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### Citation for published version

Dixon, Mary (1992) Economy and society in Dover 1509-1640. Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of Kent.

### DOI

[uk.bl.ethos.386518](https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.12520.44162)

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## CHAPTER 4 ASPECTS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In the early modern period the community of Dover, as it has been seen, was formed from a changing population, most of whom were probably not native to the town. Perhaps partly for that reason, complex social structures were generated. At any given time, the whole community of Dover encompassed a number of dynamic and overlapping sub-communities. These are difficult to define, but certain clearly observable sub-communities are described here in an attempt to reveal the structures that were important in forming them. The role played by the family in the maintenance of four different occupations is considered first; this is followed by an examination of two groups at opposite ends of the age spectrum, apprentices and the ruling group, and of the means by which the former entered the working community and the latter were empowered to rule it.

i) Family and occupation: mariners, innkeepers, brewers and butchers  
The term "family" is used here not simply to mean a lineal blood line, or a group of people living in the same house, but the much more complex lateral network of kin that seems to have operated as a family in early modern England. It was based not only on marriage, but on remarriage, and included parents and children, step-parents and step-children, siblings and cousins. The term has also been used at times to embrace those other relationships between close friends, and sometimes between patron and client, that extended the obligations, responsibilities and rewards of kinship to guardians, god-parents, overseers of wills, pledges, recognizances and "loving friends."

The tendency of certain families to circulate from country to town, and from town to town within the region, has already been noted.<sup>1</sup> The

maintenance, within a family, of a rural base often had a bearing on the occupational choice of its urban members. Certain occupations, such as brewing, demanded not only capital investment in buildings and equipment, but benefited from the ownership or leasing of arable land and the production of grain. Inn-keepers and hackneymen, often a combined occupation, needed woodland for fuel and grazing for horses. Those butchers who were also graziers clearly had to own or rent grazing land, and even small butchers who depended chiefly on retailing meat needed space for keeping and slaughtering beasts. Seafaring, in a different way, was equally dependent upon location, and also required that capital be locked into ship-ownership. Men in these occupations therefore might typically be expected to exhibit a locational stability less necessary to other occupations. They have therefore been chosen for specific attention, although they will also be included, with men from other occupations, in an examination of the ruling group. Certain families will be examined in detail where they seem to be genuinely representative of a number of others.

The relationship between family and occupation will be seen to have been expressed most clearly in families' choice of inheritance patterns. This, of course, depended to some extent also on their marriage choices. These, together with the stability of the family within the town, helped to determine the ease with which freedom for each individual might be obtained. Influential friends who could act as recognizances for trading licences, pledges in court, protectors of widows and overseers of children also helped to establish and maintain the trading and social position of the family within the town. The different degrees of intimacy with which families pursuing similar occupations then bonded themselves together was significant in determining the nature of the occupational group and the length of time during which it persisted in the town.

It seems likely that the ancient Kentish system of gavelkind, or partible inheritance, while it was not strictly adhered to, nevertheless disposed testators against the principle of primogeniture, and gave them considerable freedom to divide their land and property, and to leave it where it could be put to the greatest profit. There was no inhibition against leaving property to daughters. The principle of partibility helps to explain the intricacies of kinship links throughout the region, and perhaps also the consequent spread of debt relationships between town and country.<sup>2</sup> Large and mutually supportive kinship links are particularly noticeable among the largest, most persistent and conservative occupational groups in the town, that is the mariners and the brewers, the latter being often drawn from local yeomen families for most of the period. Some differences will be observed in the behaviour of innkeepers, particularly in the later part of the period: they prove to have originated more often from outside the region, stayed there less long, and been less ready to conform with accepted views.

The largest occupational group in the town was formed by the mariners, whose families, it will be shown, bonded themselves most closely together, and who exhibited the clearest identity. The most persistent family names in the town from beginning to end of the period are those of mariners: Barbour, Legent, Robbins, Tiddeman, Doves and Woodgreen, for example, although they moved between prominence and obscurity at different times. In each generation, groups of families were linked with each other by marriage, and at different periods one of these almost clan-like groups was more prominent and more successful in attracting good marriage partners than the others. In the earlier sixteenth century, such a group was dominated by the Youngs, Stelmans, Robbinses, Barbours, Mays and Legents, and at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century by the Tiddemans, Doves, Neales, Woodgreenes and Jacobs, although members of the other families still lived in the town.

It has already been shown that the term "mariner" covered a multitude of seafaring occupations.<sup>3</sup> As well as fishing, piloting, carrying and ferrying, mariners also helped in construction work on the harbour, cured and sold fish, supplied oakum and engaged in smuggling, piracy and theft. There was thus a wide range of wealth in the group although, until the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, only one or two mariners in each generation could have been considered wealthy in comparison with men in certain other occupations. There were, for example, very few mayors from this occupational group - only Robert Stelman (1521-22), Edward May (1533-34), John Robbins (1562-63, 1575-76), Richard Sisely (1602-03) and Thomas Tiddeman (1632-34, 1640-41).<sup>4</sup> Mariners seem to have been territorially distinct within the town. Of the 37 mariners whose parish is identifiable between about 1520 and 1580, 31 lived in St. James's parish and only 6 in St. Mary's. This is probably because an earlier harbour in Dover, Warden Down, had been on the east shore under the Castle cliff.<sup>5</sup> This was Eastbrook, in St. James's parish, which maltote figures in the town accounts consistently indicate to have been the poorer side of the town.<sup>6</sup> Although the harbour moved to the west side of the bay early in the sixteenth century, the sailors seem to have remained where they were for some time.<sup>7</sup> The area round St. James's street seems to have become more fashionable, however, at the turn of the century, when mariners were presumably moving nearer the reconstructed harbour.<sup>8</sup> The muster list of 1617 indicates that from a total of 566 men in the town, 139 were working sailors. Even by that date 14 out of the 43 names in Eastbrook ward were still those of sailors, but there was only one or none in each of the central wards of the old town - Canon, St. Mary's and Biggin - and very few anywhere else except in North Pier and South Pier wards where sailors formed just over half the total adult males.<sup>9</sup>

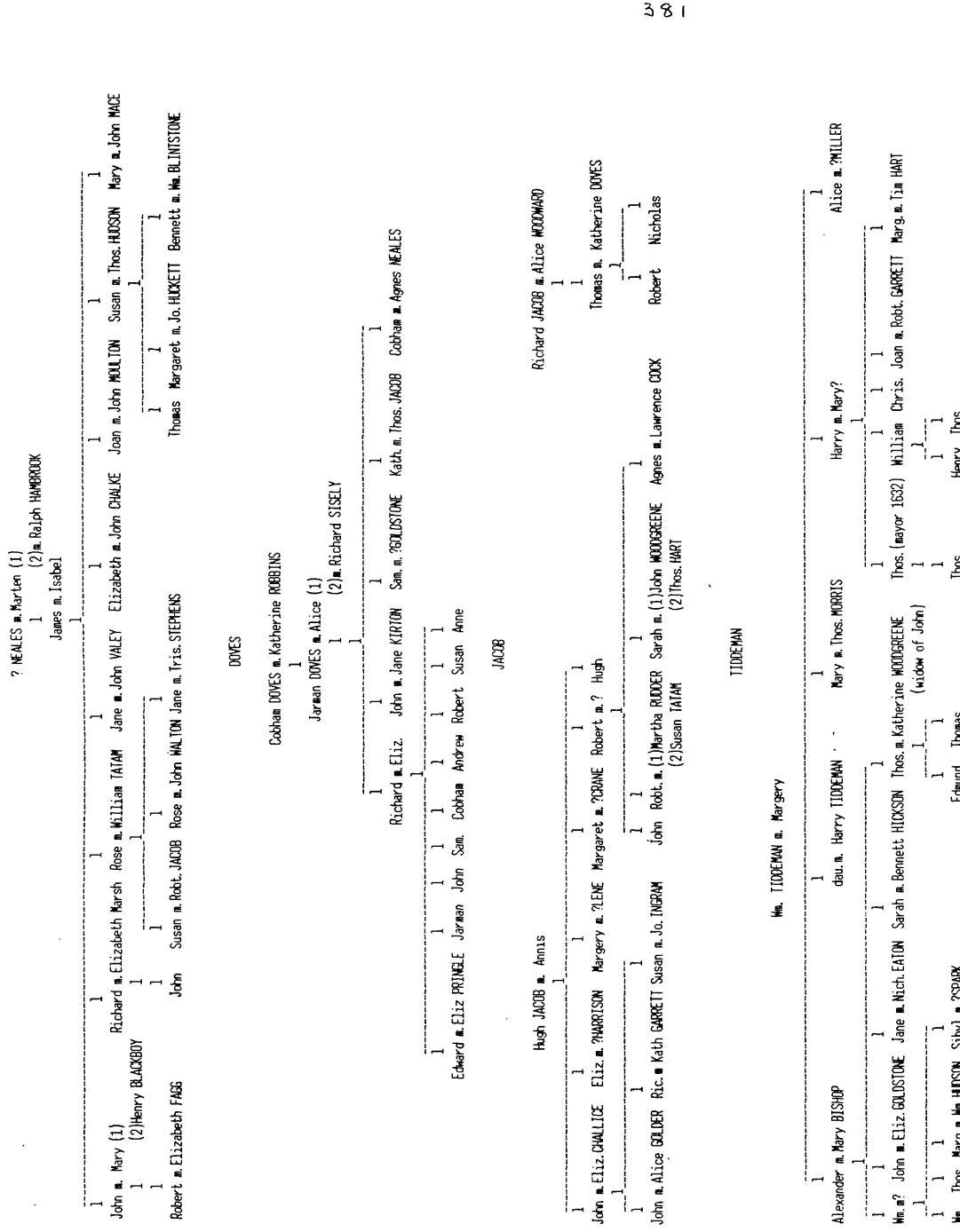
When they were working, mariners were subject to strict organization.

The rule-governed structures for working at sea were hierarchical, and age bestowed status. The Court of Lodemanage laid down a system of precedence for piloting ships, under which young pilots had to forfeit their turn to older men if a particularly valuable ship arrived.<sup>10</sup> The order in which boats might cross the Channel, or sail out to pick up passengers was freshly laid down by the common council periodically, and frequently breached. There were annual resolves that in future better order be kept.<sup>11</sup>

The reverse of such disagreements among seafaring families was the supportive and exclusive nature of their other relationships. They stood pledge for one another, shared ownership of their boats, cared for each other's orphans. Wills reveal an almost exclusive use of other members of the community as overseers and witnesses. The one exception was John Pringle, a baker and merchant, who frequently acted as overseer to the wills of seamen. He was mayor in 1626 and Burgess to Parliament, and was said to be "well acquainted with proceedings in Parliament".<sup>12</sup> He was also part-owner of a ship, his daughter was married to Edward Doves, a mariner, and he was "loving kinsman" to an important mariner, John Chalke, who used him and another mariner, John Valey, as overseers to his will in 1628.<sup>13</sup> Thus, although not a mariner himself, he seems to have been perceived by the seafaring group as an influential and trustworthy member of it.

Although many seafaring families were very persistent in the town, they were continually joined and renewed by migrants; many of them from the nearby coastal towns. Marriage choices were crucial in the maintenance of such a group, and in the dispersal of boats between them. Figure 4:1 is a partial reconstruction of four seafaring families between the end of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. It shows only part of each family, and it would be possible to show that about six other families than those noted on the chart also had links with them.

Figure 4:1 Marriage choices of four seafaring families in Dover c. 1560-1627



It can be seen that James and Isabel Neales had two sons and six daughters who survived to adulthood. Each of the six daughters married mariners: William Tatam, John Valey, John Chalke, John Moulton, Thomas Hudson and John Mace.<sup>14</sup> The Tatams and Valeys were established seafaring families in the town. John Chalke may have come from Plymouth.<sup>15</sup> Thomas Hudson had formerly been a jurat in Hythe.<sup>16</sup> Because of these marriages, in their wills William Tatam and John Chalke refer to each other as "brothers". Of James's two sons, John married an unidentifiable Mary, and Richard married Elizabeth Marshe, who may have been a yeoman's daughter. John and Mary's son, Robert, married Elizabeth Fagg, the daughter of a prosperous mariner.<sup>17</sup> When John senior died, his widow, Mary, married another mariner, Henry Blackboy, and this marriage produced two step-sisters and a step-brother for Robert, who are not shown in Figure 4:1. Also in this second generation, three of the daughters of Rose and William Tatam are known to have married Dover mariners: Robert Jacob, John Walton and Tristram Stephens.<sup>18</sup> At least two of Susan and Thomas Hudson's daughters also married mariners.

A similar marriage pattern can be observed in each of the families, with both sons and daughters choosing spouses from the same occupational group, although daughters' choices are often more easy to identify than sons'. It can be seen also that the four families were linked together by marriages between Thomas Jacob and Katherine Doves,<sup>19</sup> and Cobham Doves and Agnes Neales.<sup>20</sup> They were also linked by the marriage of siblings from other seafaring families into these families, so that, for example, two Goldstone sisters married respectively Samuel Doves and John Tiddeman,<sup>21</sup> Robert and Katherine Garrett married respectively Joan Tiddeman and Richard Jacob,<sup>22</sup> and Thomas and Timothy Hart married respectively Sara Jacob (followed by Joan Woodgreen) and Margaret Tiddeman.<sup>23</sup> In the third generation, Sibyl Tiddeman married a Spark, who was kin to that Elizabeth Fagg who had married Robert Neales,<sup>24</sup> and

it is perhaps worth noting that one of the wealthier immigrant mariners, Richard Willoughby, married Margery Fagg in 1598.<sup>25</sup>

Remarriages followed a similar pattern: James Neales's mother, Marten, married twice, the second time to Ralph Hambrook, another mariner.<sup>26</sup>

John Neales's widow married Henry Blackboy, mariner;<sup>27</sup> Jarman Doves's widow married Richard Sisely, mariner;<sup>28</sup> and Thomas Hart, having married Sara Jacob, went on to marry Joan Woodgreen.<sup>29</sup> Thomas Tiddeman's wife was the widow of John Woodgreen.<sup>30</sup>

The distribution of boat-ownership among the group was affected by marriages and inheritance. Boats were commonly shared, and sometimes quarter shares, for example, were divided among four children, who in turn each handed on a sixteenth share. Boats, tackle and nets were not always left to descendants, however. They were an investment, but also an immediate means of livelihood that needed to be kept in use. Only three wills have been found that leave instructions for boats to be sold, in each case for a wife to provide for the upbringing and education of very young children.<sup>31</sup> Most commonly, boats were left to wives, with provision for them to pass them on in their turn.

Inheritance of boats appears to have depended on the capacity of the recipient to put them to use. It must be remembered that only shares of boats were left, and that this implied cooperation with the other owners, who could be fifteen or more, who usually formed part of the occupational group, but who could live as far away as London.

The families on the chart illustrate the importance of marriage in the ownership of boats, and some of the ways in which boats might be redistributed among such groups of families. James Neales's stepfather, Ralph Hambrook, left his dole of nets and his ropes to him, since James's mother was only just pregnant with the first child of this second marriage when Hambrook died. Hambrook left his quarter of a boat, however, to its Master for his life, "conditionally that he shall share

in her as Master, and to keep her going still to the sea." After his death, the boat would revert to Hambrook's widow, that is James Neales's mother.<sup>32</sup> James Neales, in his turn, left his ships to his wife in 1608.<sup>33</sup> Some of these presumably went to his son John. John's widow having married Henry Blackboy, her children benefited by bequests from him, but so did her first son Robert, the son of John Neales.<sup>34</sup> Robert also inherited an eighth of a boat from his father-in-law, George Fagg.<sup>35</sup> William Tatam, husband of Rose Neales, left his ships to be divided between their four sons and five daughters,<sup>36</sup> and Thomas Hudson, Susan Neales's husband left most of his ships to his widow, but one to his daughter Margaret, who was married to a mariner, and the residue to his son Reginald, who was also presumably a mariner.<sup>37</sup> John Mace, married to Mary Neales, left his ships to her, for the maintenance of both her and his mother.<sup>38</sup>

Remarriage sometimes brought more ships into the main family group, as has been seen in the case of Henry Blackboy and Robert Neales. Another good example is that of Alice Doves, the widow of Jarman Doves. She had three sons and two daughters by her first marriage. She then married Richard Sisely, an unusually prosperous mariner and ship owner, and had two sons by him. When Richard Sisely died in 1606, he naturally left the greater proportion of his ships to his own two sons, but he also left his half of a third part in the Primrose to his stepson Samuel Doves, who was Master of it. He also left other shares in boats to his widow, which she would have been free to leave to the children of either marriage.<sup>39</sup> It was fairly common for an older, successful mariner to have his sons, step-sons or brothers working as Masters of his ships, and bequests were clearly made to keep such an arrangement continuing after his death.

Other examples of the intention to keep boats and nets in operation can be found. Roger King left his house to his wife, but his herring nets to

his sister's son "to be put to profit".<sup>40</sup> James Rudder left a quarter of a boat to a son in law, Thomas Hart, and his nets and ropes to a grandson, John Lucas.<sup>41</sup> Agnes Wappoll, who presumably inherited her third of a crayer from her former husband, left it to her father.<sup>42</sup> When William Tiddeman died in 1589, he left his leased house and one fish house to his wife for her life; the fish house next door to it went to his son Alexander. He divided his nets, half to his wife and half to his grandchildren. His share in the crayer, Try the Seas, went to his son Henry, and to Henry's eldest son William. His share in a small crayer, the Swan, was to be divided between the husbands of two of his daughters, that is Harry Tiddeman and Thomas Morris. The residue of such goods went to John Miller, a mariner of Folkestone, who was married to his youngest daughter, Alice.<sup>43</sup>

Marriage to the daughter of a freeman offered the opportunity of becoming a freeman. Marriage also brought an incoming mariner into a larger family group. Wealthy spouses could add to the general stock of boats available for the less wealthy, or younger, members of the group to work in or to sail as masters. It seems likely that a preponderance of female children in the town reduced the observable lines of lineal descent, but actually served to extend the network of families in alliance. Wives were particularly important in this occupational group. Marriage was, of course, a working partnership for most couples at this period, but the sea-going community provides particularly good evidence of the role of women as working partners and working widows. The town accounts provide some of this evidence. In 1514 the mother of Thomas Barber, a sailor and office-holder, was paid 19d. for oakum that she had picked.<sup>44</sup> Thomas Peter's will, in 1558, set out that his wife, during her life, should be an equal partner in his third share of a ship with his servant, John Bishop, who was to inherit it after her death.<sup>45</sup> Two years later "Mother Peter" was still paying rent for a piece of land

where her capstan stood.<sup>46</sup> When Beale Tiddeman, the wife of Henry, forestalled some fish, Henry was asked whether he allowed his wife as a common merchant. Having agreed that he did, he had to pay her fine.<sup>47</sup> Women in this community must have carried the burden of caring for their families during the frequent absences of their husbands; they were also more likely than wives of other men to suffer early widowhood. It is not surprising that a number of them appear as victuallers, licensed and unlicensed, in their widowhood, continuing what had probably been a by-employment during their husbands' life time.<sup>48</sup> The parish register of St. James, in particular, occasionally indicates the loss of a boat and, with it, the loss of a group of men, as on January 10, 1597, when Thomas Wood, William Richards, John Legent, John and Thomas Haslewood, all from seafaring families, were registered as having drowned.<sup>49</sup> Acknowledgment by sailors of the importance of their wives seems to have been expressed in the first quarter of the sixteenth century by the naming of boats for them: the Anne, the Barbara, the Mary Gallant, the Martine, and the Mary and John, for example, although this custom appears to have died out, possibly as boats got larger and were shared between more people.

The financial value set on wives before marriage can be illustrated. The marriage negotiations between Robert Jacob and Catherine Thompson were the subject of a case in the Consistory Court in 1550, which concerned the amount promised by Hugh Jacob to Catherine Thompson, the intended wife of his son Robert, in the event of Robert's death. There was a difference of opinion over how much had been promised, and over how the marriage had been arranged, but the general consensus seems to have been that Catherine's step father would have provided her with £30 at her marriage, and that the Jacobs would have ensured that she would be worth £60 if her husband died before her.<sup>50</sup> In 1610, a mariner called Peter Starkey, who owned some property in Deal, left all of it to Elizabeth

Knott of Dover, because of the marriage that was intended between them had he not succumbed to sickness. His siblings received only 5s. each.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, Roger Garrett, a mariner who made a nuncupative will while dying at sea, left all he had to a widow, whom he called "my best beloved in this world," and whom it seems he had intended to marry.<sup>52</sup> One of the most moving testaments to the strength of the working unit formed by a man and his wife in this group occurs in the will of William Legent in 1538. He left his lands and tenements in Dover to his wife to her own use during her life, adding that she might sell whatever was necessary "to her honest living", without the necessity of passing anything on to their sons. He gave the reason for this:

"In consideration of the truth and fidelity that I have always found in my said wife in health and sickness and for her diligence and readiness in helping that she might get and so save such things as to our living were necessary, and I have nothing but since she and I came together we have got it ourselves together."<sup>53</sup>

It seems likely that the seafaring group was greatly enlarged during the temporary trading boom of the early seventeenth century and that overcrowding brought pressures to the areas in which they lived. Ten cases of defamation brought to the Consistory Court between 1610 and 1638 suggest this.<sup>54</sup> Since all these cases involved sexual defamation, they also suggest that both inhabitants and newcomers were interested in establishing the integrity of their family lines. They all seem very minor cases, involving comparatively few witnesses, that would probably not have arrived at the church courts in an earlier period.

The area where the offence occurred was near the harbour in each case: "in a lane near the Pier," near the bakehouse "in a street leading down to the Pier", a window "in the Sluice", in "the Dock", a communal washing place "in Pett Spring close by the Pent", and so on. The crowded conditions are suggested at times: Margaret Finnes and her family had a house at the Pier in which Joan, the wife of Thomas Keet, a sailor, also lived with her husband's brother and his wife "under one roof

together."<sup>55</sup> Two other sailors' wives were described as sitting in the house "where both do dwell". A sailor admitted that he had a grudge against another sailor's wife because she broke one of his and his wife's tubs as it stood at the well common to both their houses.<sup>56</sup> A number of the quarrels took place in the street and were overheard from backsides with very flimsy divisions between them.

Three of the offences involved obvious incomers: one was brought by a woman who had been called "a Welsh whore".<sup>57</sup> Another involved a woman, unseen by witnesses, whom they described as "a west country woman and her voice easy to be known."<sup>58</sup> Witnesses in these cases were a mixture of established Dover women, like the widows Joan Marychurch and Alice Sisely (aged 80)<sup>59</sup> and some younger wives, most of whom had been born in the town.<sup>60</sup>

Although the defamation was sexual, a number of the cases were rooted in grievances over unlicensed victualling or debt. Defendants thought the defamation in one case had resulted from the fact that the victim had owed the defamer, a sailor's wife, fourpence halfpenny for grocery wares for a fortnight.<sup>61</sup> There was much ill-feeling over one woman who was being allowed to victual without a licence.<sup>62</sup> Some of the accusations of whoredom, such as the one made against Dorothy Bagg, commonly known as "Dainty Dorothy", seem to have had a basis in fact.<sup>63</sup> One resulted from what seems to have been a high-spirited but contemptuous attack on the status of one of the daughters of a jurat on her wedding day. Her name, Elizabeth Ward, was ostentatiously misheard by a number of women as "Bess Bawd."<sup>64</sup>

The Pier area was a likely one for sexual misdemeanour, of course, but what the defendants in these cases reveal is a corporate rejection of certain women, sometimes newly married ones, who were felt to be alien to the community and suspect in their sexual morality. The doubts cast on the legitimacy of their children seem, in some cases at least, to

have had no basis in fact, but perhaps represented the general will to safeguard the integrity of the family in this community. One case, brought by the newly-married wife of a sailor, seems to have been brought deliberately in order that she might demonstrate clearly the legitimacy of her child, which her husband's sister had publicly doubted.<sup>65</sup> It can be seen that family and occupation were so closely linked in this group that it might have been necessary to establish legitimacy not only to confirm membership of the community but also to avoid the possibility of incest.

Innkeepers reveal a very different relationship between family and occupation. They were, of course, relatively few in number. In most cases, the ownership or leasehold of an inn was of sufficient monetary value to confer freedom on a man, and it was thus his ownership of the property itself, rather than his occupation, that established his economic relationship to the town. It will be shown that some "innholders" were simply holders of an investment, rather than innkeepers by trade. Nevertheless many others both owned, or leased, their inn, and worked in it. Innholders frequently came from outside the town, and families seldom held an inn by inheritance of blood for more than two generations. Even then, inheritance tended to be through married daughters rather than through sons, who in most cases seem to have moved away. Ownership of an inn sometimes seems to have been merely one of a number of investments in property and land by a local landowner. More frequently, it provided an entrée both to the town and also to some subordinate Crown office. In some cases it clearly provided an upwardly mobile path for the family of the holder. For some of these reasons, innholders as a group tended to be dependent on the support of others in the same occupation and on the patronage of other men in the town.

The corporation distinguished clearly between innholders, who had to

make provision for horses as well as men, and victuallers, who did not. In 1546 a list of ten inns, all with stables, and their holders, was set out by the mayor, as part of an Act for Innholders and pendant signs. The act was protective of the innholders, particularly of two of them, William Fisher and John Bowle, whose houses had "from the time of man's remembrance to the contrary been known inns, by the sign of the Lion the one and the Arms of England the other."<sup>66</sup> A list of 28 victuallers and their houses in the same manuscript shows that Thomas Fynnett, a brewer, owned two of the houses, although he was not the occupier. It also lists as a victualling house the "Greyhound", later the name of the most important inn in Dover. Of the ten inns on that list, only five names persist in the records: "The Arms of England", the "Lion", the "Rose", the "Chequer" and the "Ship", and of these the "Ship" was not named again until the seventeenth century, by which time it was presumably a new inn.<sup>67</sup> In 1588 there was an order that no tapsters should be retained in any victualling houses in the town except at the houses of Spritwell, Haines, Hickes and Bacheler.<sup>68</sup> These houses were the "Greyhound", the "George", the "Rose" and the "Flower de Luce" respectively.<sup>69</sup>

Occasionally brewers owned inns, but not as often as a cursory reading of records suggest. It was more usual for a brewer to rent space for his beer in the cellar of an inn. In 1618, for example, a tapster deposed to the town court of Dover that he worked at the "Flower de Luce", then owned by Nicholas Knott. A brewer, Robert Poulter, gave Mr. Knott £30 a year for the beer cellar and paid for meat and lodging there for the tapster. The tapster drew beer for Robert Poulter who allowed him 14s. per barrel, but no wages. If the tapster drew more than two barrels weekly then Mr. Knott was to have part of the profit on them, as well as his £30.<sup>70</sup>

Innkeepers were often closely connected to each other in a mutually

supportive relationship rather than by blood or marriage: they stood surety for each other's recognizances as victuallers, for example.<sup>71</sup> In order to be successful, they needed a wine licence, which depended initially on gaining the patronage of at least one of the magistrates. The subsequent passing on of the licence, which had to be ratified by the corporation, seems to have depended on the patronage of one innkeeper to another. For example, in 1615, Francis Raworth, the town clerk, said he had been involved in three long and tedious suits for the town at no charge to them, and he asked the magistrates, by power of a statute of Edward VI, to give him a licence to keep a tavern and sell wines. Two such licences were available at the time, so his petition was granted.<sup>72</sup> A year later he found he had no time to sell wines himself and, since he was not allowed to do it by deputy, he surrendered his licences, and "at his earnest suit and for his sake", one was passed to Andrew Bredgate, vintner and innkeeper. The other went, at the request of the Lord Warden, to Peter Dibb.<sup>73</sup> The testamentary accounts of William Sweeting, an innholder, show that his widow had to pay a debt of over £26 to the Patentees for Wine Licences.<sup>74</sup>

The intervention of the Lord Warden on behalf of Peter Dibb exemplifies another characteristic feature of the innholding group, that is their unusually close relationship with the Castle and the Crown, and the mediating function they sometimes exercised between the officers of the Crown and the town. Peter Dibb, as well as being holder of the "Rose" and the "George" was, from about 1606, Boder to the Castle, that is the go-between who took letters and messages from the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports or the Lieutenant of the Castle to the civic officers.<sup>75</sup> In fact, Thomas Fulnetby complained in a letter to Secretary Nicholas that one of his clients had complained that Sir John Hippesly, the Lieutenant, preferred Peter Dibb to him.<sup>76</sup> Naturally, the chief innholders were well known to officers at the Castle, since they

provided the hospitality of the town to all visitors. For example, in 1551 the Lord Warden wrote that if the mayor and jurats wanted to see him, they were to "come hither to me at Mr. Bowle's".<sup>77</sup> Such patronage went a little further in the case of William Bradshaw, who kept the "Ship". In 1624 he was lent £40 by the Lord Warden out of the Harbour moneys. William Leonard, the jurat who was overseer of the harbour works at the time, claimed £2 from Bradshaw for his influence in getting him the money.<sup>78</sup>

The "Greyhound" inn clearly became the main posting stage of Dover, the inn from which mail was sent across the Channel, and where most important travellers stayed. For these reasons it seems likely that the holding of it, at least from about 1550, depended on the holder's also having the office of King's Post. The earliest holders of this office were in each case the leading hackneyman of the town at the time. The office came to be called His Majesty's Post Master at some time early in the seventeenth century. The passing on of this office, too, seems to have been to some extent within the gift of the current holder of it. The first recorded King's Post in the period under review was Thomas Portway, who was also an innkeeper.<sup>79</sup> He passed the office on to John Spritwell, hackneyman and innholder, who had married his daughter, Katherine. John Spritwell had the "Greyhound" inn, and must have left it to his widow, since she left it to her grandson, John Windebanck, in 1621.<sup>80</sup> In the long period between the deaths of John Spritwell and his widow, their son-in-law, Aaron Windebanck, who had gained his freedom by marrying their daughter, Mary, took over the inn for a time.<sup>81</sup> He became Captain of Sandown Castle, but he was described as His Majesty's Post in 1602,<sup>82</sup> and in 1609 claimed that the town still owed him £5 for a dinner "when he kept the inn called the Greyhound".<sup>83</sup> Successive holders of the "Grehyound" also held the office of Post Master although they did not actually occupy the inn. While James Hughessen owned the

inn and held the office of Post Master, his tenant, Samuel Moore, became Deputy Post Master.<sup>84</sup> William Hughessen succeeded James as owner of the "Greyhound" and he wrote in 1636 to the Secretary of the Privy Council, saying that he had served as Post Master in Dover for many years and kept the most convenient and fairest house between London and Dover, where ambassadors generally lodged. He was owed £400 in pay, and if it were possible he would like Edward Whetstone, his tenant in the "Greyhound", to have the place, but in his, Hughessen's, name as formerly.<sup>85</sup>

The traffic of noblemen, foreign ambassadors, merchants and soldiers through their inns clearly made innkeepers part of a larger world than most occupational groups in the town, and perhaps helped to put them at odds with the oligarchy at times. In the early sixteenth century, a number of innkeepers became mayor: Robert Fluce in 1528, Thomas Foxley in 1541, William Fisher in 1544, Hugh Brackett in 1547 and Richard Elam in 1561.<sup>86</sup> Later, although many innkeepers took their place in the oligarchy and were sometimes even nominated for mayor, none was ever elected.<sup>87</sup> A number of them, however, held the office of bailiff, or deputy bailiff of the town, which was technically a Crown appointment. Thomas Portway, Thomas Dawkes, John Haines and John Bacheler were all deputy bailiffs between 1540 and 1590.<sup>88</sup> Their holding of this office might reflect a certain alienation from the magistracy and realisation that their interests could be better served by the Crown. This point will be taken up in more detail below.<sup>89</sup>

Although few innkeeping families persisted in the town in the way that mariners did, marriage had some importance in the transferring of inns from one generation to the next. The example of the "Greyhound", above, shows how the inn was transferred twice from father to a son-in-law who had come from outside the town. In making this transfer, on at least one occasion a loan was made to the new son-in-law: in her will of 1561

Alice Portway instructed her son-in-law, John Spritwell, to use the £38 she had loaned him to pay her debts.<sup>90</sup> The status of the family rose through each generation, and the inn was finally sold outside the family.<sup>91</sup> A similar pattern can be seen in the transfer of ownership of the "Rose" and the "George". After Thomas Foxley's death, the "Rose" passed to Thomas Hickes.<sup>92</sup> He had been born in Cranbrook but was married in 1560 to Alice Hobday of Dover - the Executor of whose will was Emmanuel Alley, bailiff of Dover - and he had two daughters, Patience and Abigail.<sup>93</sup> In 1589 Patience married Peter Dibbs, who had been born in Tadcaster. Dibbs then became innholder of the "Rose", and left it, and his wine licence, to Patience after his death.<sup>94</sup> In 1614 Dibbs seems to have bought, or leased, the "George" from John Haines, and put a tenant into the "Rose".<sup>95</sup> Thomas Hickes's other daughter, Abigail, married John Loome, and their son, also John Loome, had an inn called the "Flying Horse".<sup>96</sup> Cases brought to court show that the "Rose" became a particularly rowdy inn while Peter Dibbs held it, and that John Loome's inn was a frequent resort for men wanting to drink illegally on Sundays.<sup>97</sup> As it has been seen, Peter Dibbs was nevertheless promoted to office by the Lord Warden. There is no sign that the "Rose", the "George" or the "Flying Horse" remained with these families after the deaths of Patience Dibbs and John Loome, although both had a number of descendants.<sup>98</sup>

In yet another such case, in 1621, the testamentary accounts of Francis Augar show that he paid rent to his father-in-law, a yeoman called John Bendger, for the inn, the "Flower de Luce".<sup>99</sup> This seems to have been the inn favoured by merchants and by the oligarchy. It is not possible to tell how long John Bendger had owned the inn, but either its ownership or its lease had passed from John Bacheler to his nephew John when he died in 1616<sup>100</sup> and the inn was held by Nicholas Knott in 1618.<sup>101</sup> This fairly rapid turnover in ownership seems to have been

more common than dynastic occupation.

The transfer of an inn to a daughter and her husband had unfortunate results in one case. John Atkins, a schoolmaster and innkeeper, who had been born in London, had, with the help of his wife, built an inn called the "Prince's Arms" on a parcel of "waste, beachy ground" at the Pier, belonging to the Warden and Assistants of Dover Harbour. In 1625 he left the inn to his wife, to be divided after her death between their son and their married daughter, Susan Giles. Susan was to choose which half she had, although her father wished the house finally to remain in the name of his male heirs. Presumably his son died or moved away, because the inn came into the sole ownership of his daughter, who had remarried to one Richard Payne, who in his turn died and left the inn to his brother, who lived in Deal. This gave rise to a case in the Consistory Court, at which two other innkeepers and a brewer from Dover deposed against the will, clearly in an attempt to keep the inn as part of the stock of Dover. They deposed that Richard Payne had brought nothing to the marriage, except a bedstead, and that he was "a single man and nothing worth", who had gone to his wife's dwelling house "which no doubt he found well furnished with the goods of her former husband."<sup>102</sup> There is no further mention of the inn in the records.

Some of the innholders in the earlier sixteenth century were members of local yeoman families. Richard Elam, who held the "Chequer", was born in Dover to a father who had been the second son of Geoffrey Elam, a man who held much land in Buckland. The land had gone to his first son, Harry, and Richard's father had come into Dover as a shop owner, and prospered. He paid the wine maltot, so presumably also had an inn.<sup>103</sup> He had been mayor in 1520; and Richard's life followed a similar pattern. It seems he might also have taken over the old inn, the "Arms of England", since the name never recurs except in Richard Elam's inventory, which includes several tables "bearing the Arms of

England.<sup>104</sup> John Bowle bought his principle messuage from Richard Fyneux, one of a local gentry family who sold some of their land in the first half of the sixteenth century. John Bowle bought much other land in Dover, and was given the farm of the tithes of St. Bartholomew's. In the 1540s he held the "Arms of England", and his will shows that he grew prosperous there.<sup>105</sup> After his death, an indenture shows that his son, Richard, now "gentleman of London", sold his messuage, "The Queen's House", to John Spritwell.<sup>106</sup>

Other such men from the region who invested in innkeeping in Dover were William Fisher, a yeoman from Lydden who had the "Lion",<sup>107</sup> Thomas Foxley, a yeoman and native of Canterbury, who had the "Rose" until his death in 1577,<sup>108</sup> Francis Swann, gentleman of Lydden, who sold the "Lion" to Richard Vaughan in 1583, but had never occupied the inn himself,<sup>109</sup> and John Haines whose connections seem to have been with Dover brewers and with men from Canterbury. John Haines left the "George" to his son William in 1603<sup>110</sup>, but William, who returned to Dover in that year, became Controller of Customs and "gentleman", and seems to have either leased or sold the inn to Peter Dibbs by 1614.<sup>111</sup> Thomas Foxley and Thomas Whiting had in common early service in Canterbury collecting the rents due to Dover Priory.<sup>112</sup> Together with John Spritwell, they had also served George Bingham who was granted the lands of the Priory when it was dissolved. John Spritwell also leased Priory land from George Bingham, from which he took wood for fuel.<sup>113</sup> John Spritwell seems to have been the first of an increasing number of innholders who came from outside the region. He came immediately from London in 1558, but had been born overseas, probably in Flanders.<sup>114</sup> Thomas Dawkes, who held the "Queen's Head" - later the "King's Head" - in the 1580s was possibly also a Fleming. The family sometimes spelt their name as Daux, and his son Richard was referred to as a "butter-box Fleming" in 1623.<sup>115</sup> John Atkins came from London and Samuel Moore from

Etwell in Derby.<sup>116</sup> Samuel Moore was the cousin of another innholder, Richard Tracham, from whom he inherited the "White Horse" in 1603 but his major innholding was as tenant of James Hughessen at the "Greyhound", where he became Deputy Post Master of Dover.<sup>117</sup> It seems likely that all these men increased their fortune and status through their innholding in the town.

Determination to establish his status among hackneymen and innholders can be observed in the case of John Spritwell. In 1576, he and another man had to repay three other vintners for having put them out of business.<sup>118</sup> His later activities resulted in the passing by the mayor and jurats in 1578 of "an act of decree and perpetual order hereafter to be used between and by John Spritwell, post to ... the Queen here at Dover and the hackneymen of the same town for a common tranquillity and profit between the parties."<sup>119</sup> He had been taking it upon himself to license other hackneymen, who naturally resented his actions. The other hackneymen had resented him for some time, however, and their resentment had taken the form of defaming his wife, in order to call him cuckold. The case of Spritwell contra How dragged through the Consistory Court between 1568 and 1570. Anthony How had described several times, in public, how he had seen Katherine Spritwell "early in a morning coming out from her servant's chamber one time, in her petticoat, the placket being loose about her, and bare-legged and with a good colour in her cheek." It is clear that this story had been satisfactorily explained away at the time, but it was revived among a group of hackneymen, sitting in the afternoon on Penniless Bench "a place where many of the town use to sit and talk together", so that as many as a dozen men heard the story. It was retold by Roger Tibbs, a hackneyman and innholder, "in a rage, and in occasion of the talk of hackney horses and the horsing of posts", when he "shamefully reviled the goodman Spritwell."<sup>120</sup> The attempt to shame John Spritwell clearly failed, but it is a reminder of

the close links perceived between family and status. It is interesting to read the will of Katherine Spritwell, written in 1614, but not probated until 1621 when she must have been at least eighty. From the rich stew of the events described in the defamation case emerged a woman who insisted that her distinguished Windebanck grandsons should "lovingly and in brotherly manner behave themselves to one another, whereof although I doubt not yet I have thought meet to impose the charge of a grandmother upon them..."<sup>121</sup>

Brewers in Dover seem to have had more in common with the early innkeepers than the later ones. They normally formed one part of an extensive network of rural families. They were, on the whole, substantial men with capital locked into equipment in the town and into lands in the surrounding area. They were also enmeshed in a network of debts with men in the town and the surrounding area. Many townsmen owed them money for beer at their death, but they themselves can be seen to have been unusually heavy borrowers by bond and obligation. The testamentary accounts of certain brewers are revealing: John Alderstone owed over £400 at death (on an inventory of £457) much of it in large sums to people living in Hougham, St. Margaret's-at-Cliff and Guston; William Bennett owed £133 to John Redwood of Canterbury upon specialty, as well as other sums to men in Hougham and Dover. He also owed wages to six men and one woman servant. Thomas Harvey owed debts to Richard and Peter Harvey of Elham; Edward Kempe owed £110 to a Folkestone widow and £25 to Sir William Moninges of Waldershare, as well as £150 elsewhere. John Kenton's debts amounted to £193 on an inventory of £159.<sup>122</sup>

Like the families of mariners, some of the rural families from which the brewers came allied themselves by marriage and operated a system of mutual benefit and obligation. This can be illustrated in the case of the families of Bargar, Millward and Leonard. As has been said, access to land on which to grow grain was vital for brewers, and it has been

argued above that some brewers, or some parts of brewers' families, became more dependent on selling grain than on brewing beer in the early seventeenth century.<sup>123</sup> Land near Dover became available for letting when Thomas Cranmer demised Dover Priory, its lands manors and farms, to Henry Bingham of Wingham by an indenture made in 1538.<sup>124</sup> This lease was inherited by Henry's brother, George Bingham of Canterbury, in about 1553, and he sub-let parcels of this land, as the Priory had always done.<sup>125</sup> In 1567 Bingham sold the ground lease of the Priory and the parsonage of Buckland to John Bargar. Two years' later, an indenture was made between John Bargar and Thomas Milward of Dover, by which John Bargar demised the parsonage of Buckland and its tithes to Thomas Millward.<sup>126</sup> Thomas Millward's father and brother were brewers, but he was a maltman.<sup>127</sup> At some time, John Bargar, who came from a family of yeomen and tanners in Bridge,<sup>128</sup> bought from Thomas Millward his brewhouse in Dover, and his lease in an orchard and garden there. John Bargar was thus enabled to establish himself, and his heirs, as brewers in Dover.<sup>129</sup>

John Bargar had two sons, William, who remained in Dover as a brewer, and Robert who was a tanner in Bridge. William married Alice Leonard, the daughter of Henry Leonard, one of the chief brewers in Dover, thus bringing the two families into alliance.<sup>130</sup> When John Bargar died, he left the brewery he had bought from Thomas Millward to his son William who, in 1583, left it to his wife for her life, to be left ultimately to their daughter, Katherine Bargar.<sup>131</sup> William Bargar's will shows that he regarded his wife's father and brothers, the Leonards, as his own kin, as he did the husbands of his sisters, who were also from East Kent families. By the time Alice Bargar's father, Henry Leonard, died in 1594, she had married again to John Lukin, and her Bargar and Lukin children were each given 40s. by their grandfather.<sup>132</sup> The family network from which John Bargar had sprung, and to which the

Leonards had allied themselves through Alice, is particularly clearly illustrated in the will of John's brother, Robert Bargar of Bridge. He left bequests to the poor not only in Bridge, but in Dover where his father had lived, and in Patrixbourne and Nonington where he had land and property. He and William had four sisters, married to men from the families of Sprackling, London, Harflete and Binge - all from the region between Thanet, Ash and Dover.<sup>133</sup> The Binge family included a brewing branch in Dover, as well as other kin in London.<sup>134</sup> Robert Bargar left his Dover and Sandwich leases to his son Isaac, his Dover Priory leases to his son Thomas, some of his property in Bridge to his son Robert, his Nonington lands and messuages to his son Richard, other Nonington and Womenswold property to his son George, and his tannery and some land in Pett to his son John and his wife, from which John's wife, his daughter-in-law, was to recover her jointure at the appropriate time. As well as these, he left bequests to two sisters, three cousins, two sons-in-law, two daughters and their children, ~~three cousins~~, an uncle and his son, and made provision for four unspecified female relatives to maintain themselves in their dwellings in Nonington. His overseers were a brother in law, and one John Vervaer of Sandwich, and he wished that they should "come together with my other children and friends once a year and be merry together and give God thanks for his benefits bestowed on me and them."<sup>135</sup>

This kind of rural network seems to have been common to other brewing families such as the Alderstones, the Fynnetts, the Harveys and the Philpotts throughout the period, with a gradual change in emphasis from brewing to grain dealing being noticeable in most cases. The importance of marriage in the inheritance of capital equipment and its centrality to occupational structure can be most clearly illustrated, however, by the Colleys. The Colley family were brewers in Dover throughout the first three quarters of the sixteenth century. Richard Colley had three

sons: William, John and Kenelm, of whom at least two became brewers.<sup>136</sup> William, the eldest son, seems to have been given the chief interest in his father's property while his father lived because when he died, before his father, in 1513, he had much property to leave. While making provision for his father's remaining years, he left all his lands and tenements in the county to his wife for her life, on condition that she must not strip the brewhouse or horse mill that ground corn or wheat. After her death, their son, Thomas, was to inherit, and if he died all would revert to uncle Kenelm.<sup>137</sup> Another brewer, Edmund Jannyth, appeared in Dover after William Colley's death, and by 1531 had become Mayor.<sup>138</sup> He was taxed on lands "in right of his wife" in 1520.<sup>139</sup> This wife proves to have been the widow of William Colley, who clearly put his brew-house to use through her second husband; not only was she the widow of a brewer, but the daughter of one, John Clerke.<sup>140</sup> Shortly after his mayoralty, Edmund Jannyth disappears from the Dover records, but he became a jurat in Folkestone in 1535, described as "late of Dover."<sup>141</sup> His wife must have died at that time and left her first husband's property to her son as he had wished. This son, Thomas, prospered, became mayor in 1545,<sup>142</sup> and was described as "gentleman of Buckland" in his later years when he was listed for lay subsidies in Whitfield, River, Buckland, Bewsborough, Folkestone and Alkham.<sup>143</sup> William Colley's widow was clearly valued, not only because she held property, but because she had an heir within the community to whom it could be seen the property would pass. When Thomas Pepper, a very substantial brewer, died in 1573, he left extensive lands to his wife for her life, to be passed on to numerous relatives after her death.<sup>144</sup> These heirs seem to have been nephews and cousins, none of whom is traceable in Dover at that date. His widow was thus left in Dover with no children of her own. Thomas Pepper had been mayor four times and he left gold rings to seven of the ten jurats he had worked with, whose

names are set out in the will. Three others were not named, and one of these, Thomas Andrew, was one of several men who thereafter pursued Anne Pepper through the ecclesiastical courts in what appear to have been trivial tithe disputes.<sup>145</sup> The men who deposed against her were members of the oligarchy who were intent on claiming tithes on newly acquired land, and who clearly realised that she was in a vulnerable position as an isolated widow. In her support, she had only her servants, and her factor who lived at some distance, in Faversham. He was William Birch, who believed himself to be "cousin germane" to her dead husband. He said he was her farmer, who "does her pleasure in her business when he has none of his own...eats, drinks and lodges at her house often... but never receives wages...but does it for friendship sake."<sup>146</sup> This seems to be a good description of the conflation of distant kinship with friendship, commensality and service that appears to have been very common at this period.

