parishes of St Margaret, St Andrew and St George) four candidates from one bloc and two from the other were elected. The Reformers captured all seats in the Westgate and Northgate Wards, and four of the six seats for the Dane John Ward. All six Aldermen elected by the new Council on 31 December 1835 were from the winning Reformers. It is possible that at least four of the six councillors elected on 12 January 1836 in the room of those chosen Aldermen were also Reformers. The Council of 24 total would therefore seem to have been 20 to 4 in the Reformers favour, with all six of the Aldermen's seats, and the

Mayoralty being held by Reformers.

After 1835, incentives to become a Freeman were virtually non-existent, and numbers of Freemen declined as death took its toll. The total number of voters however increased with the years, as the population and its wealth increased. By 1868, there were 3,000 parliamentary electors, compared with the 1,510 in 1832; population in those years was 15,316 and over 21,000.⁸

In sum, changes in parliamentary and local election franchise in the 1830s had three main effects. First, the somewhat extraneous and corrupting influence of non resident voters disappeared. Second, membership of the local authority became, for the first time, subject to election by qualified voters, rather than by selection by the ruling elite. Third, the responsibility of the local authority for the management of Borough funds and assets was quite clearly established as being to the electors and ratepayers for the good of the Borough.

Other consequences of the changes are also apparent or may be surmised. Before 1835, National Politics played little or no discernible part in local politics of a Corporate Borough such as Canterbury, if only because, apart from the yearly choice by Freemen of the Mayor from two Aldermen nominated by the Aldermen, there were no local elections. It was perhaps inevitable that the struggle between Reformers and Conservatives at national level which resulted in the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835 should have been reproduced in and have dominated the first council elections at local level, and that thereafter local politics should continue to be strongly linked to and affected by National Politics and political parties. It must be noted, however, that the changes in franchise did not immediately increase the number of Parliamentary or local government electors of Canterbury. The reverse is the case; parliamentary electors were reduced from 2,346 to 1,510, and local electors to about 900 in 1835/6.⁹ Then, too, more than 200 of the 900 local electors were persons, mostly perhaps of the poorer class, newly enfranchised who might be expected to vote for change. It is not therefore surprising that the local vote on 1835/6 was overwhelmingly for the Reformers. Some of the newly enfranchised would have come from the poorer classes who might be expected to be more susceptible to the enticements of travel expenses and recompense for lost work time in Polling. Certainly, bribery and corruption continued to feature in Canterbury elections, particularly in the middle years of the nineteenth century.

Responsibilities of the Council for Law and Order

By the Act of 1835, many of the Municipal Boroughs, including Canterbury, were deprived of their privilege of County Courts. However, provision was made for Boroughs to petition for the restitution of such rights and powers. Canterbury Council did petition the King, and, by Charter of William IV in 1836, the City and Borough of Canterbury was granted a separate Court of Quarter Sessions.¹⁰ A Recorder and JPs were appointed and the administration of justice firmly established as part of the functions of the City Council; expenses being borne on the Borough rates levied by the Council. At the same time, the Council constituted itself as a Watch Committee to regulate the setting up of a police force, also paid out of rates, for the enforcement of law and order in the City and Borough.

However, the new Council lost the automatic right possessed by the old Burghmote under Royal Charter, for its Mayor and those Aldermen who had fulfilled the office of Mayor to be the Borough's Magistrates. From 1836 onwards, Magistrates for Canterbury were appointed by the Lord Chancellor, not necessarily on the recommendation of the City Council. This procedure allowed the extension of appointment of JPs to persons not members of the Council, and so lessened the power and influence which the oligarchic Aldermanic bench of the old Burghmote had over a wide range of matters affecting the life of the community.

The first appointment of magistrates under the new dispensation was not achieved without some difficulty and difference of view together with derogatory comment from the local press. In January 1836, the Council advanced 12 names for approval by the Lord Chancellor for appointment as JPs, nine of them members of the Council.¹¹ Consideration of the Council's list took some weeks, and in the meantime the *Kentish Gazette* produced some scathing and heavily sarcastic thoughts on the subject, under the heading 'the proposed City Magistrates', the *Gazette* wrote:-