Butchers present a rather different case. Those in Dover during the major part of the period formed a mutually dependent but warring and disorderly group. Those who are recorded are not perhaps particularly representative of butchers in general because, apart from one in the sixteenth century, they were not large graziers but rather retail butchers based in the town, who bought in cattle from the region. James Smith alone, who died in 1577, left extensive lands and was linked by marriage to the foremost men in the town.<sup>147</sup> This seems not to have been true of the other butchers, who were nevertheless the recognized butchers of the town and successively held office as searchers of flesh. Those of their inventories that remain suggest that most butchers lived very modestly, and that they were deeply in debt to their suppliers of beasts. When William Sacrey died in 1611 he owed about £40 to men in Alkham, Sellindge, Tilmanstone, Sutton, Dymchurch and Hougham,<sup>148</sup> and his son, William, who seems to have expanded the business, owed about

£140, most of it for "fat cattle", to men in Challock, Lyminge, Capel and Folkestone when he died in 1641.<sup>149</sup> His brother, Thomas, also a butcher, who seems to have died when he was barely established, had an inventory of only just over £32 and few debts of any size.<sup>150</sup> After Robert Harford's death, a testamentary case about his debts reveals that some of them had been paid during his life and just after his death in tallow and in butcher meat.<sup>151</sup> Butchers were also sometimes in debt to one another, as will be seen below.

Partly because there was very little wealth to inherit, and usually only one shop held by lease or purchase, it sometimes proved difficult for sons to start in business, or to prosper once started. In 1611, for example, Abraham Chandler, a butcher of at least the third generation in Dover, was presented to the church court for having lived incontinently with his wife for more than a month before they were married. His reply was that he had not been able to get a house to dwell in that was convenient for his trade, and he was also "wanting a competent stock" at that stage.<sup>152</sup> Robert Kennett, who had been searcher of flesh in 1604,<sup>153</sup> was brought to the town court in 1607 for opening a butcher's shop at the Pier. This was against a commandment that had just been made forbidding butchers to open shops anywhere other than in the butchery, but he was allowed to continue for another six months because he was known to be very poor.<sup>154</sup> By 1610 he was also acting as an unlicensed victualler.<sup>155</sup> His son, John, gained his freedom in 1616 by taking as apprentice John Storey who, although born in Dover, had been taken to the court for "having wandered idly about the town."<sup>156</sup> This John is likely to have been the son of John Storey, butcher.<sup>157</sup>

The occupation of retail butchery appears to have been a family concern. The Dover records suggest that sons frequently followed their fathers in the occupation, and the reference above to an apprentice butcher is almost unique, and even he was probably the son of a butcher. Certainly

the register of apprentice indentures contains no other examples. Frequent complaints about the noisome nature of the occupation suggest that it was perceived as unpleasant and therefore perhaps it was most commonly performed almost exclusively by certain families, whose activities were restricted to a particular quarter of the town. Restrictions on space presumably served also to restrict numbers. Usually one son remained in Dover, while others went to nearby towns to set up as butchers, sometimes returning when the opportunity presented itself. The office of searcher of flesh in Dover can be seen to have been held successively by father and son in the case of the Harfords, Kennetts, Storeys, Pensaxes, Marltons and Sacreys from the latter end of the sixteenth into the first half of the seventeenth centuries.<sup>158</sup> The distribution of sons of Dover butchers through other towns in the region is marked. Matthew Pensax's son, John, was a butcher in Canterbury in 1624, but he was searcher of flesh in Dover in 1640, as his father had been in 1609.<sup>159</sup> He presumably returned to Dover after the death of his widowed mother, who continued to trade long after the death of his father in 1617, as can be seen from her frequent presentments for trading on Sundays.<sup>160</sup> When his father died in 1617 he left two houses in Dover, and one in Canterbury that had been occupied by John Chandler, who was also a Dover butcher.<sup>161</sup> John Chandler was the second son of William Chandler, a Dover butcher who died in 1604. He left £9 for each of his seven children, but the residue of his goods to his first son, William, who appears to have taken over from him in Dover.<sup>162</sup> William died in 1612, and it was presumably some time after that that John returned to Dover from the shop in Canterbury he had rented from Matthew Pensax. He had a younger brother, also John, who was a tallow chandler in Dover.<sup>163</sup> Abraham Chandler, mentioned above, seems to have been from the same family, although not a sibling. He was more prosperous, having cattle in the

marsh and property at Hythe.<sup>164</sup> His son Matthew became a butcher, but another son, William, served an apprenticeship with a shoemaker.<sup>165</sup> A similar situation existed among the Marltons. Abraham and Edmund Marlton were butchers in Dover, Edmund being described as "late of Elham," but John Marlton, who seems to have been Abraham's brother was a butcher in Deal.<sup>166</sup> Similarly, John Hooker, a Dover butcher, had two sons, Edward and Richard. Richard lived in Sandwich where Edward visited him on at least one occasion, in order to make an expedition to Deal to buy a stolen bullock.<sup>167</sup> When Richard died, apparently young, his widow came to Dover with their children to live with her father-in-law, but the corporation ordered John Hooker to make them return to Sandwich.<sup>168</sup> The notion that single, close-knit family groups worked together as butchers, to the exclusion of outsiders, is reinforced by the active role played by women in the occupation. In the section above on the economic region important to Dover, the example was given of Jane Bradshaw, a butcher's widow, travelling into the Marsh to settle her husband's debts.<sup>169</sup> Her sister, Silvester Lovell, was also a butcher's wife.<sup>170</sup> Rebecca Pensax, who continued to trade long after her husband was dead, had been briefly married to another butcher, Humphrey Bryant, before she married Matthew Pensax.<sup>171</sup> Widow Sacrey also continued to trade, and was presented for doing so during the time of divine service.<sup>172</sup> Widow Marlton was trading in 1621, six years after her husband's death.<sup>173</sup> The father of John Storey, the apprentice who was taken on by Robert Kennet, was probably the John Storey, butcher, who had married Agnes West, a butcher's daughter.<sup>174</sup>

A defamation case of 1621 in the Consistory Court, Martin contra Lord, reveals that Alice Martin was the active partner in buying and selling cattle as well as in selling meat. Alice, the wife of George Martin, a butcher, claimed she had been defamed by James Lord, another butcher. A witness deposed that James Lord persuaded him to accompany him to George

Martin's house "because George Martin's wife and James Lord were to make up some reckonings", with which Lord was, in turn, to pay a debt he owed to the witness. They had supper with Alice, in the absence of her husband, but when her husband returned they all went to an alehouse to drink. While they were thus employed, "George Martin's wife fell to reckoning about bullocks which James Lord had let George Martin's wife have to serve her customers, in which reckoning they began to fall into foul words", and Lord said Alice Martin was a whore of her tongue. Interestingly, she said that it was she who had made Lord a butcher.<sup>175</sup> There is no doubt that she, rather than her husband, was pursuing the occupation of butcher. When he married her she was a widow and he pleaded for, and received, his freedom for taking on responsibility for her children,<sup>176</sup> which perhaps suggests that her former husband had been a butcher and she married again in order to carry on her occupation more easily.

There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that butchers were an alienated group in the society of the time. The defamation case is only one of many contentious issues that arose between butchers in the town. They were also frequently before the magistrates for violent behaviour,<sup>177</sup> and before the church courts for trading on Sundays.<sup>178</sup> They were hedged around with restrictions about disposing their waste, presenting their meat in good condition, using accurate weights, not offending against Lenten restrictions and observing seasonal rules, for example, so that they might well have felt themselves to be a persecuted group.<sup>179</sup> They were also subject to invasions of their houses by the constables in search of illegally stored meat, and this led to occasional explosive behaviour, as in the case of John Hooker, one of whose daughters called the constable "snotty-nosed fellow".<sup>180</sup> The fact that they had knives and cleavers to hand when they were arguing led to a number of bloodsheds, as when James Lord badly cut William Hewson, the

victualler in whose house he habitually drank, or when William Sacrey's wife attacked his brother.<sup>181</sup> Family and occupation were, it seems, particularly closely and exclusively linked among butchers.

Networks of kin can therefore be seen to have operated in different ways in different occupational groups. Mariners, bound to the sea and their stock of ships, and brewers, bound to the land and their brewhouses, formed alliances that put to use and increased their common stock and provided opportunities for senior and junior members of the resulting family groups to pursue a living. In both these groups, families had been in East Kent for many generations at this period and the tradition of partibility served to hold kin together in a situation of mutual consultation and dependence, while incomers were absorbed into the existing tradition by marriage. Sixteenth century innkeepers often seem to have sprung from similar kin networks, but a development towards individualism can be seen in the way in which late sixteenth century and seventeenth century immigrants used the ownership of inns to enter into clientage and office with men whose connections were with the Crown rather than the town. Butchers present a different case, and their families seem to have been forced into the position of becoming a group that has some of the appearance of a caste. Women played a crucial role in the creation and maintenance of all these groups.

### ii) Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship was as valid a method as marriage of entering into the economic and social community and, at first sight, might seem to have been less dependent upon existing social structures. It will be argued, however, that successful apprenticeship could be at least partly conditional upon social constraints over which the apprentice had very little control. Entry into an apprenticeship was a serious matter and had its small ceremony. Indentures were signed before witnesses, who

normally included the apprentice's father.<sup>182</sup> If the father were already dead, the mother signed.<sup>183</sup> If the apprentice came from some distance, or was an orphan, the agreement was signed "in consultation" with his "friends" or kinsmen in the town, or with a guardian.<sup>184</sup> In some cases poor apprentices were assigned to a master by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of his parish.<sup>185</sup> If the apprenticeship failed, and ended in a mutually agreed separation between a master and his apprentice, there was another ceremony; this time the master and the parent of the apprentice delivered up the indenture and its counterpart "and they were both torn in pieces" by the master or his wife.<sup>186</sup>

A few such indentures survive for the years 1583 and 1584. The body of each is identical, with the apprentice covenanting to preserve his master's secrets, keep his commandments, and not to fornicate in or out of his master's house, nor commit any hurt to his master, nor haunt any victualling or tippling houses unless it be about his master's business or affairs, not to play unlawful games, nor to waste, spend, lend nor consume any of his master's goods, not to contract nor espouse matrimony with any woman, and not to absent nor withdraw himself from his master's service by day nor night. He was to behave himself in all things as a true and faithful servant and apprentice ought to do. In return the master promised to teach and instruct the apprentice, or cause him to be taught or instructed in the relevant craft, science or occupation, allowing him meat, drink, woollen hose, shoes and everything necessary to an apprentice of that craft or trade. He was also to chastise or correct him "in due manner and reasonable order."<sup>187</sup>

The indentures differed in detail. Some offered a small payment to the apprentice during his term.<sup>188</sup> Most apprenticeships were for a term of 7 years, but shoemakers and glovers were taken on for 8 years, and merchants, drapers, wheelwrights and coopers sometimes for as much as 9

or 10 years.<sup>189</sup> There were also variations in the award given to the apprentice by the master at the end of the term. Most offered double apparel, for working and holidays, and a sum of money - 10s. or 13s.4d. One shoemaker offered no clothes at the end, but the more substantial sum of £3.5s.<sup>190</sup> Later court cases show that the clothing in particular was zealously inspected for its sufficiency by the mothers of apprentices at the end of their term of service.<sup>191</sup>

Apprenticeship was clearly perceived to be an important part of an adolescent's education and preparation for adult life. Some wealthy parents left money for their children's academic education; James Smith, a butcher and grazier, for example left part of the rent of a manor in 1576 to pay for his son to go "to school in the university of Cambridge, the inns of Chancery, or inns of court".<sup>192</sup> Others expressed a wish, or made provision for, their child - or god-child in the case of Thomas Fisher in 1593 - to be put to some science or craft, usually after they had received some schooling.<sup>193</sup> John Warde, for example, stipulated that his son should be "kept to the school" for six years and his daughter for two years before they were "put forth to some good art or science".<sup>194</sup>

The wishes of parents for specific kinds of instruction were sometimes included in indentures. A memorandum in the common council proceedings notes, for example, that in 1586 Richard Williams was put apprentice to a tailor who was "to teach him the art of a tailor and the science of a musician".<sup>195</sup> In 1607 a jurat master covenanted to permit his apprentice for half a year, as convenient, to go to school to learn to write, and to feed him meanwhile. The apprentice's father and other friends agreed to pay the schoolmaster.<sup>196</sup> In 1614 a mariner covenanted to employ his apprentice within three years in "voyages to Malaga and other ports in Spain, to Bordeaux and into the East countries for his better attaining knowledge."<sup>197</sup> Conversely an indenture was dissolved

in 1621 when a shoemaker master moved to Norwich, and the apprentice and his father expressed an unwillingness for him to move "unto so remote a place."<sup>198</sup>

What rationale, if any, lay behind the mutual selection of master and apprentice? Some tentative answers to this question can be proposed on the evidence of a list of apprenticeship indentures registered between 1598 and 1667.<sup>199</sup> This list was made when it was agreed, in January 1602, that "such as serve as apprentices to freemen by seven years in this town should have admittance to their freedom at the end of their seven years, paying 3s.4d. to the corporation".<sup>200</sup> The beginning of the list is, therefore, retrospective, disordered, and of doubtful value, but names seem to have been more systematically entered from 1606 onwards. The list has been used from its beginning in 1598 until 1640, during which period it can be compared with other information.

Table 4: 1 Average number of apprentices enrolled in Dover per year, in five-year periods

1606-1610	4.2
1611-1615	4.0
1616-1620	5.0
1621-1625	13.2
1626-1630	4.8
1631-1635	7.6
1636-1640	9.2

Source: CKS DCAM 1558 fos. 34-66

As it can be seen the numbers were small, but the information nevertheless has some significance. The list makes it immediately apparent that only a small minority of apprentices were set to masters practising the same trade as their fathers, although there are signs that this may not have been so true from the mid-1630s. There must, therefore, have been other criteria for selection. Reasons for the choice of apprentice and of the area of the country from which he came were apparently partly economic and partly social. The only craftsmen who seem to have drawn their apprentices mainly from Dover, apart from

the seafarers, were those who were generally involved in construction: bricklayers, coopers, plumbers, glaziers and wheelwrights. Of 17 masters in these crafts, 9 took local apprentices and 8 foreign ones. There is a similar balance among mariners, 40 taking local boys and 39 foreign ones. Shipwrights, however, showed a balance in favour of foreign apprentices - 12 foreigners to 9 local boys. The choice of foreign apprentices was greater in other trades and can be set out thus:

clothing:	8 from Dover 11 from outside
food:	3 from Dover 11 from outside
innkeepers:	1 from Dover 7 from outside
leather workers:	6 from Dover 20 from outside
maltsters:	2 from the near rural area
smiths:	1 from Dover 4 from outside
barber-surgeons	
and an apothecary	3 from Dover 14 from outside

Since it appears that craftsmen did not usually select their apprentices on the basis of the similarity of the father's craft to their own, the choice of foreign apprentices was not likely to have been made on the basis of regional specialization in certain crafts. In some cases, it seems possible that apprentices were drawn from the area where their master did business, and it suggests that the choice tended to be made by the father of the apprentice rather than by the potential master. Of the 20 foreign apprentices to the leather trade, 6 came from Hythe, 3 from Folkestone, or near it, and 4 from Canterbury. These were places where leather workers might well have gone to buy hides,<sup>201</sup> and it seems possible that they would have encountered men there wishing to place their sons in trade. Similarly, all but one of the inn-keeping and vintner apprentices were drawn from towns - Canterbury, Sandwich and Faversham - although only one was the son of a hackneyman.<sup>202</sup> All but one of the remainder were the sons of woollen drapers, tailors or grocers, presumably men of the wealthier sort, accustomed to conducting their business in inns.<sup>203</sup>

The origin of mariners' apprentices shows the greatest variety. They

were more likely than others to be local boys, which is not surprising in a town whose main business was seafaring, but when they came from elsewhere they came from further afield than any other group, and obviously from towns on their masters' sea-routes: from Devon, Dorset, Cornwall, Yorkshire and Northumberland, as well as from the local ports. The list also shows that a Dover bricklayer apprenticed one of his sons to a shipmaster from St. Andrews while he was in port.<sup>204</sup> The entry of an apprentice from a distant town sometimes established or reinforced a long-standing connection between that town and Dover, so that earlier apprenticeships might well explain some of the areas from which the early seventeenth century boys came. Francis Barrington came from Warwickshire to be apprenticed to Maximilian Scot, a Dutch wheelwright.<sup>205</sup> When he attained his freedom and took an apprentice in 1624, he took the son of a gardener from Sandwich called Bobba, who seems likely to have been a Dutchman also, perhaps as part of an obligation to his former master.<sup>206</sup> His second apprentice, in 1626, was the son of a hackneyman from Warwickshire, whence he had himself come to Dover.<sup>207</sup>

Sailors were particularly likely to behave in this way. It seems likely, for example, that John Chalke, a Dover sailor, originated from Landolph in Cornwall, for in 1615 his brother Robert, whose father still lived in Landolph, came from there to be John's apprentice in Dover.<sup>208</sup> He was followed in 1620 by two more apprentices for his brother, one from Landolph and one from Saltash in Cornwall.<sup>209</sup> William Lovell from Landolph was indentured in consultation with his uncle and his friends in Dover, which suggests that some of the numerous Lovells in Dover might also have come from Cornwall originally - possibly John, the only sailor.<sup>210</sup> In 1617 another Dover sailor, William Tatam, also took an apprentice from Landolph, followed by one in 1621 from Devon, but called Trescott, which suggests a Cornish origin.<sup>211</sup> A similar pattern of

migration between the west country and Dover seems to have been set up among the ship-owning Sisely family.<sup>212</sup> Sailors, with their distant connections, brought apprentices to other trades in the town as well. In 1628, for example, the son of a Whitby tanner became apprenticed to a Dover shipwright "in consultation with" Thomas Wallop, a Dover mariner.<sup>213</sup>

The migration of apprentices helps to reveal the process by which family networks spread through the county, sometimes as the result of the death of one parent and the remarriage of the survivor outside the town, or as the result of the migration of one sibling to another town. These migrations in turn attracted others. Henry Trussler, originally a Dover child, came back to Dover to be apprenticed in 1614. By then he lived in Swinfield with his mother, who had remarried to William Nethersole.<sup>214</sup> Thomas Deedes, the son of a deceased Hythe brewer, was apprenticed in consultation with a kinsman, Julius Deedes, "gentleman" of Dover; John Swayne came from Pett in Sussex in 1624 to be apprenticed in consultation with his sister, who was married to a Dover brewer; Robert Bronard came from Hinxhill in 1638 and was apprenticed in consultation with his brother, and in 1624 Henry Everard, the son of a deceased gentleman from Sarre, was apprenticed to Roger White in Dover by his feoffees, who included Sir Norton Knatchbull, and George Binge, a prominent figure in Dover.<sup>215</sup>

The importance of "friends" as well as the parents or guardians of the apprentice in initiating these migrations should not be underestimated, as is suggested by a case heard in the Dover court in 1632. An unnamed apprentice had come from Westchester "by his friends' counsel" to have been bound apprentice to Thomas Tiddeman, mariner, who had prepared the indentures in anticipation. The apprentice refused to serve him, however, and went to London "and so homeward."<sup>216</sup> Such friends, who seemed to be part of a kinship network, are fairly commonly mentioned in

cases involving apprentices, and it seems possible that they extended the range of advice and choice for a father or widowed mother looking for a good master for an apprentice, and that they defended the apprentice's interests similarly.

It seems likely that the fathers or friends of the potential apprentice might have taken the initiative in selecting a possible master when the master was well-established, or was in an occupation perceived as having high status. The indenture list reveals a noticeable correlation between high-status masters and apprentices who were the sons of yeomen or gentry. A particularly clear example is provided by the Barley brothers of Hastings. Their father was a jurat of Hastings, and he sent his son John to be apprenticed to the Dover baker John Pringle in 1626, the year John Pringle was mayor.<sup>217</sup> Thomas Barley, the second brother, was apprenticed to William Richards, a Dover mercer of good standing, in 1631.<sup>218</sup> When John and Thomas Barley became free they remained in Dover and took apprentices themselves; John's first was also from Sussex and his second was the son of a London clothier; Thomas's first was the son of a Canterbury gentleman.<sup>219</sup>

Among Dover shoemakers, Alexander White seems to have attracted the sons of yeomen, taking on four in succession from Barham, Capel, Wittersham and Lydd.<sup>220</sup> He was warden of the Company of Shoemakers in 1623, and his will shows him to have had a number of servants and to have been quite prosperous.<sup>221</sup> Another such shoemaker was Edward Hudless, whose two first indentured apprentices were his own sons, but who thereafter took a shoemaker's son from Canterbury and a yeoman's son from Hythe.<sup>222</sup> His daughter was married to another shoemaker, who had as apprentice the son of the mayor of Folkestone.<sup>223</sup> Edward Hudless also served as Master of the Company of Shoemakers.<sup>224</sup> It might be supposed that these particular shoemakers had been sought out as good masters for apprentices by men living some distance from the town and knowing of

their reputation. A similar pattern can be observed in the clothing trade: among the town's successful tailors, Roger White for example had at least five apprentices whose fathers were of yeoman status between 1606 and 1638.<sup>225</sup> Since he was born in Ringwold, it is not surprising that he had apprentices from Deal, Sarre and Dover Castle.<sup>226</sup>

Certain trades as well as certain individuals seem to have enjoyed a higher status than others at different periods. Apprentices to merchants in Dover at this period were frequently the sons of yeomen or gentlemen, and having finished their apprenticeship they stayed on as freemen in the town, unsurprisingly at a time of increasing trade and with the promise of freedom for 3s.4d. at the end of their apprenticeship. All the apprentices of Nicholas Eaton, who was not only wealthy, but also mayor of Dover on more than one occasion, were sons of yeomen, one of whom, John Rolfe, in turn had apprentices with similar origins.<sup>227</sup>

Since merchants' apprentices sometimes had to go abroad and conduct business for their masters, a reasonable degree of general education would obviously have been desirable. Some movement of the sons of clothiers to apprenticeship with merchants in Dover can also be observed at this time. For example, William Richards, the mercer who took on Thomas Barley, also had as apprentice the son of a clothier from Little Chart in 1625; William Nethersole, mercer, in 1618 took as apprentice John Denne, a yeoman's son from Ripple, who in 1630, in his turn, took the son of a clothier from Cranbrook, and Daniel Porten, one of the wealthiest merchants of the town took, in 1639, the son of a clothworker from Southampton.<sup>228</sup> Such a movement might suggest that clothiers regarded merchants as having a more favourable future in the early seventeenth century, or it could merely confirm the links between merchants and those who supplied them with one of their chief commodities. Another occupation that clearly rose in status and profitability during the period was that of barber-surgeon. The list

shows that Thomas Chambers, an established surgeon, took 6 apprentices between 1608 and 1623, one of whom was his son.<sup>229</sup> By 1608 he already had an apprentice, Thomas Day, whom he ill-treated.<sup>230</sup> When Thomas Day became free, he took a Dover sawyer's son as his first apprentice in 1610, but in 1615 he took a gentleman's son, whose brother had gone as apprentice to a leading Dover shipmaster in 1612. Thereafter, his apprentices were all the sons of yeomen or gentlemen.<sup>231</sup> Thomas Day eventually became mayor for two years beginning in 1638.<sup>232</sup> He was commonly held in the town to be a Puritan,<sup>233</sup> and it is interesting to wonder whether his apprentices might have come from families who shared his views. Randolph Partridge, an apothecary, similarly drew apprentices from yeomen families in East Kent, and one of his apprentices had a brother serving his apprenticeship with a well-connected tailor in Dover.<sup>234</sup>

Shipwrights appear to have developed a high status in Dover at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Ship's carpenters and sailmakers seem to have worked in fairly small units before that, but the indenture list shows not only a regular replacement of apprentices by shipwrights in the early seventeenth century, but the employment of two or three at a time by the three leading shipwrights. The first shipwright to have become a major figure in the town was William Tatnall, whose first apprentice in 1607 came, as might be expected, from Chatham; he also employed his nephew, Valentine, who came from the rural area close to Dover.<sup>235</sup> In spite of the success of his enterprise, however, he seems not to have attracted high status apprentices. Since a number of his apprentices ran away or complained of his treatment of them, it can be supposed that in time his reputation ran before him.<sup>236</sup> Unlike other craftsmen, master shipwrights seem to have employed apprentices whose fathers practised a compatible craft. Perhaps this is not surprising at a time of booming trade when experienced hands would have been useful.

It is probably more likely, however, that fathers and friends in similar trades appreciated the opportunities for shipwrights in Dover during its period as an international entrepot. In addition to a yeoman's son, Valentine Tatnall employed the son of a ship's carpenter from St. John's in Thanet, and Matthew Royal the son of shipwright from Rye, whose kinsman was an established shipwright in Dover.<sup>237</sup> Apprentices to other shipwrights had fathers who were shipwrights or carpenters or, in one case, a millwright.<sup>238</sup> Yet Thomas Gull, who became one of the most prosperous shipwrights, had three apprentices who were sons of yeomen in the area close to Dover, and this may well reflect his own links with the neighbourhood and his personal status.<sup>239</sup>

If the children of yeomen and gentry families tended to be placed as apprentices with high-status individuals or in high-status trades, what of less advantaged children and tradesmen? Another fairly steady correlation indicated by the indenture list is for the first apprentice of a middling kind of tradesman and for several of the apprentices of a poor tradesman to be the sons of deceased fathers. The less successful the master, the more likely he was to have both fatherless and local apprentices. This was by no means an immutable rule, and cannot in any case be tested statistically without more information about income and about the number of apprentices already taken before the list began, but it was a marked tendency. Five coopers are registered as taking apprentices during the period concerned. The first apprentice listed for three of them had deceased fathers.<sup>240</sup> Five leather workers began with such apprentices, and one, Edward Goodwin, who had an influential father but seemed to be often in trouble for various reasons, had four successive fatherless apprentices, the first three from Dover.<sup>241</sup> About one third of the mariners listed took fatherless apprentices early in their careers, and some of the poorer ones, particularly the fishermen, had only fatherless apprentices from Dover.<sup>242</sup> Only three of these

apprentices had fathers who had been mariners, so it was not a case of mutual support among the occupational group. These apprentices' fathers had been carpenters, labourers, hackneymen and blacksmiths, and one had been a brewer, one an innholder, one a miller and one a maltster.

Of the shipwrights, only William Tatnall, who seems to have been a hard master, had three widow's sons in turn, although William Dawkes took the son of a deceased cooper as his first apprentice in 1640 when he was only about 25 years old.<sup>243</sup> Of the merchants listed, only one took a deceased labourer's son as apprentice, in the year in which he gained his freedom.<sup>244</sup>

The mayor and jurats seem to have taken their responsibility as guardians to orphans seriously, and to have used apprenticeship as one means of fulfilling it. They also used the system as a way of dealing with poverty. At this period there are many examples of orphans and the children of widowed mothers being placed as apprentices in return for some favour to the master, such as a tax reduction or free entry into freedom.<sup>245</sup> In one such case, the apprentice ran away from his master, who returned the money he had had from the town to the widowed mother of the apprentice, and she went to the town court to acknowledge this.<sup>246</sup>

In a number of cases children were placed "in consultation with" the churchwardens and the overseers of the poor, and the town supplied them with clothing. Sometimes a child was put to a master at a very early age and paid for by the town until he or she was old enough to exchange apprenticeship indentures with the master; for example, before the list began, in 1589, an order was made that Edward Heneker "a fatherless child" should serve and be with John Caseby, mariner, after the manner of an apprentice for thirteen years.<sup>247</sup> Of the seven children on the list placed in consultation with the Overseers, four went to mariners, and in general it seems true to say that seafaring absorbed the majority of the poorer children of the town.<sup>248</sup>

It was not only the corporation who could offer inducements to masters to take apprentices. It is clear from the will of a widow, Helen Greene, in 1553 that she made a loan of over £15 to the master of her apprentice son.<sup>249</sup> She was not the only widow to have cash to invest, and it seems possible that such a loan coming with an apprentice might have been a welcome boost for a number of men at the beginning of their careers.

Masters sometimes also acted as bankers for apprentices who had inherited some small property. In 1602, for example, Christopher Bulger acknowledged in the town hall that he owed £6 to his apprentice for a lease he held, and that he must repay it when the term of apprenticeship was expired.<sup>250</sup> It seems possible that such concealed financial benefits in taking fatherless children might have been fairly widespread. There are two cases that suggest that positive financial benefits accrued from taking girls as apprentices. In one case the master "had 32s. with her" and in the other he had 20s. and was promised another 20s. to come from the church wardens.<sup>251</sup>

The number of cases of runaway apprentices and of mutually agreed separations of apprentice from master increased in the early seventeenth century. It is not clear whether they were simply better recorded or whether the formal relationship was proving more difficult to adhere to by this time. There are signs that some masters were taking the injunction of the indenture to chastise their apprentices when necessary too seriously. It is also clear that some apprentices were very unruly. The paternalism of the godly ruling group is signified in the ceremony in which master and apprentice were reconciled to each other after one or other of them had transgressed the rules of their relationship. In each of these cases the mutuality of obligations and the need for the fruitful restoration of right order was stressed. The master had to acknowledge his responsibility to the apprentice, but the apprentice had to make a visible sign of submission by kneeling to his master as he

made his apology. These cases are too numerous to detail.<sup>252</sup> In a typical example, in 1609, John Does, an apprentice, had been imprisoned for three days for running away from his master, Henry Lamberd, a cooper, and for embezzling his goods and playing for money in service time. Before the court, the master sued for the apprentice to be spared "for which John Does upon his knees desired his pardon for all offences past and promised ever hereafter to do him true and faithful service."

Upon this, he was taken back into service.<sup>253</sup>

If the master did not sue for mercy for his apprentice, the submission ceremony was usually preceded by a public whipping of the apprentice in the town hall. In cases where the master felt there was no hope of amendment, or where the apprentice had shown conclusively that his master would never be likely to treat him well, the magistrates gave permission for a mutual separation.<sup>254</sup> The normal course was, however, for them to force the apprentice to return and to urge the guilty party to behave better in future.

The complaints of apprentices were often that they were ill-fed and clothed.<sup>255</sup> It was not always sons of poor parents who suffered in this way. Stephen Marsh, apprentice to Richard Dawkes, a mercer, complained in 1615 that his master had beaten him for taking two herrings and a piece of bread to eat privately because on Saturdays - that is on market day - they used not to eat until 3 or 4 in the afternoon.<sup>256</sup> On that occasion Dawkes was told to use his apprentice properly and the apprentice was cautioned to be careful to do his best service. The next month the same apprentice complained once again that he had been badly beaten with a yard for writing in his room, for reading his master's Bible and for not sewing two papers in two pieces of linsey woolsey. The same monitions were made.<sup>257</sup> Early in the next year, the apprentice once again complained, this time that his master had not given him fit apparel for "this extreme frost and snow". His thin canvas doublet and

breeches and wet feet in broken shoes testified to this. Dawkes was instructed to give him warm apparel.<sup>258</sup> It was in fact quite difficult for an apprentice to escape from an uncongenial master. In this case, a series of quarrels between Richard Dawkes and Richard, John and Thomas Marsh between 1619 and 1629 suggest that ill-feeling continued between the master and the apprentice's kin.<sup>259</sup>

Chastisement of the apprentice sometimes gave way to what the courts recognized as "extreme ill-treatment". This was occasionally applied by the master's wife. In 1620 Elizabeth Sergeant complained that her master had beaten her twice the day before, breaking a wand on her, then holding her while his wife beat her with a bed staff, so that her arms and legs "were much black with the beating." The wife of William Norman's master threatened to thrust a knife through his cheeks, and struck him with a shovel. The master was told to govern his wife, but no cause was found to separate master and apprentice. Separation was granted, however, when a butcher put a rope round his female apprentice's neck and, offering to pull it to a beam and so hang her up to whip her, was only prevented by his wife from killing the girl. It was also granted to George Felbeck, apprentice to a blacksmith, after he had been forcibly returned once to more ill-treatment, threats of death from the blacksmith's wife, no provision of food or clothes, and "extraordinary correction", which he was no longer able to endure.<sup>260</sup> Stephen Baxe, together with his friends, complained of immoderate correction by his master, a tailor, who had hung him up by the heels and whipped him. The support of his friends presumably helped his case, as his master had to find sureties to appear at the next Sessions.<sup>261</sup> On the other hand, when a widow complained that the fisherman with whom the Overseers had placed her son apprentice had misused him "by extreme correction", her son was stripped and his body viewed. When no evidence of beating was seen "neither did it appear that he had been otherwise

used than such an apprentice ought to be", the mother was admonished and told not to receive her son at her house nor to have any more dealings with him. He later ran away, and was whipped and returned to his master.<sup>262</sup>

Apprentices were by no means all blameless, however, and it is clear that a number of them were a severe trial to their masters. Those who were stubborn and difficult were brought to court and instructed to be dutiful. In 1613 Andrew Bredgate brought his apprentice to court and asked that he should be punished because he had now become so strong and stout that he could not rule him. Among the apprentice's offences were stealing his master's key to his wine cellar and then enticing other people's apprentices there to get drunk, living in a disorderly way, staying out at night and breaking a neighbour's windows.<sup>263</sup> Drunkenness and lingering late at night in tippling houses were fairly common causes for complaint; there were also some complaints of absence from church. Apprentices were often accused of stealing, sometimes unjustly. Thomas Wappoll was accused of stealing money from his master and giving it unlawfully to his mother, Cecily. She denied this and accused the master of ill-treatment, but her son admitted he had stolen the money.<sup>264</sup> Other apprentices were urged to theft by their masters, like the one who was sent out early in the morning to steal herring from boats in the harbour.<sup>265</sup> The friendly master of one apprentice refused to believe he had stolen some money from the chest of a visiting sailor, and visited a shepherd skilled in divination to find whether he was guilty. Happily the sailor found he had mislaid his money himself.<sup>266</sup> It was obviously quite natural, in such cases, to blame the apprentice first as being the most likely suspect.

Two apprentices, both shipwrights, were seriously violent to their masters; one attacked William Tatnall with an axe while they were at Tenterden; another attacked his master with a mallet while they were

both on board a ship.<sup>267</sup> Most of the cases of bad behaviour by apprentices seem to have occurred towards the end of the stipulated term, when the discipline must have become irksome to young men in their early twenties.

Fatherless children were sometimes taken by a master in a quasi-apprenticeship, devised to provide a home and education for them, but without a formal indenture. For example, John Graunt complained that the son of a deceased mariner of London had been placed with him so that he should provide for him until he should be fit to be placed in service, and he had done right by him, but of late the boy "is grown stubborn" and being about 19 years old was forward to depart from his service. Having been at great charge to keep him from his infancy, the master felt aggrieved. The mayor and jurats ordered that the boy should be formally sworn apprentice to the master for 5 years by indenture. Having refused, the apprentice was sent to prison.<sup>268</sup> Girls were sometimes put in a similar situation. A licensed victualler was given his licence in return for taking apprentice an illegitimate parish child. Having put her out of his service, he was called to answer for it and said that he had taken her sister, who was named in the indenture, but not the girl he had put out. As he continued in his refusal, he was suppressed from victualling.<sup>269</sup>

Apprentices were very vulnerable, especially those who did not have the protection of a father or a group of friends. In 1614 it was noted that Robert Saunders, mariner, had put the apprentice he brought from London out of service. The apprentice was in the Almshouse, a distressed young man.<sup>270</sup> In 1624 an apprentice's master died and his widow married again. The apprentice remained with the new master, as the custom was, but complained of wrongs done to him. On this occasion, after a long hearing, the mayor and jurats agreed that after the completion of one more voyage, of which the new master should have the profit, the

apprentice could have his indentures and be set at liberty.<sup>271</sup> The fact that so many apprentices ran away, sometimes two or three times, at the risk of being whipped in public and probably corrected again when they were returned to their master, suggests that the ideal relationship presented by the indentures was often far from the truth.

The apprenticeship system, then, while operating as part of an educational process, seems to have been regulated to some extent by the normal social constraints of status and kinship and by the economic position of both the master and the apprentice's family. It can be seen that the mutual selection of apprentice and master tended to reinforce the status quo. At the same time, it was a system that extended kinship links both in the region and further afield, and that underpinned adult migration. When used by the corporation as part of their system of social control, it nicely reflected both their paternalistic attitudes and their anxiety to save expense.

### iii) The ruling group

Status and kinship were also vital elements in the formation of the ruling group. Although it was at times divided among itself, it was constant in one respect: it recruited new members not only through birth but through marriage to the daughters or widows of Dover freemen. Throughout the period the individual members of successive ruling groups were linked by kinship, obligation and economic interest. This did not, however, preclude change, if only because the benefits of marriage to the daughters and widows of urban freemen encouraged immigration to the town.

Change in the community from the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII until the second half of the reign of Charles I is reflected in the composition of the town's ruling group and in the priorities it exhibited in civic administration. Change resulted from a combination of

economic, religious, and political developments. In economic terms, as has been demonstrated in the first part of this study, the town's normal trading was distorted by a bubble of international trading at the end of the period, but both the scale and the status of normal market trading had also developed in the intervening period, bringing new men into the ruling group. Religious change was at least as profound.<sup>272</sup> At the beginning of the period two churchmen, the Prior of St. Martin's and the Master of the Maison Dieu, effectively formed part of the ruling group, the Prior in a ceremonial sense, and the Master as overseer of the administration and accounts of the harbour. When their Houses were dissolved their lands were dispersed among laymen and in many cases were ultimately leased by members of the ruling group, a group which, by the turn of the century had, ironically, constituted itself a godly magistracy. Politically, Dover was always particularly vulnerable to Crown policies because the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports was at least theoretically based in the Castle, and because the corporation needed financial help to maintain the harbour. The Lord Warden and the Lieutenant of Dover Castle put pressures on the ruling group throughout the period, but after the accession of James I, and once the town had ceded its harbour to the Crown, those pressures increased. The appointment of the Duke of Buckingham to the Wardenship in the seventeenth century confirmed the establishment of a new era in patronage and the quest for office, and in interference in the town's affairs.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century the town had established customs and traditions of liberty that it perceived as ancient, and that were expressed in its custumal. The mayor was elected by the commoners of the town after they had been summoned to the church of St. Peter's by the blowing of the common horn. The ceremonial and administrative year began with the election of the mayor on September 8th, the feast of the

Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary,<sup>273</sup> with the sense of a new start implicit in the religious observance. "The general high feasts" of the year marked the passage of time in a way that ceremonially brought together the administrative year, the Christian festivals and the changing seasons. At the celebration of these festivals, the Prior of St. Martin's and the Master of the Maison Dieu were usually included.<sup>274</sup>

The basic pattern of the town's administrative week at that period suggests that the oligarchy's main interests were still largely rural, and that its members gathered in the town at the end of each week. The ordinary town court was held on Fridays, except from the beginning of harvest until Michaelmas, when it was held on Sundays.<sup>275</sup> Saturday was market day (with exceptions for religious festivals) and all standard payments of money to the town were made and recorded on that day.<sup>276</sup> Church attendance on Sunday was often followed by a meeting of the common assembly, until 1614.<sup>277</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that at the beginning of the period the mayors and most of the jurats were drawn from the group of minor gentry and yeomen who were native to the area, and whose families owned land near the town and, for the most part, farmed it. Nicholas Aldy, who was mayor in 1513-14 and 1517-18 had to be "ridden for" to Ash three times when he was needed in the summer of 1515.<sup>278</sup> His wife was the widow of John Pocock, who had been mayor in 1501-02, and the bequests in her will were to other members of the oligarchy and their children: Richard Fineas, Thomas Fyneux, and her goddaughter Joan Nethersole. Among her feoffees were a future mayor, and the father of another one.<sup>279</sup> All these people were from families who owned land in the area from Hougham to Sandwich. John Broke, mayor in 1511-12, referred in his will to the agreement he had made with Edward Monins (from a gentry family who usually had one member among the ruling group in Dover) that Broke's son

should marry Monins's daughter, and that Edward Monins should receive 100 marks if this came about.<sup>280</sup> Such families, from whom were also drawn the Burgesses to Parliament and Justices of the Peace, dominated the mayoralty until 1520. Their status was not in doubt.

In the difficult period of the 1520s, a "flight from office" has been noticed in a number of towns.<sup>281</sup> Actual refusal of office seems to have been rare in Dover at this period, but a noticeable change in the kind of man considered suitable for election to mayor suggests that the oligarchy was in effect becoming more open in its need to find men prepared to spend time and money in return for status, and mayors were drawn increasingly often from men in the food and drink trades. This change may not have been entirely popular at first. The election of John Elam, a vintner and shop-owner, in 1520 was disputed.<sup>282</sup> Robert Dyer, a baker, was elected for two consecutive years from 1522 and magnanimously declined a gift offered to him by the town in recompense for the great expense he had incurred.<sup>283</sup> Yet two gentlemen from Thanet ignored his authority to collect money from them, by-passing him in favour of direct payment to Canterbury.<sup>284</sup> Another new tendency was for men who appear to have been incomers to the town, such as Richard Couche, Edmund Jannyth and Thomas Foxley, to be elected to the highest office quite soon after entering it. In each of these cases, entry to freedom appears to have been by marriage.<sup>285</sup> It seems that the commonalty was eager to find people prepared to shoulder the burden of office in return for enhanced and secure status in their chosen community.

Membership of the jurat body in the sixteenth century was to a large extent conditional on age, so that groups of jurats tended to form cohorts that were only disrupted by illness and death. Jurats were always listed in their order of seniority, and it is thus possible to note the arrival of new members, who were often elected in groups of three or four as older jurats died. Changes can also be seen over time

in the economic interests and occupations of the jurat group. Table 4:2 lists the chief economic interests or occupations of cohorts of jurats at certain dates. Dates have been chosen that seem significant in representing established cohorts of jurats. These are: the final year of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary - 1547, 1553 and 1558; and 1583, just over half way through the reign of Elizabeth; 1604, shortly after James's accession, and 1633, well into the reign of Charles. It must be emphasized that this table shows only each jurat's principle occupation; most men at this level had, of course a number of different interests.<sup>286</sup> The term "trade" implies something slightly different at different periods. All the merchants in 1583 were retailing in the town; they were mercers, grocers and tailor-drapers.<sup>287</sup> One of the merchants in 1633 was a draper but the other two were chiefly involved in the sea trade.<sup>288</sup> It is also difficult to draw a clear distinction between brewers and grain dealers, particularly in the seventeenth century.

Table 4:2 Changes in the chief occupational interests of jurats in selected years 1547-1633

Occupation	1547	1553	1558	1583	1604	1633
land	3	4	1	2	0	0
victualling	3	5	3	2	1	0
ships	2	1	5	1	1	1
brewing	3	1	4	2	4	1
trade	0	1	0	6	4	3
Customs	0	0	1	0	1	0
law	0	0	0	1	0	0
grain-dealing	0	0	0	0	0	5
surgery	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	11	12	14	14	11	11
(includes the mayor)						

Source: Lists of jurats in the Dover Common Assembly Minute Books<sup>289</sup>

In spite of its deficiencies, the table suggests certain tendencies. The first merchant to claim "merchant" as his main occupation became part of the ruling body of the town in the early 1550s.<sup>290</sup> Under Mary, there seems to have been a concentration of seamen in the oligarchy and, for the first time in the period under review, a Crown officer, a Customer,

became a jurat.<sup>291</sup> No merchants entered the oligarchy during her reign, however, and Edmund Mitchell, senior, the merchant who had held office when she came to the throne, left the juratship in 1553, although he probably did not die until 1556.<sup>292</sup>

One of the most striking features of the table is the concentration of merchants; most of them mercers and tailor-drapers, who entered the oligarchy in the reign of Elizabeth, five of them being elected within two years of her coming to the throne.<sup>293</sup> 1583 was a very troubled time for the oligarchy, but the period that led up to it had seen the establishment of an active group of merchants in the town, who wanted to develop their own power and status within its confines.

The drop in the number of jurats in the seventeenth century possibly reflects growing reluctance to give valuable time to obligatory but increasingly difficult and unprofitable work. Merchants, particularly, were looking elsewhere for their rewards and status. The increase in the numbers of maltsters and of brewers dealing in grain at that period seems to reflect their increasing numbers in the town, but it should be noted that some of them, Stephen Monins, Luke Pepper and William Leonard, for example, came once again from the minor gentry families in the area, who had a tradition of service to the town. Another prominent jurat of this period, Thomas Tiddeman, came from a long-established seafaring family in the town, which shared a strongly Protestant faith with the landed families just mentioned.<sup>294</sup> The presence of such men in the ruling group in a sense paralleled the constitution of the Henrician and Edwardian oligarchy. In the seventeenth century, however, the active men in the town were looking outwards, economically at least, to external trade.

In order to see how radical change came about in the ruling group in the Elizabethan period, it is necessary to consider the new opportunities that presented themselves at the end of the Henrician period and to look

at the means by which some incomers established themselves in the town in the period between the 1540s and 1560s, becoming commoners and occasionally jurats, but not all yet reaching the highest office. They were, in a sense, preparing the way for the group who established themselves in the 1570s and 1580s.

The freeing of church lands after 1538 gave opportunities to new land holders and leasers.<sup>295</sup> The dissolution of the Maison Dieu pushed the whole responsibilities and opportunities involved in administering the harbour on to the civic administration. It will be shown that the dissolution of the three religious houses in the town also nudged some of the church's lay administrators into the service of the new landowners and, ultimately, into the service of the town. It also opened opportunities for new lay administrators. Legalism began to replace custom in some areas, and educated administrators can be seen to have been at an advantage in dealing with illiterate men. At the same time, some increase in economic prosperity brought more men into the town to trade. The administrators, merchants and new, speculative landowners seem to have formed common interests that were sometimes at odds with those of established landowners and men whose main wealth was invested in land and in their malthouses and brewhouses.

Alexander Mynge was such a newcomer. Born in Horseenden in about 1514, he went to Dover in about 1534 and established himself as a merchant, standing surety there for a London merchant in 1555.<sup>296</sup> He did not become a jurat until 1558–59, after the Marian period, but had acquired the rights to farm the tithes of Buckland Rectory from George Bingham of Canterbury by about 1556, and he pursued the payment of these pertinaciously through the ecclesiastical courts, as laymen were entitled to do after 1540.<sup>297</sup> Some of these actions illuminate the difference between old custom and new legality. In the 1560s he agreed to accept an annual sum of £5 from Thomas Colley for the commutation of

his tithes in Buckland. Late, slow payment of such sums was clearly common, but Mynge took Colley to court for their payment in 1567 and 1568. Mynge had taken advice from his learned counsel and insisted that Colley should enter into bonds with sureties for his payment, and was clearly not pleased when Colley finally paid, casually in the market place.<sup>298</sup>

Mynge's urban claims also clashed with rural custom in a case involving land formerly belonging to St. Bartholomew's hospital. Mynge brought a case in 1570 against James Smith, a butcher-grazier, who had a good deal of land in the surrounding area. There was no disagreement about the events, which were that Smith had set out his tithe for Mynge but then refused permission for Mynge's carts to cross his land by the best path, so that the tithe corn was destroyed by weather and cattle. The background of the witnesses brought in to decide whether or not the path was a private road suggests, however, that conflicting interests were at stake. Mynge's witnesses were Thomas Andrew, who was at that time a deputy Customer, and was buying land in the area, John Garrett, a draper, Gilbert Staples, a Castle gunner, and Roger Grice, a hackneyman. Smith's witnesses were countrymen and landowners, who said the path was a way "of licence and goodwill and not free for everyone."<sup>299</sup> The same Roger Grice and Thomas Andrews were two of the men who brought tithe cases against the widow Anne Pepper much later. On one such occasion Grice produced Alexander Mynge as a witness together with the brothers-in-law Robert Brome, a baker, and Robert Marsh, a tailor and yeoman.<sup>300</sup> All these men were part of a factious group in the oligarchy of the 1570s and 80s. At that time their town sergeant was Thomas Whiting, who had been a witness for George Bingham in other tithe cases, when he had been working as a rent collector for him. Whiting had gone from Canterbury to Dover in 1568 when he was about 28.<sup>301</sup> He continued to act as a rent collector for John Bargar when he leased some of the

Priory land from Bingham, and appeared in court in a number of tithe cases first for Bargar and then for his lessee, Millward, as well as for Bingham.<sup>302</sup> Clearly his work in Dover made it worth his staying there, and he later married a niece of Thomas Andrew, thus entering the

oligarchic kinship network, and putting his administrative and legal experience to good use on their behalf as town sergeant.<sup>303</sup>

It seems likely that such energetic and literate individuals as Alexander Mynge, Thomas Andrew, Roger Grice and Thomas Whiting helped to establish in law the break up of the estates of religious houses, and the redistribution of their tithes to laymen, which otherwise seem likely to have been maintained as entities for many years by sheer inertia, with the collection of rents and tithes being administered by uneducated servants of the Priory like John Cocke who, in a case about the Priory fish tithes in 1565, recognized the Priory rental produced in court, which he had often seen resorted to in disputes, but about which he confessed "he understandeth no part of the book, for that it is all in Latin."<sup>304</sup> In using their legal and administrative skills for the benefit of themselves and their friends they understandably fell into conflict with other members of the ruling group at times.

The establishment in 1551 of the group of merchants who formed a bank or stock together, already referred to in the discussion of market regulation in the first part of this study,<sup>305</sup> was another indication of the emergence of a group of radical men whose interests centred on trading in the town. Of this group of 13 men, the four oldest were already jurats: an innkeeper, a brewer, an ex-town clerk and a merchant.<sup>306</sup> Two, an innkeeper and a vintner, were chamberlains in 1551 and 1552 respectively.<sup>307</sup> The others were younger, having been admitted either to their freedom or to the common council only in that year; four of them, a vintner, a victualler, a draper and a grocer disappeared from the records shortly afterwards, presumably having died or moved on.<sup>308</sup>

The remaining three, John Almonson, Thomas Allen and John Hewson were all merchants and all survived to become jurats in the Elizabethan period.<sup>309</sup> The son of Edmund Mitchell, the jurat who was a merchant, and the son-in-law of Thomas Portway, the jurat who was an innkeeper, also became jurats in that period.<sup>310</sup> Edmund Mitchell enabled his son to become an attorney and the young Edmund Mitchell used his legal training to help the new group into power.<sup>311</sup> As will be shown below, this group of men were probably linked together by a religious faith that would have kept them out of office in the Marian period and, by the time they formed the ruling elite, most of them were also linked together by ties of kinship.

Ironically, the conditions of the Marian period helped the future establishment of a Protestant ruling clique by beginning the process of giving the oligarchy more power and making it more exclusive. In September 1556, it was agreed at a common assembly that the 37 persons traditionally chosen as commoners should in future "have full power and authority to determine all such articles as are needful...concerning the commonwealth of this town as fully and freely as the whole commonalty might if they were present."<sup>312</sup> By 1559, the mayor was being called "worshipful", and then "right worshipful".<sup>313</sup> The general custumal of the Cinque Ports, distributed through the ports in 1549, shows that the old system of electing the mayor by acclamation of the commonalty had long gone, to be replaced by nomination by the jurats, followed by attention to the most voices of the common council, that is the 37 elected commoners.<sup>314</sup> The process of confirming a hierarchy in power continued through the Elizabethan period. In 1561 it was agreed that jurats, once sworn, should "continue as jurats until they be worn out by gods appointment", unless there were some compelling reason to displace them.<sup>315</sup>

The unfortunate gap in the records of the meetings of the common council

from July 1562 to October 1574 means that some of the disturbances that occurred between the oligarchy during those years and are referred to after that date remain hidden. At the beginning of the civic year in 1575, when a complete list of jurats was recorded, Thomas Andrew, John Millward, Alexander Mynge, John Lucas and John Knapp were already in place and Edmund Michell had been town clerk since 1574.<sup>316</sup> They were joined in the following year by Roger Grice.<sup>317</sup> It is possible that the will of Thomas Pepper, a brewer who was mayor three times, gives some clue to the division among the jurats. He died in 1573, leaving one ring of 5s. at least in gold "with this posy: the gift of Thomas Pepper" to be delivered to each of seven of his twelve fellow jurats after his death.<sup>318</sup> Those jurats who were not mentioned were: Alexander Mynge, John Almonson, John Knapp, John Garrett and Thomas Andrew. Pepper's will suggests that he was just as much a Protestant as the new group were, but the jurats who received his rings had similarly conservative economic interests to his, being an innkeeper, two brewers, and land and ship owners.<sup>319</sup>

Reports of the "contentions and debates" that had arisen in Dover about the election of the mayor had reached the Privy Council who, in 1578, insisted on a decree for perpetual quietness to be had in future mayoral elections.<sup>320</sup> It was agreed that in future the names of four "honest jurats" and the outgoing mayor should be set down in writing, after which the jurats should quietly depart until the hour of the assembly. At the assembly the paper was to be delivered to the town clerk in the presence of the commons, and he would then read the names to the commons, urging them to proceed to the election in a quiet manner. The commons would then make their choice "by their most voice". If the old mayor were re-elected his oath would be administered by "the most ancient jurat".<sup>321</sup> The mayor, jurats and commoners would then elect the other officers. This did, in fact, become the established practice.

It seems that the new method of election was still not sufficiently private and exclusive for the new ruling group, for in 1581 they decided to move the election from the church of St. Peter's, where it had traditionally been held. The church, they said, was now fallen down and the assembly was thus "open and subject to the sight of all strangers."<sup>322</sup> For this reason the elections were thereafter held in St. Mary's, the chief church of the town.<sup>323</sup>

The early 1580s saw the take-over of the ruling group by a clique of men, chiefly merchants but also brewers and lawyers, led by Thomas Andrews. It was a time of great opportunity for urban entrepreneurs, for in 1581 Queen Elizabeth at last acted to finance a new harbour.<sup>324</sup> This period also saw increased regulation of trade in Dover, as in January 1582 grants of corporation were made to the three fellowships of shoemakers, tailors and mercers.<sup>325</sup> At the same time, the stranger families that Dover had petitioned for were now temporarily settled in the town, and in February 1583, orders were set down by the mayor and jurats to be observed by them.<sup>326</sup> It was therefore a very buoyant situation, offering opportunities for exploitation by those in control. In 1582, Thomas Andrews was elected mayor, and chose as his pounder George Warham, his niece's husband.<sup>327</sup> Ten commoners of the town, including John Spritwell and two customs' officers wrote to the Privy Council affirming that Andrews was not capable of the office.<sup>328</sup> In December and January five extra jurats were elected to make up the correct number; they were Henry Leonard, Humphrey Meed, Geoffrey Glide, John Skeith and Thomas Allen, all from Andrew's faction.<sup>329</sup> In January 1583 John Spritwell was sent to prison for speaking against the mayor and jurats<sup>330</sup> and in April Thomas Watson was fined because he "did not associate himself with the mayor and jurats" in accompanying them to dinner on Sessions day.<sup>331</sup> In June, 1583, John Garrett was dismissed from the juratship for having refused to take his oath of juratship at

the election of Thomas Andrew and since, also for "sundry notorious misdemeanours" and for "most horrible blasphemy." Nine jurats, all supporters of Andrew's, signed this dismissal.<sup>332</sup> Thomas Andrew was elected mayor again in the following year and this time dismissed William Vanwilder from his post as town clerk - Edmund Michell had left the post by that time - substituting his own man, John Goodwin.<sup>333</sup> His town sergeant was Thomas Whiting, who summoned Thomas Watson to take his oath of juratship and continue as formerly. Watson refused.<sup>334</sup> In January 1584, letters came from the Privy Council about "the choosing of a new mayor and removing of Mr. Andrew late mayor."<sup>335</sup>

The state papers that deal with this case bear no original date, and have since been wrongly dated, attributing the events of 1583 to 1582.<sup>336</sup> They show that Thomas Andrew was sent to the Marshalsea, charged, among other things, with "wasting the town's treasure" and that even after his imprisonment he continued, through "Geoffrey Glide, John Bargar and others of his faction", to have the money of the town sent to him to bear his charges, so that the officers of the town remained unpaid.<sup>337</sup> Upon his release, his accounts were to be audited. Articles were set out proving that William Vanwilder had been wrongly displaced from his office by the mayor, for malice, and by Edmund Michell, for favour to the new town clerk, John Goodwin, who had been his servant as an attorney. It was shown that during his period of service with Edmund Michell, Goodwin had acted on both sides of a case.<sup>338</sup> Vanwilder was the son-in-law of Richard Barrey, the Lieutenant of Dover Castle, between whom and Andrew there was "grudge and displeasure". Andrew complained that Vanwilder had signed indentures brought to the jurats by merchants having a license for the transportation of wheat (from which the work on the harbour was to be financed) in his absence. It was shown that this action had, in fact, secured £500 for the harbour that was urgently needed at that time.<sup>339</sup>

Articles exhibited against Thomas Andrew also show that he had taken the office of bailiff upon himself while he was mayor, so that he was both "judge and minister to one self court where all warrants, precepts and processes are by him awarded as mayor, executed by himself as bailiff and returnable before him as judge."<sup>340</sup> The office of mayor had to be held by a freeman, but the bailiff, who was answerable to the Crown, might be a foreigner. He had taken the duties belonging to the bailiff. The town was thus defrauded of duty and without remedy, because the mayor, who ought to reform the situation, held both offices. There were other charges, but this is perhaps the most serious accusation that could be levelled against one of the ruling group, and explains the earlier frustration of men like John Spritwell who had said that the Lieutenant of the Castle ought to run the town rather than the mayor.<sup>341</sup>

Legal power had similarly been concentrated in too few hands. It was shown that Edmund Michell was not only jurat, judge and a counsel "with most causes" in Dover, but that one of his servants was also an attorney and the other who had lately been his servant was now town clerk.<sup>342</sup> This was not the end of the corruption. In 1584 it was shown that Thomas Allen, a friend and kinsman of Thomas Andrew, had sold St. Peter's church at the instigation of the Queen, who intended that the proceeds should go towards the harbour works. Having sold the fabric of the church, he secretly left the town when asked to present his accounts.<sup>343</sup>

After these events, William Vanwilder was immediately restored to his position as town clerk.<sup>344</sup> Of the offenders, Thomas Andrew did not return to the oligarchy of Dover, but seems to have settled on land he had bought at Hougham.<sup>345</sup> All the others returned to the bench in time, and the mayor and jurats appointed in the intervening period seem to have been largely friendly to them. John Goodwin was elected pounder by

the new mayor for the remainder of the year.<sup>346</sup> He continued to act as an increasingly eccentric, and finally despised, attorney, passing on his position to his oldest son when he retired.<sup>347</sup>

These affairs were one manifestation of a troubled period. At the same time, there had been a number of clashes between members of the ruling group and the customs officers, even although Andrew had earlier been a deputy customer in Dover.<sup>348</sup> There was conflict particularly between the customs officers and those brewers who illegally exported beer to Flushing.<sup>349</sup> Some of these clashes came to a head in the long-running case, Glide contra Stephens that was initially brought before the ecclesiastical court in 1584. It concerned the comparatively recent defamatory of Geoffrey Glide, a jurat and tailor, by Edward Stephens, deputy searcher of Dover. Stephens had earlier defamed Glide in public on Penniless Bench. They had recently quarrelled again, Stephens saying: "thou hast purchased a commission to sift our office but I will sue for a commission to saw off thy horns" and "go thy ways to Mr. Garrett, and ask him if thou be a cuckold". It seems that Glide intended to scrutinise the office of customs, and that Stephens resented it.<sup>350</sup>

Stephens had been unusually active in the office in the past few years. In 1582 certain gentlemen, who were not Dovorians, affirmed that he said to them "that he cared not for the mayor of Dover nor the underbailiff there this much, holding up his forefinger and making a philippe therewith."<sup>351</sup>

In this case, as in others of the period, the ruling group lined up behind the plaintiff and defendant as if to test out the relative strength of their positions.<sup>352</sup> From the jurats, John Skeith, a draper, William Willis (the new mayor), a merchant, and John Williams and Thomas Millward, brewers, spoke for Glide.<sup>353</sup> Edward Stephens was supported by Francis Burden, another customs officer.<sup>354</sup> Edmund Michell, surprisingly, affirmed Glide's speaking of the words that showed him in

a bad light, but said they had been spoken in jest. Michell had, in any case, a long-standing grudge against Glide whom he claimed had persuaded Thomas Andrew to relieve him of the office of town clerk.<sup>355</sup> In spite of such differences between them, the strength of the group dominated by Thomas Andrew lay in its kinship links. In the late 1570s and the 1580s Dover was governed by a group of men whose interests were predominantly mercantile: Thomas Andrew, Thomas Allen and Edmund Michell, who were also supported by the brewing families of Bargar, Leonard and Williams, and by John Skeith and Geoffrey Glide, drapers, who may have had Flemish connections in common.<sup>356</sup> The links between the families were based on marriage ties and probably on a shared religious belief. Ties of kinship also linked them with the ruling group of an earlier generation. Evidence from a number of sources produces the following summarized profile of kinship links, in which, for the sake of clarity, the names of men who were jurats in the 1580s are printed in capital letters:

John Almonson senior's widow married John Haliday, a maser. After her death, Haliday (whose father had been the leading blacksmith in Dover in the Henrician period) married a daughter of John Andrew, senior, and therefore, as well as being step-father to that John Almonson, merchant, who became a jurat in 1558, was also brother-in-law to the children of John Andrew, who included THOMAS ANDREW. Thus the Almonsons were linked in kinship with the Andrews.

THOMAS ANDREW's elder brother, John, had at least three daughters, one of whom first married Edward Lee, and then married THOMAS ALLEN, who was therefore nephew by marriage to THOMAS ANDREW. A second daughter married George Warham, whom Thomas Andrew chose to be the town pounder, and a third Thomas Whiting, the town sergeant.

The Almonsons were linked not only with the Andrews but also with the Michells, because Alice, the sister of John Almonson junior married (as her second husband) Edmund Michell, senior, the merchant jurat who died in 1556. She was thus the mother of EDMUND MICHELL, Thomas Andrew's supporter.

EDMUND MICHELL, in his turn, married Elizabeth Glide, a sister of GEOFFREY GLIDE, who thus became his brother-in-law. GEOFFREY GLIDE married Bridget, the daughter of James Smith the butcher-grazier and jurat of an earlier period.

The Allens were connected with the Andrews, as has already been seen, but they were also connected with the Almonsons, through the marriage of THOMAS ALLEN'S oldest sister, Margery, to John Almonson.

When Edmund Michell, senior, died, he stipulated that his sons, Edward and EDMUND MICHELL were to be brought up by their mother in "harmony and godly condition". Among his overseers was Alexander Mynge. It seems likely that this kind of protestant faith was shared by the Bargar family, since the will of William Bargar in 1582 in which, incidentally, he left a small bequest to John Goodwin,<sup>357</sup> expressed his faith that he would be one of the "elect and chosen."

It therefore seems likely that a group of men, a number of whom entered the town in the 1540s and 1550s, came into the ruling group after the death of Mary and gradually formed kinship links between themselves over two generations, handing on their protestant faith and their mercantile and administrative interests. By the second generation the group was so tightly knit that it was able, for a time, to run the town completely in its own interests.

The discredited group was restored in December 1587 by an "order for perpetual concord and agreement to be had and made" between the current mayor and jurats on the one part and Allen, Glyde and Skeith on the other part.<sup>358</sup> This speaks of the "perpetual amity and agreement" that was to be between all the group, "who shall become, continue and remain lovers and friends". It also allowed that Allen, Glide and Skeith should be received as jurats, in that order, as soon as places fell vacant.

Thomas Allen was restored in October 1588 and Geoffrey Glide was simultaneously restored and elected mayor in 1589, when John Skeith also returned to the bench.<sup>359</sup>

Clearly, the composition of the ruling group remained relatively unchanged, and still included three men who were likely to have provided dissenting voices: the customs officers Edward Stephens and Francis Burden, and the innkeeper and Queen's Post, John Spritwell. None of the three ever became mayor, although Edward Stephens was elected Burgess to Parliament in 1588.<sup>360</sup> Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of the

jurat group by the 1590s was its obvious nepotism. John Garrett and Thomas Brodgate died in 1587 and 1588.<sup>361</sup> Their sons replaced them in 1592 and 1594 respectively.<sup>362</sup> Thomas Brodgate, while he was mayor in 1587, had already elected his son to be pounder at the harbour.<sup>363</sup> Henry Leonard died in office as a jurat in 1594, but his son had already been elected a jurat earlier in that year.<sup>364</sup> This behaviour perhaps helps to explain the remark made in 1596 by John Atkins, a schoolmaster and innkeeper who was a frequent critic of the town government, "that there were in officers and out officers in Dover that would mar or spoil the state of this town...and that there were two jurats that did dwell under one roof." He complained that searchers were hindering the trade of the town, and that there were bribers and extortioners there. He would make a new town of Dover "or else would turn the town upside down."<sup>365</sup> The formation of the ruling group that had taken over by the seventeenth century shows that he had little chance of doing that. Judicious marriages once again provided opportunities for advancement, this time for three major figures in the next cohort of jurats. John Tench became a jurat in 1586 and mayor in 1588, which suggests that he had exceptional wealth or influence.<sup>366</sup> He died in office, leaving a widow, two sons and five daughters.<sup>367</sup> His widow married Edward Kempe, who therefore became a freeman in 1590; he was elected mayor in 1599 and 1612, and also died in office.<sup>368</sup> John Tench's daughter Catherine married William Warde, who was mayor in 1613, 1618 and 1619.<sup>369</sup> His daughter Mary first married John Broome, a maltster, and then Thomas Foord, also a maltster, who was mayor in 1616.<sup>370</sup> His other daughters married Vincent Huffam, a clerk in holy orders who had inherited land near Ash, John Pettiman a yeoman and merchant and Thomas Young, a woollen draper.<sup>371</sup> Edward Kempe, Thomas Foord and John Pettiman all became freemen through these marriages.<sup>372</sup> John Tench's son, Francis, married Thomasine Warde, the sister of William, thus strengthening even

further the alliance between the Tenches, Kempes, Wardes and Foords.<sup>373</sup>

By his marriage to John Tench's widow, Edward Kempe had a son, Edward, who followed him into the oligarchy.<sup>374</sup> This Edward had four daughters, one of whom married Anthony Percival, Captain of Archcliffe Bulwark and later Controller of the Cinque Ports.<sup>375</sup> William Warde, who married Catherine Tench, shared a lime-kiln with the Eaton, Michell and Hughessen families, with whom he was very close.<sup>376</sup> While he was a jurat and a mayor he was also droit-gatherer for the Lord Warden and became Marshall of the Admiralty Courts of the Cinque Ports, which sometimes brought him into conflict with the corporation.<sup>377</sup> Such dual responsibilities became more common in the seventeenth century, and were probably one cause of dissension in the town.

By the early seventeenth century, Dover thus had a tightly-knit ruling group that was reinforced by the appointment of Francis Raworth as town clerk in 1601.<sup>378</sup> He was succeeded as town clerk by his son Francis on his death in 1625.<sup>379</sup> In 1617, when a vacancy arose in one of the churches in Dover, Francis Raworth wrote to Richard Young, recommending John Reading, the Calvinist preacher, as preacher for St. Mary's church.<sup>380</sup> He was licensed to serve cures there in January 1618<sup>381</sup> and his presence completed an apparently orthodox Calvinist circle, whose views seem later to have been perceived as too moderate by some of the ruling group, as well as some of those outside it.<sup>382</sup>

The ruling group in power in the early years of the seventeenth century was thus composed of a godly group of men, many of whom were making their living from the sale of grain. As has been shown above,<sup>383</sup> the commonalty of the town had been vexed with dearth and with heavy taxes in the 1590s, and the mayor of 1601, Jeremy Garrett, had been discovered in a "most deceitful and fraudulent handling of the revenue and droits which belong to the town."<sup>384</sup> Things were not improving for the commonalty. There was infectious illness in the town in 1603.<sup>385</sup> It is

perhaps significant that Walter Richards, who was still Minister of St. Mary's at that time, refused to preach the election sermon from that year onwards.<sup>386</sup> He gave as his reason the fact that he was not paid, but his qualities, discussed below, suggest that his stance might have been political.<sup>387</sup>

It was at this time that the ruling group began to emphasize the gulf between themselves and the commonalty in a number of ways. One of these was the sale of minor offices. In 1602 they were persuaded by Sir Thomas Fane, Lieutenant of Dover Castle, to ensure that the Crown received all the customs money available to it by appointing a "respectable man" as common carrier, and he suggested John Nethersole, his own servant, for the post. The jurats were divided on this, Francis Raworth and some others refusing to subscribe to the letter of consent.<sup>388</sup> The majority of jurats agreed, however. This post had, in the past, gone to a working man who needed it, but now that trade was increasing in the port, it became, after this initiative, a post of patronage, to be sought and paid for by more wealthy men. The records show that in the following years, at election time, seekers of minor offices, such as the town sergeant, the bailiff's sergeant, the common carrier and even the porters made suit for their offices, sometimes in writing, and then paid increasingly heavy sums for them.<sup>389</sup>

The result of this can be seen later, for example in 1637, when two labourers deposed that the carrier, Edward West, would not allow them to carry small packs because he had bought the carrier's place from the town. When the labourers asked him how poor men should live, he answered "that he did hope one of these days to see them starve in the street, and eat one another."<sup>390</sup> Similarly, in 1639, the wife of a labourer railed against Israel Goodwin, the common carrier, saying: "a plague of God of you. Is it you that buy poor mens living?" When he told her that the mayor and jurats had a hand in it, she said "a plague of God take

you and them you are all consorts together...they feed on ducks and pullets. You pull the feathers from us but we pay for them..."<sup>391</sup>

Israel Goodwin was, incidentally, the son-in-law of the former carrier Edward West.<sup>392</sup>

From about 1605, the ruling group established godly religious usages, including sabbatarianism. In 1605 the jurats and common council contributed financially to a preacher to "conduct a godly exercise in St. James parish every Wednesday forenoon".<sup>393</sup> This soon became a charge on the town.<sup>394</sup> In January, 1607, it was agreed that all common assemblies should be preceded by prayers, and commoners were fined for coming late and missing them.<sup>395</sup> At this time, too, attendance at common assemblies, customarily held on Sundays, fell off to such an extent that, in August 1614, it was decided to hold them on a different day.<sup>396</sup>

Between 1610 and 1620 ten new jurats were elected to replace others who had died. They included William Warde and Thomas Foord as well as Nicholas Eaton, who had been John Skeith's servant as a young man,<sup>397</sup> and John Waad who seems to have been particularly rigorous in enforcing behaviour that was in accordance with his religious beliefs.<sup>398</sup> Of the ten new jurats, at least six were connected with the grain trade. Two were exporting merchants: Michael Burnley, who left Dover for two years, in 1620, was resworn in 1624 and then gave up the juratship in 1629,<sup>399</sup> and James Hughessen, who was suspended the year after his election.<sup>400</sup> In any one year, however, there were often only eight jurats supporting the mayor instead of the traditional twelve, and it was clearly proving much more difficult to find like-minded people to take office as trade increased.

Part of the reason for the declining size of the jurat body at this time might have been the fact that it had become even more exclusive, and more insistent upon defining its own status. When John Goodwin, who had

been dismissed from the juratship for various misdemeanours, appealed in 1615 that the mayor, jurats and common council should be judges of his cause, the mayor and jurats denied that the common council had any manner of voice in electing or displacing jurats, claiming that power lay solely with them.<sup>401</sup> In the same year they decided that "a meet and convenient bar or rail with fair turned pillars" was to be made in front of the seat of the mayor and jurats, to separate them from the commoners.<sup>402</sup> In 1618, when the town was in debt, it nevertheless bought a cushion of green velvet to lay before the mayor in church.<sup>403</sup> When Edward Kempe died in office as mayor in 1613, his funeral cost the corporation £100. It is described in detail in the proceedings of the common council: the procession included the Lieutenant of the Castle and the Warden and Assistants of the Harbour, who happened to be in Dover at the time; the porters bearing the coffin had black gowns, his sons-in-law followed, wearing black coats, and then came the jurats wearing black gloves.<sup>404</sup> The occasion was clearly a display of civic status and religious ritual by the oligarchy.

The ruling group's deliberate separation of itself from the rest of the commonalty probably helped to incite the unusual number of slanderous and defamatory attacks on its members from about 1600. The records of the bench reveal such attacks throughout the period, but their numbers increased in the seventeenth century, possibly simply because of more tenacious prosecutions of such cases, which in itself suggests the oligarchy's keen defence of its dignity.

Numbers of such cases are insignificant until 1600 when they increased to just over two a year, rising to at least four cases a year from 1611.<sup>405</sup> These attacks were sometimes made by people who felt they had not received justice from the magistrates, and were sometimes scurrilous personal attacks on individuals, often the mayor of the day. John Waad, both in and out of office as mayor, was most frequently abused - at

least 27 times during his time as a jurat.<sup>406</sup>

Certain people made such attacks more than once. They were Thomas and John Brockman, Henry Barnacle, a smith, Jasper Fowler, the Searcher of suspicious persons for the Cinque Ports and John Atkins, the schoolmaster. The Brockmans made several personal attacks on officers, and John Brockman made the serious claim in 1624 that John Waad "oppresses poor men."<sup>407</sup> Henry Barnacle was a difficult man, who beat his apprentice and enjoyed invective, but who maintained a position as blacksmith at the Castle.<sup>408</sup> His chief criticisms were reserved for the officers who allowed corn to be sent from the town.<sup>409</sup> Jasper Fowler and John Atkins, however, seem to have been genuine radicals, whose activities will be discussed further below.

For the most part, the serious verbal attacks on the magistracy suggest frustration at failure to get justice from the bench.<sup>410</sup> Many of the purely scurrilous personal attacks were attacks on status and self-importance, and were sometimes made by women on the wives and daughters of the jurats, as when Susan Harris told a jurat's wife to kiss her tail, and when asked to whom she spoke said "to her, and shaked her coats at her"; or when Elizabeth Spayne called Mrs. Windebanck "snotty-nosed," or Mrs. Edge teased the mayor's daughter with many "forsooths".<sup>411</sup> The normal formula of "I am as good a man as you" was often followed, but at this period there was frequently a threat implied that the officer being jeered at would be attacked more seriously in the following year, or when he was out of office.<sup>412</sup> John Waad was attacked for his humble origins as a tailor, and was said to have "laid his pressing iron to pawn for a twopenny loaf".<sup>413</sup> He seems also to have been a fiddler, a term that was naturally used of him in both senses.<sup>414</sup>

The jurats were in a beleaguered position after the accession of James. On one hand they needed to control a commonalty that seems to have been

increasingly poor, diverse and alienated. On the other hand, some of their traditional liberties were being attacked by the Crown. They had ceded their authority over the harbour, but still needed to persuade the Warden and Assistants to spend money on keeping it in repair. Some officers of the town maintained a deeply ambiguous position because, while resisting the Lord Warden's interference in civic affairs, they were also suing to him for office.<sup>415</sup> William Leonard, for example, thanked Secretary Nicholas for his recommendation of him to the Duke of Buckingham for the post of Droit Gatherer, and sent him some tobacco.<sup>416</sup> His son, Henry Leonard, was later put in charge of works at the harbour and was indicted by the town for embezzlement and theft in that office.<sup>417</sup>

Interference by the Crown in the town's affairs was partly economic and welcome, as when it helped to reconstruct the harbour. Political interference was unwelcome and was manifested in two ways: in the presentation of candidates for election to Burgess to Parliament, and in the appointment of successive inappropriate bailiffs to the town. Peter Clark has reviewed parliamentary elections in Kent in the 1620s, and shown the pressure that was put on the Cinque Ports in particular to vote in a certain way.<sup>418</sup> It seems possible that, in writing about Dover, he has underestimated the urgent need of the corporation to gain the favour of its elected candidate so that he would press in Parliament for the needs of the harbour. When the town succeeded in electing its preferred candidates in 1624, the common assembly expressed its favour towards one of them, Sir Edward Cecil, because "he would continue, as heretofore he had been, a well-wisher and favourer for the good of the town and the harbour", and hedged their bets by writing to the rejected Sir Henry Mainwaring, praying him "not to take it unkindly that he was not elected."<sup>419</sup>

Nevertheless they were no longer free to choose Burgesses from their own

ranks after 1614, when Northampton (the Lord Warden) wrote two letters to the mayor and jurats, the first asking that the Lieutenant of the Castle might be chosen as Burgess, and the second saying that because an "extraordinary occasion" was pressing him, he entreated that he might choose the second candidate as well "for this time". The mayor and jurats agreed and said they would deal earnestly with the two knights "for their best help and furtherance at Parliament for this port and harbour."<sup>420</sup> In 1620 they tried to resist by saying that the chosen candidates must be freemen of the town and that there was no precedent for an absent man to take his oath by commission, but they were persuaded to allow them and all future candidates who needed to, to take their oaths of freedom by commission in London.<sup>421</sup> This seems perhaps the biggest break with civic tradition in the whole period, since it allowed the granting of freedom to become a purely ceremonial act with no basis in the economic or cultural reality of the town's life.

The muddle of the 1624 elections enabled those who opposed the oligarchy to make one advance, however. The common assembly of March 2, 1624 discussed a petition that had recently been exhibited in Parliament under the hands of Sir Jasper Fowler, Mr. Walter Richards (now parson of St. James) and 19 other inhabitants of the town. This claimed that the recent elections had been unlawful because they had not been had by all the freemen of the town, but only by the commoners.<sup>422</sup> The assembly agreed to send representatives to London to discuss this, although at an earlier assembly, in January, they had simply referred back to a decree of 1578 that said the Burgess to Parliament should be elected only by the mayor, jurats and common council.<sup>423</sup> A letter from Richard Young to Lord Zouch speaks of an intimation "to the freemen" to choose their candidates in the re-election, and it seems that the whole freeman body were allowed to vote thereafter.<sup>424</sup>

It was presumably this effort by some of the freemen that led to a

mayoral decree in 1628 that future controversies over the election of jurats should be settled by a system by which three persons should be nominated for each place in future, and the mayor, jurats and commoners would choose from among them.<sup>425</sup> Things were improved still further in 1637 by the provision of small wooden boxes and tokens for the elections of the mayor, jurats and commoners.<sup>426</sup>

The mayor and jurats of Dover had conducted a long-running legal battle with its water-bailiff, Emmanuel Alley, since he was admitted to the post in 1596. In 1603 they set out the actions that led to their major suit against him.<sup>427</sup> As time went on he sought more privileges for himself, while refusing to perform his normal duties, such as looking after prisoners.<sup>428</sup> Unlike most bailiffs before him, he ignored customary procedures, resorting instead to law to obtain the maximum profit from his office.<sup>429</sup> The Lord Treasurer supported his claim to the rights of "petty customs" on merchant strangers' goods that no bailiff had ever insisted on before - probably because they had been less worth taking. At this, the common council expressed the fear that his actions would drive trade away from the town.<sup>430</sup>

The case was heard again in Canterbury in 1609 and, although the jurats felt it "somewhat repugnant to our privileges, that we should be drawn to the city of Canterbury in this cause", they went because of their strong feelings about Alley, who was demanding duties "never taken up by any of his predecessors in that office, neither ever any of them whose ability and friends here were greater."<sup>431</sup> They were outraged when, having rid themselves of him, his successor, Maximilian Dancey, discharged a Dover man from the office of sub-bailiff in 1627 and presented his brother's servant for the office, "a person very insufficient being of no credit or countenance, and otherwise defamed...".<sup>432</sup>

It must be remembered that these events of the 1620s coincided with the

flooding of the town by Count Mansfeldt's soldiers in 1624, followed by other, unpaid, forced billeting, and that Dover sailors were constantly under attack in the Channel to the extent that through "grief and fear" Dover men refused to go to sea in 1625.<sup>433</sup> There were also attempts by the Crown to secure lucrative projects in Dover harbour, such as the construction of the boom and the leasing of the crane, for its friends from outside the town.<sup>434</sup> Men with secure office, such as Jacob Brames, the Customer, and Jasper Fowler, the Searcher, were able to ignore the oligarchy for the most part, as were prosperous merchants such as the Hughessens. Perhaps it is not surprising that the body of jurats shrank in size and that between 1627 and 1640 only five men held the mayoral office, taking turns with one another for two or more years at a time.<sup>435</sup> The links between them were as close as ever. John Bennett, a fisherman, pointed out in 1632 that the mayor and jurats were "all linked together in kindred, uncle and cousin," and he wished the plague of God on them.<sup>436</sup>

It has been seen that linked kindred were vital to the structuring of occupational groups as well as of the ruling group, and that they probably played a part in the mutual selection of masters and apprentices. When families formed alliances with one another they created effective social structures with an economic base. Capital equipment and stock was apportioned among kin, in such a way that it was kept permanently in use. Loans were made between urban and rural kindred. Such groups of families included friends who would stand as recognizance for its members, oversee wills and take some care of widows and orphans. This resulted in webs of favour and obligation. Such a system was not impervious to change because the groups it created were constantly renewed by marriage. An incomer to the town could assume both capital assets and status by marriage to the daughter or widow of a man who possessed those things, and in the same transaction women could

continue to work in their customary occupation should they choose to do so. The role of women was in fact crucial in forming social structures, and in maintaining their continuity. Groups could also be entered by performing services such as granting loans or taking on responsibility for a dead man's children, and well-chosen and satisfactorily completed apprenticeships almost guaranteed later inclusion into successful economic groups. In the case of the ruling group, the law itself could be used to establish its position. Social structures were held in place by a sense of right order that was expressed in such diverse rituals as the chastising of an apprentice and the procession of a new mayor to church on his election day. This sense of right order could, however, be adjusted to changing circumstances, notably to religious change. Groups, such as butchers, who frequently upset the notion of right order, nevertheless appear to have operated social structures of their own, similarly based on kinship and obligation. The social structures of the town necessarily collided at times with other structures, such as those set up by men in service to the Crown. The more formal, financially based patronage and clientage inherent in those structures had begun to make a greater impact on the traditional structures of society in Dover by the end of the period under review.

## CHAPTER 5 PETTY CRIME AND SOCIAL DISORDER

The control of society was the business of the ruling group. In their role as a bench of magistrates, they acted as guardians of law and order in the town, as mediators between rival parties, as supporters of the vulnerable and as punishers of the guilty. Petty crimes and breaches of the peace were brought before them, and it is those that will be discussed here. Serious crimes, such as felony and murder, were dealt with elsewhere.

### i) The problem of quantification

Accurate quantification of such events is impossible for a number of reasons. For most of the period they are noted, sometimes as memoranda, among the other proceedings of the common assembly, thus casting doubt on their validity as a complete record of the proceedings of the bench. The events were not categorized systematically, neither were the names or the number of people involved in an event always recorded. Cases of violence against the person often involved verbal abuse and drunkenness as well, and the relative importance attached to each of these features cannot be perceived from the record.

From 1603 the judgements of the common council were recorded separately from their acts and decrees, which makes the record of judgements after that date more acceptable as a reliable document.<sup>1</sup> No record of judgements exists, however, between 1625 and 1652. Fortunately, there is a volume running from 1630 onwards, mostly made up of depositions and the sort of material to be found in the earlier record of judgements.<sup>2</sup> This looks as though it might have been the rough record from which the missing judgements would have been copied. Another source of information is the record, included in the town accounts, of regulatory fines paid

to the town council, which have been noted above.<sup>3</sup> Any work based on this material is bound to be qualitative rather than quantitative, but it is possible to derive some figures from the period after 1603 when the work of the bench was recorded separately from most, although not all, of the general work of the common council. The figures should, however, be treated with great caution. It is clear from anecdotal evidence in the records, for example, that the number of unlicensed victuallers in the town was larger than the number of those fined or punished for the offence.<sup>4</sup> It seems likely that offences were most likely to come to the attention of the bench when the offender was perceived as being troublesome to the community in a number of ways, or when the jurats were pursuing some particular economic or moral imperative that was appropriate at the time.

Quantification for the earlier period can only be impressionistic, but there seem to have been some changes in emphasis over the period. The number of sureties binding men to keep the peace that were recorded during the reign of Henry VIII suggests that the offences dealt with by the bench in that period were chiefly those of violence against the person. Such cases most often involved members of the ruling group,<sup>5</sup> and sometimes seamen protesting against each other's taking of their turns with faring boats. Other cases recorded fairly frequently were concerned less with offences than with the regulation of debt and property: the repossession of houses by wards from their guardians and by the town from defaulters were recorded from time to time.<sup>6</sup> The influence of the king, through the Lord Warden, is more apparent in the records of this period than later, partly because of the frequent calling of ship service. On a number of occasions the king sent an order for the attachment of Dover men to be sent to one of his courts in London, to which the mayor and jurats invariably replied, as they did in 1522, that the parties were not to be found within the bailiwick, but

were at sea.<sup>7</sup> The petty crimes recorded were infrequent and were chiefly pickery and other petty theft.<sup>8</sup> There were very few examples of sexual misdemeanour, but a number of examples of scolding or disruptive women.<sup>9</sup>

The frequency of recognizances for keeping the peace possibly increased during the Edwardian and Marian periods, and were not so exclusively taken out between men of the ruling group but more frequently between men of similar occupations, such as those between two hackneymen or two butchers.<sup>10</sup> The increased regulation of trading and prices naturally led to more offences against the town's statutes. There were also some offences concerning coinage.<sup>11</sup> Disputes over the ownership of houses and land continued to be recorded, and the bench maintained its tradition of protecting the rights of widows and orphans in these cases.<sup>12</sup> There were a few cases of petty theft, which were punished by periods spent in the stocks or pillory, and occasionally by mutilation.<sup>13</sup> At this period more attention seems to have been paid to signs of potential social unrest, with scolds and vagrants being dealt with rapidly, and two new inhabitants in 1552 having to take out recognizances for the good behaviour of themselves and their families while they lived in the town.<sup>14</sup> In that year 15 men, together with the mayor and jurats, were elected to look into the order of the town by order of the Queen.<sup>15</sup>

The number of offences recorded seems to have begun to increase during the reign of Elizabeth, with the steepest rise occurring from about 1577 onwards. The increase was probably greatest in the offence of speaking opprobrious words to those in authority. A law had been enacted by the common assembly as early as August 1528 that no man should revile the mayor or any of the jurats within the town, upon pain of a fine of 10s.<sup>16</sup> The offence began to be committed frequently during the 1570s and 1580s - the period of fierce dissent among the ruling group

themselves.<sup>17</sup> There were more cases of theft during the late 1580s, as was always the case when large-scale works were in progress in the town or harbour and supplies of timber, stone and ironwork were left lying about.<sup>18</sup> There are also some signs of poverty-driven theft at this period.<sup>19</sup> Violence against the person was possibly slightly less frequently prosecuted than verbal violence in the second half of Elizabeth's reign. It will be shown that more attention seems to have been paid to sexual misdemeanour, particularly when it resulted in illegitimate children whose care fell upon the town. There was a small increase in the numbers of vagrants, who were whipped and dispatched. (*or sub-tenants*) From the 1580s it seems that new inmates~~s~~ were allowed to settle only after they had given recognizances of their good behaviour and certificates of marriage.<sup>20</sup> From 1603 the surviving evidence is presented somewhat more systematically, but must remain speculative. It is summarised in Table 5:1.

Table 5:1 Crimes and misdemeanours presented in the town court of Dover 1604-1640 in three-year periods

KEY

1 - sexual misdemeanours	9 - idleness
2 - offences against statutes	10 - offences in the harbour
3 - violence against the person	11 - misdemeanours
4 - breaches of the peace and frays	12 - drunkenness
5 - verbal abuse and slander	13 - breaches of the relationship between master/servant
6 - unlicensed victuallers	14 - Sabbath offences
7 - scolds	15 - contempt of court
8 - theft	16 - swearing and unlawful games

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1604-06	16	20	72	20	26	4	8	16	1	9	0	2	4	2	6	0
1607-09	8	9	45	9	21	19	4	5	3	1	5	4	6	7	7	0
1610-12	9	3	30	13	16	12	7	11	2	12	4	16	7	40	2	2
1613-15	9	21	39	8	15	5	11	8	5	6	0	17	8	10	5	2
1616-18	4	13	45	6	22	6	1	9	3	11	1	14	29	4	2	6
1619-21	5	18	33	23	34	9	0	9	3	4	3	25	10	11	22	12
1622-24	2	22	44	14	24	5	1	12	1	2	2	7	16	5	19	.5
1625-31	no records for this period															
1632-34	4	15	91	8	44	5	0	4	2	1	0	14	20	5	2	7
1635-37	7	33	78	44	39	9	1	8	1	33	0	21	2	39	7	9
1638-40	8	14	96	35	37	13	4	6	3	0	0	25	9	11	6	15

Sources: CKS Dover Common Assembly Minute Book 1603 Judgments;  
Dover Depositions 1630

The categories are to some extent artificial. All episodes of violence against the person have been put together. The jurats would have treated those events in which blood was shed most seriously, but it is not always possible to distinguish these from the record. Breaches of the peace and frays sometimes involved groups of people, who were often not named or dealt with separately. Numbers of unlawful immigrants and vagrants have been excluded from the table, as they will be dealt with separately below.

These figures do not seem particularly high when they are set against the influential events of the period. The first two decades of the seventeenth century saw recurrent shortages of grain,<sup>21</sup> the constant fear of Spanish invasion and, in the turn of the year 1624-25, the descent of the hungry soldiers who were waiting to go on the Mansfeldt expedition.<sup>22</sup> The expansion of trade in the 1630s brought increased numbers of foreign sailors into the town and, in 1639, 2,000 wounded men were put ashore at Dover and Deal after a battle in the Downs between the Dutch and Spanish.<sup>23</sup> Some of the cases examined below suggest that sailors from His Majesty's fleet, brought in to protect shipping, seemed to spend their off-duty hours in the inns and victualling houses of the town.

As it can be seen, much of the petty crime brought before the bench was similar to that of the preceding century, but there were some changes. Sexual offences were more carefully categorized, and there were four or five cases of rape or attempted rape during the period.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, it seems likely that sexual misdemeanour usually came before the court only when there was a need to determine responsibility for the care of an illegitimate child, when the parties involved were not long-standing inhabitants of the town, or when the activity caused disturbance or strong disapproval among neighbours. Actions contrary to the statutes of the town seem to have been prosecuted and fined most severely at times

when the corporation needed money; there was a rash of cases concerning counterfeit money, feeding blood to hogs in noisome yards and emptying chamber pots into the street in 1615, for example. The figures for offences against prices, weights and measures have not been included, as most butchers and bakers were routinely fined for these, as the town accounts show annually in their receipts. The number of offences against statutes rose during the early 1620s as the magistrates tried to dissuade regrators and forestallers from keeping food from the poor.<sup>25</sup> The sharp rise in offences in the mid-1630s is largely due to those related to the sale of tobacco.<sup>26</sup> It seems to have been habitual to fine severely for a new offence, and then to slacken off.