'It is an old adage and frequently regarded as a veritable one, that 'no news is good news' but in the case of our proposed City Magistracy, we are fearful that the proverb will not favourably apply. The delay of Lord John Russell in acceding to the appointment of the 12 'Esquires' announced in our last as candidates for the scarlet robes induced us however unwillingly to anticipate the most melancholy tidings from Downing Street. We cannot divine why a Bill which has thrown the election of members of the Corporation chiefly into the hands of the class which the newly elected City Treasurer very emphatically described as 'half a crown blackguards' should not be carried out to the fullest extent of its provisions, by suffering the

magistracy to be elected from a book of inhabitants ranking almost imperceptibly above the half crown class. If Lord John, in a moment of compunction expunges some 9 or 10 from the 12 names submitted to him as qualified to dispense justice to their neighbours he will find the cause of reform lose just so many restless and noisy advocates in the City of Canterbury. His young self will run the risk of being voted little less than a political humbug and his Grand Catholican the Municipal Reform Act will be proclaimed in our City tap rooms a despicable thumble rig.¹²

This attitude followed earlier comments by the *Kentish Gazette* on the results of the election of six aldermen at the first meeting of the newly elected Council. On 12 January, the *Gazette* reported that event '... as the Russell purge Act No. 2 directs, the Town Councillors assembled in the Guildhall to elect Aldermen, when the following were elected to that high and irresponsible office.' The subsequent elections to fulfil the vacancies in the Council created by the election of Aldermen were evidently conducted in a rowdy fashion. The *Gazette* on 19 January 1936 reported, '"the Blues" we have no hesitation in declaring, proceeded to the most unpardonable lengths. Bribery, treating and menace were in turns called into request.'

According to the *Kentish Gazette*, one of the first actions of the newly appointed Council was to frame an address of thanks to Lord John Russell and 'William Rex, the King', on vellum parchment. The *Gazette* commented on 19 January, 'Emanating from such a quarter, and lavishly loaded with encomiums and sentiments so foreign to all the professions of the Canterbury Blues as a party, we confess we regard the address with great suspicion. The cloven foot appears too forcibly imprinted in every line to permit us to attribute it to other than the ebullience of intoxicated joy at their sudden occupancy of the seat of power and justice; or was it perhaps intended to act as a soothing draught of what was to follow in the shape of recommendations for the judicial bench.'

In the event the Lord Chancellor finally appointed eight of those nominated to the Bench, and also appointed two non-members of the Council. The *Kentish Gazette*, although no doubt less than thrilled by the Lord Chancellor's action, reported the names without further comment.¹³ The new system of appointment of JPs continued to create problems from time to time. In May 1860, the Lord Chancellor proposed to appoint Peter Morton and John Brent Jnr as magistrates. The Council objected, on the grounds that there was already a sufficient number (1 to 1,000 population), and that John Brent Snr as a JP would automatically become a Guardian in the Court of Guardians. Since he

was already Clerk to the Guardians, this would create an anomalous situation. This protest apparently prevailed at that time, though on 4 February 1864, Council requested the Lord Chancellor to appoint John Brent Jnr along with Thomas Boorman as an additional magistrate to the City.

Finances of the Council

The Burghmote handed over to the new Council outstanding loans amounting to £14,350, debts of £1011 16s. 6d., and a bill for expenses of the Revising Barristers of £150, a total debt of £15,611 16s. 6d.¹⁴ At the same time, the new Council inherited the Burghmote's portfolio of properties, leased out to a variety of lessees for a variety of lengths of time. The Municipal Corporations Act enjoined the newly-created Councils, as one of their first tasks, to settle the debts and loans of the old Boroughs, and the Canterbury Council set about auctioning off Council property,¹⁵ having first obtained Treasury permission. From entries in the City Treasurer's Ledger,¹⁶ it would seem that by the end of 1839, £13,566 15s. 3d. had been realised from the sale of 35 lots (including Abbot's Mill at £3,500 and Kingsmead and land in Northgate at £1,040) and was used to discharge £11,778 19s. of loans and debts. The cost of these sales seems to have been about £800.

Entries in the City Treasurer's Ledger (which is a rough aide memoir of financial matters, rather than a formal record) indicate that the new Council's total income was little more than that of the old Corporation. For income, the Council was dependent on Borough Rates, tolls of Markets and rents of properties. The concept of Freemen had been abolished, so the variable but significant income from that source ceased. Although by 1840 most of the debts and loans of the Burghmote had been paid off, the Council still retained a sizeable portfolio of property, which, together with the tolls of the Markets, brought in a yearly income of £1,144 (Butter, Fish and Flesh Shambles £309, Cattle £193, Corn £167, Rents c. £500). Rates were levied twice (and occasionally) three times a year, bringing in something over £2,000 a year. Of this, the majority was collected from parishes within the old City boundary, mainly through the Poor Law Guardians. The remainder was collected by the High Constable of Kent from parish areas outside the old City. In total, therefore, the yearly income of the new Council in its first years would seem to be about £3,300.