It can be seen that violence against the person continued to be the most common offence, and that this increased generally over the period. The high figure for the years 1604-06 is chiefly due to the fact that a company of Spaniards was billeted in the town in 1605.<sup>27</sup> As the town became busier, it became more difficult to keep order at night, especially among sailors who were temporarily ashore in the town. Many cases of violence resulted, however, from day-to-day conflicts between men of similar trades and between women living in close proximity to one another.<sup>28</sup> The other chief observable difference in these events from those of the Henrician period is that they were now almost never between members of the ruling group. It is not known whether the godly magistrates chose to overlook such events among their own kind, or whether they were genuinely striving to set the good example they believed they should.

The figures for theft for this period seem low, as they do for the earlier period, partly because serious theft was considered in another court.<sup>29</sup> The figures for theft in Table 5:1 include offences such as hedge-breaking, most common among women searching for fuel,<sup>30</sup> and shooting a duck belonging to one of the ruling group, for which the

punishment in 1612 was a fine of 20s. or three months in prison.<sup>31</sup> Thefts of fowl, fish, fruit and timber from those in authority seem likely to have been brought to court more rigorously than petty theft from other townsmen. Much of the theft at this period, however, was from ships in the harbour; the goods stolen included ropes, sails and rigging and also small goods such as nutmegs and ginger.<sup>32</sup> In 1637 depositions were taken about the theft from a London ship, the Beaver, of over £87 in Spanish silver that had been consigned to the Dover merchant Daniel Porten. The boatswain was said to have passed the silver to his wife who took it with her on the waggon to London.<sup>33</sup> This record of serious theft is unique.

Offences in the harbour were chiefly committed by ferry men charging exorbitant amounts, but they included the new offence of discharging ballast into the harbour, or of taking it from the wrong place, which became more important as the amount of shipping increased.<sup>34</sup> Masters of ships were sometimes brought before the bench for violent assaults which had resulted from such offences as blocking the access of other ships to quays.<sup>35</sup> The great increase in harbour offences in the period 1635-37 was the result of new decrees about fire (including candles) on ships at night. It is clear that a few informers supplemented their income at that period by reporting every glimmer of light aboard ships after 9 p.m.<sup>36</sup> Once again, either ship masters learned rapidly, or the bench lost interest in prosecuting this offence for none was recorded for the three years from 1638.

More attention was paid in this period to offences against the prevailing morality. Drunkenness was punished on its own account, not simply because it led to other offences. A post for drunkards had been set up by 1605, and the offender had "to stand with hands fastened in the post" for a specified period.<sup>37</sup> The alternative fine of 5s. to the poor was paid only by the few who could afford it, together with those

whose dignity demanded it and those who were responsible for offending dependents.<sup>38</sup> The swearing of oaths began to be prosecuted as a separate offence in 1611, and informing of this offence seems to have been used by some men with long-standing grudges as a method of bringing their adversaries to court.<sup>39</sup> The playing of unlawful games was also more frequently prosecuted from 1615 onwards. Cases of breaches between masters and their servants or apprentices rose appreciably between about 1616 and 1634.<sup>40</sup> Those who were prosecuted for being in victualling houses late at night or on Sunday were frequently apprentices and servants. Absence from church on Sunday, and working during the time of divine service seem to have been prosecuted most energetically when a particularly zealous churchwarden was also an influential man, like Humfrey Mantle in the period 1635-37.<sup>41</sup>

Cases of contempt of court and refusal to come to court were most numerous during the period 1619-1624. Cases of verbal abuse of the oligarchy also rose at that time, as has been noted above.<sup>42</sup> Tradesmen resented what they saw as meddling interference in their trades. A tippler who had allowed men to drink in his house until midnight told the watch in 1621 that he would rather "lie in prison ten days" than pay his fine.<sup>43</sup> In 1622 a man who brought a case to court complained of the poor quality of the foreman of the jury, saying he could not have had a worse one "if he had raked hell".<sup>44</sup> The exclusive magistracy at that time was resented by both poor men and wealthy merchants, and men from both groups exhibited their contempt by refusing to come to the court or pay the fines imposed on them.<sup>45</sup>

### ii) Punishment

The town's custumal placed the maintenance of social order at its centre, and there is no reason to believe that this priority had changed, even by 1640. Throughout the period the aim of the jurats was

to achieve social harmony, preferably by reconciling conflicting parties, or if that was not possible, by making future conflict inhibitingly expensive through the judicious use of recognizances and bonds. It will be shown that instigators of certain kinds of disorder were held up to public dishonour and shame while those responsible for actual crimes, such as theft, were shamed and also subjected to physical punishment of various degrees of brutality. Individuals who were felt to be intractably unable to live decently among their neighbours without burdening the commonalty were simply banished from the town for a specified period. Evidence will be given of some changes in methods of punishment over the period: the more brutal physical mutilations began to be used only as a threat, then finally ceased, to be replaced by the punishments of whipping or scourging with rods; prison was used more often to hold the increasing number of offenders who could not afford to find sureties, and gradually as a punishment in itself; methods of holding people up to shame and dishonour were used more selectively, and banishment was used less often as a way of dealing with inhabitants of the town, although it was the invariable method of dealing with vagrants and undesirable immigrants.

Punishment was not, however, always the first reaction to social disorder or to crime. The perception of the mutuality of responsibility for disorder made other approaches possible. The custumal makes it clear that the pledge relationship was fundamental to the society in the early sixteenth century.<sup>46</sup> A hundred years later mutual help between kin and close friends was still regarded as normal, and men could rely upon gages, pledges, compurgators and mainpernours to defend their innocence or maintain their worth.<sup>47</sup> The use of the oath of the 36 was common to the Cinque Ports in the most serious crimes and the Dover custumal shows that if all thirty six men delivered up their oaths in favour of a felon at a hundred court he should be acquitted.<sup>48</sup> Such a deep-rooted

tradition of support among family and friends also, of course, implied the possibility of lasting vengeance between conflicting groups.

As some historians of this period have pointed out, the fact that the initiative for prosecution was directly personal meant that much crime actually went unreported and unprosecuted at this period, when neighbours were willing to tolerate certain kinds of criminal acts rather than go to the trouble and expense of taking their perpetrators to court.<sup>49</sup> In Dover it seems likely that some violent behaviour resulted from people's attempts to deal with local conflicts without resorting to law.<sup>50</sup> The intimately close nature of the society, even when the town had expanded, seems likely to have exerted a good deal of control at the level of petty crime and social disorder, without the need to appeal to the authorities. Even when crime was reported, neighbours could still influence the outcome. The early custumal states that if a disturbance of the peace was made at night and the mayor and bailiff did not know who made it, they might, whenever they would, "take an inquest of the next about" to enquire into it.<sup>51</sup> Proof that they did so is provided by the numerous depositions recorded in the common assembly minute books throughout the period. It is also important to remember that by the seventeenth century a man convicted of disorder one week was probably taking his turn as a watchman and apprehending other offenders the next week. Thus there was built into the system at the neighbourhood level both an effective means of inspection and control and, correspondingly, a potentially explosive source of tension and conflict that was likely to have been inflamed by the pressures of the early seventeenth century.

Throughout the period, when crime or disorder was reported, the magistrates attempted to achieve reconciliation by submission and forgiveness, or by the use of admonishment or arbitration and financial compensation before they resorted to punishment. The ceremony of

submission of apprentices to their masters for forgiveness for bad behaviour has already been described, as has the act set out for the establishment of eternal harmony between previously conflicting jurats.<sup>52</sup> Simple admonishment and the payment of a fine was another method of dealing with small offences, for example when the receivers of some stolen goods were allowed to buy them back from the corporation a year after they had been confiscated, paying extra for them and being admonished "not hereafter to buy felon's goods".<sup>53</sup> Reconciliation between husband and wife was sometimes achieved, as when a man and wife were reconciled to live "lovingly together" after the wife had released her husband from the surety of the peace she had taken out against him, or when a potentially murderous wife had expressed her sorrow to her husband by her submission upon her knees.<sup>54</sup> Offenders in other cases were sometimes forgiven after an open confession of a misdeed and a promise of better behaviour in future, or after promising to "live together in neighbourly sort", or agreeing to use one of the ruling group "as a man of his place shall deserve."<sup>55</sup> In 1605 a man who was fined for putting rubbish in the brook was then appointed "looker to the brook."<sup>56</sup> Most of these mediations were essentially practical and publicly restored the culprit to his place within society while calling upon and demonstrating the magnanimity of the misused party.

Punishment was sometimes mitigated also in respect of poverty - in the case of inhabitants only - youth, or appeals to extenuating circumstances. In 1588, for example, four men were convicted of theft, of whom two were banished, but two merely went to the stocks for a short time because they had stolen "for the sufficient relief of their bodies only."<sup>57</sup> Fines were often remitted for poverty; even when a servant wounded a fellow servant so that he was in danger of death, the attacker's fine was remitted to nineteen and a half pence because of his poverty.<sup>58</sup> In 1610 a labourer who had been taken into custody for

beating a servant was released because he had no money and it was clear he would not be able to pay a fine; he was simply warned that he would go to the stocks if he did it again.<sup>59</sup> Youth was sometimes also seen as a mitigating factor, as when a boy was whipped for killing someone by <sup>of a cart</sup> his careless driving in 1606.<sup>60</sup>

Responsibility for the misdemeanours of those perceived as weak or dependent upon others was commonly laid at the door of those considered more sufficient to bear it, who were of course more able to pay a fine. There are many cases like that of 1610 when a jurat complained that another jurat, an innkeeper, had allowed his servant and his son to stay in his inn until 10 or 11 p.m., so that his son had become very sick and distempered. On that occasion, the innkeeper, not the boys, was fined 10s.<sup>61</sup> The principle that greater responsibility should be assumed by more substantial people was applied consistently, so that brewers were fined for delivering beer to unlicensed victuallers and innkeepers were fined for entertaining guests who were infected with the plague.<sup>62</sup> Husbands paid the fines of wives found guilty of such offences as scolding or forestalling.<sup>63</sup> Masters were often called upon to pay the fines of their apprentices or servants, as William Olvill paid his servant's 5s. fine for drunkenness in 1609.<sup>64</sup> The principle of responsibility for another's actions was sometimes carried further, as when a servant from Canterbury complained that while he was lodging in Dover waiting to cross the sea, he lost all his money in playing cards with the tapster of the house, even being forced to sell him his cloak. The tapster confessed his fault and agreed to make some reasonable satisfaction to the man.<sup>65</sup>

The system was flexible, as is demonstrated by a case in 1620 when Anthony Burd, a journeyman tailor serving two masters struck one of them, John Pickering, with a tailor's yard so that he was likely to lose an eye. The other master, John Jekin, refused to charge Anthony Burd

with felony. The journeyman was admonished and paid a small fine, while John Pickering, "a young man much disposed to quarrels" was left to sue for recompense for his hurt.<sup>66</sup> The records show that John Pickering went before the bench on at least six other occasions between 1620 and 1634, mainly for violence, including wife-beating and petty theft, and that he had become a victualler rather than a tailor by the 1630s. The decision not to support his claim was thus clearly influenced by knowledge of his normal behaviour. It was also possible for neighbours and friends to speak well of an accused person in order to mitigate his or her punishment, as when Alice Eaton was saved from being put in the Cage for scolding with one neighbour by the pleas of others in her defence.<sup>67</sup> Sentences could also be changed if the original informant had been malicious in his charges: two brewers had a fine of 20 marks remitted to £3 when the information that they had sold beer at too low a rate was found to have been given to the jury "upon malice."<sup>68</sup> Punishment, when it was given, was usually public, and exemplary in intention. Throughout the period banishment was the normal treatment for difficult offenders, but its use for specified periods, rather than for ever, was much more common in the first half of the sixteenth century, when it was the penalty for comparatively minor offences such as showing disrespect for the mayor or railing among the neighbours.<sup>69</sup> It continued to be used as a way of ridding the town of those who proved to be social irritants, like Jeffery Barble who was banished for ever in 1586 for being drunk, using lewd words against the mayor and magistrates, fighting and being "known to be a very bad fellow".<sup>70</sup> Banishment, which was a public event, usually followed some equally public punishment, often of a sharply physical nature. The last reference to a branding in the Dover records occurs in 1540 when a woman was "burned on the cheek with the town mark" and banished for having returned to Dover in spite of a former banishment.<sup>71</sup> The custom of

nailing one or both ears to the pillory or to a cart wheel was fairly common in the Henrician period and was still in existence in 1552 when one offender had to nail another's ear to the pillory.<sup>72</sup> From that time it seems to have remained as a threat until the 1580s or 90s, and in 1587 a vagrant convicted of pickery was scourged with rods and threatened with having an ear nailed to a billet if he returned after his banishment.<sup>73</sup> After that the pillory seems to have been used purely as a humiliation rather than an instrument of torture; whipping and scourging, either before the mayor and jurats in the court hall, or in public in the market or while in procession round the town at a cart's tail, became the standard physical punishments.<sup>74</sup>

The stocks and pillory were the most commonly used instruments of shame, together with the post for drunkards in the seventeenth century. The pillory, in particular, was used chiefly to punish those who had stolen from or defrauded others, and thus it allowed the criminal's victims to have their revenge. In 1552 a saddler who had stolen hay and tares stood with his head in the pillory for at least two hours, having a "bottle of hay and another of tares about his neck."<sup>75</sup> Such a punishment was still in force in 1623 when a man who had sold bad meat from a drowned sow was put in the pillory with the remainder of the meat round his neck and a paper on his head.<sup>76</sup> In the seventeenth century the papers worn on the head or round the neck carried an explanation of the offence, which suggests an assumption by the authorities that at least some of the inhabitants could read. In 1583 there was so much theft of materials from the harbour that new stocks were set up at the pier to deal with all the offenders.<sup>77</sup> Persistent thieves were dealt with more severely; Lettice Lofts, who was frequently charged with offences, was whipped in the upper chamber of the town hall for a number of thefts in 1583, including selling the sheets she had "lain in at the charge of the town".<sup>78</sup>

Those guilty of sexual misdemeanours were held up to shame and ridicule throughout the period, harlots and adulterers being carted in tumbrils with basins before them.<sup>79</sup> There are no accounts of popular rough ridings, but the customary, sanctioned punishments must have resembled such occasions. There is some evidence that the use of carting as a punishment declined in the seventeenth century, possibly because it was too boisterous, to be replaced by whipping in serious cases and by judicious uses of payment in others.<sup>80</sup> It was still sometimes used in cases of harlotry and bastardy, however. In 1611, for example, a spinster was carted three times round the market place and to the door of the "Red Lion" inn where she had been unlawfully delivered of a bastard.<sup>81</sup> Punishment for sexual offences was almost never mitigated: it was recorded as an exception in 1562 when, during the punishment of a case of adultery, while the man sat in the stocks, the woman was allowed to stand beside him "for pity" because she was great with child.<sup>82</sup> Punishments for sexual misdemeanours do, however, suggest that there was some change in attitude in the early seventeenth century, and that perhaps a greater distinction was made between the conception and bearing of illegitimate children by responsible inhabitants of the town and by those seen as customary fornicators and harlots. There is also some evidence that men were more often punished for fornication than they had been earlier, and that women were not seen as solely blameworthy. In 1588, for example, Rebecca Hugbone, a servant, and John Dickenson, a shoemaker, who had been found in bed together, were carted about the town with papers on their heads and John Dickenson was then imprisoned, even though they had agreed to marry in the future.<sup>83</sup> On the other hand, in 1606 when Isaak Richard was charged with begetting Clement Gilbert with child, he did not deny the charge, and when both parties consented to marriage they were discharged.<sup>84</sup> Women who were seen to be a corrupting influence were punished with

prison in the seventeenth century, as men might have been, rather than with a brief period of humiliation. For example, a widow who kept an unlawful victualling house where she entertained journeymen shoemakers and sailors through most of the night, clearly overstepped the bounds in 1607 when she took a "young wench" aboard the ship of a Hollander in the harbour and left her there all night "which is a great offence to God and against all honest behaviour." For this she was sent to prison and put down from victualling.<sup>85</sup> Similarly, women of irregular life who were living apart from their husbands were severely treated: Elizabeth Sands, the wife of a musician who had gone to London, was thought guilty of very lewd behaviour in enticing strangers and men's servants of Dover to commit folly with her; she was brought before the bench when the mayor found her in bed with Thomas Stone. Stone escaped from the prison to which he was sent, but Elizabeth Sands was tied to the cart's tail and whipped three times round the market place then taken to the end of the town to seek for her husband "in London or elsewhere and live with him."<sup>86</sup>

Fathers of bastards, once discovered, were routinely charged for their maintenance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but more public attention seems to have been given to men for their part in the deed from the early years of the seventeenth century. In 1632, for example, a sailor was carted and whipped about the market place for fornication, and no mention was made of the woman. In 1634 an ostler went to prison because a female servant had accused him of getting her with child, and in 1639 a sailor was sent to the Hole for being found in the house of "Sweet Rose", a "known lewd woman", and no mention is made of a punishment for Sweet Rose.<sup>87</sup> It seems at least possible that during the time of increased trade through the port, realistic attitudes were taken to the presence of prostitutes there, but that it was occasionally found expedient to punish men for visiting them.

Women who caused dissension among their neighbours, usually by scolding, were also subjected to humiliation. In the first half of the sixteenth century they were paraded in the market place bearing wooden mortars.<sup>88</sup> Later they were put into the Cage during market time, when most people would see them.<sup>89</sup> This punishment was frequently given. It seems likely that it was taken less seriously as a punishment by its victims in the seventeenth century because some women began to escape from it then. On one occasion, at least, such behaviour led to a period in the stocks.<sup>90</sup> The Cage was also used occasionally for women found guilty of "incontinency".<sup>91</sup> After three offences of scolding, or for some more serious offence such as physical fighting, women were sent to the cuckling stool, which was clearly a dangerous as well as a humiliating punishment in Dover. A description of the event was recorded in 1614 when three women were taken to the harbour mouth at high tide. "At the timbers in the haven, a mast was fastened hanging over the water, and at the end the cuckling stool with a pulley was hanging." The women were rowed in a boat to it, two were put in the stool and one was "ducked well" once, one three times. The third woman only had to kiss the stool because her offence was less. After their ordeal the women were put back in the boat and rowed to land.<sup>92</sup>

There were a number of prisons in Dover. Prisoners convicted of serious offences, like certain rebellious harbour workers of 1535, sometimes languished in Dover Castle for over a year.<sup>93</sup> John Trendall, the conventicler, was kept there awaiting trial.<sup>94</sup> Other serious criminals awaiting trial were held by the bailiff, who was responsible for them.<sup>95</sup> Petty criminals were usually committed to one of the town prisons only while they were awaiting trial, or while they stubbornly refused to pay a fine or agree to a pledge of good behaviour in the future. It seems possible, however, that committal to prison for a short period began to be used as a punishment in itself in the early

seventeenth century.

Imprisonment in the freeman's prison seems often to have been merely a matter of form, an exemplary demonstration rather than a serious punishment. In 1582 a freeman was held in prison with the door open upon him, and it was not until he obstinately persisted in refusing to put in a bond not to continue in his bad behaviour that the prison door was "to be close and shut upon him" until he agreed to the bond.<sup>96</sup> In 1610 William Tatnall went to prison for saying he was as good a man as the mayor, but he was there during the days only, going home each night.<sup>97</sup> In such cases, the punishment was presumably mainly economic, ensuring that freemen were temporarily unable to pursue their occupations. In the hard conditions of the 1590s several leading members of the oligarchy were, however, seriously imprisoned for offences such as the non-payment of sesses and selling beer at the wrong price.<sup>98</sup>

The chief prison of the town seems to have been the one on the wall called "Standfast", from which John Atkins escaped on another man's back in 1590.<sup>99</sup> In 1613 the gatehouse over Biggin Gate was converted to a prison wherein "only some of the better sort of foreigners" were to be committed, presumably a sign that more space was needed at that time.<sup>100</sup> Most often used from about 1586 onwards was the Hole - which apparently fitted its name - to which overnight offenders, drunkards, vagrants and loiterers were consigned until they could be brought before the bench,<sup>101</sup> and which was sometimes also used as a lesser punishment for those whose offence was mitigated in some way.<sup>102</sup>

### iii) Violence and disorder

Recorded social disorder expressed itself less often in knife or sword fighting between members of the ruling elite after the mid-sixteenth century, but more often in impulsive violence between individual men and women of the shop-keeping and artisan groups. Its continuance was

usually effectively suppressed by the victim's taking out sureties of the peace against the offender. By the seventeenth century, it will be suggested that interpersonal violence was increasingly caused by friction over such shared facilities as wells, backsides, washing places and garden boundaries. Quarrels arose in shops and in the street, and the implement nearest to hand - a butcher's cleaver, tailor's shears or carpenter's yard-rule - was used to inflict a wound. Although physical violence between members of the ruling group was still recorded occasionally, those events were very rare in comparison with the day-to-day violence of the streets. It seems as though, having given up sword-play, the ruling group chose to regard casual violence and disorder as the province of the middling and lower sort. At the same time, there was clearly a much greater willingness by people of the middle and lower sort to take their complaints and grievances to the bench. The manner in which cases of violence are recorded suggests that more of them resulted from complaints from the victims than from regulation by the constables and watchmen. It is also possible that stories of violence were exaggerated by the victim in order to obtain sureties of the peace to deal with a running conflict between individuals or families that was felt to be getting out of hand.

As well as violent attacks between individuals, the number of recorded frays, riots and outrages also increased in the early seventeenth century - that is violent disorder by groups of men, usually young and often drunk. Such frays were sometimes directed at a constable or watchman who was trying to establish control, and were occasionally a response to over-active officials. From the 1620s onwards frays increasingly often involved groups of strangers - usually sailors - who had come ashore to drink carrying knives and swords.

Some interpersonal violence at all times was purely domestic, and it seems likely that cases of wife-beating were more often brought to the

magistrates as time went on. Some men were, of course, habitual offenders. For example, two constables rescued a wife from knifing herself in 1609 - "her husband had used her so ill she wished herself without life;" Christopher Hide was thought likely to murder his wife in 1621 and she craved a surety of the peace against him again in 1623.<sup>103</sup> A number of men who beat their wives were also reported to spend all their money in alehouses, like Nicholas Saffrey in 1636, who beat his wife and put her and their children out in 1638.<sup>104</sup> It seems likely that remarriage sometimes caused violence, as when a step-mother was accused of beating a six-year old child in 1611, and when a bricklayer was accused of misusing his wife and his stepson in 1618.<sup>105</sup>

In the early sixteenth century when recorded violent attacks were usually between men of the ruling group, and often involved knives and swords, recognizances for surety of the peace following attacks or threats include the names of jurats.<sup>106</sup> Some outbreaks of violence seem to have been the result of a long period of friction between two men or even between their families; a memorandum of 1546, for example, following a fray between the mayor and one of the jurats, refers to "all other matters between them", which was a fairly common formula.<sup>107</sup> In 1547 the town clerk of Dover, Roger Wood, killed John Young, recently of Calais, with his sword, but was acquitted of murder, since Young had lain in wait for him in a field near Hougham, saying to observers that he wanted Roger Wood, for "he knoweth what is between him and me."<sup>108</sup> A quarrel in the market place in which daggers were drawn in 1577 involved two groups of Dover families, one of which had links with the ruling group, and between which grudges persisted.<sup>109</sup> The role of swords in giving status can be seen to have descended the social scale by 1588 when a sailor borrowed a sword from his companion in an inn "to go up and down in the town withal".<sup>110</sup>

By the mid-sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth century, the

records show that violence quite frequently arose in the course of normal occupational transactions. The list of fines for frays in the year 1541-42 includes two shoemakers.<sup>111</sup> By the 1580s the bench was taking depositions, for example, in cases of violence between a smith and a carrier, between two sailors and between two shoemakers.<sup>112</sup> In 1615, when an elderly woman was asking a man to leave a house she let to him, he wrung her hands until they were blackened.<sup>113</sup> Butchers were frequently at fault: William Sacrey cut a woman's apron while she was in his shop and one butcher broke the shoulder of another butcher's wife, dislocating her child's hip in the same attack.<sup>114</sup> One shoemaker attacked another with a boot containing a last in 1631.<sup>115</sup> The flour grinder of the Maison Dieu mill struck another man's servant with a meal shovel.<sup>116</sup> In 1634 a ship master committed bloodshed on a merchant in an argument about throwing elmwood ashore from a lighter and in the same year a traveller shed the blood of a sailor who was touting for business in the "Greyhound" and, as sailors so often did, asking too much for passage.<sup>117</sup> In 1639 William Tiddeman, while he was "*much in drink*" having been in company most of the day in his herring house," struck his servant.<sup>118</sup> There are numerous such examples that suggest that much violent behaviour was impulsive and related to occupational tensions that were often exacerbated by drinking.

Much violence appears to have resulted from cramped living conditions, and some of this involved women coming to blows with each other, a development particularly noticeable from the beginning of the seventeenth century. More will be said about relationships between women below. Depositions in some of the cases brought between neighbours cast some light on contemporary quotidian irritants. In 1618 two women fought because one of them had set out ratsbane mixed with oats and malt which was eaten by the other's hen and chickens. The poisoner acknowledged that she had actually set the poison to deal with the hogs of one of the

ruling group that commonly came into her backside, and that she had originally done so with the consent of the plaintiff.<sup>119</sup> Conflicts arose in 1621 because a butcher, Edward Marlton, was keeping hogs in his backside near the Brook and feeding them with blood and the entrails of beasts. The backside had only been used before that time for such lawful purposes as washing clothes, and now his backside was noisome and the Brook full of decaying matter.<sup>120</sup> In a quarrel between two women in 1623 one threw stones at the other and pierced her cheek with a pitchfork.<sup>121</sup> In 1639 a sailor's wife complained that a neighbour had thrown stones at her and his wife had hit her with two pails of water and threatened to be revenged on her if she went again for water into Richard Bennett's backside, which was presumably where there was a communal well.<sup>122</sup> In 1640 a pregnant woman complained that Jeremy Paterson had called her brazen-faced whore, boxed her ears and almost turned her over his quay into the water because, in an attempt to attract her husband's attention, she had stood on the quay to throw a stone at the boat moored there in which her husband served.<sup>123</sup> Depositions make it clear that in many cases a strong territorial instinct was at work as people laid claim to their own space in the town.

In 1634 when Edmund Dennis, a bricklayer, returned from work at about 8 p.m., his wife told him she had been threatened by their neighbour Richard Denne, an innholder, who complained that she stole his cocks and hens. When the bricklayer went to mediate in the quarrel, the innkeeper called him cuckold and felled him to the ground. When Dennis set off to work at 4 or 5 a.m. the next morning he saw Denne waiting for him near his door with a cudgel in his hands; he therefore left by the back door and went straight to the pier to complain to the mayor and crave surety of the peace against Denne, who had followed him all the way.<sup>124</sup> This incident illustrates not only the rapid resort to violence among

neighbours, and the sexual contempt so often expressed in such an attack, but also the intimacy of a society in which the victim could go directly to the mayor for protection at first light.

Violent events occasioned by differences with aliens naturally increased as the numbers of aliens in the town increased. As early as 1605 a company of Spaniards was temporarily billeted in the town, and orders were given for a greater watch - of 21 men - to be reared every night.<sup>125</sup> Both Spaniards and Englishmen were brought before the magistrates for railing against one another; a Spanish soldier attacked the watch and a Dovorian was sent to prison for attacking two Spanish gentlemen who were playing cards in an inn. Two masons were also imprisoned because while they were working on a new house, they "cast filth from a gutter on some of the chiefest of the Spaniards as they passed by."<sup>126</sup> Attacks on and by aliens increased in the late 1620s and the 1630s, and conflicts that had begun in other ports, such as Dunkirk, continued in Dover, thus adding an extra dimension to the possibility of disorder in the town. A sailor from Milford drew a knife on a Dover sailor who tried to put him out of his house and said he would have him killed "in what country he met him", and in 1636, Robert Dambrell, a sailor, took out a surety of the peace against Cato Garnetson who had threatened to dispatch him if he ever caught him in Dunkirk.<sup>127</sup>

This does not mean that there were not friendly relations between men from the Low Countries and Dovorians, but such friendships in themselves sometimes led to trouble, which was very often the result of heavy drinking. In 1630, for example, a servant was sent by his master to speak to two Dunkirkers in an inn. Once there, and having enquired for them, he was used as the butt of violent horseplay by some English merchants and a Dutch captain who were drinking there together and who forced the reluctant servant to drink.<sup>128</sup> On another occasion trouble flared up in an inn because a Fleming sat by the fire next to a young

Dover woman.<sup>129</sup> The most extreme example of xenophobia, reminiscent of an incident in Shakespeare's Henry V, occurred when a carpenter struck a labourer with a "rule then in his hand", breaking his head "to the skull", for having a leek in his hat on St. David's day.<sup>130</sup> It was by no means always Dovorians who were responsible for such violence, however. In 1636 Jacques Savasio from Bruges, while drunk at the Pier, drew his sword and ran at everyone who came near him.<sup>131</sup> In 1639 John Besa, from "the dukedom of William" deposed how, while he was staying in the house of a Dover merchant, the merchant's children came downstairs and he "making much of them and asking them if the Spaniards had given them any sweetmeats", one Lewis Perera, a servant to the Prince of Portugal, who happened to be in the same house, took exception to being called a Spaniard and struck and wounded Besa with his sword.<sup>132</sup>

Violent frays and group disturbances of the peace were carried out by groups of men, who were usually young and often drunk. They seem to have been essentially anti-authoritarian. It is commonly held that at a time when festivals were celebrated communally, disorder often took the form of a reversal of such festivals. The Dover records offer only one example of a sanctioned celebration involving the Lord of Misrule,<sup>133</sup> but something similar, although unsanctioned, seems to have taken place slightly later when a group of young men assembled riotously in May 1590 and took down the maypole, and again when a group of men fought in the market place one November evening in 1602 "where were assembled many honest householders and other persons at a bonfire where psalms were sung to praise God for the happy reign of Her Majesty the Queen".<sup>134</sup> Frays could be associated with ritual in other ways, as when Hougham parishioners created a riot involving bloodshed while drinking in the "Woolsack" inn in Dover after their perambulation in 1607.<sup>135</sup> The tradition of early summer disorder seems to have surfaced in late May

1639 when a number of sailors went out in a boat "for pleasure" about 11 a.m. and came into the Dover Roads at 10 p.m. where they beat a drum and discharged a musket and created "great disorder."<sup>136</sup>

Much disorder resulted simply from young men drinking together. Examples of such events involving servants and journeymen abound in the early seventeenth century: a group of journeymen shoemakers committed an outrage at the "Rose" one afternoon in 1609; a number of young men were disorderly after drinking beer and aquavita in 1611; four young men pulled down pales by moonlight in 1623; a servant and a journeyman tailor pulled off the door of the house of office and flung it in the river in 1632; six men sang the Bellman's note in the street at 2 a.m., and then hit the watchman, in 1639, and watchmen struck their constable and cried out at 11 p.m. that "there were ten Turkes ships of war in the harbour" in 1640.<sup>137</sup> A series of depositions in 1615 shows that the sons of the ruling group were not exempt from disorderly behaviour: a group had been coney-hunting on Sir Thomas Wilford's land, accompanied by the warrener of Sir William Monins, on what was clearly only one of a number of occasions, when they seriously wounded one of Sir Thomas Wilford's men who had opposed them.<sup>138</sup>

The duty of the watch became increasingly onerous in the seventeenth century, although householders had already been warned in 1588 that they must perform the watch themselves and not use substitutes.<sup>139</sup> Names of watchmen attached to depositions make it clear that although substantial men were elected as constables, they never seemed to act as watchmen in their own person, but continued to supply substitutes. This reinforces the notion that men of the wealthier sort, except for those who were actually magistrates, distanced themselves increasingly from petty crime and disorder. In 1606 a decree was made that, because of disorder in the town, the watch was to apprehend anyone on the streets after 9 p.m. except known householders.<sup>140</sup> Unsurprisingly, the records contain

frequent lists of defaulting watchmen.<sup>141</sup>

In 1636 on a night when the watch had defaulted, some French prisoners escaped, and the town had to face an enquiry by the Privy Council. This resulted in new regulations, under which the town sergeant received £10 per annum and the mayor's sergeant 26s.8d. for warning all inhabitants to watch at their turns and to set watch every night.<sup>142</sup> By 1639 the town required 44 watchmen every night, between 9 p.m. and 3 a.m., and inhabitants were required to watch in their own person, or to present substitutes who were enrolled in one of the trained bands. The regulations for the duties of the watch were precise, and required muskets or halberds to be carried, with at least three charges of shot for each musket. Strangers had to provide enrolled men to watch for them, and no stranger might walk abroad after 9 p. m. unless a watchman walked with him.<sup>143</sup>

Depositions show that watchmen often played an important role in keeping order in the town, and that they could respond quickly in an emergency.<sup>144</sup> It is also clear, however, that men became increasingly reluctant to perform the office and that while they were doing so they were often treated contemptuously, especially by wealthy visitors to the town. In some cases, the contempt was deserved. There are many examples of lax behaviour by the watch, of which the most vivid is perhaps that of 1617 when four watchmen who were trying to put their prisoner into the Hole were so drunk that the prisoner had to hold them upright while they took him there. One of them then fell at the door, and another lay sick there for four or five hours.<sup>145</sup> They occasionally absented themselves from their task when there was more urgent work to do, as when they went to bring barrels on shore from a ship in 1637.<sup>146</sup> In some cases it was the intervention of the forces of order that turned a disorderly situation into a violent one. A man resisting arrest threatened to make the sub-bailiff's doublet "full of eyelet holes" in

1616.<sup>147</sup> When the constable came to take a distress in William Sweeting's house in 1617 his wife and some neighbours attacked him.<sup>148</sup> Depositions show that the watch clearly knew where to go to find disorderly persons; they entered not only the public rooms in inns, but private chambers where they were sure of finding people engaged in illicit sexual acts.<sup>149</sup> In December 1620 two victuallers were committed for refusing to open the doors of their houses to the watch at 9 p.m.<sup>150</sup> Watchmen visited the lime-kilns and the bowling alley, which were gathering places for vagrants, whores and riotous young men.<sup>151</sup> Disorder then arose when people resisted arrest or interference. Occasionally watchmen overreached themselves, as when they stopped a merchant who was on his way to his lodging late in the evening and refused to let him pass, calling him "Dunkirk dog", and crying "knock him down, cleave him down."<sup>152</sup>

Nevertheless, they performed a useful function. Their task was often dangerous, as when the constable called for them about 11 p.m. one night in 1636 when he had met 15 or 16 Dutch sailors near an inn, one of whom had his knife drawn. When the sailors fell to fighting each other and also attacked the constable, the watchmen had great trouble in getting them to the Hole because no one would help them, yet they succeeded in doing so.<sup>153</sup> On this, as on other occasions when aliens were disorderly, the town received no fine. The master of their ship claimed that the men were poor, and refused to disburse a penny for them in fines. This, and other incidents like it, make the stringent regulations about watching for strangers at night understandable.

#### iv) Victualling houses and disorder

It is clear from what has been said above that victualling and tippling houses, as well as inns on occasions, were often the sources of disorderly behaviour. The Dover records serve to confirm much of what

Peter Clark has said in his work on the English alehouse.<sup>154</sup> Small victualling houses, often unlicensed, seem to have proliferated in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and evidence, chiefly from depositions made in court, suggest that they provided warmth, food, cheap ale or beer and, later, aquavita and tobacco, and occasionally music.<sup>155</sup> Stolen goods were exchanged or pawned there and stolen meat dressed and eaten; sex was sometimes offered for payment, cards were played for money.<sup>156</sup> They provided sanctuary for people without a valid identity and for those looking for entertainment late at night and during times of divine service.<sup>157</sup> Victualling houses offered some escape from authority and their atmosphere apparently encouraged men to speak freely about those who ran the town's affairs, and who would be extremely unlikely to be present.

Unfortunately no evidence remains that would enable quantification of such places in the later period. References to the suppression of unlicensed victuallers suggest that the authorities were reluctant actually to come to grips with individuals unless some specific complaints had been made against them, or they were known to be harbouring vagrants, idle livers or unlawful inmates - information that depended largely on the willingness of informants to supply details.<sup>158</sup> Since the houses supplied comfort to the poor, it seems likely that unless they were actively troublesome to neighbours, their presence might well have been ignored, especially as some of the oligarchic brewers actually supplied them with beer. They were clearly perceived as the resort of poor men, and as such not suitable places for substantial inhabitants of the town. When Edward Carpenter, formerly apprentice to a substantial mercer, was imprisoned, part of his fault was perceived as playing cards at unlawful times "with poor men."<sup>159</sup>

In 1560 there were 30 bound victuallers in Dover, four of them on their way to being innkeepers, five of them widows, two bakers, and the

majority of the rest mariners.<sup>160</sup> In 1583 there were 28 bound victuallers, all of the middle or more substantial sort, including the widows.<sup>161</sup> A list of victuallers with their pledges in 1592 shows that there were 31 allowed and bound, 11 allowed but not bound and 18 who were neither allowed nor bound.<sup>162</sup> The last group included some sailors and a glazier, but did not seem to include the poorer sort of men and women who later became unlicensed victuallers. This is the last list of its kind that survives. In 1610 the magistrates sent eight men to prison for three days for victualling without a licence.<sup>163</sup> Most of these men were on the margins of respectability, but liable to slip into difficulties, both economic and social.<sup>164</sup> By 1621 the mayor and jurats found it necessary to take consideration of the "great number of victualling houses, and of those that are in back lanes and unfit places." They again found eight men unfit in respect of themselves as well as their houses to be victuallers and gave them a week or two to use up their beer, after which they were to take in no more.<sup>165</sup> Among these men were the son of an innkeeper, a cooper, a brewer and a shoemaker, men who were still more substantial than some of the victuallers mentioned in seventeenth century depositions, such as Davy Graves, a labourer, John Pickering, a violent drunkard and failed tailor, and Thomas Gill, a bricklayer, together with numerous poor wives and widows.<sup>166</sup>

From the 1620s in particular, victuallers who persisted in offering lodgings to vagrants and illegal inmates of the town were regularly suppressed, although a number clearly continued to victual in spite of the ban upon them.<sup>167</sup> It seems likely that the victualling houses, by confining much of the disorderly activity of the town within their walls, served not only as a safety valve for the inhabitants but as a means by which those in authority could pinpoint troublesome people, and that they were therefore left alone as long as they did not cause

outrageous disturbances, in which case it was the complaints of neighbours that brought victuallers to the attention of the bench. In 1636, for example, Abigail Hart complained that on the previous Friday night some men, including John Pickering, had been at the house of Richard Turner at 2 a.m. swearing, playing cards and making a noise that kept her sick husband awake. On the next night other men had been there "singing, roaring and swearing."<sup>168</sup> George Chatham, a shipwright, made a similar complaint in 1640 about Matthew Bennett's house next door to him on the Cross Wall of the Pent. Whenever Matthew Bennett was away, two or three times a week, and his wife was running the house, the noise made by strangers and Englishmen there was so great that Chatham and his family could not sleep.<sup>169</sup>

Sometimes drinking resulted in serious violence, for which the victualler was held at least partly responsible. A hackneyman, who was also a victualler, was prosecuted in 1612 for permitting a shoemaker and a yeoman to drink and quarrel in his house and then to go to Windless Down, knowing they intended to fight. On that occasion the fight ended in murder, and the victualler was held in prison until he could find £20, which he claimed he would not be able to do.<sup>170</sup> In 1617 a victualler was suppressed because he had allowed a number of men to drink in his house the whole afternoon, after which two of them then went out into the dark quarrelling, and one of them was found drowned in the Great Pent the next day.<sup>171</sup>

Depositions also make it clear that prostitutes operated from such houses, and that the wives (whose husbands were frequently absent) who ran them also sometimes offered sex to their customers.<sup>172</sup> One series of depositions shows that attempts were sometimes made to force young, female servants to follow this path. The wife of Lawrence Brandred, a victualler, beat and wounded her servant, Mary Francis, on two occasions because she would not entertain men. Mrs. Brandred also called on

neighbouring wives from time to time to take drink with men, often "outlandish" men, in their chambers. The servant, Mary, was subsequently found with a man "in the barley" and rebuked for living an idle life, to which she replied that the man she had been with then went on to be with her drunken mistress for two or three hours.<sup>173</sup>

A unique feature of the victualling houses in Dover in the early seventeenth century was, of course, the number of aliens or "strangers" who spent time in them. Some of the houses that entertained strangers became nuisances in their locality, and were reported. David Graves's house, in particular, saw "daily disorder." One of Graves's neighbours, a labourer, complained that Flemings from the victualling house had abused his wife and damaged his roof by throwing stones at it, and that as Flemings left the victualling house they often made water against the door of his house "whereby their water came into his house that it nould be scooped up," and one Sunday a Dutchman had lain in Graves's adjoining backside for an hour or two.<sup>174</sup> There were a number of complaints of strangers behaving badly in small victualling houses in 1636 and 1637 and it is therefore not surprising to find that some strangers began to set up as victuallers themselves. Jacques Colfe, a distiller of aqua vitae, was complained of for the disorder within his house in 1636 and told to leave the town with his wife and children within 14 days.<sup>175</sup> Licensed victuallers like John Dibb and Roger Smith informed on three Dutch unlicensed victuallers, who were closed down, but one Dutchman, Thomas Roboofe, who was complained of in 1637 for allowing men to play cards in his house during divine service, seems to have been allowed to continue victualling.<sup>176</sup>

There seems no doubt that drinking was at the root of much violence and disorder at this time, and that drink and company were readily available in back lanes and corners. One victualler was sent to prison in 1617 for disobeying constant warnings not to take things on pawn; the most recent

complaint against him had been made by the captain of a ship from whose sailors the victualler had taken clothing, weapons and even a Bible in pawn for drink and food.<sup>177</sup> Pawning goods - which had sometimes been "found" - for drink was not uncommon, but could lead to misery, as it did for Jane Saffery whose husband, a carpenter, pawned his axe and hand saw to a victualler in Charlton, and who hit her when she went to call him from David Graves's house to ask him for money "to provide for bread for her and her children."<sup>178</sup> This is only one of a number of examples of women being left to provide for their families while their husbands took their own food as well as drink in the victualling house.

v) Petty crime and disorder among women

Women came before the bench chiefly because of sexual offences: for bearing bastards, for adultery, incontinence or harlotry. They were also found guilty of scolding and creating dissension among their neighbours, sometimes of defaming men and often of defaming other women, and of resorting to physical violence, particularly against each other. Like men, they offended against the trading regulations of the town, but usually in a very small way, by victualling without licence, by buying goods and selling them again in small quantities, or by forestalling. They were also presented to the church courts for acting as unlicensed midwives or for teaching or practising the art of surgery without a licence.<sup>179</sup> They were also sometimes guilty of petty theft and of being in debt. The reasons why women offended against society were often different from those of men, just as their daily lives were different. Many of the offences committed by women resulted from their physical and economic vulnerability, and also from their living conditions. Depositions, particularly in defamation cases, reveal the combination of physical circumscription and public intimacy within which they lived. In such conditions quarrels over minor nuisances are not surprising. It

will be shown that women were most vulnerable both sexually and economically when they lacked the formal protection of a man, most obviously before marriage and during widowhood. Their presence in both the ecclesiastical and the civic courts makes it clear that they were also very likely to offend against the social order while their husbands were absent, which in many cases was frequently and for long periods of time. It is impossible to know whether neighbours used these absences as a chance to complain about an unpopular and disorderly woman, or whether lonely wives really were unruly. In some cases, at least, it is certain that in this hand to mouth economy, an absent husband meant economic hardship for a wife, and some petty crime and sexual offences resulted simply from the need for ready money.

The wives of sailors and waggoners were particularly likely to be in this position. While many sailors' wives used victualling as a steady by-employment, others took it up only while their husbands were at sea, and were sometimes found guilty of disorderly behaviour as well as unlicensed victualling. A licensed victualler took the opportunity to complain to the magistrates in 1635 about Jacomin Liddeman, a Dutch woman, who victualled unlawfully while her husband Lawrence was at sea.<sup>180</sup> When an absent husband, Simon Allen, who in 1615 was living in Bankside at the "Golden Falcon" as a chamberlain of the house, sent his wife a gilded 12d. piece as a token, she "having cause to buy some things at the fair" pawned it for 12d. and came into the court when it was presented as counterfeit money.<sup>181</sup>

It seems likely that money needed urgently while a husband was away was sometimes found by selling sex. For example in 1581 Alice, the wife of Austen Smith, confessed that a London hosier had come to her dwelling on the previous Saturday night and desired to lie with her. She yielded, after some persuasion, and received 12d. from him.<sup>182</sup> In 1634, while her husband was away from Dover, Susan Harris went out one evening to

pawn her husband's cloak but returned with a merchant who said he would lend her 10s. on it, and meanwhile hung it against the window "while he had to do with her." The deed resulted in a bastard daughter. He lent Susan's observant servant money to buy a waistcoat and warned her to keep her peace "for he had friends in the Court if she spake thereof."<sup>183</sup>

Sometimes, it seems, women simply misbehaved in the absence of their husbands, and became an object of scandalized discussion among their neighbours so that their cases had to be brought to the ecclesiastical court. One such case was brought by the brother of a cuckolded husband who was moved to defend his brother's reputation and bring his sister-in-law to justice. The case, Whetstone contra Harwood, concerned the carrier Nicholas Whetstone, who was often from home, "using to go with packets between Dover and London". While he was away, John Harwood, who had bed and board in his house, was rumoured to have taken over his wife as well. The story became notorious, reaching the ears of John Reading, the minister, as well as all the neighbours, one of whom claimed that the guilty couple sat up late one evening drinking, having the fiddlers about them, and that John Harwood sang a catch to Whetstone's wife: "Here Cuckqueane I drink to thee and to the old cuckold where ere he be."<sup>184</sup> A number of deponents described details of the case with some relish, possibly because the couple involved were prosperous and were on the margin of the ruling group.