The main items of expenditure were those concerning law and order: police, Canterbury County Sessions, gaol, amounting to about £1,700 a year. Other direct responsibilities of the Council in 1839 were basically no different than those of the Burghmote - as can be seen

from the list of Committees that year, viz, Markets, Survey (estates), Finance, Dane John, Byelaws and Watch. Salaries of council officers and officials totalled about £500 a year, leaving perhaps £1,300 for all other expenses, including upkeep of markets and properties.

While, therefore, the new style Council had income which could regularly be obtained and could be judged apposite to its responsibilities, nevertheless cash flow problems occurred, particularly in the early years before the debts of the Burghmote had been fully liquidated. A statement in the City Treasurer's ledger for part of the first year of the Council's existence (from January to September 1836) shows a total expenditure of £1510 15s. 61s. 2d., income £1,706 8s. 31s. 2d., credit balance £195 12s. 9d. However, the credit balance was only achieved by borrowing £200 from Hammonds Bankers. Accounts for the first full year, 1836/37, show that a total of £5708 3s. 9d. passed through the books. This was swollen on both sides of the account by a loan of £1,200 from the bankers, taken out and repaid in the year.

Council - mid nineteenth century

In later years, available records indicate that instances of short term borrowing to meet urgent bills occurred. In June 1839, £500 was borrowed for 6 months. In 1847, with Treasury approval, £1,600 was borrowed to purchase the Philosophical and Literary Institute and establish it as a museum. Further sales of Council properties in 1845 and 1853 took place to buttress Council finances, realising £2,430 and £4,443 respectively. The latter included the sale of the old Assembly rooms in the High Street, used as a bank, to the occupant (Hammond and Co.) for £3,505, and of the old Bath House (the Dolphin) for £403.¹⁷

The range of activities undertaken by the new Council remained throughout the 1840s much the same as the old Burghmote. In 1851, Committees of the Council (which taken together encompassed the main activities of the Council) were listed as; Watch (a Committee of the Whole House, essentially to control the police force and the gaol); Bye Laws, namely concerned with controlling nuisances on the streets; Markets, controlling the markets belonging to the City; Finance; Survey, concerned with the well being of the City's properties; Dane John Gardens; Museum Committee, an activity only recently taken up by the Council; and the River Stour, an attempt to protect the River from the filth, ordure and commercial waste polluting it.¹⁸ It was not until 1856 that a Sanitary Committee was set up under the Nuisances Removal Act of 1855, and that attempts began to be made to tackle Canterbury's serious health and pollution problems.¹⁹ In 1858 the Council tried to

have itself constituted a Burial Board under the Act of 17, 18 Vic C.87, in order to set up a municipal burial ground - the church yards were overfull. However public opinion failed to support the proposal and the Council had to wait some years before succeeding in this. It was not until the 1860s when the Council absorbed the Pavement Commissioners role that they began to extend their range of activities to something resembling those of a modern City Council.

Chapter IX

Notes

- 1 5 and 6 William IV C76 'An Act to provide for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales'.
- 2 C.C.L. C.B.M., AC 13.
- 3 Westgate Ward - St Dunstan and St Stephen's Within, Holy Cross Without, Holy Cross Within, All Saints including East Bridge. St Alphage including Blackfriars. St Mary Bredin and the Borough of Staplegate. Dane John Ward - St Mildred's, including Old Castle Grounds, St Margaret's, St Andrew's, St Mary Bredman, St George the Martyr including White Friars, and those parts of Thanington, Nackington and Patrixbourne which are within the Borough. Northgate Ward - St Mary Northgate including St John's Hospital, St Martin's, St Paul's including the Borough of Longport, St Mary Magdelene, the Villes of Christ Church and the Archbishop's Palace, St Gregory, the precincts of the dissolved monastery of St Augustine's including the Almonry, and those parts of Littlebourne and Fordwich which are with the Borough of Canterbury.
- 4 L.S.S. *Canterbury Poll Book 1830*, U802788.
- 5 L.S.S. *Lists of Freemen and persons entitled to vote in respect of property in Elections for Members for Canterbury, 1832-33*, U803781.
- 6 Corpe, Stella and Oakley, Anne, *Freemen of Canterbury, 1800-1835*, Canterbury 1996.
- 7 L.S.S. *Poll of Burgesses for Town Councillor for the Borough of Canterbury 26 December 1835 and Poll of Burgesses for Town Councillors for the Borough of Canterbury 5 January 1836*, Henry Ward, Sun Street, Canterbury 1836.
- 8 LSS McCalmont's *Parliamentary Poll Book of all Elections 1832-1915*, U802781. See also Taylor, M. 'Interests, Parties and the State. The Urban Electorate in England C. 1820-72' in *Party State and Society. Electoral Behaviour in Britain since 1826*, edited by Lawrence J. and Taylor, M. Scholar Press 1997. Taylor's analysis makes it clear that in the decades after 1832 the Borough electorate in real terms contracted. For Canterbury he gives the percentage of adult males registered to vote in

parliamentary elections as 47.4% in 1832, 39.2% in 1851 and 30.3% in 1861. It was not until after the Reform Act of 1867, in which heads of households were the chief beneficiaries of the vote, that the percentage rose above that of 1832 - in 1871 it was 58.2%.

9 LSS *Electoral Facts, Canterbury Political Gazetteer*. U802781. See also Phillips, J.A. *The Great Reform Bill in the Boroughs. Electoral Behaviour 1818-1861*, Oxford 1992. From his study of voting patterns in Parliamentary elections in eight English Boroughs before and after 1832, Phillips suggests that the existence of a party system prior to Reform was at least debatable, and that there was little reason to believe that local politics had been improved by Reform. It did appear however according to Phillips, that, in some Boroughs, Reform brought about a nationally orientated bipolar system in relatively short time. Miles Taylor (see footnote 8 above) reinforces Phillips' views, suggesting that the Reform Act was a turning point in the modernization of party politics. This view is more strongly put forward by Phillips, J.A. and Wetherell, C. in an article 'The Great Reform Act of 1832 and the Political Modernization of England' in the *American Historical Review* 1998, 100, pp. 411-436. This article stresses the 'critical, indeed watershed role of the Great Reform Act of 1832', in that it, 'unleashed a wave of political modernisation that the Whig Party eagerly harnessed and the Tory party grudgingly but no less effectively embraced'. From the evidence in this present thesis, it would appear that the first local elections after the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and in the wake of the 1832 Reform Act demonstrated that a nationally orientated bipolar political system had penetrated and was reflected in local politics in Canterbury.

10 C.C.L. WIV 1836 Charter.

11 C.C.L. Canterbury City Council Minute Book No. 1. January 12 1836. Those listed were George Neame (Mayor), Ald. Henry Cooper, Ald. John Brent Snr., Cllr Thomas Cooper, Ald. E. Plummer, William Plummer (Gent.), Henry Woolwright, Denne Denne of Bridge, Kent, Esq., William Collard of Wincheap Gate (Gent.), James Redout, William Wright (Gent.) and Johnathan Rutter (Old Castle, Gent.).

12 K.G. 26 January 1836.

13 K.G. 9 February 1836, Those appointed were listed as the Mayor, Ald. H. Cooper, T. Cooper, Ald. E. Plummer, W. Plummer, Ald. Brent, Mr W. White (Chantry Lane) and Mr D. Denne. Mr Rutter had withdrawn from nomination.

- 14 C.C.L. *Council Minute Book No. 1.*
- 15 C.C.L. *Council Minute Book No. 1, Schedule of Corporation Estates*
5 March 1839.
- 16 C.C.L. *City Treasurer's Ledger 1836-55.*
- 17 Appendices to the article by Panton, F.H. 'Finances and Government of Canterbury Early to Mid Nineteenth Century', *Arch. Cant.* cxii (1993), p.25 onwards, contain details of accounts and transactions extracted from the *City Treasurer's Ledger 1836-1855* and from *City Council Minute Books 1 and 2*, including:- *City Estates sold, in 35 lots up to 1839; list of City Estates and Markets remaining at 5 March 1839; further properties sold by auction 1848 and 1853; value of Borough Rate March 1848; City Treasurer's Accounts for City Income and Expenditure in 1836 and in the year 1837/1838.*
- 18 C.C.L. *Council Minute Book No. 1, 19 November 1856.*
- 19 See Bateman, Audrey, *Victorian Canterbury*, Barracuda Books, 1991, pp. 78-84, for an account of the health of Canterbury at this time.