The vulnerability of young women servants, in particular, is revealed by the statements they made in court when they were describing the conception of their illegitimate children, or complaining of being forced to have sexual relations, as the following examples show. The father of Margaret Jeffery's child "brake open a wall" and came upon her in the house where she was working; John Knapp, one of the ruling group, fathered a child on his servant; William Smith, a servant, fathered a

child on another servant, and was then forced to leave the town and abandon the mother and child; a future mayor offered to procure a respectable woman to "keep a Frenchman company"; a virgin complained that a Dutchman from a ship forced his way to her chamber and asked her to sleep with him; a nine-year old girl was molested by a man to whom she had been entrusted; a woman escaped rape against the Pent Wall because she "kept her legs together for a quarter of an hour"; a ripper's daughter had an illegitimate child after being raped by an apprentice in the cabin of a ship when she had been sent there to get fish, and James Hughessen put away his pregnant servant without order, although he was said to have caused her to sleep in a truckle bed at the foot of his own.<sup>185</sup>

Of course, unmarried female servants also conceived children in willing sexual acts in their masters' houses, usually in the expectation of being married to the father, and most often when both employers were absent - at the pea harvest in Ashford, or at a dinner in the Barber-Surgeons' Hall, for example.<sup>186</sup> A widow had a child by a sailor who had promised to marry her, and who came to her house very early one morning to escape impressment.<sup>187</sup> The incidence of broken marriage promises was frequent.

Although not significant in statistical terms, some of the depositions taken in both the civil and ecclesiastical courts nevertheless serve to illuminate the lives of women and make it clear that hardship and the need to feed themselves and their children when their husbands could not or would not do so, led them into small-scale debts and petty theft. In the case of servants, particularly, debt and theft must sometimes have been prompted by the monotony of poverty that led to envy and the desire for trivial luxuries. Even the wife of the former town clerk, Edmund Michell, gentleman, had difficulty in obtaining money from her husband for essential items, as is revealed in a deposition by one of their

female servants in 1584, who reported that her mistress asked her master for money to buy some things for their servants' supper, wherewith he "being offended did fall out with his wife" and beat her with his fist.<sup>188</sup> Women were accustomed to pay their debts with whatever came to hand. The wife of a butcher, complaining of being put out of an inn shortly after her child had been delivered there, claimed that she had been paying the innkeeper's wife a joint of meat every week for the last quarter of a year for the use of 40s. she had borrowed for her upon a silver cup and spoon.<sup>189</sup>

It has been noted above that wealthier widows lent their capital at interest to men.<sup>190</sup> The habit of lending and pawning on a very small scale indeed seems, however, to have gone right through the society of women. They also traded among themselves in small items of food, clothing and household goods, as is revealed by a deposition made before the ecclesiastical court in 1610 in a case of defamation, when two of the women deponents confessed to owing the female defendant, who had a "shop" twelve pence and fourpence halfpenny respectively for "grocery ware."<sup>191</sup> The examination of Mary Jarman, who was a servant of about 17 years old, taken before the magistrates in 1586, is worth noting in some detail as it suggests the way in which a group of women operated their own credit and loan scheme, based on the exchange of small luxuries and even smaller necessities, and involving tiny amounts of money.

The case came to court because Mary Jarman had consistently stolen small amounts of money "from her dame's box". She had taken 3s.4d. and given it to the wife of William Sergeant to buy an ell of holland cloth to make two neckerchers; she gave the same woman 18d. to buy two crosscloths. With another stolen 2s. she bought two candlesticks from Smith's wife, "willed so to do by Sergeant's wife". She also paid Sergeant's wife 4s. at various times for dishes, platters, a saucer and

a porringer. She then borrowed 3s. from the daughter of Goodwife Holloday, to whom she gave 3d. for the loan, which she repaid with money taken from her dame's box. Tayler's wife at the pier had fetched some goods from William Sergeant's wife, which Mary Jarman told her she (Mary Jarman) had bought with stolen money, and which Sergeant's wife appeared to be holding for her. She always allowed Tayler's wife a piece of fish "3d. for 2d." also soap for 3d. the pound which was sold for threepence halfpenny. Likewise she sold fish, soap and faggots for a farthing under the price to Hollobay's wife and Sandy's wife, and often gave them soap, salt and vinegar for nothing. Goodwife Marketmaid had brought her a silver ring to sell, for which she paid her 20d. and four faggots. She sold a silver ring for Goodwife Smith for 6d. and a penny in cheese. She had also bought and sold silver rings for Goodwife Edmor. Further, she had taken money from her dame's box to buy a pepper quern for 4d., and some woollen yarn for 5d. Hollobay's daughter "had of her a fin of fish and a faggot paying nothing therefore, but said she would pay for it but never did."<sup>192</sup> It seems that between them Mary Jarman and Mrs. Sergeant were fulfilling a market function based on women's needs, far removed from the regulation of the civic authorities. In these negotiations small treasures such as silver rings, pins and spoons often acted as securities for an urgent loan or a means of exchange.

The need of women for purely subsistence items is also suggested by the fact that throughout the period the majority of hedge-breaking offences were committed by women, who were presumably looking for fuel.<sup>193</sup> Some of these offences led to the further offences of abuse or violence, as when a yeoman from Ewell complained that women from Dover had pulled up the stakes and binders from his hedge, and when he found fault with them, had called him "whoring rogue" and said "he should repent it every vein of his heart."<sup>194</sup>

Such a threat might have had more force coming from women, who seem to

have inhabited a world in which superstition could still retain some traces of malevolence. There are only four clear references to superstitious talk among women in the records of the whole period, and there is one incidental mention of the trial of a Dover woman for witchcraft having taken place.<sup>195</sup> All the references date from the early seventeenth century. In spite of their rarity, they nevertheless demonstrate an easy familiarity with such ideas. A merchant, deposing against Mrs. Gurley in 1619, made no accusation of witchcraft, but said that he had often heard her wish that Richard Doves might sink in the sea at his next voyage, if he did not bring home her son with him. She had also told him that she had heard that witches would put certain eggs into water, so many of those that sank, so many ships should sink at sea.<sup>196</sup>

In 1621 two women accused a widow, Jane Michell, of witchcraft, and were asked to give their evidence to the bench. The accusers were the wife of Thomas Pringle (brother of a future mayor of Dover) and her daughter, Elizabeth Banks. The labourer's wife whom they employed to nurse Elizabeth's baby son informed the court that because the baby became sick and had violent fits they concluded it had been bewitched by Widow Mitchell. She described in detail the measures Mrs. Pringle and her daughter took to rid themselves of the "old witch", such as keeping a horseshoe continually in the fire, putting the child's nail parings in an egg and burning it under the sill of the threshold of the entry door to lure the witch to the house, and burning some thatch taken from Widow Michell's house. Nothing succeeded in bringing the witch to the house, however.<sup>197</sup> The case seems never to have progressed beyond this preliminary hearing, and may simply have been an example of pure spite on the part of a contentious family, since Thomas Pringle's children, of whom Elizabeth Banks was one, were described as "the serpent's children" by a woman in 1611, Thomas Pringle brought a false accusation of buggery

on his son by a sailor at sea in 1612, and his daughter Elizabeth, before her marriage, was accused in 1616 of setting her neighbours at variance.<sup>198</sup>

Pregnancy and childbirth were clearly the source of some superstitious lore and malicious comment. In 1612 when a monstrous pig was born, with a very deformed head and no hair the talk was that "Richard Fleete, more than half an idiot had committed buggery with the sow because he had been often seen hereabout."<sup>199</sup> In 1637 the pregnant Elizabeth Mason complained that Joan Stone had shed her blood and threatened to spoil her great belly "and caused a coney skin stuffed with hay to be hung up on the sign post" belonging to the house of her husband, the "Flower de Luce."<sup>200</sup> Such incidents are statistically unimportant, but serve as a reminder that certain states and actions had a significance for contemporaries that the twentieth century observer might easily neglect, and that could have lead to accusations and resentments in a community living cheek by jowl.

Some differences between women that led to actions in the civic and ecclesiastical courts could be said to have arisen partly from their striving for status. The public status of women was dependent upon the status of their husbands and fathers, and when women were alone together their status seems to have provided a subject for running comment. The importance of women to the maintenance of certain kin groups within the town has been discussed above.<sup>201</sup> Their sexual fidelity must therefore have been seen to be important in maintaining the blood lines that established titles to inheritance, and it seems likely that women were prepared to resort to violence or to the law to defend attacks upon their sexual probity: such attacks could be seen as attacks upon their status as marriageable virgins, or sober wives and legitimate mothers. For women, status was not defined only by the external, overt and institutionalized signs that men employed, and it depended not only on

the occupation and office of their husbands, but had to be proved and defended daily by their behaviour.

Depositions make it clear that the wives of men who belonged to quite different social and occupational groups had frequent chance encounters on their domestic territory; they talked near their homes, in the street near their open doors and by their backsides, washing places and shared wells. On the other hand men of similar occupations and interests congregated for talk in neutral but publicly significant places, such as in the market place, under the Court House, on Penniless Bench<sup>202</sup>, and in the gun garden. The wives of the ruling group appear to have had quite intimate and dependent relationships on women of a lower social group, such as their less well-married sisters and other kin, their female servants and midwives, relationships sustained by daily contact, talk, shared tasks, and, occasionally, debt. These relationships could, of course, turn sour under conditions of stress or envy.

The deposition Elizabeth Beadle gave to the bench in 1621 when she was charged with stealing pots and flowers from the garden of Mrs.Ward, wife of a former mayor of the town, is worth attention for the details it gives of the number of encounters such a woman might have in one evening, and the number of fairly close relatives who lived near her. She claimed that from 7 to 9 p.m. she was in the house, an inn, of her brother-in-law John Loome where she was seen by a number of people, including her uncle Dunstone and his wife. At about 9 p.m. she and her "sister Loome" (who was much more fortunately married in terms of wealth than she was) were at their uncle John Waad's house for about three quarters of an hour. She and her sister went back to her sister's house whence they could hear music at John Haslewood's house. They then came home to her house and they and their mother went to the garden to take in their clothes, and afterwards went and stood at Haslewood's door with William Hamon's wife for a quarter of an hour listening to the music.

They then returned to her sister's house, going back to Haslewood's door at one point to call for "her little maid servant" to go home to bed. She stayed in the Loomes' house for another half an hour.<sup>203</sup> Other neighbours were called upon to depose in this case, and it is clear from their depositions that women whose husbands were from the ruling group were intimately acquainted with the wives of fairly prosperous sailors, one of whose daughters testified that she was at school, and with unprosperous victuallers' wives, poor widows and female servants.<sup>204</sup> Mrs. Ward, whose complaint had initiated the case seems to have received no support from her neighbours in prosecuting it. Her husband's will, in 1623, made her a yearly revenue "meet for a woman of her sort and quality to have"<sup>205</sup> but, among the company of women, her personal qualities rather than her fortune seem to have mediated her status.

It seems likely that the worst charge one woman could make against another was that she was a whore, and that women were increasingly likely to make that charge in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The cases of defamation that are most easy to isolate are those that were brought before the ecclesiastical court. Between 1563 and 1600, 20 such cases were brought by Dover people, of which two were brought by women against women. Between 1600 and 1640, 56 such cases were brought, of which 31 were brought by women against women. It is difficult to assess the reasons for this increase of abuse of women by other women, which is also noticeable in the records of the town courts, but the influx of newcomers to the town, and overcrowding and the increase of poverty seem likely to have been contributory factors. It seems important to ask why such cases were brought to the court. They were not presentments by churchwardens, members of the ruling group, but complaints initiated by the victim, often a comparatively poor woman.<sup>206</sup> One can only conclude that the victim took the opportunity

offered by the courts to clear her tarnished honour, and to establish the legitimacy of her behaviour and status, as well as the legitimacy of her children in some cases. She did this by finding neighbours who would affirm her good reputation and maintain that she was not capable of acting in the way that had been alleged by the defamer.<sup>207</sup> Bearing in mind the trouble and expense of a court case, this suggests that the defence of honour was seen as crucial in the society. The notion is reinforced by the fact that a number of cases were pursued simultaneously in both the town and the ecclesiastical courts.<sup>208</sup> On one occasion, at least, it is clear that a man was eager to be rid of the social difficulties caused to him by his wife's pursuit of a case of defamation against one of his kinsmen. In 1627 Robert Bennett, while on business in London, asked Abraham Hughessen to mediate between himself and Thomas Gourley, Bennett's "near kinsman", in all the differences between them, but in particular the suit of defamation depending between Bennett's wife and Gourley, "ingenuously confessing that it was an uncharitable and unchristian part for kinsmen to remain at variance ...upon so slender a ground".<sup>209</sup> The matter of Gourley's abuse of Bennett's wife was thus settled out of court. This deposition shows that the abuse had clearly been only one element in a number of tensions between the two men, but it would be interesting to know how Mrs. Bennett responded to the private settlement of what she had regarded as a public humiliation.

The accusations that women made against women, whatever tensions they arose from, tended to be very similar; they were of whoredom, adultery and bastard-bearing, often including details of the time and place where sexual acts had occurred.<sup>210</sup> They were clearly meant to attack the honour of the victim and to shame her in the community. In 1572 Joan Dorkery said that Margery Bredgate, the wife of a victualler, looked out for her guests while her husband looked out for passing trade.<sup>211</sup> In

1610 Elizabeth Tatnall accused Dorothy Bagg of having two grown-up bastards.<sup>212</sup> Susan Bradford said that Susan Steed kept a whorehouse, and that her kinswoman lived with her during the time when Count Mansfeldt was in Dover with his troops, and then went off with the soldiers to the Continent. The records suggest that this accusation was probably true, and that Susan Steed, a well-connected widow, had, incidentally, been allowed to keep victualling "by the town's leave, yet without licence under their seal".<sup>213</sup>

In some cases evidence exists to explain the origin of these quarrels. Beatrice Hayes defamed Mrs. Horne, a prosperous merchant's wife, by saying that she had two bastards living in Scotland. Depositions make it clear that Mrs. Horne had once beaten Mrs. Hayes's daughter, and that she responded to Mrs. Hayes' attack by saying "go thou dunghill queane".<sup>214</sup> In 1615 Margaret Finnes brought a case against her sister-in-law, Mary Finnes. Mary was obviously jealous of her brother's reputation and unable to accommodate her new sister-in-law whom she accused of having had a child unlawfully by a nobleman.<sup>215</sup> Katherine Judge and Joan Redwood brought counter claims against one another in 1617, after Katherine Judge had said "You brazen Jane, ask thy mother who was the whore when Goody Head was the bawd and bid thy mother pick out the English out (sic) of that."<sup>216</sup> This is one of the cases in which resentment of strangers may have played a part, as it probably did in various attacks on Mrs. Gill for being a "Welsh whore" in 1635, and in Mrs. Hart's injunction to Mrs. Treape: "go you to Ireland and feed your bastards," in 1629.<sup>217</sup> Jacomine Liddeman's accusation in 1635 that Jacomine Dibb had had a bastard in Calais before her marriage probably simply reflects the bitterness felt by Jacomine Liddeman against Mrs. Dibb's husband, a licensed victualler, who had reported the fact that she victualled without a license while her husband was at sea.<sup>218</sup> Once social tensions had broken into quarrelling, a whole series of

cases might result, as they did from a simple dispute over a garden boundary in the case of Wentworth contra Jeffery in 1629. This led to further defamation cases: Wentworth contra Hart, Treape contra Hart, Wentworth contra Jeffery and Billiard contra Wentworth in which neighbouring women dredged up numerous passages from each other's pasts.<sup>219</sup> Mrs. Wentworth was the wife of a gentleman. Daniel Billiard, who shared a boundary with her, was a baker. Elizabeth Jeffery was Billiard's daughter, and the other women involved were all the wives of fairly obscure sailors.

It seems clear that there were many possible causes for dissension among women, and that it was probably exacerbated by the fact that quite often sisters and their mother lived close to each other and were thus able to pursue quarrels in concert.<sup>220</sup> Some women, particularly sailors' wives, shared homes with their husband's brother and his wife, a situation fraught with difficulty.<sup>221</sup> The records of the magistrate's courts show that in times of economic dearth resentment of the wealthy by the poor expressed itself in verbal attacks not only by men on the officers of the town, but by women on the wealthier neighbours they encountered daily.<sup>222</sup> The more interesting question is why women chose sexual abuse almost exclusively as their means of attack. The answer must lie partly in the value attached to sexual probity as an index of status and worth for women.

In summary, the survey of petty crime and social disorder in Dover suggests that more cases were brought before the bench from the late 1570s when a strongly Protestant ruling group began to establish themselves in power. It is not clear whether this resulted more from their increasing severity or from the resentment they caused by their own actions. It seems likely that in the seventeenth century wealthier men attempted to remain aloof from such crime and disorder, making use of watchmen to keep order in the streets at night, and relying upon

informers to bring serious disturbances to light. At the same time population pressure and economic hardship was probably increasing the problem. Throughout the period much of the disorder was probably resolved at a local level without resort to law.

## CHAPTER 6 RELIGION

Earlier chapters have suggested that the religious beliefs of the ruling group modified their priorities as urban governors, and that changes in belief influenced some of the changes in the society and economy of the town; it is therefore important to address the changes in religious belief during the period under review. The transition from catholic to protestant faith seems to have been a remarkably smooth and swift one in Dover, and suggests that there had probably been an underlying reformist tendency among at least some of its inhabitants. It seems likely that this tendency might have been influenced by cultural similarities with communities on the other side of the Channel that arose from the constant presence in the town, from at least the previous century, of numbers of men and women from France and the Low Countries, by maritime and trading links with those countries, by the town's relationship with Calais, its reception of refugees from Catholic persecution, and by its own fear of Catholic invasion. The formalized change in belief, when it came, marked a cultural change in Dover, as it did in other English towns, manifested in the demolition of religious houses and the destruction of familiar images and celebrations. The subsequent interest in varying forms of protestant belief both nurtured and was stimulated by sermons and the discussion of ideas and probably by an increase in literacy. There are signs, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, of some radical questioning of the established church, particularly by men and women from some specific families and occupational groups. It seems unlikely, however, that any move was made in the town in this period actually to separate from the church. The ministers of the two parish churches in the seventeenth century seem to have offered different approaches to protestant belief. John Reading, at

St.Mary's, followed the middle way of Calvinism, instructing and supporting the oligarchy in what it perceived as its godly task of civic rule. Walter Richards, at St. James's, was not afraid to offend the ruling group in his pursuit of what seems to have been a more primitive protestant ideal.

i) Changing faith: the evidence of wills

It is notoriously difficult to assess the religious beliefs of any past community. The method of comparing the religious preambles to wills is likely to be misleading, since so many of these were formulaic and clearly dependent on the scriptor rather than the testator. Wills are also representative of only a small minority of the population, who are unrepresentative in terms of wealth. Nevertheless, in the absence of other information, the exercise provides a possible indication of tendencies over a period of time, or at least of willingness to conform with currently acceptable beliefs.

The method used by both Margaret Spufford and Peter Clark has been followed here, of dividing will preambles into roughly catholic, neutral or protestant categories, and their reservations concerning the usefulness of such evidence is shared.<sup>1</sup> The categories have been determined by the testator's committal of his soul in one of three ways: first, to God and also to the saints and/or all the holy company of heaven; second, simply to Almighty God, with the addition in the 1550s of the words "maker and redeemer", and from the 1570s of "saviour and redeemer"; and third, to God, with the addition of a fairly lengthy expression of faith in the testator's future salvation and/or resurrection through faith in the merits of Christ, and occasionally with his conviction that he is among the elect. A fourth category of no preamble has been added here since this may have been a significant choice, and possibly demonstrated a previous adherence to the Walloon

church in some cases. The figures have been given for successive reigns.

Table 6:1 Expressions of faith in preambles to wills in Dover 1512-1638

Date	Cath.	Neutral	Prot.	None	Total	Ave. no. of wills per year
1512-46	30	7	0	17	55	1.6
1547-52	1	2	0	6	9	1.5
1553-58	3	11	1	13	27	4.5
1559-1602	0	48	87	1	136	3.0
1603-24	0	18	74	2	94	4.3
1625-38	0	12	80	2	94	6.7

Source: Canterbury Cathedral Archive: Wills of Dover men and women administered in the Consistory Court at Canterbury.

Indications of belief may also be deduced from the testator's bequests of money, either to lights and/or altars in the church - more common among Catholics - or to lay charities - more common among Protestants. (A number of bequests to church repairs in the later period are shown separately). Similarly the testator's committal of his body to burial in a specific place, near his spouse or members of his family, and particularly in or near the chapel of a saint to whom he owed particular devotion, is more likely to indicate catholic belief, while committal of the body simply to the earth to be decently buried is typical of protestants. Committal simply to the earth of a specific parish churchyard perhaps suggests a more timid protestantism.

Table 6:2 Spiritual bequests and burial choices in Dover wills 1512-1638

Date	BEQUESTS			BURIAL		
	lights/ altars	lay charity	church repair	named place	parish	earth
1512-46	44	15		32	16	1
1547-52	1	6		6	3	0
1553-58	4	12		8	16	3
1559-1602	0	73	12	17	73	46
1603-24	0	34	1	17	45	31
1625-38	0	28	0	9	34	50

Source: as table 6:1 above

The figure for the average number of wills per year represented in these tables suggests that any information gleaned from them must be treated with great caution. In percentage terms, under Mary 40% made neutral preambles and 49% no preambles at all, compared with the 11% who made Catholic preambles. Protestant preambles rose from 63% under Elizabeth, to 78% under James, and 85% for the period under Charles until 1638. At the very least these percentages suggest that will-makers in Dover were possibly not uniformly Catholic in the reign of Henry VIII, that they were unwilling to commit themselves under Edward and Mary but that what might have been their reformist tendency caused them to become predominantly and overtly protestant almost as soon as circumstances allowed them to be so. Whether this applied to the population as a whole cannot be known, and seems unlikely, but since the will-makers included most of the men who ruled the town, there must at least have been pressures upon the rest of the inhabitants to conform to their beliefs, and it can be shown that this was so in terms of moral behaviour at least.<sup>2</sup>

The testator's choice of a scriptor for his will might suggest at the least what manner of educated man he trusted and found most accessible. If he chose a minister of religion, the assumption might be that their views were broadly similar. A consideration of testators' choice of writers clearly indicates that there was a change in the Jacobean period, away from clerics and towards lawyers. Naturally, it is often impossible to identify the writers of wills. The table below sets out the total numbers of will-writers, or scriptors, in six different categories: clerics, town clerks, lawyers other than town clerks, school masters, named men who fit none of these categories (usually educated acquaintances of the testator), and those who cannot be identified. Crude numbers are given first, followed by percentages of the total in a second table.

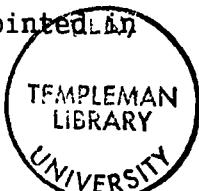
Table 6:3 Distribution of will-scriptors among professions in Dover

Date	clerics	town clerks	lawyers	school masters	other named	unident- ifiable	Tot.
1512-1603	82	36	0	11	15	83	227
1604-1640	5	38	58	18	9	60	188
1512-1603	36%	16%	0%	5%	7%	36%	100
1604-1640	2%	20%	31%	10%	5%	32%	100

Source: as tables 6:1 and 6:2

Once again, the number of unidentified writers makes this table impossible to use as conclusive evidence, but it does exhibit a noticeably different choice of writer after 1603. Closer examination of the identifiable scriptors of wills suggests that certain tendencies in choosing them can be discerned at different periods. For example, of the 55 wills written in the Henrician period, 22 can be positively identified as having been written by men in holy orders. Of these, 11 were written by parish priests: four by three successive ministers of St. Mary's, three by two rectors of St. James, one by the parson of St. Peter's, one by the parson of St. Nicholas, a church that did not survive Henry's reign,<sup>3</sup> and one by the vicar of Selling. Of the remaining eleven wills, seven were written by curates, usually of St. James, and four by "clerks" who have not been identified. Thus almost half of wills were written by clerics, of whom fewer than half were the testator's parish priest.

In contrast, only one will has been found to have been written by a cleric in the Edwardian period. This has a typically Catholic preamble and was written by Sir Henry Wood "my ghostly father" for William Enyver, a yeoman, in 1548.<sup>4</sup> No other will of that period provides any sign of lingering Catholicism. It is hardly surprising that no one turned to the minister of St. Mary's, however, since the church, which at that time offered a very poor living, seems to have been without a competent priest in 1547, and the reforming Monge Thornton, appointed



1549, was replaced by new incumbents in rapid succession in 1551, 1553 and 1554.<sup>5</sup> The churchwardens' accounts of 1553 illustrate the problem. After serving for a year, Sir Christopher James, curate, was prohibited "by a Queen's proceeding" because he was a married priest, but the parishioners agreed that he should have his "Easter book" of 37s.8d.<sup>6</sup> John Lambard officiated regularly from 1557, having originally been appointed for a year in 1554.<sup>7</sup> Not surprisingly, one of the most obvious features of the twenty-seven wills existing from the Marian period is that nine of them were written by the town clerk, Roger Wood, of which seven had no preamble at all and two committed the testator's soul simply to Almighty God. None of the wills from this period was written by a minister of a parish church in Dover, although three wills of 1558 were written by Thomas Mattender, a curate at St. James who seems to have been prepared to refrain from writing a preamble to one, used the formula to "Almighty God" in a second, and recommended the soul to "the mercy of Almighty God and his dear son Jesus Christ my only redeemer" in a third.<sup>8</sup> This was his preferred preamble in the wills he wrote in the following years, which suggests that perhaps he had not been in sympathy with the changed belief of Mary's reign.

The choice of scriptors changed again in Elizabeth's reign. 36% of all wills were written by men in holy orders, 11% by town clerks and 10% by schoolmasters. It seems possible, then, that testators were once again more at ease with their ministers of religion. The remaining writers cannot be identified, but it is, of course, possible that a few of them may have been lawyers. During this period the parishes in the town were effectively reduced to two, although St. Peter's church continued to be used for some purposes until the 1580s.<sup>9</sup> Ministers at both St. Mary's and St. James seem to have been fully capable and to have remained in Dover longer than their predecessors; indeed William Watts was rector of St. James from 1574 until 1607.<sup>10</sup>

The character of religious preambles changed with the advent of Thomas Turpin to St. Mary's in 1562.<sup>11</sup> He wrote nine wills between then and 1577 and their preambles are characterised by their florid individuality, in which nevertheless resurrection in the flesh is always emphasized. James Levyn, a shoemaker, for example, having expressed his belief in the power of Jesus Christ to effect the remission of his sins and the resurrection of his body, so that he will rise again out of the earth and in his flesh see God, ends "This my hope is laid up in my bosom."<sup>12</sup> Thomas Turpin was followed at St. Mary's by Robert Joy, who chose to emphasize the saving and redemptive character of Christ, and wrote a will for William Bargar that added to this the clause that the testator steadfastly believed that by this faith he was "one of the elect and chosen that shall enjoy the kingdom of heaven."<sup>13</sup> His successor, Richard Pickering, wrote ten wills over 14 years, whose restrained preambles normally committed the soul to "Almighty God my maker, redeemer and sanctifier, three persons one God", but occasionally continued "by whom I hope to be saved and by no other means."<sup>14</sup> In 1574 William Russell, "preacher", possibly wrote and certainly witnessed the will in which William Normanton, the Clerk of Dover Castle, expressed his certainty of "knowing by faith" in Jesus Christ that he should at the last be with him "at the kingdom of grace and life everlasting."<sup>15</sup> In 1585 Gerard Morris (who signed himself Geraert Maresh), minister of the Flemish church in Dover, wrote a will for Thomas Vervaer with no preamble at all, as was the custom of that church.<sup>16</sup>

William Watts, rector of St. James, wrote 18 of the extant wills of that period and had a fairly simple and regular formula: "to Almighty God my maker and Jesus Christ my redeemer by whom I hope and trust to be saved and by no other means".<sup>17</sup> One of his tithe-farmers, Abdias Pownall, adopted the same formula when he wrote a will in 1594.<sup>18</sup> In two cases Watts shortened his formula, and in one there was no preamble at all. In

1592, in a deposition made about a will in the ecclesiastical court, William Watts, then aged 76, described making a will, and shows how, in this case at least, the writing of the preamble was a fairly automatic act for him, probably done without consultation with the testator. Having urged a sick man to make his will, "the testator consented thereunto and required this deponent to begin to write his will. Thereupon this deponent began the preamble and then demanded of the testator how he would dispose his lands".<sup>19</sup> It is possible therefore that the preambles tell us more about the faith of the writer than of the testator, but one might perhaps assume there to have been some convergence between faith and choice of writer.

Wills written by the town clerks of the Elizabethan period exhibit similarly Protestant preambles, although none so florid as those of Thomas Turpin. Thomas Knott mentioned salvation in 1573 in the preamble to the will of Richard Elam, one of the church wardens who had overseen the renovating of St. Mary's church on protestant principles in 1550.<sup>20</sup> Edmund Michell, who wrote wills between 1574 and 1592, used two basic statements, either a simple one commanding the soul to "Almighty God my maker and redeemer" or a longer one concerning the expectation of salvation through faith.<sup>21</sup> William Vanwilder wrote only one extant will, whose preamble also mentioned salvation through the merits and passion of Jesus Christ.<sup>22</sup> John Goodwin was town clerk in this period for one year, in 1584, but he also wrote wills in the Jacobean period in his capacity as an attorney. His preambles invariably mention the free remission of sins.<sup>23</sup> The two schoolmasters, William Atkins and William Ingram, who wrote wills at this period seem to have enjoyed writing fuller preambles. William Ingram's first will in 1586 has a simple preamble to Almighty God, but the ones that followed all talk of Christ's "precious bloodshedding" by which the testator hopes to be saved, and by no other means.<sup>24</sup> There seems thus to have been a general

willingness by testators in the Elizabethan period who employed professional will-writers to express their certain belief in salvation through faith in Jesus Christ.

The changes of faith expressed in preambles follow a similar chronological pattern for those whose writers cannot be identified.

Fifteen of those that have no preamble were written before 1559.

Occasionally some individual beliefs may be perceived from preambles to wills whose writers are unknown. For example, Thomas Fynnet, jurat, who died in 1558, had been one of the group of radical merchants mentioned above.<sup>25</sup> His will has no preamble.<sup>26</sup> When his son John died in 1567, however, Thomas Turpin wrote his will, including a preamble stating his belief that through Christ he would have remission of his sins, "and in the last Day shall rise again and see my Saviour. This is my hope and belief."<sup>27</sup> It is possibly significant, therefore, that Thomas chose not to have his will written by a public figure early in 1558, and that he remained silent on the subject of his faith. Similarly, Edward Marshall, dying in 1558, possibly wrote his own will, committing his soul simply to God.<sup>28</sup> Yet his son, in his will of 1568, made a full statement of protestant belief "believing without any doubt" that he would have full remission of his sins and resurrection of his body and soul "as it is written that my redeemer liveth and that in the last day I shall rise out of the earth and in my flesh shall see my saviour".<sup>29</sup> The close echo of Biblical rather than sermon or formulary phrases here suggests that he might have written this himself. In 1554, Edward Hardy, hackneyman, some of whose witnesses came from villages outside Dover, used a protestant preamble, trusting to be saved "by the merits of Christ's glorious passion."<sup>30</sup> John Moninges, the Lieutenant of Dover Castle, who presumably wrote his own will, commended his soul to "Almighty God my only creator, saviour and redeemer" in 1554.<sup>31</sup> These are rare examples of positive dissent, rather than neutrality, in the

Marian period. The preambles of Elizabethan wills written by unidentifiable writers are neutral in 16 cases, but the rest follow the usual pattern of proclaiming faith in salvation through the merits and passion of Christ.

The choice of laymen as will-writers after 1603 was almost to the exclusion of clerics. Presumably testators who could afford to use lawyers did so in order to make their wills as legally binding as possible, and to avoid later disputes in the ecclesiastical courts. Ironically, the most restrained preambles prove to have been those few that were written by clerics. Walter Richards, rector of St. James, wrote the will in which Aaron Windebanck committed his soul simply to "Almighty God my Creator" in 1611, for example.<sup>32</sup> The successive town clerks, Francis Raworth, father and son, wrote at least 38 of the extant wills between them. Francis senior had a favourite formula for preambles, with which the majority of the wills he wrote are prefixed, in which the testator hopes to become an inheritor of the heavenly kingdom "through the death and bitter passion" of Christ Jesus.<sup>33</sup> He wrote more elaborate ones at times, however, and the preamble he wrote to his own will is extensive, written "with all fervency of spirit", and adding the apostrophe "O Lord I believe and claim thy promises as my heritage for ever, trusting assuredly that through the precious blood of Jesus Christ and his intercession I shall be presented blameless and saved from the wrath to come."<sup>34</sup> The preambles written by his son are more varied and individual, but more Calvinist in tone, with references to Christ as the "true Messias", and occasionally breaking into such apostrophes as "Come ye blessed of my father receive the kingdom I prepare for you".<sup>35</sup>

Of the attorneys, the most popular as a scriptor of wills was Thomas Watkins, who wrote 31 extant wills. He came from Monmouth, but had been servant to Francis Raworth senior, and was connected to him by

marriage.<sup>36</sup> He seems usually to have used one of two formulae, one longer than the other. The short form expresses a hope for eternal life, and the longer goes on to expect, through Christ's intercession, to be preserved blameless and saved from the wrath to come.<sup>37</sup> William Stratfold used a fairly simple preamble trusting, through Christ, to be made partaker of everlasting life, and John Nethersole used a similar form of words.<sup>38</sup> The attorney, Thomas Lloyd - another Welshman who had served Francis Raworth - wrote only six wills, but the preambles to these vary from very simple ones to two that amount to a short sermon on the creation and development of the human spirit, from its implanting in the womb to its reception in glory among the heavenly angels and saints.<sup>39</sup>

There seems no doubt that the Raworts and their associated *attorneys* were steeped in sermon material of the then orthodox Calvinist variety, and that this was popular with and familiar to the people for whom they wrote wills. The two schoolmasters, John Elfreth and John Atkins, had simple formulae, repeatedly used, expressing faith in salvation through Christ.<sup>40</sup> Wills by unidentified writers for the most part expressed similar ideas, in more or less florid language. Phrases such as "joyful resurrection", "rose again for my justification" and "depart out of this sinful body", suggest a group of people very familiar with and receptive to the orthodox sermonology of the day.<sup>41</sup>

One attorney, the older, and probably more radical, John Goodwin persisted into the Jacobean period with his preamble that emphasized the trinitarian nature of God and the remission of sins, spelt out in a will of 1621 as "sins both original and actual".<sup>42</sup> This will was written for Agnes Taylor, an eighty-year old widow, whose beliefs perhaps predated contemporary Calvinism. Among the wills whose writers cannot be identified are also a few that have no preamble at all, or a much simpler one. For example, John Jacob, who appears to have written his

own will used no preamble, and Thomas Fineux, simply began "To all Christian people Thomas Fineux sends greetings in Our Lord God everlasting."<sup>43</sup> For the most part, however, the wills with very simple preambles are those of women. For example Susan Elwood in 1613 committed her soul to "God my creator and comforter", Elizabeth Ladd, in 1610, to "God my creator, redeemer and sanctifier", and Avis Dunstone, in 1632, "to God that gave it me".<sup>44</sup>

Such information as can be derived from will preambles therefore suggests that a protestant reformist attitude was possibly innate but unrevealed in a substantial part of the community at the beginning of the period, that it was concealed for the most part during the Marian period and that it burgeoned into a variety of forms during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, with orthodox Calvinism proving particularly attractive to the ruling group, who seem to have taken the care of their souls into their own hands, being inspired by the sermons of their ministers, but not needing their intervention in their relationship with God. Their choice of the Raworths and other attorneys as writers and witnesses of their wills, together with their choice of overseers, also suggests that there might have been groups of friends, whose connection had a spiritual, social and economic dimension. This situation, in which a closely-linked magistracy also perceived themselves as the elect of God seems likely to have alienated those of a lower status who were not so minded.

### ii) Dover's churches in the reign of Henry VIII

Throughout this study frequent reference is made to the town's two parishes of St. Mary's and St. James's, which by the end of the period appear to have sustained two different varieties of Protestant belief. Yet at the beginning of the period the town was also served by the parish churches of St. Nicholas, St. John and St. Peter, as well as by

the Priory of St. Martin, and the hospitals of the Maison Dieu and St. Bartholomew's. The abbeys of St. Radegund and Langdon were just outside the town to the north-west and the east. Although the exact position of the church of St. Nicholas is disputed, and the altar of St. John's seems to have been within the Priory church, dispositions of money in four wills show that the church of St. Nicholas was certainly in use until 1522, and St. John's until 1513.<sup>45</sup> St. Peter's continued to be used for civic elections<sup>46</sup> and the burial of important men in the town until about 1581.<sup>47</sup> The cure of St. Peter's was reported to be unserved during the 1570s and again in 1598, even though it still had a curate until 1607, when it was acknowledged to be dilapidated and lacking a congregation.<sup>48</sup>

In terms of space alone, St. Martin's Priory covered a very large area of what is still the centre of the town. The town's annual fair was dedicated to St. Martin and held on his feast day, just below the walls of the priory. The rent for the court hall was paid by the town to the Prior on St. Martin's day.<sup>49</sup> The sexton of St. Martin's was paid a wage by the town; part of his duty was to care for the bell that gave the hours to all inhabitants.<sup>50</sup> Fishermen brought tithes of fish to the priory.<sup>51</sup>

The churches formed part of the visual as well as the spiritual culture of the town in the pre-reformation period. Evidence from wills suggests that images of the saints were common, and that they were illuminated by the candles of the dead. Mention is made of the images of Our Saviour and Mary Magdalene in St. Peter's church,<sup>52</sup> and the images of Saint Erasmus and St. Thomas of Canterbury in St. Mary's.<sup>53</sup> In 1513 John Bingham, asking to be buried in the church of St. John, left money to the lights of St. John, Christ, Our Lady, St. George, St. Christopher and St. Hilary there. He also left a bequest to the chapel of Our Lady of Poulton, a small hamlet near Hougham.<sup>54</sup> There is some evidence of

particular devotion to certain saints. Richard Fyneux, for example, in his will of 1518, expressed a wish to be buried in St. Peter's "before the image of St. Mary Magdalene." He disposed money so that a taper of 2lbs of wax should burn before her image "for ever". One of his bequests to his son was a "great brass pot called the Magdalene", and his oldest daughter bore her name.<sup>55</sup>

Money and care were given to the beautifying of churches. Most of the wills of the Henrician period include amounts of money left, sometimes in the form of unpaid tithes, to pay for repairs to churches. Joan Alday in 1532, for example, left money to the high altar of St. Mary's, but also to the repair of Our Lady's chancel in St. Peter's church and to the repair of St. Nicholas' and St. John's.<sup>56</sup> Attention was paid to the beautifying of churches not only by repairing the fabric, but also by gifts of linen to the altar and wax for candles. Linen was provided by pious women, who thus gave some significance to the everyday stuff of their lives.<sup>57</sup> Robert Fluce in 1532 sought to eternalize his memory by leaving an investment in land that would maintain tapers containing 15lbs. of wax to burn before the sepulture of St. Mary's church for ever.<sup>58</sup> As late as 1546, this sense of the relationship between the cultural artefacts of the church and a man's life is revealed in the will of John Haliday, a worker in brass, who asked that "no bells be rung for me...but as they do commonly ring...but only my sole knell, and that I will be rung with the best bell of five in St. Mary's."<sup>59</sup>

The community of clerks was also kept in existence partly by money from wills, as when Robert Dyer left 3s.4d. to "every brother of the Maison Dieu being priest to pray for my soul".<sup>60</sup> Some of the numerous masses provided by the dead were sung masses, like the trentall of St. Gregory. The wills of the Henrician period thus present a picture of the churches as places full of colour and candle-light and busy with the sound of masses and shrifts. Such a picture is reinforced by the accounts of the

churchwardens' of St. Mary's for this period, with their references to buying "14lb of tallow candle against the feast of Christmas", hiring two priests to help shrive and a man to watch the sepulchre at Easter, and preparing special candles for that festival: "the pascal, the processioners, the angel tapers, the Judas candles, the font taper..."<sup>61</sup>

The annual procession of the painted candle, the trendal, to Canterbury, in honour of St. Thomas, has already been mentioned.<sup>62</sup> Money for this was provided "from the people's devotion thereto" in 1517.<sup>63</sup> That devotion had presumably faded by 1535 when the inventory of the Priory shows that among parcels of plate in pledge to certain inhabitants of the town was "one coat for an image of St. Thomas garnished with diverse brooches, rings and other jewels."<sup>64</sup>

The dissolution of religious houses began in Dover in 1536, Langdon Abbey being seized in a particularly ignominious fashion in November of that year.<sup>65</sup> The church of St. Nicholas seems already to have been out of use by then, and St. John's went with the Priory. St. Mary's was sealed up on the orders of the king, who later responded to a petition from the corporation that it might be handed over to the inhabitants of the town as their place of worship.<sup>66</sup>

Another small chapel to St. Mary that had been built by a John de Vaux was also affected. This had been given to a French priest, John de Ponte, for the term of his life, together with a small endowment, which was seized. De Ponte wrote to Cromwell about this in June 1536 and described how, while he was dining with some of the oligarchy of Dover at the "Lion" inn, a servant of the Maison Dieu came in with the news that the day before "Madame Anne" had been beheaded, tapers at the sepulchre of Queen Katherine had lighted of their own accord and after matins, at the Deo Gratias, had gone out again. Orders, he said, would soon be issued to pray for Queen Katherine and a heap of heretics should

be burnt, De Ponte among them. When de Ponte asked the man whether he had ever heard him preach or speak heresy, he said he had, and that De Ponte had eaten milk, butter and eggs, that he was a false French knave and should be had before the Council. De Ponte feared for his life and begged to leave the town.<sup>67</sup>

Possibly it was their reaction to this sort of popular hysteria that determined what is so surprising to the modern observer - the swiftness with which the ruling group in the town disposed of any remaining church treasures. The town accounts show that jewels and ornaments from St. Mary's, St. Nicholas and St. John's were sold in the year 1537-38 and the lesser bells of St. Martin's went in 1539.<sup>68</sup> John Boulle, the innkeeper of the "Lion", having acquired St. Bartholomew's, laid waste to it, so that when he died in 1558 he left its land and fulling mill in his will, together with a good deal of plate, but no other buildings.<sup>69</sup> The churchwardens' accounts for St. Mary's suggest that some of the normal rituals of the church continued into the 1540s but, having taken possession of the church themselves, they gradually sold what was saleable and, in 1550, repaired, altered and "beautified" the church by pulling down side altars, the high altar and images, and taking out the choir stalls.<sup>70</sup> This enabled them to sell the church's "broken silver", its organ pipe metal, old glass, timber and altar coverings, as well as its remaining copes and vestments, to various members of the ruling group.<sup>71</sup> Having whitened the walls, they then marked what seems to have been a general change from a visual to a verbal religious culture by having sentences from scripture painted on the walls.<sup>72</sup> In spite of the fact that in 1554-5 they had to send to Canterbury for a rood to be set up "according to the king's and queen's usage and the ancient use",<sup>73</sup> the action of replacing images with texts provides a powerful image of cultural change. To contemporaries it might have served as a sign to the illiterate of their exclusion from what had

formerly given their lives significance; it might also have served as a powerful incentive to overcome illiteracy.

### iii) Strangers in Dover

Dover, like other Channel ports, became home to a number of families from France and the Netherlands. In 1639 the Duke of Suffolk, then Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, wrote to Secretary Windebank from Dover, "I find in the people of these parts a general hatred towards the Spaniards, and by the contrary, as much good will towards the Hollanders."<sup>74</sup> This letter was written while Suffolk was trying to persuade the inhabitants of Dover to accommodate hundreds of Spaniards who had come ashore in distress after a bloody sea battle in the Downs against the Dutch. The sentiment seems, however, to have been a consistent one throughout the period. Goodwill towards and familiarity with people from the Low Countries and fear and dislike of Spain and its catholicism have, perhaps, been somewhat underestimated in studies of radical protestantism in this area of East Kent, from Sandwich to Dover.<sup>75</sup>

There were, after all, regular trading links between Dover and Flanders, especially between Dover brewers and Flemish merchants.<sup>76</sup> Sick refugees from Calais must have been visible to the town in 1558, and Dover men were involved directly when the Spanish fleet was in the Channel in 1588.<sup>77</sup> Flemish, Dutch and English privateers operated from Dover against Catholic ships in the late 1560s.<sup>78</sup> Whenever the Privy Council was alarmed by the possibility of Catholic incursion into England, the town's searchers and customs men were urged to be vigilant.<sup>79</sup> The natural predisposition of the community must inevitably have been favourable to the northern French and Netherlanders, with whom they were so familiar, and fearful of the Spanish and their alien religion, which had instigated the persecution of those protestant strangers whom

Doverians received into their homes, as will be shown below. It will be argued that this very familiarity seems to have allowed a number of aliens, or strangers, to be absorbed into the community of Dover through the normal means of intermarriage and apprenticeship, as well as by the regulated settlement of refugees. It seems legitimate to suppose that the religious beliefs of the strangers might have had some influence on the inhabitants of the town with whom they came into contact, or that at least like would have been drawn to like in this respect, leading to the positive reinforcement of one another's views. It is possible to show that at least some strangers were absorbed into protestant families in Dover, while others had like-minded friends there.