Chapter IX

Appendix A

Burghmote membership 22 December, 1835
(Burghmote Minutes A.C. 13, Canterbury Cathedral Library)

John Partridge, Mayor
William Fuller Boteler, Recorder

Aldermen	Common Councillors
Thomas De Lasaux	Thomas Tolputt (Sheriff)
Richard Frend	John Nutt (Town Clerk)
John Cooper	Thomas Hacker
James Sladden Brown	Samuel Powell
Charles Pont	William Sharp
Wm. Homersham	John Lancefield
Henry Cooper	Edward Plummer
Osborn Snoulton	James Delmar
Edward Kingsford	Henry Keen
John Brent	James Ridout
Sampson Kingsford	John Weeks
	George White
1 vacancy	George Barnes
	James Read Reader
	John Thomas Peirce
	William Mercuries Baskerville
	Russel Whitehead Lavender
	John James Williamson
	George Dewell Keen
	William Philpott (Burgate)
	Richard Martin Mount
	William Philpott (Castle St.)
	Willoughby Marshall Smithson

Appendix A (continued)

Council membership, 31 December, 1835
(City Council Minute Book No. 1)

Henry Cooper	Thomas Cooper	George Ash
Abraham Flint	William Goulden	Edward Plummer
William Bowman	John Brent	William Masters
John Weeks	James Ridout	Stephen Plummer
John Goulden	James Delmar	William Philpot
George Neame	Thomas Williamson	Samuel Miette

Councillors elected Aldermen, 31 December, 1835

Edward Plummer and William Masters (Westgate Ward)

Henry Cooper and Abraham Flint (Dane John)

John Brent and George Neame (Northgate)

Appointed that Masters, Flint and Neame shall go out of office in 1838.

Councillors elected in the room of those chosen Aldermen, 12 January, 1836

Robert Avann and James Roberts (Westgate)

Robert Sankey, William Philpott and Russell Whitehead Lavender (Dane John)

Robert Schindler (Northgate)

Election results 26 December 1835

Dane John Ward:

	Votes cast		Votes cast
H. Cooper*	183	H.W. Carter	125
G. Neame*	177	W. Ruglys	117
A. Flint*	167	R. Chisholm	115
J. Delmar*	164	W. Philpot	107
G. Ash*	135	J.R. Reader	105
T Wilkinson*	134	R. Smithson	78

* elected

272 Burgesses voted; unpolled votes 38; total 310

Appendix A (continued)

Northgate Ward:

T. Cooper*	137	J. Partridge	96
J. Brent*	137	J.S. Bennett	85
S. Plummer*	127	R. Halford	83
J. Weeks*	127	G. Curteis	79
W. Philpot*	117	R. Sankey	70
J.S.B. Miette*	114	E. Wooton	70

* elected

218 Burgesses voted; unpolled votes 45; total 263.

Westgate Ward:

J. Ridout*	170	O. Snoulton	115
J. Goulden*	167	G. Homersham	101
W. Goulden*	165	W.P. Callaway	94
W. Masters*	164	G. White	92
E. Plummer*	163	H. Christian	93
W. Bowman*	150	J.S. Browne	83

* elected

263 Burgesses voted; unpolled votes 31; total 294.

Election results 5 January 1836

Dane John Ward:

R. Sankey*	151	H. Woolright	129
W. Philpott*	143	W. Drewett	120
R.W. Lavender*	134	J.R. Reader	112

265 Burgesses voted

Northgate Ward:

R. Shindler*	114
J.S. Bennett	71

* elected

Total votes 185

Appendix A (continued)

Westgate Ward:

R. Avann*	143
J. Roberts*	140
G. Homersham	115
H. Christian	111

* elected

Total votes 257

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

In 1700, Canterbury was governed by an oligarchic, self perpetuating Burghmote and bench of Magistrates, with no recourse to direct rating. By the early 1800s, two further corporations existed alongside the Burghmote, with rating and toll raising powers, and the Magistrates were also levying a County Rate to defray legal expenses. The three corporations were linked through membership by the Mayor and other Magistrates of their ruling bodies. By the early nineteenth century, total expenditure on local government in the City had increased five fold compared with 1700, with the difference supplied from rates and tolls. Also by the early nineteenth century, the old system of (enforced) amateur volunteers carrying out duties which underpinned local government had been largely replaced by a system of paid officials.

The business of the Burghmote itself throughout the years 1700 to 1835 continued mainly to be the regulation and control of the commerce of the City, through enforced enrolment of Freemen and apprentices, linked with Guild membership, and with ownership of the markets. The Burghmote jealously guarded its rights and privileges, though towards the end of the eighteenth century its hold on Freemen through enforced Guild membership was strongly challenged and severely damaged. The Burghmote's income, mainly from dues and property rentals, was barely sufficient to meet expenses; in most years the Chamberlain's accounts showed negative balances, with no cash or investment resources, heavy capital expenditure often had to be borne by public subscription, or to wait for the occasional windfalls of income from, for instance, substantial fines from renewal of leases, or from large numbers of purchases of Freedoms in parliamentary election years.

Extensions of the Burghmote role into areas which increasingly required capital or continuous yearly expenditure were therefore effectively precluded by inability to raise rates. Rather than seeking to acquire such powers itself, the Burghmote either supported or acquiesced in the creation, through private Acts of Parliament, of separate Corporations with rate raising powers. The Corporation of the Court of Guardians was so constituted in 1727, to group together the 14 parishes of the City for Poor Law purposes, with the Burghmote handing over the ownership and revenues of the Poor Priests' Hospital to the Guardians for use as a central workhouse. In 1787, a Corporation of Commissioners of the Pavement was set up to pave, light and watch the streets of the City. These two corporations were distinct legal

entities, with income derived from rates (and in the case of the Pavement Commissioners), street and coal tolls.

Canterbury's magistrates in Quarter Sessions exercised similar judicial and administrative powers as those of Kent County Magistrates, but extending to trial of capital offences. Surprisingly few indictable crimes are recorded at each general session though the numbers of crimes increased with the onset of the Napoleonic Wars. Less than two dozen capital cases are recorded in the years 1727 to 1840, and at least half of these led to commutation to transportation. The creation of the Guardians in 1727, and the Pavement Commissioners in 1787 reduced the administrative load on the Magistrates in the relevant areas. In 1772, a County Rate began to be levied, and officials formerly conscripted on a voluntary basis began to be paid.

The social amenities of the City and leisure activities - theatre, race meetings, concerts, music clubs, assemblies, balls, recreational areas, newspapers - grew during the eighteenth century, demonstrating a degree of urban renaissance, civic improvement and commercialism though not as early in the century or as complete in range as, for instance, at York or Exeter. All these amenities continued to attract local gentry and their custom into the City. However the rise of Maidstone as the administrative and social focus of the County of Kent, as a thriving entrepot through which produce of the County flowed by river to the London Diaspora and other destinations, and as an important manufacturing location, enabled the town by the beginning of the nineteenth century to overtake Canterbury as the recognised County Town of Kent, much to Canterbury's detriment. Efforts by Canterbury to promote a canal to the sea failed, and despite the early construction of a railway to Whitstable, a successful and easy route to the London Diaspora was not achieved. With no substantial manufacturing capability, the Industrial Revolution passed Canterbury by, and the City remained essentially a market town, declining in importance relative to other urban centres in the County and Country. The gap in Canterbury's economy caused by the demise of weaving in the City was, however, to some extent filled by the growth of the hop industry and by the establishment of the City in the 1790s as a major military centre.

Throughout the long eighteenth century, national politics seldom penetrated into local affairs, except in the run up to and during Parliamentary elections. No great magnate or single interest dominated the City as a Parliamentary Borough, and as a result elections were, with few exceptions, contested, and the results far from foreordained. MPs elected generally came from the local landed gentry, or, in the latter half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, from among

Canterbury's local government elite. Apart from the excitement of the hustings, Canterbury's main interests at election time were in the extra custom derived from visitors, in the income gained for the Burghmote from the sale of Freedoms to gain the vote, and from inducements and bribes of all kinds pressed on Freemen to influence their votes.

A study of the backgrounds of the ruling elite shows that local government in Canterbury 1700-1885 was in the hands of citizens living and working in the City - shopkeepers, tradesmen, craftsmen and professionals of the middling sort. The extant charter of James I effectively ensured that neither landed gentry or clergy participated in the government of the City. This differs strongly from the composition of Magistrates' Benches in rural areas. Because of their close connections with ordinary citizens, the ruling elite of Canterbury may have been able to foresee and forestall incipient problems of public order, particularly in times of famine and high prices. The management of such crises in 1795 and in 1800-1801, in conjunction with the Dean and Chapter, is an example of this.