The wealthy merchant families of the seventeenth century, the Brameses, Hughessens and Eatons, who were originally Dutch or Flemish, have already been discussed above.<sup>80</sup> It seems likely, however, that men of similar origins had occasionally settled in Dover from at least the fifteenth century and probably earlier. In 1513, for example, Levan Buffkyn, occasionally referred to as "Dutchman", was well settled there and paid the foreigner's maltote in Southbrook.<sup>81</sup> He was a brewer. His son, Ralph, was mayor of Dover between 1537 and 1539.<sup>82</sup> There seems to have been no prohibition on strangers becoming freemen when they were as wealthy as the Buffkyns. It is not easy to detect such strangers, however, without chance references to their origin as their names were usually completely anglicized in the town records.<sup>83</sup>

A number of prominent men arrived in Dover shortly after the fall of Calais in 1558. Some of them, who happen to have appeared as witnesses in the church courts, can be seen to have been born "in transmarinibus partibus."<sup>84</sup> It is usually impossible to identify other immigrants from the Calais area: many of them were, after all, English. The protestants among them would still have been using the second prayer book of Edward VI, according to Overend.<sup>85</sup> The names appearing in the inventory of the

churches of the district outside the walls of Calais that Overend lists include, perhaps only coincidentally, names very familiar in Dover, such as Partridge, Haines, Clarke, Fowler, Watson, Mase, Huson and Andrew - all protestant families, as it happens.<sup>86</sup> Men from Calais can be positively identified occasionally, as when a testator concluded his will in 1585 by writing "This is so done by me Thomas Vervaer, Englishman, born in Callis."<sup>87</sup>

Two of the prominent Dover men who entered the town in 1558 or shortly afterwards, and who did depose at various times in the church courts were John Skeith, born in Calais, and John Spritwell, possibly born in Cayuelle near Broekburg, who went to London before settling in Dover.<sup>88</sup> It is not surprising that John Skeith later took as his servant Nicholas Eaton, who had been born in Dunkirk.<sup>89</sup> The familiar relations between men born abroad and the other inhabitants of Dover are suggested by an event such as that when Nicholas Eaton's father accompanied Edmund Michell and Geoffrey Glide, members of the ruling group in Dover, at dinner together in a house in Bruges in about 1580.<sup>90</sup> Both John Skeith and John Spritwell became freemen and members of the oligarchy, and participants in the English church, and in common with a number of other such men their names never appeared in any list of "strangers," neither did they return to their place of origin, but became completely embedded in English society.<sup>91</sup> The four "trusty and well-beloved friends" John Skeith appointed as overseers to his will were all Dovorians of undoubted protestant faith.<sup>92</sup> Two of his sisters appear to have married Dover men.<sup>93</sup>

Overend points to four distinct and successive foreign congregations in the town, two of which assembled in the period under discussion here and two later in the seventeenth century. The two that concern this study were a Dutch/Flemish congregation of the 1570s and 80s and a French church of 1621-22, although names of people who entered the next

Stranger Church, founded in 1646, suggest that a few of them came from families who were already in Dover. Overend also thinks some nonconformists would have come from Calais in or around 1558<sup>94</sup> but he was not, of course, concerned with the casual settlement of strangers in the town nor with the way in which some of them integrated with the society around them. He does suggest that some privateers might have settled with their families during the 1560s and early 1570s - a period missing from the Dover town records.<sup>95</sup> The fact that 28 people buried in St. Mary's church between 1568 and 1571 are described as "Fleming", some of them children, adds force to his suggestion.<sup>96</sup>

In the period of suspicion of foreigners, following the Ridolfi plot, certain coastal towns were obliged to make returns of strangers living there. The list for Dover, headed "Flemings of the low country of Flanders dwelling here in Dover," is dated May 25, 1571.<sup>97</sup> It shows that 277 strangers were living there then: 64 men, 76 women and 137 children. Of their 32 hosts, it is possible to identify 25 from other town records. Nine of them were victuallers or innkeepers, two brewers, one a smith, one a baker, and the rest sailors or merchants. Over half were members of the oligarchy and for the most part they were protestants of the most obvious kind. One of them, however, was an innkeeper called Henry Harwood, who was dismissed for ever from the common council in 1581 for keeping and using papist books in divine service.<sup>98</sup> The wife of one of the hosts, Thomas Fuller, a baker, had earlier been married to a man called Brame, which suggests that he had been a Dutchman living in Dover.<sup>99</sup> One of the hosts, the merchant Giles Parker, had himself come to Dover in 1558, perhaps at the fall of Calais.<sup>100</sup> The witnesses to his will were his friends Thomas Elwood and William Normanton, both apparently extreme protestants.<sup>101</sup> It seems possible, therefore, that at least some of these hosts would have been sympathetic to the religious views of their Flemish inmates.

Most of the strangers listed were clothworkers of various kinds and, presumably for that reason, do not seem to have stayed in Dover very long. There is evidence that a few of them stayed, however. For example, Peter Springer, listed as a bayemaker, died in Dover, in 1576 as a mercer.<sup>102</sup> His widow, with their seven children, lived there until she died in 1592, leaving an English will containing bequests to both the Flemish and the English poor, and describing herself as "widow and free denizen."<sup>103</sup> Her will was witnessed by the brewers John Alderstone and John Bargar, the latter being the son of William Bargar, whose will had a Calvinist preamble.<sup>104</sup> Lambert Menyger, the schoolmaster of the stranger community, was still in Dover in 1585, when he deposed in the ecclesiastical court under his anglicized name of Lambright Menager.<sup>105</sup> Michael Brothers, a baker, his wife Bodwina, their child and their maid also continued to live there, and the widowed Bodwina was still there in 1585.<sup>106</sup>

Some of these people might have arrived in the summer of 1570, according to Overend who says that the first mention of a foreign church at Dover was in 1572, after the St. Bartholomew's massacre. The Dover church, a poor one, was represented at the Colloquy of Dutch churches in England in 1575 and 1584, and the last reference to it was in 1589. He thinks it must have ceased to exist shortly afterwards.<sup>107</sup> The defamation case in which Lambright Menager and Bodwina Brothers deposed shows that there was a still a community of strangers in the town in 1585: other witnesses were John Harbert, a merchant, Mr. Vanbright, a schoolmaster, Lawrence Sipser, an apothecary, John Anderson, a sawyer, and Jerret Marrice (Geraert Maresh), the minister of the Dutch congregation; the biographical preambles to their depositions show that, apart from Menager and the Brothers family, none of them had been in Dover for more than three years.<sup>108</sup>

There is further evidence of contact between men from the Low Countries

and Dovorians in the 1580s. For example, Dover sailors were asked to watch ships to see who was importing food into "Newport, Dunkirk or the other forbidden places of Flanders and Picardy".<sup>109</sup> When called upon to make depositions to the magistrates on this subject in 1585, sailors such as Thomas Marychurch and George Binge clearly had had no difficulty at all in communicating with their Zealander counterparts in Dunkirk about the nature and direction of their trade.<sup>110</sup> When Dutchmen sold a ship to some London merchants in the "Rose" inn in Dover in March 1587, they agreed, on completion of the sale, to give 5s. to poor English children and 5s. to the poor of the Flemish church in Dover.<sup>111</sup> In 1587 the stranger community had to define itself to the town court following an episode concerning a stranger called Anthony Johnson who had been heard to say that he would leave England and go and dwell in Dunkirk and serve the Prince of Parma, who was a noble prince, while "in England all things went backwards." Nine strangers swore he had never communicated in their congregation; among them were James Hughessen, John Anderson and Clayse Springer (son of Peter) who have already been mentioned; the remainder were not on the 1571 list, having presumably come since then.<sup>112</sup>

The manner in which the town's protestant families sometimes absorbed strangers may be illustrated by the marriage of one of the strangers, Henry Lambert, a cooper, to the daughter of Robert Loome. Through this marriage he became a freeman in 1585.<sup>113</sup> The connection between social behaviour and religious belief is perhaps illustrated by the fact that his servant, William Hudson, in his turn married into a strongly protestant family when he married Margaret Tiddeman in 1627.<sup>114</sup> He may originally have been a stranger himself, since in 1637 some boys jeered at him as a "French puppy dog."<sup>115</sup> Henry Lambert's wife's uncle, John Loome, was one of the innkeepers who had been a host to strangers in 1571.<sup>116</sup> Henry Lambert's English will has a normal but unmistakeably

protestant preamble.<sup>117</sup> John Loome, his wife's uncle, was closely associated with John Skeith (born in Calais) and Thomas Ovill, a shoemaker, who was from a family of radical protestants who are discussed further below.<sup>118</sup> Much later, in 1630, Thomas Oldfield junior, another shoemaker, was called "Puritan rogue" by one of the town officers.<sup>119</sup>

Although Overend points to the demise of the Dutch church in Dover shortly after 1589, there is some evidence for its persistence for at least a few years. For example, there is a reference to the "outlandish church" in a case in the church courts in 1592.<sup>120</sup> Three of the witnesses were Maximilian Scott, a wheelwright, Nicholas Scott, his son, and Francis Barrington, his covenanted servant. Nicholas Scott gave his age as under 22 because "the order of the outlandish church there at Dover is that none should receive the communion until they be 22 years of age, of which congregation he saith he is and therefore never communicates. But Francis Barrington whom he esteemeth to be 20 years old or thereabouts hath received the communion at the parish church of St. Mary's in Dover twice as he has heard." Not only were the two young men on very friendly terms, but Maximilian Scott spoke of having supped and dined together with Edmund Poll at one another's houses, as neighbours do.<sup>121</sup>

Not all the cloth workers left the town; in 1591 the will of John Tiller, weaver, bequeathed his looms to be sold for the benefit of his wife in Dover and a cousin "now in Holland". He left gifts of clothing to his Dutch servant, and to "Mr Lambright", who was presumably Lambright Menager, the schoolmaster.<sup>122</sup> The will was written by Richard Wenlock, a brewer and carrier, who was a frequent associate of John Goodwin and Edmund Michell, two of the protestant oligarchy.<sup>123</sup> This presupposes that either the testator or the writer spoke the other's language. The other witness to the will was Henry Leonard, who had been

one of the hosts to strangers listed in 1571. John Tiller, the weaver, had himself witnessed the will of Thomas Vervaer from Calais mentioned above, in company with John Skeith and the Flemish minister, Geraert Maresh, this time signing as Gerard Morris.<sup>124</sup> There is no indication in either will that the testator's widow was likely to leave the town, and as late as 1619 a deposition in the church court reveals that Thomas Vervaer's widow had married Nicholas Springer, a son of Peter Springer, who was on the 1571 list, and the brother of Clayse, listed in 1587. She had been born near Dunkirk and was 67 years old in 1619.<sup>125</sup> This suggests that some strangers still preferred to intermarry, but they certainly did not do so exclusively.

On June 4 1621 John Reading, the minister of St. Mary's, wrote to the Lord Warden, renewing a request that the French refugees might be allowed to use his church.<sup>126</sup> In October of that year he wrote again, pleading that the people of Dover could not contribute largely to the general collection for the relief of French protestants because they were already much charged with those who had come to Dover. He enclosed a return of their numbers at Dover. This showed 165 communicants, 105 non-communicants, of whom 85 received alms, and 187 poor French "passants" who had received 258s. in alms.<sup>127</sup> The common council agreed in July of that year that "certain poor French people" should continue to make use of the old court hall, as they had done lately.<sup>128</sup> A French church was established in Dover from 1621-22 in St. Mary's. Acheson has pointed out that this made the religious discipline of the Huguenots publicly visible to resident parishioners: their two sermons on Sunday and another on a weekday.<sup>129</sup>

A list of strangers in Dover in the early summer of 1622 is in two parts.<sup>130</sup> First are listed the names of inhabitants of the town, "as well being strangers born as denizens", and the names of those born in England, having a stranger father. These are mostly Flemings or Dutch

and among them are five members of the Hughessen family, only James the elder having actually been born overseas in Dunkirk. There are eight others, including Henry Lambert (who had by then been a denizen for 40 years) and Nicholas Springer, a woolcomber born in the town, already mentioned. There is no further evidence of one of them, a basketmaker from Artois, but the others all remained in Dover, most of them marrying Dover women and having children there. One of them, Roger White, a tailor, was the son of John White a tailor born in Flanders. Roger was born in Ringwold, a village between Dover and Deal. He was the nephew of Thomas Philpott a landowner in that area, presumably through an English marriage by his father. Roger White himself married twice to Dover women.<sup>131</sup> Cornelius and Joseph Lopper (first called Loopey and then Loope or Looper) were mariners, and Cornelius's daughters married Dover mariners, Thomas Cullen and Eleazor Kirton, and produced more seafaring children.<sup>132</sup> When Joseph died his inventory, valued at over £1600, included ships, houses, storehouses, brewing and malthouses.<sup>133</sup>

The 78 names in the second part of the list of 1622 are those of refugees from France, following the defeat of the French Protestant revolt. These names seem to be only those of the heads of households, so they presumably represented a greater number of people. It seems likely that most of them, who were cloth or lace-makers, passed on to Sandwich or Canterbury. It would have been surprising, however, if the twelve mariners among them had moved away. They were possibly simply too obscure to be picked up later in the town records. Among them occur names already familiar in Dover - Brome and Billiard.

One of the French refugees certainly stayed in Dover until his death in 1624 - Jeremy Nepveu, a surgeon, known as Neptune and later Nephew in Dover. The administrator of his testamentary accounts was Roger White, mentioned above, who was also his main creditor.<sup>134</sup> One of Jeremy's sons, David, leased an inn in Dover in 1636.<sup>135</sup> Another son, Peter,

became a prosperous wine-merchant in Dover<sup>136</sup> having married Marie Fossier from a well-established and prosperous Walloon family in Canterbury.<sup>137</sup> He was still paying a sess of wine to the Stranger Church in Canterbury in 1632.<sup>138</sup> He obviously established connections with strangers who had arrived in Dover much earlier, for in 1635 he shared a ship with Arnold Brames and Charles Valey.<sup>139</sup> His second marriage was to a Dover woman from an oligarchic family - Mary, the daughter of John Pringle.<sup>140</sup> John Pringle can be seen to have had other mercantile connections with strangers in that he owned a ship jointly with Nicholas Eaton and, together with James Hughessen and Nicholas Eaton, was one of the merchants allowed to sell French goods in the Cinque Ports in 1627.<sup>141</sup>

William Haines, a Controller of Customs at Dover, whose father had been an established vintner and innkeeper there, also married a prosperous Walloon from Canterbury, Judith Evering, a widow, the sister of Peter de La Noy.<sup>142</sup> His daughter Joan married Roger White's son, maintaining a by now historical stranger connection. A testamentary dispute over the houses he bequeathed to his three daughters shows that William Haines's close friends included Roger White, John Loome (mentioned above) and Humphrey Mantle, who seems to have been friendly with a number of strangers.<sup>143</sup> Was it merely coincidental that the carpenter he employed to build houses for his three daughters was Lawrence Knott, one of a dissenting family?<sup>144</sup>

This information is tenuous in statistical terms, but it suggests two recurrent tendencies: that some protestant strangers stayed in Dover and married English spouses, and that certain English families had particularly close connections with stranger families. Evidence from wills and presentments further suggests that such English families tended to be those who had a strong protestant faith leaning towards nonconformity.<sup>145</sup> It seems reasonable to suppose that a comparatively

few strangers, settling in the town and having families of their own, keeping up their links with other strangers but also participating in the social and religious life of the town after the demise of their own church, might in such a small community have had some effect, if only one of reinforcement, on the beliefs of those around them. It would be unwise to ignore the informal cultural links between families in this whole area of East Kent and in the Low Countries.

Thomas Elwood jurat, for example, who died in 1612 was the nephew of William Elwood of Sandwich<sup>146</sup> who ran what Acheson calls a "Puritan non-separatist" conventicle there, and whose family later became Quakers.<sup>147</sup> The will of Thomas Elwood's wife, Suzanne, in 1613, shows that her brother was a Jasper Braemes of Haarlem. He was an executor of her will, together with the parson of Ringwold, Robert Broome.<sup>148</sup> Her overseers were her well-beloved friends and kinsmen George Binge, jurat of Dover and William Elwood of Sandwich.<sup>149</sup> One of her witnesses was John Finnes, a member of a dissenting family in Dover.<sup>150</sup> William Tatnall attended at least one conventicle in Dover.<sup>151</sup> His will shows that he had a daughter married to a relative of Roger White; it expresses a total and ecstatic certainty of salvation and had as its overseers "my good friends John Pringle and John Finnes".<sup>152</sup> Perhaps coincidentally, the occupant of one of his (carpenter's) work-houses in Dover was that Francis Barrington who had been servant to Maximilian Scott, a member of the "outlandish church."

During the expansion of trade in the 1630s it is clear that there were many transient strangers in Dover since their behaviour brought them into the town courts quite frequently.<sup>153</sup> In 1635 renewed war in the Low Countries brought further refugees into the town. The familiarity of some strangers with inhabitants of the town is indicated in a letter from the mayor and jurats to the Lord Warden reporting the landing of nearly 100 French and Dutch protestants, some of whom had requested

certificates of their date of arrival and of having hired houses in the town. In many cases this had been granted, at the request of "some neighbours to whom they are well known".<sup>154</sup>

The Privy Council ordered that the strangers should disperse through England, and the mayor and jurats wrote again to Suffolk, in 1636, saying that they had called all the strangers before them, being mariners and merchants resident in the town, and they amounted to about 38 householders. They had required them to leave before the next Lady Day. They had, however, thought it not meet to call before them the merchants and factors, who were for the most part Flemings and bachelors, and by religion papists, who were sojourners and not housekeepers. There were fourteen of these. They had been the occasion of settling the present trade in Dover "which has much advanced the Customs" and occasioned great benefit to the township in general. They were anxious to scotch the rumour that there were many hundreds of strangers in the town, and their only complaint was that some of the strangers owned sundry small ships bought beyond the sea which they employed in their own affairs under the colour of some English masters.<sup>155</sup> Once again, it can be seen that the mariners of the town had working contacts with the strangers.

The records of the town courts show that the magistrates did indeed order the stranger householders to depart the town, although since the men were for the most part at sea, the orders fell chiefly upon their wives and families.<sup>156</sup> The records also show that the town had been requiring certificates of ownership of ships since 1632 so the problem of foreign ship ownership had begun before the current influx of refugees.<sup>157</sup> Among the Dover ship masters who sailed for Dunkirkers was Walter Finnes, one of a dissenting family.<sup>158</sup>

In spite of the Privy Council's original insistence that only Protestants might stay in the town, the Catholic merchants were found

too valuable to lose. Their presence caused a flurry in the church courts, however. It seems that commercial interest outweighed religious scruples among some of the leading protestant merchants in Dover, for in June 1637 five of them, including James Hughessen senior, were presented "for entertaining within their houses merchants which are foreigners, strangers which came from Spain, France, Holland, Flanders or some other places beyond the seas...who do not come to divine service or receive the Holy Communion," of whom at least two were catholic.<sup>159</sup> In the same month seventeen of the stranger merchants and factors living in St.Mary's parish were presented as recusant papists who refused to go to Holy Communion. One claimed that he was a protestant, but understood no English. John Reading spoke up for the one woman involved, saying she was no recusant. Two claimed to be Spanish subjects who, although Roman Catholic, were "freed by the articles of peace" between the two countries.<sup>160</sup> Then 17 stranger inhabitants of the parish were presented for having been at a mass in the "George" inn, occasioned by the presence of the Queen's bishop in Dover as he travelled to the Continent.<sup>161</sup> Some wives and children were among those presented, which belies the magistrates' claims about the Catholic merchants all being sojourning bachelors. Some degree of permanence among these families is also indicated by an order of the King in Council of 1636, which considered how far those merchant strangers in Dover who were having their children christened in their own homes by Popish priests might be proceeded against by law.<sup>162</sup>

It seems that the Catholic merchants and factors had drawn attention to themselves by openly disputing about religion with other inhabitants of the town on Penniless Bench. A letter from the mayor and jurats to Secretary Coke in 1637 encloses depositions by one of the factors, and by inhabitants of the town, stating that the strangers had expressed the hope that the Popish religion should in time settle in England.<sup>163</sup> This

clearly could not have been overlooked in protestant Dover. What is perhaps more significant, however, in terms of the religious culture of the town as a whole is the ease with which, as it has been argued, the protestant strangers were absorbed into the English church and the society of the town.

iv) Church-going, belief and dissent in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign it seems likely that religious belief in the town, among the seafaring, artisan, entrepreneurial and professional groups who have left their mark on the records, was for the most part protestant of some kind. In the seventeenth century there are signs of the development of a variety of protestant beliefs, ranging from a simple, radical puritanism through a Calvinist middle way to a possibly temporizing Arminianism under Laud. There was clearly a great deal of interest in and debate about religious ideas on a number of different levels, and some dissatisfaction with the established church. Nevertheless, although some conventicles were held, there are no signs of any genuine desire to separate from the church among the inhabitants of the town up to 1640.

It is not possible to make any statement about popular belief. The fact that the names of most of the people presented for absenteeism or non-communication at Easter also appear elsewhere in the records suggests either that the normally unrecorded poor were uniformly orthodox and attentive to their religious duties or that their absence from church was ignored. The latter seems the more likely case. A few unknown names occur in the presentments for sexual incontinence, probably those of young couples as yet not economically able to marry who might have moved away from the town later in order to establish themselves. Some poor women, notably Jerine Jackson and Agnes Bellsy, who came frequently

before the town courts for whoredom, or bearing illegitimate children, are probably well documented in both the town and the ecclesiastical records because they were established inhabitants who were dependent upon the town for relief.<sup>164</sup>

In order to arrive at some notion of the degree of dissent from the established church at this period, it seems obvious to look first at presentments for simple absence from church. Professor Collinson has warned of the dangers of taking these figures seriously, however, and in Dover they certainly seem to vary according to the temperament of individual churchwardens. It has seemed more sensible, therefore, to look at the figures for failure to receive the Communion, which Collinson suggests "command more respect", although they are still very far from telling the whole truth.<sup>165</sup>

It seems likely that in certain years, such as 1616, when no fewer than 63 people were presented for this failure, zealous churchwardens were at work.<sup>166</sup> It should also be noted that wives were included with their husbands in that year, which was not always the case. In other years, such as 1623 when there was real dissension in the parish of St. Mary's over doctrinal differences between the curate, the minister, and some of the congregation there, far fewer presentments were made for absenteeism or failure to attend communion.<sup>167</sup> Certain churchwardens such as Thomas Tiddeman were clearly keener on getting in sesses and searching out sexual misdemeanour than on presenting those who failed to communicate.<sup>168</sup> He was possibly one of the godly who preferred not to worship with sinners. The figures for the period after 1630 have not been considered, as they are confused by the presentments of Catholic merchants temporarily inhabiting the town.<sup>169</sup> The nature of the records has not made it possible to separate the figures for the two parishes. Figures for the numbers of people failing to pay their church sesses, their minister's wages or occasional sesses for church repairs are also

given. In a number of cases, especially among the wealthier inhabitants of the town, the same people were presented simultaneously for both offences.

Table 6:4 Numbers presented for failure to receive communion or pay church dues in Dover 1570-1629

	Not receiving Communion	Not paying church seses or minister's wages
1570-79	44	8
1580-89	17	18
1590-99	38	8
1600-09	77	24
1610-19	174	55
1620-29	40	41

Source: Canterbury Cathedral Archives Compta et Detecta (Ex Officio) records 1570-1629

It should be remembered that the population of the town probably rose during this period. Nevertheless, the figures seem to suggest that either church wardens were more zealous at that period, or there might have been an adverse reaction, perhaps one of disappointment, to the established church under King James. The figures for Dover might perhaps suggest an initial reaction against the appointments of Walter Richards to St. James in 1608 and John Reading to St. Mary's in 1618, followed by some sort of accommodation to a situation that was at least a settled one.<sup>170</sup>

Among those who consistently refused to take Communion, often for three years together, were some of the poorer sailors, such as George Christopher and his wife, who victualled as a by-employment and who were paid by the town in 1595 for keeping some poor orphans.<sup>171</sup> They were presented continually until 1619 when George died.<sup>172</sup> Among the poorer sort of those refusing to take communion were many sailors, occupationally the majority of the population. Victuallers, butchers, shoemakers and blacksmiths were also frequent refusers, butchers also being often presented for trading on Sunday.<sup>173</sup>

In one case the refusal to attend communion seems to have been an expression of unwillingness to submit to what was perceived as a combination of ecclesiastical and civic authority, forcing men to render Caesar's contribution to the church. The brothers, William and Moninges Hannington, who were from a minor gentry family based in Hougham, but who had homes in the parish of St. Mary's, were regularly presented between 1602 and 1625 for not taking communion and for not paying their church dues.<sup>174</sup> William Hannington lived in the Maison Dieu, and claimed that it lay in the parish of Charlton, not in St. Mary's. This claim lead to his being pursued by the magistracy for owing five years' foreigners' sess in 1616.<sup>175</sup> When he was presented in the ecclesiastical court in the same year, not only for not receiving communion at Easter, but also for not paying his church dues, he complained that he was being sued at the Common Law by the parishioners of St. Mary's "for this cause." He said he was willing to pay £10 voluntarily "to contribute in a reasonable manner to the Minister's wages so as it may be acknowledged to come from his voluntary contribution and not urged against him as a legal duty for that therein he should do wrong to the king's majesty's title which he holds himself bound in duty to prefer and maintain."<sup>176</sup> As to his not receiving Communion, he said he was "always ready to receive the same if it be administered to him according to the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer."<sup>177</sup> As this was the year of the greatest abstention from communion, it suggests that he was not alone in being displeased with the minister, John Gray. On the other hand, in 1622, William Hannington's excuse was that there was "some variance between Mr. Richards, the parson of St. James", where he was now a parishioner, and himself.<sup>178</sup> He expressed himself anxious to resolve the difference, but was still absenting himself from communion five years after that date. His servant, Mary Studdall, whom he was often blamed for

preventing from coming to church, and with whom he was suspected of living incontinently<sup>179</sup> later married Charles Elwood, kin to the Sandwich Elwoods, mentioned above and they made their home in a house bought from Mrs. Haines, a Walloon, where, in 1640 they lodged three Dutch merchants or factors.<sup>180</sup> If Mary Studdall was a Calvinist of the extreme sort this suggests, and had been in sympathy with her former master in absenting herself from communion, then it seems that in the case of the Hanningtons religious conviction might have coincided with a determination to resist the magistracy of the town, who embodied a faith different from theirs.

The combination of general grievances was expressed more crudely by their kinsman, Henry Hannington, who was curate at Hougham at the time when there was an attempt to incorporate some new houses near Dover harbour into that parish.<sup>181</sup> In 1618, Henry Hannington was prosecuted in the Dover town court for his scandalous words that he "cared not a turd for the Lord Warden, nor a fart for the mayor of Dover", and that Mr. Reading (the minister at St. Mary's) was the Lord Warden's chaplain and a "proud, lecherous fellow".<sup>182</sup>

In the seventeenth century, among those occasionally presented for not receiving Holy Communion were some men whose objection to the established church appears to have been more radical. In 1613, for example, Hopestill Tilden, originally from Tenterden, denied to receive the Holy Communion kneeling.<sup>183</sup> Members of the Ovill, or Oldfield, family, most of whom were either shoemakers or smiths, and who may originally have been Netherlanders, clearly held a strong protestant belief that was offended by the middle of the road Calvinism of John Reading when he first arrived at St. Mary's in 1618. Thomas Ovill, junior, was presented in that year for his contentious behaviour towards the minister at the communion table at the time of the administration of the holy sacrament, and his unreverent demeanour towards the

congregation there present. Thomas Ovill apologized, said he had "reformed his opinion in that behalf", had reconciled himself to Mr. Reading and had promised and "purposeth to receive the sacrament kneeling at the next administration thereof."<sup>184</sup>

In the next year, John Finnes, who was frequently absent from Holy Communion, was presented for coming negligently to church. It was said that he "commonly cometh (if he do come at all) at the latter end of prayers to hear the sermon, condemning prayers as it seemeth." His pew fellows claimed, however, that he was very diligent.<sup>185</sup> According to Acheson, John Finnes, together with Lawrence Knott and Edward Goodwin were active members of the dissenting churches that emerged in Dover following the fall of Laud and the collapse of royal and episcopal authority.<sup>186</sup> For the moment, however, all three seem to have remained within the church, though on their own terms and, in Goodwin's case, as it will be shown, while seeking answers to his questions outside it.

In 1623, a group of eight dissenters in St. Mary's parish were presented together for "their irreverent behaviour usual in the time of divine service, for not kneeling in the time of the Lord's prayer and not standing up at the saying of the Creed".<sup>187</sup> Links between some of them seem to have been social as well as religious. Among them was John Broome, a maltster and brewer, who was sometimes associated, as an overseer of wills, for example, with Thomas Day and Edmund Goodwin,<sup>188</sup> who were perceived by their contemporaries as puritans.<sup>189</sup> John Broome's brother, Thomas, was present at the private marriage of Edmund Goodwin that took place in the house of a jurat, Robert Austen in 1608.<sup>190</sup> Randolph Partridge, the second of those presented, was an apothecary, and also an associate of the barber-surgeon, Thomas Day.<sup>191</sup> It seems likely that Thomas Partridge of Guston, mentioned by Acheson as one of the earliest Dover Baptists, was from the same family.<sup>192</sup> William Richards, the third of the eight, was a mercer/grocer, who had

been Randolph Partridge's apprentice, when, in 1618, he had insulted Mr. Reading, saying "he could preach well enough so as he would of his monchatoes (sic) and cut of his fore tops", for which mysterious but apparently malicious comment he had to apologize upon his knee.<sup>193</sup> Also presented were John and William Bacheler. John Bacheler was a maltster and friend of John Broome, whose brother's widow was his first wife.<sup>194</sup> His second wife was Joan Elwood.<sup>195</sup> John Filley, the sixth of those presented, was a shoemaker. The overseers to his will were John Pringle and Thomas Day.<sup>196</sup> Nothing is known of the seventh and eighth, Thomas Smith, a hatter in the Castle garrison, and Henry Keed, a weaver, although the latter's occupation suggests that he might have been a stranger.

In 1623 also, Nicholas Robins, a shoemaker, was presented for having censured and abused Mr. Reading of St. Mary's, saying that he had "preached a point of doctrine which was not agreeable with the word of God...also that he preached very uncharitably, in that he said that those who would not behave themselves reverently as in kneeling and praying when they came into the church were refractory." This speech was confirmed by William Eldred who, when asked whom Nicholas Robins supposed Mr. Reading had described as refractory, said he "supposeth himself and their faction", which presumably means that a number of other people shared Nicholas Robins' disquiet, although perhaps not his determination in telling John Reading that he would never be able to prove his point of doctrine "for it was contrary to Mr. Perkins and the fathers." Robins apologized.<sup>197</sup> He remained radically critical of authority, however, and in 1632 said of the attorney, Mr. Lovelace, when he exhibited the Act concerning the confirmation by Justices of the Assizes of any decrees made for private corporations, that he "dealt in the reading of the Statute as the devil dealt with Christ, reading one part and leaving out the other."<sup>198</sup> In 1635 Nicholas Robins took the

Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance to His Majesty.<sup>199</sup> The reason for this is not given, but a day or two earlier John Weekes had taken the same oath because he intended to go to New England.<sup>200</sup> It is possible that Robins followed the same path.

There were also signs of dissent in the parish of St. James in 1623. The churchwardens, John Loome and Stephen Wildes, were presented because their church lacked the book of common prayer, the Bible, the book of homilies and the book of canons, and because "they omit to present divers persons which resort not to church, they themselves scarce or never coming thither."<sup>201</sup> In 1625 the churchwardens of St. James's reported that there were diverse parishioners "that refuse or at least resort not to divine service on Sundays and holidays nor to the church at all until the church service be done or almost over at least until the letary be read and that there be unlawful meetings or assemblies in some houses in the parish tending to conventicles."<sup>202</sup>

On that occasion no details were given of the conventicles, but there are accounts of two such occasions, one in 1599 and the other in 1639. Acheson has given clear accounts of these in his work on separatism.<sup>203</sup>

There seems no reason to question his judgment that the first conventicle was entirely innocent, designed simply to extend the study of religious material into the home. A man called Reader, who may have been a blacksmith, was accused of having had conventicles in his house and "taken upon him the scriptures to divers of his neighbours at divers times". The only people he could remember resorting to his house in this way were Reginald Ovill, Goodwife Marychurch (the wife of a sailor) and Mother Powell and her husband. He claimed that these neighbours occasionally in the way of neighbourhood and goodwill had been present when he catechized his children in the catechism set forth by authority. He also claimed that he did this only in the way of simplicity. Mr. Watts, minister of St. James had actually been present and "liked well

thereof."<sup>204</sup>

That this group of people had indeed been neighbours for some time is confirmed by the evidence of two defamation cases in 1592 and 1593.

Edward Powell was certainly a smith, like Reader, and Reginald Ovill was possibly one also.<sup>205</sup> In the 1592 case a neighbour had told Powell to "go to your whore Knott".<sup>206</sup> In 1593 Powell's wife had defamed Robert Ovill, a smith.<sup>207</sup> Since members of the Knott family were in later years seen to be dissenting Puritans,<sup>208</sup> it is interesting to note that they too may have lived cheek by jowl with this group of people. It is tempting to see here a group of neighbours meeting together to discuss religious matters, some of them perhaps drawn by curiosity, and others by conviction, but learning from one another on the basis of the catechistical text available to them.

The conventicles of 1639 were more serious. A stone-mason called John Trendall had brought his family with him from London while he worked on the fortifications at Archcliff. He admitted conducting conventicles with Dover people on a number of occasions in the summer of 1639, although the people present at only two of these occasions were examined. Archbishop Neile of York felt strongly enough about the "blasphemous heretic" Trendall to write to Laud urging him to consider exemplary punishment for him.<sup>209</sup> The mayor and jurats of Dover also wrote to Laud, enclosing their examination of Trendall who, they said, had already seduced many and inclined them to his opinions.<sup>210</sup> The mayor at this time was Thomas Day, who had to administer the oath of supremacy to Trendall.<sup>211</sup> Clearly, Day's own tendency towards puritanism came nowhere near to Trendall's denial that the Lord's prayer was a prayer, or to his complete disapproval of the Creed. The magistrates committed Trendall to prison, so seriously did they take his recent behaviour in spreading opinions "repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England."<sup>212</sup>

Some of the conventiclers who attended the gatherings on or about June 23 and July 21 were presented to the church courts, as well as being examined by the town magistrates.<sup>213</sup> In his examination, Trendall refused to name those who had been present or to whose houses he had gone. A non-Dovorian who was present, John Tilley of Nonington, was involved in a form of separatist network in the Deal/Northbourne/Ash area, according to Acheson, who thinks the others present were probably non-separatists who were interested in Trendall's views but finally critical of them.<sup>214</sup> Depositions taken during the magistrates' examinations, and recorded in the State Papers, show that Trendall's intentions certainly seem to have been separatist, in that all the material he used tended towards the exclusivity of the righteous. On one occasion verses were sung from Psalms 118 and 84, and Trendall preached from Isaiah chapter 51, verse 7 and the first epistle of St. John chapter 3.<sup>215</sup> The psalms suggest that those who walk uprightly, the righteous, should keep themselves apart from others. In view of Trendall's occupation it is interesting that Psalm 118 includes the verse "The stone which the builders refused is become the headstone of the corner." The verses upon which he preached also concern the reviling and rejection of the righteous. His anti-authoritarian stance seems to have been shared by other masons brought in to Dover that summer. When one of them said he "cared not for the Pope", Trendall's apprentice added that the mayor and jurats of Dover were the Pope's followers.<sup>216</sup> This statement perhaps sets the Calvinist views of the oligarchy by that date into the perspective of a more popular radicalism.

Of the Dovorians present at his meetings, the one prepared to claim most knowledge of and frequent acquaintance with Trendall was Joan Tiddeman, the wife of William Tiddeman, in whose house the reported conventicles were held while he was away at sea. When examined by the magistrates, she said she had heard Trendall maintain that the Lord's prayer was not

a prayer but the ground or form of prayer and that Christ's ordinances were not in their Church, and she had found the same, and likewise great comfort in Trendall's company and by his instruction. On another occasion she had heard him say that such ministers as had their power from the bishops had it by false power.<sup>217</sup> Unlike the other witnesses, she neither questioned what he said nor withdrew her support from him, and her summary suggests that she had understood and retained his arguments. Nothing else is known of Joan. Her husband, William, was a mariner, from a prolific seafaring family, who seem on the whole to have been fervent, moralistic but fairly orthodox protestants.<sup>218</sup> She claimed that William Tatnall, the ship's carpenter, who was also present, wrote down what Trendall declared and repeated to them, which suggests that Trendall's intentions were didactic, or treated as such. In his deposition to the church court, Tatnall said he went to the private meeting on Sunday, about June 23, drawn by his desire to hear Trendall, who had preached for an hour in the morning on the verse from Isaiah. He had then gone home to dinner, returning in the afternoon, when Trendall expounded again for about an hour on the verse from the epistle of John. He had not approved of what he heard and "repaired no more unto him", vowing to be absent no more from his parish church on Sundays, and disclaiming all such meetings.<sup>219</sup> William Tatnall has already been noted as being a most fervent protestant, well acquainted with John Finnes, the dissenter. It may not be coincidence that in 1660 a Catherine Tatnall was received into the third foreign church, established in Dover in 1646.<sup>220</sup> In 1640, the year following the conventicle, William Bayley, Tatnall's servant or apprentice, was presented for not kneeling at prayers.<sup>221</sup> A more interesting witness was Edward Goodwin, a shoemaker, and almost certainly the son of John Goodwin, the attorney, and brother of Edmund, neither of whom had ever disguised their uncompromising views.<sup>222</sup> His

deposition makes it clear that he had obviously gone particularly to hear what Trendall had to say about the illegitimacy of hearing "our ministers preach in our church". He listened to the sermon and discoursed with Trendall but could not "come to his opinion". Nevertheless he went back in the afternoon. He could not remember the text of the sermon, but says that after it Trendall fell again upon the point that it was unlawful to hear the church's ministers preach, his main reason being that the ministers were made by bishops.<sup>223</sup> Edward Goodwin found he could not agree, but was resolved to take the opinions of Mr. Ward and Mr. Swann - two gentlemen of Dover - about it. He was clearly not fully satisfied because he returned to a later conventicle. On that occasion he had been to his parish church in the morning, and in the afternoon was on his way to evening prayer, which he found to have ended, "there being no sermon," (presumably he had aimed to miss the prayers and hear the sermon) when he heard that Trendall was at Tiddeman's house, so he went there.<sup>224</sup> His testimony is interesting because it demonstrates an earnest attempt to grapple with contentious issues that were clearly a live subject of debate, and it also illustrates a not uncommon thirst for sermons. At the same time, it indicates no real inclination for separation at that juncture, but rather a desire for reform.

Some of the other people present at the conventicles were unknown to the witnesses, none of whom gives the number of those present. One of the others named was Thomas King, another freemason from London. There were five other Dover inhabitants who recognised each other: John Haslewood, yet another shoemaker, Elizabeth Hogben, Joan Crookes or Crux, a widow called Susan Lee, and Anne, the wife of John Broome.<sup>225</sup> John Haslewood was staunch in his support of Trendall, and in a case before the town court in the following year, when Trendall was suspected of being behind a "scandalous and libellous letter" found in the town, Haslewood said he

was persuaded that Trendall had no more hand in it than any of the bench.<sup>226</sup> The widow Susan Lee was the daughter of John Goodwin, and therefore Edward and Edmund's sister.<sup>227</sup> It should also be observed that Katherine, another of their sisters, and John's favourite daughter, had married William Elwood in 1625.<sup>228</sup>

Speaking in her own defence when presented to the church court, Mrs. Broome, who had been present at the July conventicle, said she went to hear Trendall on "learning that he had very good parts", and out of curiosity. She said he first prayed almost quarter of an hour, then discoursed for about an hour on some verses from Romans 12, "but what the effect of the discourse was ...she remembereth not, it being far beyond her capacity to understand." She would never go again, as she disliked his opinions. She renounced all other opinions than the church's as dangerous.<sup>229</sup>

The conventicles during the summer months of 1639 seem to have provided an opportunity for some men and women in Dover who had reservations about the established church and were interested in pursuing doctrinal matters, or who simply enjoyed sermons and the discussion of serious subjects, to sit at the feet of an exciting visitor. Those involved seem to have posed no real threat to the church, but their behaviour gives some insight into the interest in a reformed church and into the enthusiasm for religious debate, enlightenment and diversion to be found at the artisan and merchant level in the community.

Table 6: 5 Ownership of Bibles in Inventories in Dover 1570-1639

1570-79	5
1580-89	7
1590-99	9
1600-09	7
1610-19	9
1620-29	25
1630-39	36

Source: Inventories of Dover men and women administered by the Consistory Court at Canterbury 1570-1639

An incentive to the discussion of religious ideas among the middling sort of people at this time must have been the availability of the Bible as a common text. The evidence of inventories, summarized in Table 6: 5 suggests that the number of people owning Bibles rose over the period. This rise seems to lag behind the rise in numbers of those absenting themselves from communion in church, but of course reflects the position at death of those who were active in the preceding years. In fact, Bible owners included many of those who were frequently absent from church, or who expressed their dissent in ways that have already been discussed, for example: Walter Finnes, William Tatnall, John Filleys, Thomas Hudson, John Redwood, William Streeting, Henry Tiddeman, Stephen Wildes and the Garretts.<sup>230</sup> Bible ownership, as might be expected, occurred among the garrison of the Castle and among the local minor gentry such as the Wentworths, Wallers and Nethersoles.<sup>231</sup> Proportionately to their numbers, it was most common among stranger families: the Brothers, Brameses, Dammans, Hughessens, Loopers, Eatons, Portens, and Adriansons.<sup>232</sup> Some individuals from these families owned as many as three Bibles, some in Flemish, French or Dutch. From the 1570s, sailors, butchers, shoemakers and smiths were among Bible owners, and in the seventeenth century two families of bricklayers had a Bible, both instructing that it should be passed to the eldest son.<sup>233</sup> Since education, literacy, printing and religious debate were clearly so closely connected at this period, it is worth remarking some of the other books specified in inventories. A number of seamen who had Bibles also had "sea books", which suggests that they must have been literate. One such seaman, William Kite, also had prayer and sermon books in 1637, and another, James Sherlock, had a sea book called "the Waggoner" and 14 books of divinity in 1638.<sup>234</sup> Earlier, in 1594, Henry Leonard, the protestant brewer, had a Bible, a service book and a herbal.<sup>235</sup> In 1589, William Tiddeman, probably the grandfather of the William Tiddeman

at whose house the 1639 conventicles were held, had a Bible, three other books, a sea card and "stories" of Abraham and Paul.<sup>236</sup> In 1631 Toby Loveday, a butcher, had a Bible, a psalm book and a number of pamphlets.<sup>237</sup> Naturally, a few of the magistrates, such as John Golder, had books of Statutes, but he had a book of Chronicles as well.<sup>238</sup> Charles Brames, who held Crown but not civic office, had a book of statutes, a Bible, a book of the ten commandments and a book of martyrs.<sup>239</sup> Two apothecaries had books, but no Bibles.<sup>240</sup>

The very few men in Dover who had more than a few books were mostly Crown officers, ministers of religion, lawyers or strangers. Sir William Crispe, Lieutenant of the Castle, had a paraphrase of Erasmus among his three books there when he died in 1576.<sup>241</sup> Thomas Kitchell, the Clerk there, died in 1642, demonstrating his interests and his orthodoxy by leaving a Book of Martyrs to his daughter-in-law, a book of Precedents to his son, a book written by Mr. Bolton to another son, and a great Bible, a small book of Mr. Perkins' works, another book of 8 sermons by Mr. John Reading and six small history books to his son-in-law, William Stratfold, the Dover attorney who wrote a number of wills in the early seventeenth century.<sup>242</sup> Richard Pickering, the minister of St. Mary's who died in 1603, left 68 books valued at £2, which inspires curiosity about the nature and number of the books owned by Walter Richards, rector of St. James, which were valued at £30 in 1642.<sup>243</sup> There is no information about the books of John Reading, but his awareness of the connection between religion and education is illustrated by his desire, in 1620, to offer the court hall rent free to a schoolmaster who could help him in his ministry.<sup>244</sup>

The most interesting list of books occurs in the inventory of Daniel Porten, a Dutch merchant who settled in Dover and died there in 1643. He left five Bibles, three English and two Dutch, two books by Dr. Hall, one by Calvin, Erasmus's paraphrase upon St. Mathew, Rastall's

Abridgement of Statutes, a Roman history, The Country Justice of Peace, The Merchant's Map of Commerce, the History of Nature, the History of the Lord of Argenton, a Survey of London, the Treatise of Heavenly Philosophy, Smith's sermons in two books, an Exposition of the Ten Commandments, the Grounds of Christian Religion, a book of Arithmetic, Ben Jonson's works and thirty very small books. These were valued at a total of £3.<sup>245</sup>

It is interesting to consider how many of these books might have been borrowed and discussed by other men. The fact that a shoemaker like Nicholas Robins should have challenged Mr. Reading on a point of doctrine by quoting "Mr. Perkins and the fathers"<sup>246</sup> suggests that he had access either to the works of William Perkins, or to someone who could explain them to him, possibly the Cambridge-educated curate Henry Chantler, who is discussed below. Similarly, that Edward Goodwin's reaction to John Trendall was to go and discuss his ideas with men he clearly considered more knowledgeable and authoritative about doctrine, also indicates a readiness on the part of educated men to share with others the ideas they were absorbing. Presumably men like Robins were also getting their ideas from such unlicensed preachers as the one John Finnes and James Hughessen were presented for allowing to preach in their parish church in 1609, or the "preacher from Middleburgh" who preached at St. Mary's on a Sunday in 1614.<sup>247</sup>

The will of William Fulbeck illustrates the way in which ideas might have been disseminated by the careful bequeathing of books at death. Fulbeck died in 1616; he was the minister of the parish of Waldershare, just outside Dover, and his appointment was due to Sir William Monins, the protestant baronet. Fulbeck, born in Lincoln, had studied at Oxford, and then at Gray's Inn. He had written a number of books on law by the time he retired from his law practice in London and took holy orders.<sup>248</sup> His instructions for the distribution of his books after his

death suggests his care for a circle of like-minded people from varying occupational and social groups. His friend, the preacher, Dr. Rogers, was to choose one of his best books as a reward for his pains in preaching the funeral sermon and Rogers' son was to choose three of his best books of humanity. Sir William Monins' son should have six good books of humanity, Francis Wilford, the son of another friend, 5 good books of humanity. Mr. Wilford himself should have eight good books of divinity in Latin or English, as he chose. Francis Raworth, the younger son of the town clerk of Dover, should have all his books, both printed and written, of the Civil Law, Canon Law or Common Law. His friend, the merchant Edmund Parbo of Sandwich, was to have a book in Latin of the kings of England, also some of divinity. Francis Raworth senior was to have four of his divinity books in English, Randolph Partridge (the Dover apothecary) four of his divinity books "which shall be most meet for his understanding". Edward Sturman junior, the son of a Dover brazier, was to have four small books of humanity, as was Randolph Partridge's younger son.<sup>249</sup> The fact that he left 16s. to Edward Sturman senior to compensate him for some hurt done to his bedding suggests that he was lodging with the Sturmans in Dover at the time of his death. Fulbeck had been licensed to teach in 1612 and had petitioned to teach grammar in Dover in that year.<sup>250</sup> The emphasis in his will on leaving appropriate books to the sons of his friends suggests that he had indeed become a teacher, and the bequests illuminate one method of cultural transmission at that period.