A broad pattern therefore emerges from this thesis of the self-perpetuating elite of Canterbury adapting their rule, somewhat reluctantly, under pressure of events, and tardily, to try to accommodate and manage as best they could, changes in social and economic circumstances occurring in the long eighteenth century, and to try to sustain their own dominance while attempting to foster Canterbury's commercial viability and its general standing in the ranks of provincial towns. The evidence supports the view that they had a measure of success in some of those aims, and that local government in the City in the period 1700-1835 may not have been as incompetent, self-seeking, inefficient and impervious to change as Municipal Boroughs have sometimes been held to have been. Moreover, the middling background of the ruling elite and their close links with the inhabitants of the City may have contributed to the stability of the local government, particularly in times of crisis. Local government in other similar Municipal Boroughs such as York, Lincoln and Exeter in the long eighteenth century follow the same broad pattern as Canterbury. While the sample is too small to permit of country-wide conclusions, the question is perhaps raised as to how far analyses and studies of government in rural areas apply to Municipal Corporations generally. Certainly, the evidence of this thesis supports a view elaborated recently by Eastwood¹ that in the long eighteenth century changes in local government of Municipal Boroughs were achieved largely as a result of initiatives by local elites, and that, in part, until 1835, relations between central and local government were worked out

through the promotion by localities of private bills designed to achieve and implement such changes.

The replacement of the Burghmote by a City Council under the Municipal Corporations Act 1835 introduced a measure of democratic election and abolished the concept of Freemen. However, apart from the establishment of a paid police force, the assumption of direct responsibility for law and order, and the ability to raise rates for approved purposes, the Council's purview remained similar to that of the Burghmote. The Guardians continued as a separate body, though from the 1840s onwards they were under the control of the central Poor Law Commissioners, and the Pavement Commissioners were not taken over by the Council until the 1860s. Stricter rules were applied to prevent misapplication of public funds, and charitable legacies and Trusts formerly disbursed by the Burghmote were placed under independent Trustees. The Reform Act of 1832 and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 resulted in a reduction in the Parliamentary election roll, and an even smaller municipal election roll of Burgesses, with a substantial number of names on each roll not listed on the other - a somewhat anomalous situation which passage of time modified. In the first Council election in 1836, most burgesses voted for one or the other of two lists of six candidates put forward in each of the three Wards, and those candidates in favour of reform swept the board 20 seats to four, and also captured the Mayoralty and the six Aldermanic seats. Few members of the old Burghmote survived. The introduction of a measure of democracy into local government politics had brought with it a demonstration of strong links with national politics, which were not apparent in the old local regime, and which persisted thereafter. Democracy also had to be paid for in cash; the new Council's rates were nearly double the comparable rates under the old regime.

CHAPTER X

NOTES

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23 GEO II C45 (1749). For the more easy and speedy recovery of small debts within the City and the County of the City of Canterbury and the Liberties and Precincts of the same.

3 GEO III C49 (1763). For taking down the Parish church of St Andrew in the City of Canterbury, and for building a new Church in a more convenient place.

27 GEO III C14 (1787). For the Paving, Cleansing, Lighting and Watching the Streets, Lanes and other Public Passages and Places within the walls of the City of Canterbury, and the Liberties thereof; and also several streets and other Places near or adjoining to the said City; and for removing and preventing Incroachments, Obstructions, Nuisances and Annoyances therein.

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41 GEO III C7 (1801). For enlarging and improving the Cattle Market within the City of Canterbury.

44 GEO III C77 (1804). For empowering the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of Canterbury to open and make a new street from the High Street to Palace Street within the City.

51 GEO III C144 (1811). For making a Harbour and Dock at or near St Nicholas Bay, in the parish of St Nicholas and All Saints in the Isle of Thanet and for making a Navigable Canal from the said Harbour to the City of Canterbury.

3 GEO IV C34 (1823). For better supplying the City of Canterbury and the several streets and roads adjoining thereto with gas.

5 GEO IV C88 (1824). For more effectually repairing the Roads leading from St Dunstan's Cross to North Lane near the City of Canterbury and Whitstable and for widening and improving the road from North Lane aforesaid over the West Gate Bridge to the West Gate of the Said City, and for making a Foot Bridge on each side of the said Bridge and Gate into the City.

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