Contemporary reactions to the doctrines of the established church may be observed in comments made about its ministers, and in the presentments of them by their churchwardens and parishioners. Robert Joy, who was minister at St. Mary's from 1583 to 1588 was presented twice, in 1583 and 85, for allowing his clerk to say the service in his absence and once, in 1586, for not wearing the surplice.<sup>251</sup> John Haines also abused

him, saying that he detained money from the poor, a remark he later withdrew.<sup>252</sup> Robert Joy seems to have been a friend of William Watts, who was rector of St. James from 1574 to 1606. The biographical preamble to a deposition made by William Watts suggests that he might have been in Calais for three years during the Marian period, after which he apparently began to serve at St. Margaret's at Cliff in 1558 before moving to Dover.<sup>253</sup> He might therefore have retained the reformist instincts of the Edwardian period. It would have been surprising if he had not received criticism during his long period at St. James. He was, of course, rebuked for being at the conventicle in 1598, but apart from a few criticisms of his neglect of duties at Charlton, for which he was also responsible, the worst that was said of him was that he took only 8d. in the noble for his tithes "to the prejudice of his successors," to which his response was that "he never knew any greater tithes due".<sup>254</sup> He must have been 90 when he was presented for "seldom reading service in church" in his last year of office.<sup>255</sup> Because of its location, at that period St. James's was the church particularly of sailors and it seems likely that while William Watts was there a broad and tolerant protestantism would have been normal.

Complaints about Richard Pickering, who followed Robert Joy at St. Mary's, and John Gray, who followed William Watts at St. James's, were minor ones, and nothing is known about James Calfhill who was at St. Mary's for a year, until Walter Richards was appointed there in 1602.<sup>256</sup> In 1606, a number of prominent people, including Charles Brames and his wife and Francis Raworth, the town clerk, and his wife were presented as being absent from St. Mary's because they were "not in love and charity," although Walter Richards testified that they had all received holy communion the year before.<sup>257</sup> In the following year John Wade and John Finnes were presented for going often to St. James's instead of St. Mary's.<sup>258</sup> In 1608, Walter Richards was moved from St.

Mary's to St. James's, and was replaced by John Gray who had himself been at St. James's for the past two years.<sup>259</sup> In that year two of the extremer protestants, John Bacheler and William Horne, a Scotsman, began to go to St. Mary's instead of St. James's.<sup>260</sup> It is difficult to know why Gray seems to have been preferred by some people to Richards at that point, but in 1618, Gray was succeeded by John Reading at St. Mary's,<sup>261</sup> and after that a certain polarity between the two churches can be observed.

John Reading seems admirably to have filled the role demanded of him by the civic authorities, in spite of occasional differences with them. Walter Richards was clearly less prepared to compromise. In 1603, his first full year at St. Mary's, he had been required to preach the election sermon as the minister of that church traditionally did. He refused to do so, claiming that it was because he would not be paid.<sup>262</sup> He stubbornly persisted in this refusal, so that John Gray did it in his place until John Reading came to St. Mary's.<sup>263</sup> This might, of course, have been the reason for the removal of Richards to St. James's and away from St. Mary's, the civic church. The only occasion on which Walter Richards can be seen to have taken part in civic pomp was when he preached a sermon in 1613 at the funeral of the mayor, Edward Kempe, who happened to be one of his parishioners.<sup>264</sup>

In a case concerning pews that was brought to the ecclesiastical court in 1633 Richards, unlike his churchwardens, deposed in favour of the less well placed Mrs. Elwood, the former servant of William Hannington, saying that her sitting in the pew she had chosen was in no way a disparagement to the two oligarchic wives who were challenging her.<sup>265</sup> He went on to say that "the parishioners of St. James do so covet for the uppermost, namely the pews at the upper end of the church", that he knew of no other pew suitable for her.<sup>266</sup> His position on tithes was also unconventional. Thomas Foord deposed in a tithe case that Richards

would sometimes take less than the rate of 8d. in the noble if composition were made with him for less.<sup>267</sup> Walter Richards deposed in 1629 that for twenty years he had followed the custom he set on first going to Dover of "going among his parishioners to collect and receive his parsonage tithes", taking with him his parish clerk, who had his duties and fees paid to him at the same time. He had often, particularly at Easter, received the duties of the parish clerk from his parishioners with the request that he would deliver them to the clerk.<sup>268</sup> Such personal knowledge of his parishioners is also suggested by his testifying about one of them who had been presented for incontinently living with a woman that he "hath two several Sundays acknowledged his fault painfully according to the schedule."<sup>269</sup> This might also indicate that he encouraged the public acknowledgement of sin used by extreme protestants. Also typical of him is the short note appended to an inventory totalling £3.14s. to be taken to the ecclesiastical court by a widow. Addressed to Mr. Richardson, it says "I pray you do this poor woman what kindness you can so she shall be bound to pray for you, and I will be beholding to you, Your loving friend..."<sup>270</sup>

It is easy to see that Walter Richards might have made enemies among the ruling group. In 1637 he was presented by William Waad and John Steed, who said that he should order the pews and seats that had been erected at the east end of the chancel of their church to be taken down in order to move up the communion table and "before it to build and place a decent rail" across the chancel for the communicants to kneel upon, as had been instructed at the last Visitation. They also presented him for not living in the parsonage house and warned his clerk that he must deliver the keys of the church to the churchwardens when they wanted them.<sup>271</sup> The table had still not been set up two years later, and in that year he was presented for causing the consecrated wine left over at the Holy Communion to be carried to the tavern again where it might be

"abusively drunk." <sup>272</sup> Clearly, Walter Richards did not move in time to Laudian reform, unlike his contemporary, John Reading. Tension between John Reading and Walter Richards came into the open in the early 1620s, when Henry Chantler was appointed to read a lecture in St. James's church every Thursday. In March 1621 the parishioners questioned by what authority Chantler gave the lecture and served the cure in Mr. Richard's absence. In response to this and other questions, he answered that he had a license from Sir Thomas Ridler the Archbishop's Vicar General, and letters testimonials from divers knights and ministers of the diocese of Chichester, in which he had last served. He had been made a minister in London about ten years earlier; before that, he had been at Sidney College, Cambridge where he had commenced Master of Arts. He had not subscribed to the articles of the 1562 synod, but was ready to subscribe to them whenever it was required. He had been asked to go to Dover by a Mr. Reve of Sussex, to read a lecture, and had been promised that he would have payment from the townsmen, although this had not yet been forthcoming. Mr. Reve had told him to go to Mr. Richards, who had told him he would be welcome.<sup>273</sup>

At about the same time, John Reading wrote to Lord Zouch, the Lord Warden, his patron, complaining about the appointment of Henry Chantler. He said the mayor and jurats of their parish had assured him that "the authors of that business (being our holy brethren) did privately work it without their approbation or knowledge." Sir James Hussey was convinced it had been done to Reading's great prejudice, in the hope both of drawing away his auditors and lessening his livelihood. Reading believed that Walter Richards had joined "with some other adversaries of our peace, pretending that the lecture is only for St. James parish whereas indeed it is to be maintained by the private benevolence of Mr. Barker, Mr. Brames, Mr. Fowler and the same company which united against me in my parliament business; as is well known to Mr. Mayor...and the better

sort of our parish." He writes of the great troubles he has had with these men, that have only recently been settled, and claims that they "intend rather strengthening their faction, than hearing the word of God." He knows this because he offered to perform such lectures, and they refused him, and chose "such a lecturer as pleased them." He pleads with the Lord Warden not only "to place but patronize me among this people". He thus hopes to obtain "some stay to this headlong pace of factious men." He ends by saying he is ready to give the lecture himself, or to give way to Mr. Richards, but not to accept a stranger.<sup>274</sup>

Peter Clark claims that Reading's enemies were "a group of Dover merchants with Presbyterian sympathies who eventually joined together to establish a Tuesday lectureship",<sup>275</sup> although he does not supply the evidence for their Presbyterian sympathies at this date. Acheson sees Reading as having been under pressure from a faction supporting a more radical curate, but notes that local politics may have been behind it.<sup>276</sup> There was an undoubted political link. Although it has not proved possible to isolate the "parliament business" that Reading referred to in 1621, in the 1624 elections, Jasper Fowler, who was a Customer and searcher for suspicious persons, and Walter Richards, together with nineteen other freemen, petitioned Parliament against the recently held election for Burgesses to Parliament, claiming that it had been unlawful because it had not been "had by all the freemen of this town."<sup>277</sup> The elections were then held again.

Jacob Brames, the merchant and Customer mentioned in Reading's letter certainly had a quarrel with the ruling group of the town at that time, since he was trying to move the Custom House to a building next to his home.<sup>278</sup> All the Cinque Ports' merchants had a quarrel with Parliament, which they were petitioning against the monopoly of the Merchant Adventurers and in favour of the grant of Right Prisage.<sup>279</sup> The choice

of parliamentary candidates was thus of some consequence to them. It would seem entirely natural for Walter Richards to have been part of a group pressing for the rights of the generality of freemen against the grip of the oligarchy, both on the choice of Parliamentary candidates and on other issues. At the same time, for all his doctrinal moderation, John Reading could never escape his association with the Lord Warden. It thus seems possible that political opportunism, linked with a desire to maintain an uncompromisingly protestant form of worship in the town, might have brought certain alienated men together to produce opposition to Reading's views in the form of Henry Chantler. It is perhaps worth noting also that he came only a year or two after John Reading had been pleading for a school master to help him with his ministry.<sup>280</sup> Ironically, it seems that Chantler was swiftly moved from his lectureship at St. James's to work with John Reading at St. Mary's, for he was next presented by certain parishioners of that parish, who certified "under the hand of Mr. Reading preacher there," in 1623, that Chantler had, in a sermon, recently reprendered those who knelt to pray at their entrance into the church in the time of public prayer or sermon, at which some people had taken offence, thereupon going straight into their seats and sitting down with their hats still on their heads.<sup>281</sup> In a lucid and beautifully written letter, Chantler set out his views on the distinction between public and private prayer.<sup>282</sup> Acheson points out that the fact that people prayed privately as they came into church suggests that the usual service was a formalist, prayer-book one, as opposed to a Puritan service, where the time would have been occupied with psalm-singing.<sup>283</sup> Chantler, in making his statement, gives a picture of what seems to have been the usual state of affairs in St. Mary's, which does not reflect well on the discipline imposed by John Reading. Having agreed that people should pray privately before the service began, in order to prepare themselves for it,

Chantler then pointed out that private prayer during the public service brought confusion into the church, "where some are praying, some are reading, some talking, and some are sleeping." He spoke in favour, however, of men making "short darting prayers...sending up groans and sighs to God in our hearts," and of prayers made to God on occasions "when Satan doth so buffet us...that we are not able by any means to hold out any longer".

When Nicholas Robins and his "faction" presented Mr. Reading in 1623,<sup>284</sup> their first complaint was against his uncharitableness in preaching against those who did not kneel to pray at their entry into the church, which suggests they had found Chantler's views sympathetic. Only then did Robins go on to quote William Perkins at John Reading on a point of doctrine. There is only one further reference to Henry Chantler in the Dover records. It describes an incident in 1630, long after he had left Dover for a living in Chatham. A man called John Reston was reproved for speaking reproachful words against divers honest persons in the town, "who live religiously and civilly", when he mocked Thomas Day, Thomas Oldfield and others, as they came from Guston, just outside Dover, where Mr. Chantler had been preaching, saying "Look, look how the Puritan Rogues come and flock in company together."<sup>285</sup> Some of the extremer protestants had clearly taken advantage of his preaching in their vicinity.

Throughout the early seventeenth century there seems to have been an increasing divergence between the habits of worship at the churches of St. Mary and St. James. The published sermons of John Reading suggest that they might well have been "learned" and "much commended", as his election sermons were usually said to have been.<sup>286</sup> They might also have been well above the heads of some of his parishioners. Although worried, and divided in his mind, he chose to follow the Laudian path. A sermon he delivered in Maidstone at the Assizes in August, 1641, shows

how conscious he was of two forces at work, both of which he feared.<sup>287</sup> He preached on Romans 16.17: "I beseech you brethren, mark them who cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine ye have learned, and avoid them." The sermon is a plea for vigilance in avoiding such divisions and for finding a middle way in the church that might avoid both "state-threatening schismatics" and "mischievous practicers, whispering jealousies into the sacred ears of Princes, to alienate their affections from the people, to divide the head from the body". He concluded that "miserable is that State where everyman makes his own Religion and Law: a Tyranny is better than an Anarchy, where everything is lawful."

Walter Richards clearly did not compromise his more primitive protestant position. His rule might well have been a more rigorous one, and seems to have antagonized some people initially. It seems likely that, while remaining within the established church, his ministry was closer to the personal, pastoral one of the later presbyterian ideal, although he associated with wealthy merchants, and was clearly not averse to making money himself. He made no concessions to the ruling group.

#### v) Religion, morality and civic rule in the seventeenth century

The discussion of the ruling group above has already indicated some of the ways in which their Calvinist views impelled them to be not only the judicial but also the moral legislators of the commonalty.<sup>288</sup> From 1614 they extended their sabbatarian principles to their own assemblies, considering that holding them "upon the Sabaoth Day is a great offence to Almighty God."<sup>289</sup> To their "godly exercise" on Wednesday afternoons was added attendance at morning prayers, which were certainly available on Wednesdays and Fridays by 1618.<sup>290</sup> The prayer with which they opened their assemblies was presumably the form devised in 1599.<sup>291</sup> This emphasized their role as an exclusive and exemplary patriarchy.

One of John Reading's election sermons, printed in London in 1626, therefore presumably preached shortly before that, has survived.<sup>292</sup> It is a rhetorical model of advice to governors of towns, and in his conclusion he says he gave that kind of sermon as he realized he had been censured the year before for not advising in that way but preaching on a more general theme. His epigraph was 2 Chronicles 19.6: "Take heed what ye do: for ye execute not the judgements of man, but of the Lord, and he will be with you in the cause and judgements."

He then preached on the text Exodus 18.24: "And Moses hearkened unto the voice of his father-in-law, and did all that he had said." He split this into two parts, first giving a disquisition on listening, pointing out that Moses, although the greater man, was prepared to listen to Jethro, not feeling himself too important to listen to counsel; he then dealt with the second part of the text, that Moses "did all that he had said", using this as an introduction to the consideration of practice. Some of this seems to have come from personal experience, as he says "many come to and go from this place without fruit; they come....not to learn but to hear, either for fashion or for their pleasures, as to a theatre." It is, he says, "not the hearers, but the doers of the law" who shall be justified. Good magistrates must be men of courage, must fear God and deal truly, regarding the equity of the cause, "not friends, nor kindred nor other relations". Finally, they must hate covetousness; his diatribe against bribery ends with a reflection on the plea that magistrates were sometimes indulgent at the instance of friends or kindred, "such pleas are so common," he says, "that it is sometimes rare to observe that malefactor, who hath not some uncle, brother, cousin or friend to stand up an earnest..."

In this sermon are thus encapsulated some of the ambiguities of the position of the ruling group, who took a strong moral stand on the behaviour of others, while double-dealing themselves. It also challenged

the traditional and normally accepted notion of a supportive kinship system. Moral ambiguity was manifested in the oligarchy's handling of charitable giving, which was not always put to the use intended by the benefactor. For example, in February, 1630 Mr. James Hughessen of Linsted, having profited as a merchant in Dover, covenanted £50 for a new House of Correction and for setting the poor to work. He had withdrawn his previous covenant of £50 for the provision of cheap coals to the poor in the hardest time of the year because "this sum hath not been for some reasons...in such manner disposed of."<sup>293</sup> Another private benefactor, Thomas Elwood, cautiously left in his will of 1612 a specified amount of bricks and lime for the building of a new almshouse, with forfeits if any other house should be built on the land instead.<sup>294</sup> The tension between private benevolence - exhibited, as in these examples, chiefly by strangers and more radical protestants - and public inertia, private greed and public good works seems to have been particularly acute in the early seventeenth century, when religious imperatives prompted charitable giving and the maintenance of decent order at a time when a few men were rapidly amassing capital while many others were suffering visible poverty.

Such tension was perhaps innate in the patriarchal attitudes adopted by the godly ruling group. In 1612, a particularly unpopular jurat, John Waad, who seems to have been notoriously interfering, was approached by a carpenter who asked for his influence "that he might be admitted to keep a victualling house in Dover." This plea was refused by Waad, who alleged "he were best to follow his occupation because victuallers did live after an ungodly manner in selling of small cans and keeping other disorder...they should never enter God's kingdom."<sup>295</sup> This Malvolio-like attitude extended to the treatment of all who might be considered disorderly, a point which will be illustrated in the discussion of vagrancy below.<sup>296</sup>

Another sermon by John Reading, not published until 1651, sets out in detail the ideal way of life for the moderate Calvinist. It is clear that it presents the theoretical model towards which the magistracy strove in the early seventeenth century. He describes the Catholic Church as a peculiar company of men predestinate to eternal life. In describing the duty of the Master of a family, he says he should care and provide for his family, and instruct them in the fear of God and examples of true religion, as Abraham did. He should not over-burden his servants, neither create contempt by too much familiarity. A servant, for his part, should be obedient to his master "as unto Christ". A husband and wife should serve God together. The husband should give honour to the woman as the weaker vessel, love her as himself and maintain her according to his estate so that she appeared as his partner, not his servant. The wife, in turn, should be subject to her husband as to the Lord, and keep at home; like the fruitful vine, she should grow on the walls of the house, not on its roof. Children should be brought up in wisdom, having daily exercises of religion. They must be set to a calling and loved tenderly "but in the Lord." They should be corrected in love and wisdom, the father being angry with their faults, not with them. In the increase of wealth, the mind should be guided to prayers for poor men, prisoners, the old and women in travail.<sup>297</sup>

That these notions had become internalized in the popular consciousness of his congregation is clear from a number of wills where the testators made short sermons of their own. For example, in his will of 1624, William Wallop, dealing with bequests to his wife with whom, he says, "I coupled myself in the fear of God", prefaches them by saying: "I doubt not but that God, after my departure according to his promise will be to her a husband, yea a father a patron and defender and will not suffer her to lack if she trust, fear and serve him diligently by calling on his Holy Name, yet foreasmuch as God has blessed me with worldly

substance and she is my own flesh and whoso provideth not for his, deny the faith and is worse than an infidel....."<sup>298</sup> More common are exhortations to the testator's children to live in a Christian way, as when Giles Parker, a mariner, concluded his will with the blessings of God on his children, hoping they "may live in love together and may live in his fear and die in his favour."<sup>299</sup>

The parallels between God and man seem to have been expressed particularly clearly in the image of the godly patriarch. Since the magistrates saw themselves as living among their people as "loving fathers," according to their prayer, and saw themselves as "elect", they clearly also perceived themselves as having divine justification for their rule.<sup>300</sup> It was this conflation of religion, morality and civic rule bearing down from above that seems to have led to some disaffection from the church.

It seems possible that some resistance to church-going, for example, perhaps represented resistance to the church in its appearance as a manifestation of civic authority. In 1604 8 butchers, 7 bakers and 4 barbers were presented for working on the Sabbath day.<sup>301</sup> The presentment of butchers particularly became a common ritual, with eight or nine being presented quite regularly, particularly from 1619 onwards.<sup>302</sup> Victuallers were also regularly presented for allowing people to drink in their houses during the time of divine service. Brewers were occasionally presented for delivering beer to ships on Sundays, barbers for "trimming", and other workmen for allowing their servants to carry goods and so on; but the butchers were said "often to sell and carry out flesh on the Sabbath."<sup>303</sup> This presumably meant that the butchers were not present at church on those days, and certainly some of them, notably the whole Pensax family, and some of the Marltons were presented for that also. In 1612, Walter Richards, rector of St. James, presented Matthew Pensax for having stayed away from church for

more than a year, and for refusing to come in spite of having been often admonished. Neither did any of his family go to hear divine service on any holiday.<sup>304</sup> Even more than victuallers, butchers seem to have been forced into a position where they were likely to break the town's regulations. Their absence from church seems part of their rejection of the whole notion of government and a confirmation of their separate place in the community.<sup>305</sup>

The town's magistrates were possibly more severe than the churchwardens or ministers about absence from church, and fined groups of absentees, including butchers and victuallers, from time to time. In October, 1610, a group of men were fined, most of them mariners, because they had been at the pier buying, packing or salting herrings instead of at church. It seems as though the mayor and jurats were using this as a catch-all occasion to deal with non-attenders, since a number of those accused were frequently absent from church. Each man had to show good cause for absence, or pay 12d. to the poor of St. Mary's. Three simply refused to pay. One claimed he had been at church, which was found to be true. One was excused because he had behaved dutifully: on his way to church he heard that his mother's herrings, hung up to dry, had fallen down, so he had run to help her. Edmund Goodwin, the lawyer, typically "desired it might be proved he was absent" and refused to pay until this had been done.<sup>306</sup> That this proved impossible casts some light on the unreliability of church attendance records.

The frame of mind in which men sometimes went to church, clearly performing a tiresome but necessary duty, is illustrated by some depositions in a defamation case pursued in the ecclesiastical courts in 1640. Thomas Gardener described how a party of men, all seamen, were going to church, felt thirsty on the way, so went into the "Bell", the house of "Black Will". While there the party "happened to fall in discourse of whores," which ultimately led to the defamation in

question.<sup>307</sup>

Parishioners and churchwardens were, of course, also responsible for presenting people for sexual misconduct. There were 139 such presentments between 1572 and 1640. They were most numerous, that is between five and eight a year, in the period between 1588 and 1595, and again between 1607 and 1614. Over 52% of the cases concerned couples living incontinently together and over 14% married women who bore babies that had been conceived before marriage. Taken together, this high proportion, coinciding as it does with economically hard times, suggests that men and women simply could not afford to get married at those times. Other sexual misdemeanours were far fewer, with 14 presentments for illegitimacy, 5 for fornication, 5 for adultery, 4 for whoredom, 1 for incest and 1 for marriage *within the degree*, two for marriages without licence, 1 for a private marriage, 8 for spouses living apart, and 3 for failing to present such cases.<sup>308</sup> Apart from Edmund Goodwin's private marriage, most of these cases did not involve the wealthier sort of people. It seems that in this matter also, the church and the ruling group together might have alienated other inhabitants.

The correspondence of civic and ecclesiastical authority was probably perceived particularly forcefully in the church of St. Mary's where civic occasions were celebrated. Perhaps it was this perception that stimulated dissent in the form of disorder in the church and churchyard. St. Peter's had often been the scene of disorder in the period when elections were held there, as a list of "pugnatores" presented in 1577 testifies.<sup>309</sup> Such behaviour continued in St. Mary's later, for example when Edward Butler was presented for striking John Goodwin in church at the election of the Mayor.<sup>310</sup> In 1585, when the protestant ruling group was in power, there were disorderly scenes at two weddings. The seven men involved, six of whom were either shoemakers or sailors, were said to have thrown "bully trots" at one another, struck one another with

long rods, and dressed a dog with rosemary and other herbs "in contempt of marriage".<sup>311</sup>

In 1609 Elizabeth Moore called the churchwarden a Jack an Apes, saying he were fitter to have Jeoffrey Crosses office than that of church warden, "that is to whip the dogs out of the church."<sup>312</sup> In 1619 widow Tiddeman went to put Agnes Billiard's "great dog" out of the pew, and a physical and verbal struggle resulted.<sup>313</sup> Pew doors were broken down on a number of occasions as women challenged each other's right to sit in coveted places, and in 1609 Christian Cliffe climbed over a pew and sat on the top of it with both her legs between the shoulders "in the neck" of another woman.<sup>314</sup> In 1629 two men were presented for brawling in church, and two others for swearing in the church yard, misusing a grave digger and throwing clods at him, and in 1637 John Reading discovered Nicholas Yeomans in the act of "defiling the church and abusing it by easing his body and laying his excrement there."<sup>315</sup> All these incidents occurred in St. Mary's church, and although there was some challenging for position in pews by certain women who attended St. James's, there is no example of the kind of violent disorder that seems to have occurred sporadically at St. Mary's.

Some of the disputes over pews that were taken to the ecclesiastical courts give particularly vivid accounts of the connection between worldly and spiritual status in the early seventeenth century. In a case between leading oligarchic wives already mentioned above, many depositions were taken to establish the exact status and wealth of the contestants.<sup>316</sup> Both churchwardens involved gave a short peroration about its "being provided both by the laws of God and men that all things be done in the church and temple of God decently, soberly, peaceably and according to custom" in order to justify the power they had had time out of mind "to place and displace parishioners" in and out of their seats there. They placed them, said a former churchwarden "not

in respect of their houses, but according to their qualities and degrees principally considered by their payments to the church and the poor.<sup>317</sup> Nevertheless most of the depositions in this case turned on the comparative value of the houses of the intruder into the pew and those of the established pew-holders. In this case Walter Richards, the rector, took a more levelling view than his churchwardens.<sup>318</sup> It is difficult, in these circumstances, not to see the attitudes and even the appearance of the ruling group at church as a reinforcement of civic rule and economic power in the seventeenth century. In turn, they clearly saw their responsibility to maintain order in the town as a God-given duty. This seems to have many implications both for the inhabitants' attitudes to the established church and for their complaisance in accepting civic rule.

## CHAPTER 7 VAGRANTS AND UNLAWFUL IMMIGRANTS: THE TRANSIENT POOR IN DOVER IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the early seventeenth century increasing numbers of the transient poor were taken from the streets and victualling houses of the town to be examined by the magistrates. Their examinations were noted intermittently in the records of the Dover bench of magistrates for the years 1604-24 and 1630-40, and although the records for the years between 1624 and 1630 have not survived, and the records of vagrancy do not have the consistency that churchwardens' accounts ought to offer but do not in the case of Dover, they nevertheless provide enough material to suggest both the corporation's attitude to the transient poor, and something of the origin and nature of the people who had succumbed to that condition. Many of them were examined under the heading of "vagrants", but the term begs a question. A number of those brought into the court on suspicion of vagrancy proved, in fact, not to be vagrants in the sense defined by statute law. Yet, although they were intending immigrants, they had been perceived as vagrants and, after a brush with the Bench, poor people with no sureties to offer the town in return for permission to settle there were likely to become vagrants in the future for reasons that will be suggested below.

Beier has illuminated the conditions that led to long-distance pauper migration in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: rapid population growth, combined with the inflation of prices and a fall in real wages, coincided with agrarian dislocation and a decline in trade, leading to much under and unemployment. He has shown how intensely vulnerable, in these conditions, the chronically poor were to periods of crisis like those of the 1590s and the 1620s and 30s, when poor harvests and disease destroyed such fragile resources as they had.<sup>1</sup> Clearly,

once they were uprooted, the poorest members of society were likely only to become poorer and travel further.

Poor law legislation throughout this period was driven by both economic and moral imperatives. Economically, genuine attempts were made to collect the local taxes, based on the parish, that supplied poor relief and thus fed the poor without imposing an impossible charge on any particular group. Yet, in times of crisis, these measures proved insufficient, and people were forced to move away to seek a living. Then it was the very fact that poor relief was based on the parish that exacerbated the problem of vagrancy, as it gave local officials an excuse to rid themselves of transient paupers, who might become a charge on their rates, and send them back on the road to their last place of settlement, where there was no work for them, or to their birth place, with which they might have had no connection for years. At these times the numbers of the poor and their necessary migrations inspired fear of disorder, and disorder, perceived as a moral offence, had to be punished.

In such a crisis period, the 1597 Poor Law Act defined settlement as a year spent living in one location, and redefined vagrants to include not only those following "masterless" and "dangerous" occupations, but those refusing to work for statutory wages. Convicted vagabonds were to be whipped before being returned to the parishes of their birth, or their last residence. The definition of vagrant was vague, allowing for local interpretation: the state thus gave local authorities the power of summary justice. As Paul Slack has argued the legislation on vagrancy helped to create the conditions for it, and the law effectively criminalized those who had been forced by economic circumstances to take up life on the road.<sup>2</sup> The 1597 Act was extended in 1604, and again in 1610. Local officials were then urged to carry out searches for "rogues" in all parishes. In the 1630s Whitehall asked local officials for

reports on vagrants, as it had done in 1569-72. It was, presumably, at least partly for these reasons that the records of cases before the Dover Bench began to give more details of vagrants from 1604.

i) The response of Dover's magistrates to vagrancy and poverty

Because the official definition of vagrancy was not precise magistrates were given some discretion in the matter of definition. An examination of expenditure relating to the transient poor in Dover from about 1610 has shown that the magistrates always chose to interpret "*wandering and begging*" as punishable vagrancy.<sup>3</sup> The moral impulse behind the poor law legislation seems to have struck a chord with seventeenth century magistrates, who punished severely all those wanderers who did not conform to the notion of the orderly group of family and servants, living in mutual harmony and regulated by the father. It has already been noted that in their records of mediations the ruling group commonly employed the rhetoric of harmony and order.<sup>4</sup> Vagrants could not, by their very condition, be restored to their place in an ideal, ordered community, such as that set out by John Reading in A Guide to the Holy City, quoted in the previous chapter. Punishment, or correction, like that applied to disorderly children or apprentices was an alternative response. The laconic phrase, used so often to record the action on vagrants, "punished and sent", combines the twin resonance of moral justification and economic expedience as the problem was passed on to another community.

An attempt has been made above to define the moral stance of the ruling group at this period.<sup>5</sup> The urban oligarchy in Dover, although it was not of the extremely puritan temper of some of those described by Patrick Collinson<sup>6</sup> does seem to have been Calvinist in its religion, patriarchal and authoritarian in its views, closely linked in kinship and exclusive in its sense of status.

The economic situation of the town at this time has been set out at the beginning of this study. It suggests that there was an increasing gap between public and private wealth. The corporation was in debt in the 1620s, and was forced to borrow money from leading inhabitants to buy corn for the poor, and in 1630 it had to sell off some of its tenements to pay its debts.<sup>7</sup> There was therefore little public money available for the relief of poverty. Yet from the 1620s, war years excepted, foreign trade through the port increased and the area round the harbour expanded. The construction of the Pier area and the demand for portage of goods being transhipped must have enticed would-be immigrants to Dover, particularly in the 1630s when the transhipment of goods was at its height.<sup>8</sup> Inventories of the period suggest that, even allowing for inflation, the personal wealth of certain individuals - chiefly the merchants and the maltsters - had increased noticeably. It seems likely that such personal wealth attracted a growing number of craftsman to the town ready to supply goods in exchange.

Poor "inmates", that is artisans or labourers who came to inhabit the town and work there without having the means to become freemen, or possibly even to support themselves for long, cannot have been a new phenomenon. It seems clear, however, that their numbers were rising in Dover in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The corporation's response to demographic pressures is revealed in its treatment of these inmates, which also reveals the criteria used by the ruling body to determine the acceptability of immigrants.

The first recorded indication of the problem is a decree passed by the common assembly in June 1609 that refers, in its preamble, to the diverse poor persons who had lately settled themselves in the town, some of them taking chambers or small cottages and living as man and wife, without having married. This was seen as being a "great displeasure to Almighty God and to the great charge of honest inhabitants of Dover" who

often had to relieve them. In order to prevent this, penalties were set for anyone letting accommodation to any such person who had lived in the town one year at least without permission of the mayor and the majority of jurats. The mayor and jurats were to admit only those who brought certificates of their marriage and late dwelling, and who were bound with one or two sureties to discharge the town of all possible charges.<sup>9</sup> This decree was used thereafter to discourage inmates from staying in the town, and it is presumably the reason for the recorded examinations of couples suspected of not being married. Dover granted its own certificates of habitation in the town to those it found suitable, for example "Adrian Adrianson, Dutchman, lately come to inhabit Dover", a comparatively wealthy, protestant sailor who was given such a certificate for himself, his wife and family in 1631.<sup>10</sup>

A series of petitions to form trade corporations at this period probably indicates that Dover tradesmen felt threatened.<sup>11</sup> The billeting of soldiers in the town in the winter of 1624-25 must have played its part in creating the perception of population and financial pressures.<sup>12</sup> A further problem for the corporation was the inability of certain established artisans to contribute to the town's resources, to the extent that their arrears had to be remitted in some cases in 1620.<sup>13</sup> It seems likely that pressure on the town increased, since in 1632 the common council referred once more to the "former decree touching incomers," which was to be put in execution by the mayor and jurats against all landlords who let or hired out their houses, "not making the mayor and jurats acquainted therewith".<sup>14</sup> This decree had already been brought into use increasingly often from 1630, and several victuallers lost their licences and had their signs removed, and landlords had to clear their houses or pay 5s. per month for each tenant.<sup>15</sup>

The perception of outsiders beating at their gates clearly affected the corporation's attitude to the way they filtered incomers into the town.

In 1639 the common council passed a "decree concerning labourers", setting out the names of those labourers who were recognized. The language of its preamble reflects this perception:

"whereas complaint...hath been made to us... in this time of trade that sundry poor persons have come and do daily resort from divers parts of this realm of England to this town and port in an unusual manner and there do take upon them to carry burdens of...merchandise...to the great hindrance and prejudice of diverse poor inhabitants of Dover who have wives and children and have ...no other means to maintain themselves than their labour in carrying such burdens and are able and sufficient in number credit and quality to perform the said works and not only so but the said incomers are likely by the multitudes of them to undo themselves and the said other persons and so being settled there to become chargeable and burdensome to the town for their necessary relief.. and are not for the most part of sufficient credit to be trusted and employed in the works aforesaid..."<sup>16</sup>

It is interesting to note how "sundry" poor persons becomes "multitudes", and that, being outsiders, they are not "of sufficient credit" to be trustworthy. At the same time, this decree shows a legitimate concern for the town's own "deserving poor," which has to be balanced against the corporation's rejection of indigent outsiders.

Dover, in common with other towns, appears to have had many poor to care for. The provisions made for them have been set out above.<sup>17</sup> It has been argued above that an earlier system of individual care for the needy was replaced by a more institutionalized system towards the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century. In 1609 the corporation bought a little tenement near the almshouse in Cowgate Street "to set up a House of Correction to set the poor on work, and to be converted to some charitable use as thought meet."<sup>18</sup> It was not ready until 1613 when a man and his wife were employed to take care "to set those idle persons to work" that came there.<sup>19</sup> In 1618 it was agreed to spend £10 per annum on this and James Hilles, a hemp-dresser, agreed to "keep disorderly persons to work that came under his charge there." He was to supply them and all other poor people of the town who could not provide work for themselves with materials at his own charge, provide them with meat and drink and "make the best benefit of their labour." He could

receive an allowance for all those under 12 "unable to get their sustenance by their work". The corporation promised to buy any surplus of canvas or linen cloth. James Hilles resigned from his post in 1622, taking his stock of hemp with him.<sup>20</sup>

There is no further reference to the House of Correction or provision of work for the poor until 1631 when, "because the number of poor have increased in the town since the late war, and for want of employment and many children, live idly and daily beg at men's doors, ... and a House of Correction is not yet established here, which is now required by His Majesty's Book of Orders..." it was decreed that a House of Correction should be provided in a house belonging to the town adjacent to the existing almshouse.<sup>21</sup>

The Bench's attitude to the homeless or mendicant poor became more censorious in the early seventeenth century. Those most summarily dealt with were, of course, thieves, but also all those others who offended against the prevailing moral view of the orderly, godly family: beggars, runaway servants and apprentices - however young, unmarried couples living as man and wife, and "harlots". Some mitigation of punishment was allowed for extreme old age and for pregnancy within marriage. Married men genuinely seeking work, married couples working as petty chapmen, and virtuous female servants temporarily out of covenant through no fault of their own, were also sometimes merely admonished and sent away, or back into covenant, rather than whipped.

It is important to remember that in the court two kinds of mobile population were actually being dealt with, and they are not easy to distinguish from each other, since the records do not always give the outcome of cases. First, there were the true vagrants, described here as the mendicant or homeless poor, found "wandering" or "begging", or spending the night in their favourite haunt - the Priory Barn, or at the lime-kilns, or in doorways. Second, there were "inmates", or incomers,

people who had come to Dover fairly recently and who had at least enough money to be lodging somewhere, actually "unlawfully lodging" according to the town statutes.

The first group were normally dealt with summarily, being whipped and sent back to their birth place with a passport. The second group were treated differently, being admonished or threatened with future punishment, but often being allowed to stay for a specified length of time - usually two days or over a week-end or for a week or fortnight or until the next Feast Day. If they could not then provide sureties to discharge the town of their expense, or show that they had become covenanted workers, they were required to leave or else be punished as vagrant, thus effectively ensuring that they became vagrants.

A study of the first group is largely a study of human misery. It also reveals the extent to which people at that period were forced to travel in search of those with whom they had lost contact; in a very few cases it indicates that, for some people, travelling, with all its risks of punishment, might have been a preferred way of life. A study of the second group is a study of immigration in action, giving some indication of the kind of people and occupations most likely to be acceptable in a new town, and the problems immigrants faced in establishing themselves.

### ii) Numbers and origins of vagrants and poor inmates

The earliest sixteenth century references to vagrants in Dover occur in the town accounts when, in 1561 and 1562, the porters were paid for "banishing certain persons". In 1563-4, 68-9 and 69-70 they carried out "certain vagabonds" and in 1574-5 banished and whipped two persons out of the town, who were given 4s. "to their necessities in departing."<sup>22</sup> In 1586-7 "idle persons, vagabonds and soldiers that stole over into England "were carried out of the town, and in 1588-9 "two women that did wear man's apparel"; there were 8 banishments in 1598-9 of whom three

women were "rogues and queens"; in 1598-9 a boy was carried to Folkestone, his birth place, and there was one banishment in 1603-4.<sup>23</sup> In these cases some ceremonial was involved: the town clerk was paid for preparing banishment papers; lame rogues were taken out of the town in a cart; the porters escorted the offenders out. In 1604-5, however, the first of two successive beadlees for the period - ironically named Abraham Beer and Arthur Justice - received 4d. "for whipping a vagabond".<sup>24</sup> Thereafter the formula in the accounts is simply "Abraham Beer for punishing vagrants...pence". Occasionally he also received money for whipcord.

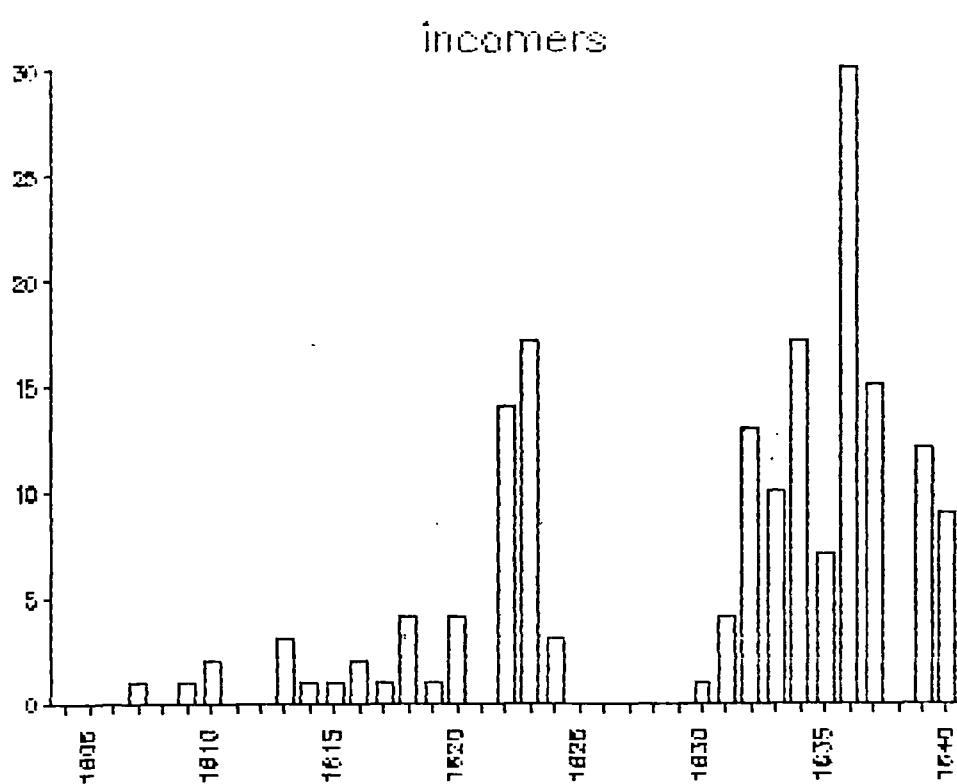
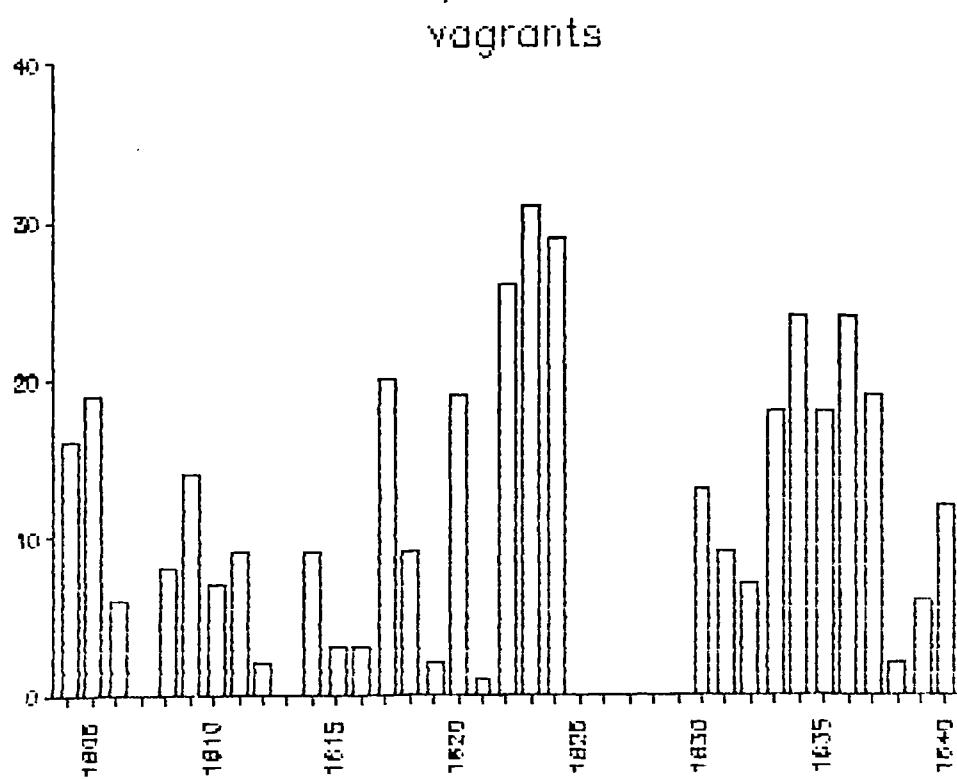
Vagrants usually came into the court in Dover after being rounded up by the constables or even by the mayor himself the previous night and kept in the prison called "the Hole".<sup>25</sup> Some were picked up during the day, when found "wandering and begging". Some came to court for theft or immorality, although no cases are recorded of true vagrants being charged with the kind of drunken, disorderly conduct so frequent among the inhabitants of the town. Occasionally, people taken as vagrants proved to be genuine travellers who had nowhere to stay for the night while they were waiting for a boat.<sup>26</sup> Some vagrants were seeking lost relatives or debtors.<sup>27</sup> "Unlawful dwellers" in the town must have been drawn to the Bench's attention through the usual mixture of observation, resentment and gossip. Some of them are described as living "in idle manner", occasionally in victualling houses.<sup>28</sup> Most had arrived recently, but some had been in Dover for periods as long as from six months to two years without coming to the attention of the magistrates. Cases dealing with both vagrants and unlawful dwellers appear in the records among all the other daily business of the court, and it is not always easy to be certain which category a case falls into. Sometimes a group of names is sidelined in the margin "vagrants", at other times both sorts of people seem to have been dealt with at the same time.

Numbers must remain vague, as an accompanying spouse or child(ren) is not always named. By making some rather arbitrary distinctions, it has been possible to count 234 true, homeless vagrants and 54 inmates between 1604 and 1624, and 171 vagrants and 128 inmates between 1630 and 1640, 587 in all. Of the vagrants, 8 were accepted as travellers and allowed to continue their journey - all, incidentally, after 1630 when the seas were safer. Of the inmates, only two obtained sureties immediately: one, a tailor, being accepted into covenanted work, the other, a goldsmith, being allowed to set up for himself.<sup>29</sup>

Total numbers of people in court for living illegally in Dover are shown in Figure 7:1 which separates true vagrants from inmates, those living illegally in the town. No data is available for the years 1625-1629. It can be seen that the proportion of inmates rose, or was more keenly presented, as mercantile trade increased in the 1630s. These figures can also be compared with those in Table 3:3 above, showing the number of freeman entrants at the same period. It should perhaps be noted that there were serious outbreaks of plague in 1635, 36 and 38. Alternative evidence for numbers of vagrants in the town, the amounts paid by the corporation for whipping vagrants from 1604 to 1636, bears a reasonable relationship to the numbers of vagrants appearing in the courts and so confirms the general trend of the figures.

In an attempt to discover a possible reason for the fluctuations in the numbers of vagrants at certain times, changes in the prices given for the assize of bread were compared with changes in the numbers of vagrants, but very little correlation was found. It seems likely that in circumstances of general dearth the pull of small towns such as Dover must have varied according to what they had to offer, and Dover is likely to have had an expansionist appearance in the early 1620s and again in the 1630s, as the figures for freemen entry perhaps suggest. The frequency of appearances of vagrants in the courts fell in the

**Figure 7:1 Vagrants and incomers before the Dover magistrates 1604-1640**  
 Source: CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments; Dover Depositions 1630



harvest months of July, August, September and October, but was lowest in December. Numbers were highest in February and March - the hungry months.

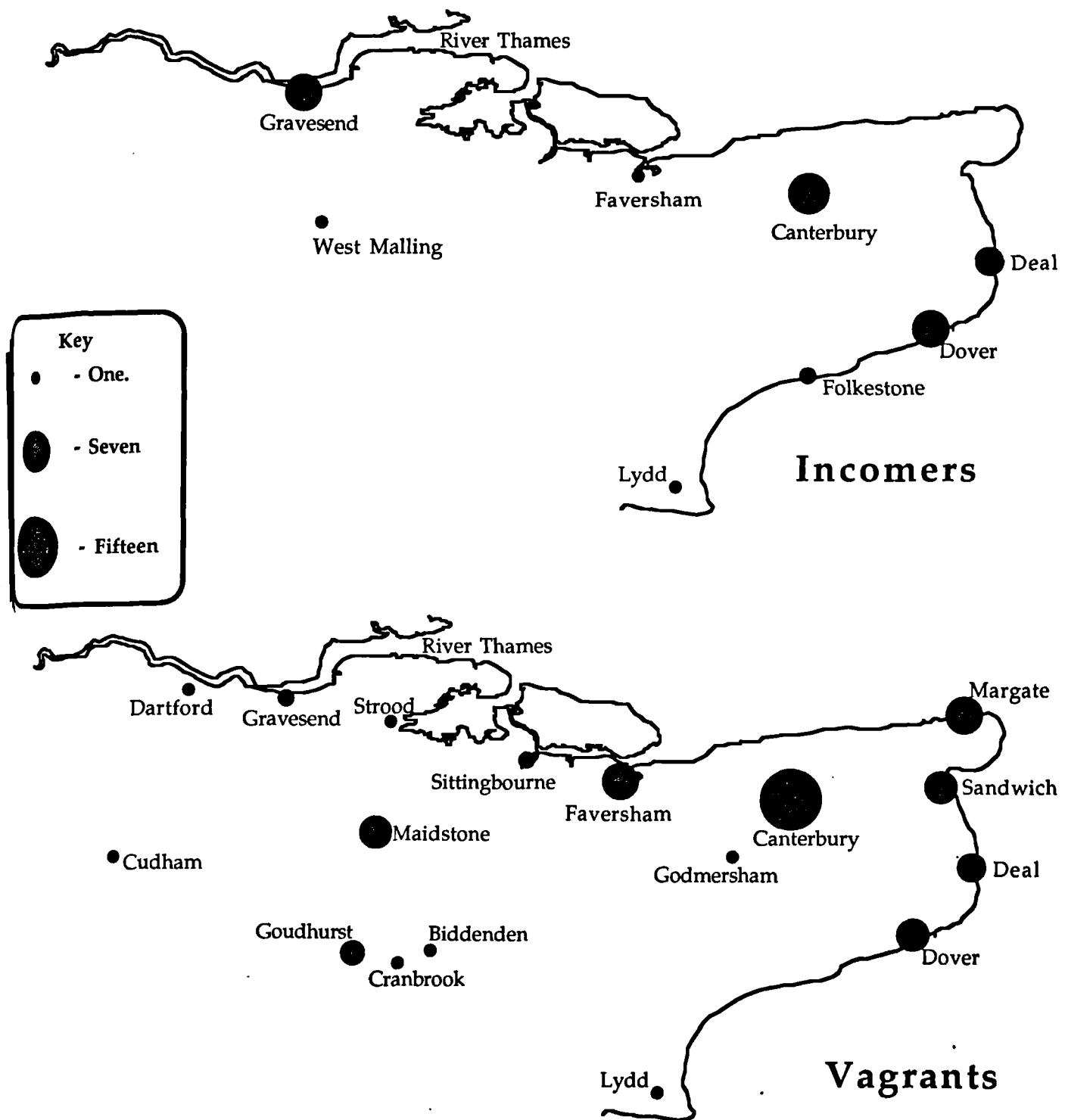
There is some evidence for the origins of the vagrants, as the records give birth place or last dwelling place for 344 vagrants, out of a total of 405. Where both places are given, the birth place has been considered as the place of origin, unless someone is said to have lived elsewhere for a long period, or since marriage. Poor people came to Dover at this period from all but four counties in England, and also from Wales, Scotland and Ireland. As would be expected, the highest proportion - almost 21% - of vagrants came from Kent. Almost 13% came from London, and 15% from the neighbouring counties of Sussex, Essex and Surrey. If the remainder of the country were divided east to west on a line roughly continuing the line of the Pennines southwards, then 27% of vagrants came from west of this line, and only 14% from east of it.<sup>30</sup> 3.5% came from Wales, just over 5% from Ireland, and 0.6% from Scotland.

The figures for inmates and legitimate travellers are less significant, since from a total of 182, the origins are given of only 98. Knowledge of birth place was not essential, of course, for those who had not yet reached the passport state of vagrancy. The numbers show that almost 35% of poor intending immigrants came from Kent, over 18% from London, over 6% from the neighbouring counties, over 18% from western counties, 13% from eastern counties and 4% from Wales, Ireland and Antwerp between them.

It is not surprising that of those hoping to settle in the town, such a high proportion came from Kent, whereas vagrants were clearly being forced to go further afield. Figure 7:2 maps the areas of Kent from which both vagrants and incomers, or "unlawful dwellers", came. It can be seen that the highest number of vagrants, 15, came not from the immediate area but from Canterbury (including one from Boughton). From a

Fig 7: 2

## Origins of Kentish Vagrants and Incomers in Dover<sup>571</sup> 1604-24 and 1630-40.



similar distance, in Thanet - chiefly from Margate and Herne - came six. Six came from the Faversham area and 5 from Maidstone and one or two villages close to it. These figures suggest the obvious, that areas of highest population and unemployment were most likely to create vagrancy. Since only one vagrant came from the Medway area (Strood) during the whole period it seems possible that the ship-building activities in that area might have had a knock-on effect in creating employment in other trades also.<sup>31</sup>

For the inmates, the numbers are too small to justify any valid conclusions, but the tendency seems to have been for potential settlers to be drawn from a moderately close area. Incomers from London present a special case. Of the 61 people recorded as coming from there, 43 were treated as vagrants, although some had occupations, and only 18 were not punished, of whom one was a genuine traveller. Only 4 of the inmates originating from London were not made to depart immediately. None was immediately accepted. It would seem that a London origin was not a recommendation to the Dover bench.

### iii) Pauper migration and occupation

The region from which people came can be linked with their occupation in some cases, although the records give scanty information on occupation. What is immediately noticeable is the predominance of cloth workers (mainly weavers) from the west country; from a total of 10, an origin was ascribed to 8, of whom 5 came from the west, two from Norfolk and 1 from Surrey.<sup>32</sup> Tailors and shoemakers came from all over the country, with the highest number of 5 tailors from London. Construction workers - sawyers, carpenters, shipwrights, smiths and glaziers came from everywhere except the eastern counties. There are no references to bakers, but a few brewers and butchers came from each area. There were 2 maltsters from London, 2 vintners and 2 fishmongers from Kent. Labourers

are named only from London, Kent and the west country. There was a scattering of husbandmen from each region, with the highest number, 3, from the eastern counties. The only 2 soldiers named came from the west, but sailors came from each region with the greatest number, 6, from the west.

A cutler, a bookbinder and a blockmaker came from London. From Mayfield in Sussex came George Browne, a 31-year old iron worker, telling how "the Master being broken, he and the others were put out of work."<sup>33</sup> He intended to go overseas, and seems to have been allowed to do so. From all regions came petty-chapmen, peddlars and other pickers up of unconsidered trifles. From such low figures, no valid conclusions can be drawn, of course; it is merely possible to note a tendency for clothworkers and sailors to have come from the west, agricultural workers from the east, and men of a greater diversity of occupations from London. All incomers from Surrey and Wales were recorded as vagrants and ascribed no occupation, as were all but one from Ireland. There is no note of an Irish vagrant in the period before 1624. More can perhaps be learned about the availability of work if the cases are looked at in another way. If the vagrants and the inmates from each group of workers are looked at separately, and if account is taken of the years in which they appeared in the court, some kind of pattern emerges for different occupational groups.

The increase of trade through the port of Dover in the 1630s initiated the construction of storehouses, quays and shipyards, so it is perhaps significant that all four carpenters who came to Dover at this time were inmates, not vagrants, and the first was not presented until 1636.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, only three out of the eleven men who might be described as construction workers were vagrants, and all but two came into the court after 1634. One of the two, who came in 1622 with his wife, was called William Barnacle, and since there was already a smith in Dover called

Henry Barnacle, it seems likely that he came expecting to find the sureties necessary to help him remain.<sup>35</sup> It seems likely that men in certain occupations could, to some extent, choose where they worked, and that they would be expected to move to where work needed to be done.

The reverse situation held among the cloth workers. Eight out of ten of these were homeless vagrants, and all of them were treated as such. All but two arrived before 1634, presumably in the temporary depression, and one of them had become an uncovenanted carpenter since his arrival in Dover.<sup>36</sup> All were treated in a way that suggested the authorities regarded them as likely to become an undesirable charge on the rates.

There is, incidentally, very little evidence of any cloth making activity in Dover at this period, apart from that conducted in the House of Correction for a time.

A third group, who fell between the more successful itinerant construction workers and the destitute specialist cloth workers, were the makers of clothing - the tailors and leather-workers. There must always have been a surplus of tailors, and many clearly lived just above subsistence level, and on the margins of vagrancy. Their entry to Dover is spread evenly throughout the period: some seem to have been on the verge of being accepted, being given a week to find sureties, and one was taken on straight away from the court by an established Dover tailor. Most were sent away under the threat of being treated as vagrants if they stayed, including two who had worked for themselves while they were living "unlawfully" in the town.<sup>37</sup> The chanciness of the journeyman system can be observed in the case of Stephen Homes, aged 20, born and apprenticed in Wiltshire, who had recently worked 7 weeks in Cambridge and was now seeking work in Dover.<sup>38</sup> It seems likely that many tailors had to travel to find work and that, given some capital and some good friends, a foreign tailor could establish himself in a new town. On the other hand, lack of these things could result in vagrancy.

Poor immigrant leather-workers - shoemakers, glovers and cobblers - seem to have been treated similarly to tailors: they were given a week or two to find sureties for themselves before being sent away, but they were required to leave if they were not working at their trade, or were working against the interests of the Corporation of Shoemakers, or were leading immoral lives.<sup>39</sup> No foreign shoemakers came into the courts before 1621, but by 1623 the shoemakers of Dover had asked for and obtained a new grant of incorporation, presumably in response to potential competition from foreigners then arriving in the town.<sup>40</sup>

Vagrants and inmates described as husbandmen and labourers came into Dover throughout the period. Sixteen men were called "husbandman", of whom half were vagrants and half inmates. Very few seem to have found any work during the year preceding their appearance in the court. Of the 10 "labourers", 5 were inmates, and none seems to have worked in the recent past, even though, when their ages are given, the majority were between 25 and 40. When the Dover accounts give detailed records of construction work, the names of labourers directly employed by the corporation are familiar and recurring, with only occasional small jobs going to "a poor man."<sup>41</sup> It must have been almost impossible for transient labourers to find work in towns that had a large, permanent pool of under and unemployed men to draw from. Many of the husbandmen were travelling with their wives and children, which suggests that wandering the country looking for seasonal work had become a way of life for them. Husbandmen seem to have been more successful at getting temporary labouring jobs than labourers were. John Witt, age 37, born at Kempson, Bedfordshire, for example, had been nine months at Woolwich filling ballast for ships before he came to harvest in Hougham in 1624. and went on to thresh for Mr Bingham, a large landowner in Dover. Because he made a Dover woman pregnant, he was sent back to Kempson, however, being given no chance to make provision for the child.<sup>42</sup>

Sailors are another identifiable group, who had an obvious reason for going to Dover. Most, 12, were vagrants, but there were 5 English inmates, and they began to arrive in 1624. Several younger men were brought to court, suspected of having escaped from the king's ships, and it is clear from other records that impressment was fairly common, and escape from it presumably another cause of vagrancy.<sup>43</sup>

An artisan or tradesman intending to establish himself in a new town clearly needed three things: impeccable sexual morality, enough money to get lodgings, and friends in the town both willing and sufficiently substantial to provide sureties that he and his family would not become a charge on the town. Perhaps that is why inmates living in victualling houses seem to have been sent out of the town more readily than those living with a householder. There may already have been some link forged between the men in the latter case. It would explain the friendships that persisted between men originating from the same town who arrived in Dover at different periods - the second perhaps having used the first as his surety.<sup>44</sup> Examples of such lines of communication between men in different towns have been given in the study of apprentices above.<sup>45</sup> It seems likely that such informal links, very difficult to discover from the records, might well have prompted the direction in which potential immigrants travelled. They might also have assisted the diffusion of specialized craftsmen from towns where their craft was common to those where there was increasing consumer demand for it.

Vagrants were offered no chance to settle in the town, however, even although some were on the borderline of acceptability in that they pursued some small occupation and could occasionally afford lodgings. Of 36 such small itinerant tradesmen in the Dover records, six might have been able to provide themselves with lodgings, since they seem not to have been picked up from the streets or the Priory Barn. Nine were merely admonished, and told to settle into service, or stop selling.

None of these nine came from further away than Canterbury. All the other itinerant peddlars, bellows-menders and so on were punished as vagrant and sent away. A small proportion of these were also from East Kent, but most came from further afield - London particularly. They included John Wilshire, 34, born in Somerset, who had been in Kent for 16 years and worked as a rag gatherer for the paper mills. He had earned twenty two and a half pence the day before for bringing a sack load of rags to the Buckland paper mills in the suburbs of Dover.<sup>46</sup>

Groups travelling together seem to have disturbed the authorities, who examined them more closely than they did individuals. A few of these groups were not destitute, but were travelling together because they were comparatively young and, it seems, refusing yet to cross the threshold into ordered society, preferring to lead a life that pleased them, for a time at least. Indeed one such group perhaps consciously expressed its preference for a liminal existence and its contempt for the values of the settled rulers of the town by its very activity. The group split up while it was in Dover, but was originally led by Matthew Tipping, a "shower of the sight of Susanna". Although the show is not explained in the records, the likelihood of its being a salacious version of the story of Susanna before the Elders seems good, and the chances of its having had a popular and possibly subversive success in this patriarchal town seem high.

The group were treated as vagrants, whipped and sent from the town to their respective birth places with passports, presumably because of their "dangerous" occupation, but also for their irregular sexual liaisons. One of them, Alice Holt, had been born in Buckingham and brought up with a widow who kept a school there. She had come thence to Dover with Matthew Tipping and his wife. There they had been joined by three people who had recently arrived from Holland: Edward Barnaby, a Surrey baker who had not baked for 10 years, but had been a soldier in

Holland for some time, and Michael Oldfield and his "wife" Thomasine, who had lived in Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Middleborough. Edward Barnaby shared his lodging in Dover with Alice Holt, who conceived his child. By the time they came before the Bench, the group had already broken up. Alice Holt said she had left Tipping and his wife because of their "misusing her, and she wearing out her apparel and not getting anything in their service." Michael Oldfield and Edward Barnaby left because they had a show of their own to show.<sup>47</sup> It is interesting to speculate whether they risked continuing to travel as a new group, or whether the now pregnant Alice Holt had to return, with the rejected Tippings, to Buckingham and presumably dull poverty, rather than to rejoin the father of her child outside Dover and pursue life as an entertainer.

Another little group who seemed to be not yet reconciled to a settled life met in Romney Marsh and were examined in Dover in 1635. Richard Wells, a 27 year old sailor of Puddle Wharf, London, claimed he came to get a voyage. Honor Hollwood had met him in New Romney a week earlier when he asked her whether or not there was a press for sailors, and then left her, apparently to go to Rye. On meeting her again in Dover, and buying her and her two female companions jugs of beer at the "Bower", he asked her to buy him a shirt band, giving her 16d., which proved inadequate. Honor Hollwood agreed with his story, and had one of her own, which accounted for her two female companions. She was the widow of a Southwark broom man. Her trade was to buy coney skins and to sell small wares. She was travelling with her sister-in-law, Jane Rowland, 22, born in Wrexham. The Saturday before her appearance in court, Honor Hollwood had "buried a man child at Lydd". There she "took" Elizabeth Whitehood, age 20 and born in Lydd "for three years to teach her her trade".<sup>48</sup> It is perhaps significant that she did this on the death of her child. The notion of servant/apprentice and master thus persisted right through the system. This incident casts some light on the way a

young woman like Elizabeth Whitehood might have made her first move into vagrancy. Was it sheer economic necessity? or was this life in some ways more attractive for a time to some young and healthy people than the normal entry into service in a familiar place?

#### iv) Vagrants' journeys

The encounters of homeless, unemployed vagrants with authority must have been both tedious and painful. Passports and licences were important, and smooth encounters with the courts depended on their validity.

Vagrants had their own methods of dealing with this problem. From a tangled series of examinations in an earlier period, March 1575, it is possible to piece together the process by which passports were forged.

John Buckland said he had been present

"when the last licence was made and although it bear date in January, yet the same was made but fourteen days past by a scholar of Oxford at Hailsham. And that the cause why his name was put in James was because they would follow the old licence and they paid for it but 12d."

On the same occasion, another "rogue" explained how he got his testimonial by paying a minister in Wiltshire, to whom he was sent "by other rogues which travelled the country."<sup>49</sup> In August 1630 a woman, named Elizabeth Taylor in her passport, confessed she was the widow of John Michaelson, mariner of Lune, Lincoln. She had been found vagrant in London and whipped, and in the passport

"she was first written to be born at \_\_\_ in County Cambridge, which word \_\_\_ and Cambridge are blotted out and the words Dover and Kent interlined, which gave great suspicion that the same was counterfeited."

She claimed to be the daughter of Richard Taylor, deceased of Dover, but when the parish books had been searched fruitlessly for his name she was whipped and sent to the parish of her birth.<sup>50</sup> An apparently unanswerable statement was made by Ann Nicherson, a cripple, found in the Priory Barn with her five-year old son, Thomas (born in Northamptonshire). When asked her birth place, she said she did not know

it, but "has heard her mother say she was born at the Priory of Dover."<sup>51</sup> Clearly, vagrancy was likely to become an inherited condition.

The routes by which vagrants travelled must, to some extent, have been directed by knowledge of places to stay, and seem to have followed the coast where possible. The vagrants of 1575, mentioned above, spoke of coming from Sussex "along the ports" and staying at 6 or 7 churches along the way.<sup>52</sup> Churches and places like the Priory Barn in Dover seem to have maintained some vestigial identity with earlier ecclesiastical hospitality. In the 1620s and 1630s the last-visited places were often Hastings, Rye and Folkestone to the west or Deal to the east, which may suggest travel by sea for part of the journey, since sea travel can be seen to have been common. A poor, but genuine, traveller, William Stephenson, signed a statement in 1635 that he had left Well in Norfolk, where he was a groom and gone to Yarmouth, whence he came by barque to Margate. Then he walked to Dover in order to travel by sea to Somerset, where he had a brother in Bridgewater.<sup>53</sup> In 1630, Christian Arregan, born in Waterford, Ireland, had been "brought from Ipswich", and desired to pass to her husband in Calais.<sup>54</sup> Irish vagrants were commonly "sent to West Chester" to be shipped back to Ireland.<sup>55</sup>

One of the grimdest vagrant journeys was related by two young brothers in an incoherent and muddled fashion that sounds close to authentic, confused speech. Philip and Francis Butler, aged 17 and 15, while disagreeing on one or two points, related a similar story. Philip said that they were born in Brighthelmstone, Sussex, and about a year earlier they had been with their mother and father in Huntingdonshire, where their father "lay in a barn and died the next morning", none being present but they and their mother. Their mother was ill so Philip carried her on his back to the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark.

Having left her there with his brother, he came into Kent, and was joined by them there later. They had all been there for some time when they were examined in Dover.<sup>56</sup>

In view of the authorities' apparent fear of groups of vagrants travelling together, the constitution of the groups who were brought into court has been sought. Of 33 such groups, 8 consisted of families travelling together, that is in combination of husband/wife, husband/wife/children, widow/children. 12 were couples whose marriages were suspect, and 13 were other informal groups. Irish vagrants almost always travelled together in groups, sometimes based on extended families.<sup>57</sup>

Four of the informal groups consisted of groups of boys. In the summer of 1604, Thomas Lee and George Yardley (who called himself George Lee) had left their respective vintner masters in London to go overseas together, but were sent back.<sup>58</sup> There were three groups who might have seemed more threatening. In October 1605, seven vagrants appeared together. They were from all over England, and their ages ranged from 16-18, with one of 22, which suggests they might have joined up on the road and been travelling together.<sup>59</sup> Another such group were the four young men from Warrington, Dunwich, Bath and Gloucestershire, whose ages ranged from 18-21.<sup>60</sup> Again, in 1635 three boys aged 12, 15 and 16 having come from Sussex, London and Colchester, but not apparently being apprentices, appeared together.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, when spread over thirty years, three such groups seem small cause for alarm. Detailed work has made it clear that most groups of vagrants were based on fairly permanent ties of family and/or affection. The Dover evidence gives very little support to the contemporary perception and literary representation of vagabonds ranging the land in violent droves.

v) Age, sex and family relationships of vagrants

Enough information is recorded to enable some attempt to distinguish vagrants in terms of their age and their sex. Ages are assigned to 148 men but only 32 women. Table 7:1 shows the percentage of men and women in different age groups. The figures seem likely to be skewed by the fact that the age of minors was probably more frequently recorded because it was possible to deal with apprentices, for example, simply by returning them to their masters.

Table 7:1 Distribution of ages of male and female vagrants in Dover 1604-1640

Age	% Men            Women	
0-14	15	3
15-19	24	9
20-29	17	38
30-39	16	22
40-49	11	13
50-59	8	9
60-69	7	6
70+	2	0

Sources: CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments; Dover Depositions 1630.

It is perhaps safe to conclude that boys were far more likely to roam than girls, and that women were most likely to become vagrant once they were in association with men, particularly during their child-bearing years and their early widowhood, when they still had dependent children. Many women in the 20-29 age group would have been likely to be accompanying the men of that age - 17% of the total - who were presumably trying to find employment. Yet this small sample also shows a slightly higher percentage of women than men in the 30-39 and 40-49 age groups, which seems consistent with the vulnerable economic and social plight of widows and deserted wives.

The records show 37 vagrant married couples with no accompanying children, 22 couples having one or more child with them, 9 single parents, usually women, with one or more children, and 20 men or women

who had a spouse elsewhere. 6 men are described as "single man". Minors seem to have become vagrant for identifiable reasons. Eleven of them were apprentices running away from their masters, mostly in the summer and often intending to go overseas.<sup>62</sup> Young boys and male servants also "ran from their master",<sup>63</sup> often with good reason, to judge from some of the cases of abuse in the Dover courts of the period. A few of the Dover vagrants aged between 15 and 19 seem to have escaped from impressment into the King's ships.<sup>64</sup>

In over ten cases, however, the clue to the vagrancy of boys probably lies in the note "father deceased". Robert Saunders, for example, was taken on December 19, 1623 for stealing a sheet from a hedge. He had done this "for promise of food and lodging by a woman at the Maison Dieu" that would keep him until after Christmas. The sheet had been taken from him "by a lame man with stilts who said he would come back."<sup>65</sup> The 12 year old boy came from Ham Street, Orlestone, where his father had recently died. This case is typical of a number of others. A double blow fell upon William Wilson, 19, who, after the death of his father, had sailed from London as servant to a sailor. The master of his boat died at sea and William and two younger boys were landed at Deal and abandoned. On their way to Dover they stole the coulter of a plough and tried to sell it in the town. Thus they came into the court and were subsequently whipped in the market place and sent back to London.<sup>66</sup>

The death of a father seems likely to have been a crucial event in the life of a boy, but although there are several female minors, there is only one whose father's death might have precipitated her vagrancy. It seems likely that unmarried girls were more carefully protected than boys, and that there were many opportunities for covenanted domestic work for girls. Female vagrants are usually defined by their relationship to a man, but of the 48 women travelling without a man, 10

were wives whose husbands had left them, or - a majority - who had left their husbands. 11 were widows, 6 were widows with children, 3 with children were described simply as "woman", as were 10 others, and 8 were described as "single woman".

Of the female inmates, 10 were wives on their own, often waiting for their husbands, 2 were widows, 4 were described as "woman" and 2 as "single woman". This suggests that a woman with children might have been unlikely either to afford lodgings or to be given them. Apart from aliens waiting for their sailor husbands, poor women lodgers in Dover came exclusively either from the local area or from London. Single women, for the most part, seem to have been servants who had slipped out of covenant and were living "idly". Only one was described as "harlot".<sup>67</sup> One claimed to have come "to see her sister", one came "to cure her breast", and one "to collect her harvest pawn".<sup>68</sup> Thirty-year old Margaret Mosse, servant to a Canterbury tailor, came to Dover "with her mistress' leave to see the town and for pleasure", but she ended in the court because she begged. She was whipped and sent back, not to Canterbury, but to Stourmouth, where she had been born. While in Dover she managed to refuse a man who lured her to his chamber and offered her 5s. "to have his pleasure of her."<sup>69</sup> At least 17 of these women, the largest group, were widows, as might be expected. One is said to have "run away from her children",<sup>70</sup> but some widows were accompanied by as many as four or five children. Apart from one sick widow, who was admonished, all were whipped and sent to their place of birth, including two in their sixties.

The Bench was most careful in examining couples whom they suspected of being unmarried. In these cases, both parties were whipped, but the man was then kept in prison for a few days while the woman was sent ahead to her birth place, often different from his, so that both should remain separated. The depositions of these couples cast some light on wedding

customs. They seem to have been asked, independently, where they had first met, where they were married, when, by whom, who was present, who gave the bride away, and where they ate after the marriage.

Their stories show that most couples seem to have met when the man was staying at or near the house of the woman's father or master. They include a number of pathetic anecdotes, such as that of the woman who was given in marriage by the "key of the gaole's son", her husband then being in prison and being forced to marry her, having got her with child. They had had two penny loaves and cheese to their dinner in the gaol.<sup>71</sup> When separated from her "husband" by the Dover bench, such a woman, hustled out of the town, pregnant, so as not to be a charge on the corporation, would presumably meet the same response in the next parish. Her child might then have been in danger of being "ditch-delivered by a drab"<sup>72</sup> and she would have become one of those vagrants described as "woman" with child.

The condition of vagrancy must have been perceived in different ways by different sufferers of it. For the majority it was clearly humiliating, enforced and tragic. For some, however, chiefly young men and groups of people like the "showers of Susanna" and the coney skin seller and her servant it is just possible that, for a time, it represented a freer and more interesting way of life, outside the monotonous poverty of the village or the hierarchical regulations and patriarchal morality of the town. What is clear is that the imposition of a certain set of moral principles separated couples who could not afford to marry, and disabled them from taking joint responsibility for their children. It is also clear that successful migration and resettlement became more difficult for the poor at the very times when it was most necessary, and that the line between surviving as a poor craftsman and becoming a punished vagrant could be very narrow indeed.

## CONCLUSION

This study has been concerned with the interrelationship of economy and society in a small port and market town. It has shown that the town's economic prosperity depended for the most part upon factors beyond its control - not only weather and tides, disease, piracy and war - but also decisions taken by the government: to establish its harbour under Henry VIII, to improve it under Elizabeth, to cede it to the Crown's Commissioners under James I and to encourage its use as a neutral entrepot for the transhipment of goods by a system of composition of customs under Charles I.<sup>1</sup> In this respect, it supports the views of Tittler that there was "greater economic individuality among English ports than has usually been recognized", and that periods of decline and prosperity in smaller towns need to be measured by decade rather than century.<sup>2</sup> Contemporary acknowledgment of such possibilities of fluctuation was made by Thomas Violet in the report of 1650 in which he pressed for the encouragement of the import of gold and silver, "as heretofore when the composition trade flourished at Dover; which within these twenty years that little port paid above forty thousand pounds yearly for the composition trade."<sup>3</sup>

Among the developments in English trade in the years just before the Civil War that have been delineated by economic historians are increased diversification in imports and exports and particularly in re-exports, and expansion into new areas made possible by the armed power of English ships.<sup>4</sup> It could be argued that these developments, important to the acquisition of capital in London after the decay of the outports, were, ironically, adumbrated on a very small scale during the composition trade in Dover in the 1630s when English vessels transhipping foreign goods were convoyed through the Narrow Seas.

This study has indicated some of the social tensions that developed in Dover in response to the impact of this sudden economic expansion. It has shown that the population of the town increased and that overcrowding probably encouraged disorder; vagrants and pauper immigrants were attracted to the town; it seems likely that the gap between rich and poor widened, and that the consequent division was exacerbated by the new visibility of wealth on quays, in storehouses and in waggons passing through the streets.<sup>5</sup> Evidence from inventories supports this view, but suggests that the personal wealth of the comparatively few rich merchants was probably displayed, not by their clothing, but in their large houses at tables lavishly embellished with silver.<sup>6</sup>

Among those who benefited most from the new wealth in Dover in the seventeenth century were the town's own ship-owners, merchants and maltsters but, above all, they were those "mere" merchants and factors, most of them not native English men, who, like the Hughessens and Brameses, had settled in the town soon after the harbour was improved or who had come later, at the time of the composition trade, with no intention of settling permanently.<sup>7</sup> For those of the more settled residents who were also salvagers and privateers with letters of marque, or who, like Jacob Brames, also held Crown office, their first allegiance was to the Lord Warden, the Lord Admiral, and the Crown, rather than to the corporation and the town. In this, they were very different from the town's customary wealthy entrepreneurs and retail traders, and seem also to have behaved in a different manner from similarly wealthy merchants who had inhabited larger towns for a longer period for, with only two exceptions, they did not enter the ruling oligarchy of the town.<sup>8</sup>

They were men who produced nothing in the town, apart from the lime some of them exported, yet who had enough capital to farm the revenues from

the town's harbour.<sup>9</sup> Members of the Hughessen family were plaintiffs for debt in the Hundred Court rather than defendants on all but one of the occasions on which they are listed and they clearly advanced credit at interest to townsmen.<sup>10</sup> It has been shown that John Hippesley, the Lieutenant of the Castle, was dependent upon credit got for him by James Hughessen junior "for all", even for funding the ships he needed to attack the pirates in Dunkirk harbour.<sup>11</sup> The careers of the Hughessens and the Brameses in particular illustrate the greater availability of capital to men with connections in Bruges, Rotterdam and Hamburg than to English tradesmen of the period. A number of these merchants had licenses to import the silver from Spain that contemporaries felt might be the answer to England's economic problems, and at times they clearly profited illegally from this trade.<sup>12</sup>

It seems likely that the presence of such men stimulated previously gradual changes in the management of credit in the town, and introduced a kind of mercantile capitalism that possibly did not survive their departure after the end of the composition trade. Large cities, such as York, had long had an active money-market and a tradition of usury.<sup>13</sup> There is little evidence of this in Dover before the seventeenth century. Dover's chamberlains' accounts show that the corporation itself did not pay interest on loans until 1604.<sup>14</sup> From that time, in order to stay afloat and then to invest in storehouses needed at the harbour during the temporary boom in trade, the corporation were forced to take up loans of large sums at interest.<sup>15</sup> This seems to have marked not only a fiscal but a cultural change, as it replaced the traditional, reciprocal system by which the town's wealthier burgesses had lent money to the corporation at times of need, possibly acquiring in return enhanced status, advantageous receipts from asset-stripping, the receipt of a desirable lease or some other, often belated, quid pro quo, not a 10 per cent. return on their investment that they were then likely to

invest in adventures outside the town.<sup>16</sup> In an even greater break from custom after 1608, the corporation began to take loans at interest from men who were neither freemen nor indeed inhabitants of the town.<sup>17</sup> The ruling group was therefore moving away from its earlier tradition of corporate self-reliance and reciprocal obligations and rewards to the acceptance of dependence on a culture where men "made" money simply from itself.

These changes in the corporate management of capital should be set beside the discussion of pleas of debt between townsmen and women in the Hundred Court, which indicates some changes towards the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> While reinforcing the often-noted complexity of credit relationships at this period of shortage of specie, it also indicates that the court began to be used by the inhabitants of the town increasingly in the latter part of the sixteenth century to record the borrowing of comparatively large amounts, rather than to regulate simple, small trading debts.<sup>19</sup> The effect of war on the provision of credit is noted, and some suggestions made about the movement of credit between the town and its surrounding rural area.<sup>20</sup>

Further research into the testamentary materials of landowners in that area would probably be rewarding in helping to chart the flow of credit between town and country. Meanwhile, it has been suggested here that during the period of the town's expansion in the early seventeenth century, land was increasingly seen by townsmen as something to be owned for its financial rather than its agricultural yield, and that they were buying grain to sell, rather than growing it.<sup>21</sup> A series of depositions in one testamentary case in the church courts has been presented in some detail to show how townsmen, including the corporation itself, borrowed at interest from an old yeoman who had capitalized his land, yet still had serious worries about putting it to monetary rather than agricultural use.<sup>22</sup> There is some, although not conclusive,

evidence of greater distinction between rural and urban occupations at this time, and fairly conclusive evidence that some landowners were more active in the distribution than in the production of food.<sup>23</sup>

The need throughout the period for available capital is illustrated by such earlier movements towards its joint management as the formation in 1551 of a group chosen by civic election as a "stock or bank" to buy and sell merchandize that came into the town and to divide the profits among investors from the freeman body, and also by the normal role of the chamberlains at the centre of the civic credit network.<sup>24</sup> The latter was traditionally a reciprocal system, depending on the chamberlains' willingness to wait for payment, which broke down temporarily in the emergency of the 1590s, after which the chamberlains acted more frequently as bankers in the seventeenth century, releasing credit to individual inhabitants when the corporation could afford to do so.<sup>25</sup> The desire for a return on capital even by those of modest means is shown by the investment in harbour leases and speculative building there in the seventeenth century.<sup>26</sup>

Sudden economic change over a short period in the early seventeenth century in such a small town also brings into focus contemporary threats to the continuance of the "moral economy". E.P.Thompson first used this term to describe the "economy of provision," a "paternalistic model of the market and manufacturing process", where the market was "a social as well as an economic nexus", a perception that endured in the popular mind into the changing conditions of the eighteenth century.<sup>27</sup> It has been shown that Dover's rulers were more susceptible to the demands of profit than of provision themselves at times but that, in spite of the ambiguity of their position, the principle that things should be "good and profitable for the commonweal of the town" continued to underpin their governance of it.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, as the wealth, resources and transport capacity of merchants grew it became more difficult to ensure

that goods came straight to the market to feed a growing population.<sup>29</sup>

Walters and Wrightson have demonstrated that although "the primacy of local need over individual profit, the obligations of neighbourliness and the traditional interpretation of customary rights were being increasingly denied by a significant element in local society", such customary principles could not prudently be denied in conditions of dearth, and that their reaffirmation by the government in the Books of Orders sanctioned the views of the poor about the real causes of dearth and actually lessened their felt need to take violent action to remedy their grievances.<sup>30</sup> Both they and Thompson, writing about a later period, point out that trouble was most likely to arise in grain-producing areas, where the inhabitants could see grain being exported while they suffered from shortage. The supply of grain was a very sensitive issue in this corner of East Kent, where dealers congregated to supply London in particular, consequently restraints on its export and attempts to control the supply to the local market have been discussed here in some detail.<sup>31</sup> Even the ruling group felt there were too many maltsters in the town and a number of threats against them by ordinary inhabitants were brought to the courts.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless there were no grain riots in the town, probably because of the ruling group's promptness in getting cheap grain to market at times of dearth, sometimes taking action against their own members in order to do so, and thus upholding the moral economy.<sup>33</sup>

In this study, the definition of the term "moral economy" has been stretched beyond the notion of the primacy of market provision to embrace that ideology informing the ruling group's socio-economic regulation of the town that was accepted as normal and right by its inhabitants, and that was also embedded in the town's custumal. It balanced the inhabitants' need to be provided with wholesome goods against the freemen's right to have an advantage in buying and selling,

so that, for example, the temporary fines imposed on maltmakers during periods of dearth were lifted as soon as conditions allowed.<sup>34</sup> Detailed examination of civic accounting in Chapter 1 has shown that the oligarchy's rule combined custom and flexible realism and was at all times concerned to care first for long-established inhabitants of the town, both poor and free. Therefore, for example, at times of hardship, sseses and rents that could not be paid were written off, rents were kept low to those tenants who were prepared to improve the common stock of the town and were clearly adjusted at times to the relative wealth of the lessee, and casual employment was found when possible for long-term, poor inhabitants.<sup>35</sup> As a balance to these measures, the corporation also allowed greater numbers of foreigners to set up shops in the town after periods of high mortality, granted freedom at a discount to those who might "bring benefit to the town", or who performed some service to it, adjusted fines to the wealth of the payer, and had no inhibition about fining themselves when they flouted their own decrees in pursuit of the profits that rendered them sufficiently substantial to rule the town.<sup>36</sup>

The historians of Exeter and York have both pointed to the basically unchanging nature of social structures and administrative institutions in their towns in this period and suggested that such continuity is often overlooked because it is less marked than change.<sup>37</sup> It seems possible, nevertheless, that essentially continuous features of urban life might have been at least modified by economic, social and cultural change. This study has suggested that modifications in social administration over the period would have been perceived most keenly by those least advantaged inhabitants of the town who leave few records. Moves towards greater efficiency in ruling the town, the appointment of more paid officers, and greater intervention and increased spending on matters such as care for the poor, the prevention of sickness, and

improved hygiene in public places have been observed in many towns from the 1560s and 70s. Methods of caring for the poor, in particular, developed in response to individual circumstances, sometimes ahead of national legislation, sometimes in response to it, but always encouraged and sanctioned by it. These moves seem to have been common alike to towns with strongly protestant, or even puritan, ruling groups and to those with a tradition of recusancy.<sup>38</sup>

Further changes have been observed in Dover from the early seventeenth century that indicate a move away from face-to-face methods of helping the town's less fortunate inhabitants towards more impersonal systems. Wrightson has stressed the primacy of reciprocity in social relations at this period that has also been noted here, yet at the civic level it is that very principle that seems to have undergone modification.<sup>39</sup> The Dover chamberlains' accounts show that care for the town's deserving inhabitants who suffered reverses was part of normal civic responsibility, but that methods of caring for them changed in the seventeenth century. Orphans, together with disabled, temporarily impoverished, or distracted, men and women, whose problems in the sixteenth century would have been dealt with in a practical, participatory way by putting them in the care of families slightly more fortunate than themselves, or by giving them small grants of clothes or money or excusing them from paying rent, began to be institutionalized and, in the case of adults, even criminalized from about 1610. At the same time, doles of bread given to the poor at civic celebrations were replaced by the provision of cheap corn in the market, a shift away from the ceremonial expression of obligation and dependence that was probably both more efficient and more welcome to the recipients, but which nevertheless marks a social and cultural change.<sup>40</sup>

The corporation normally gave some reward or pension to its servants who became weak or indigent and, although this care continued, in the

seventeenth century the responsibility for it was passed on, where possible, to the sufferer's successor in office. This was made possible by the more frequent use of the system by which men paid to enter such services as ferrying, portering and carrying.<sup>41</sup> These apparently slight changes in social administration might well have appeared important to those who experienced them, and they illustrate the view of this study that methods of administration in themselves have cultural as well as social and economic significance.

At the same time, governors were drawing further away from the governed. After a whole religious caste of monks and priests had vanished from the town, gradually a didactic, paternalistic, Protestant ruling group took upon themselves moral as well as civic authority, and possibly strained the relationship between themselves and those they governed.<sup>42</sup> The ceremonial role played by religion, and the framework it provided in the life of the pre-reformation town, has been described by Charles Phythian-Adams.<sup>43</sup> At a more mundane level, it has been noted here that in Dover before the reformation, workmen's successful completions of civic tasks were sometimes celebrated by religious observance and rewards of food or drink, and that probably the whole community shared in such ceremonies as taking the trendal to St. Thomas's shrine.<sup>44</sup> Changes in religious observance, together with the expansion of the town, were probably responsible for the decline in the corporation's payments for celebratory eating and drinking by its workmen. It seems likely that between 1550 and 1640 there was a gradual widening of the gulf between the governors and the governed in the town; certainly more resentment was expressed by the governed towards their governors after 1600.<sup>45</sup>

The most characteristic and unchanging social structures of the town seem to have been those networks that were based on kinship, marriage, inheritance, occupation and other endeavours involving mutual

obligations. Throughout the study, the particular role of women has been observed in maintaining the continuity of families and their occupations, in transmitting inherited property, in linking existing networks through marriage and, perhaps most importantly, in attracting outsiders and therefore new blood lines to the town.<sup>46</sup> Because they changed their name at marriage, women are clearly more difficult to trace through the records than men, but anecdotal evidence from depositions to the church courts reveals qualitative, if not quantitative, evidence to suggest that it was not unusual for urban women to remain in or return to their town and continue to live near their mother and sisters and act in concert with them, even after their marriage to men of varying status.<sup>47</sup>

The evidence from Dover suggests that some social historians, notably Keith Wrightson, have perhaps underestimated the wide range of extended kin that could act as an economic and social unit, possibly because they have emphasized the importance of the household and the nuclear family within it, and focused closely on the restricted number of consanguineal kin who necessarily feature in wills, and possibly also because of concentration on rural evidence.<sup>48</sup> David Cressy's impression "that the English kinship system was valuable, versatile and wide-ranging rather than narrow, shallow and restricted" seems nearer the truth.<sup>49</sup> Diana O'Hara's summary of recent anthropological thought on kinship and her work on the influence of "friends" in the context of marriage, shows that kinship in pre-industrial England cannot be defined "simply in genealogical or biological terms" and that the rather restricted and vague English vocabulary for kinship was in practice usefully extended to affines and fictive kin in a way that contributed to the moral and social organization of groups.<sup>50</sup>

Such an organizing principle seems likely to have had particular significance in small towns during periods of exceptionally high

immigration. It has been suggested here, for example, that the growing number of sexual defamation cases in the early seventeenth century, brought by poorer women living in the crowded Pier district, who were often newcomers to the town, might be attributed in part to the plaintiffs' desire under such circumstances, where they perhaps lacked the support of an existing kinship network, to establish their own honour and status, and the legitimacy of their children; in this way they possibly tested out the loyalty of their neighbours as witnesses and thus developed and strengthened their new social network.<sup>51</sup>

Special attention has been paid here to another group of immigrants: it has been suggested that although the entry of the great waves of protestant refugees from France and the Low Countries to south-east England has been well documented,<sup>52</sup> too little attention has been paid to the informal settlement in East Kent from at least the fifteenth century of protestant strangers, or aliens, and to the consequent possibilities of cultural transmission across the Channel.<sup>53</sup> Such evidence as can be found for this settlement has been given here in Chapter 6, and shows that extended networks, based on marriage, but also on economic interests and religious sympathies, were formed between the strangers and certain English families, normally those of strongly protestant faith.<sup>54</sup>

Evidence has also been given here for the importance of "friends" and the influence of social status and occupational networks in the choice of masters for apprentices,<sup>55</sup> and it has been suggested that the migration of apprentices helps to reveal the process by which family and occupational networks spread through the region and even further afield, and through which mutual obligations were sometimes met.<sup>56</sup> Such concerns seem to have overcome the property and occupational qualifications for apprenticing set out in the Statute of Artificers of 1563.<sup>57</sup>

It seems clear that social support was provided by extended, horizontal kin groups in a number of ways. In writing about baptism in late mediaeval Europe, John Bossy has suggested that, although the kin-relation was taken as the model of all effective social relations, "natural kinship was not considered as providing an individual with adequate social support."<sup>58</sup> Bossy's further argument, based on anthropological evidence, that the system of formal friendship implied a system of formal hostility and that such groups were potentially hostile entities, has been regarded as an unwise one to pursue in examining social relations in England at this period.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, it is a suggestive model when set against some observable modifications over time in the behaviour of certain social groups. There is some evidence to suggest that hostility between kin groups existed in early sixteenth century Dover, when violence against the person was committed repeatedly by certain members of the ruling group, and sometimes by their sons and servants, against each other.<sup>60</sup> Civic court cases make it clear that, after the Henrician period, the habit of inter-personal violence gradually shifted downwards through the social scale, although it sometimes still involved what appear to be extended kin groups.<sup>61</sup> As the town began to expand demographically and economically, and protestant views became normative, violence was often verbal rather than physical, and at the latter end of the sixteenth century it is defamation cases that seem often to have been used as a means of establishing status and honour, so that the lists of deposition witnesses brought to court by plaintiff and defendant can be suggestive in their encapsulation of opposing socio-economic groups.<sup>62</sup> It is perhaps significant that, shortly after the mayor, Thomas Pepper, had in his will of 1573, marked out his close circle of friends in the jurat body - the seven to whom he left gold rings - one of the overlooked jurats joined with friends in pursuing Pepper's childless widow through

the courts in a series of tithe cases; the widow then turned for support to a man from Faversham, a cousin germane to her dead husband, who commonly helped her "for friendship sake."<sup>63</sup> The confrontation of rival groups in establishing their status perhaps even shows residually in the squabbles over church pews that erupted in the seventeenth century.<sup>64</sup>

In spite of such cultural and social modifications, Dover's custumal and its court records show both the customary nature and the unquestioned continuance of the ancient principle that men should stand as pledges and sureties for each other's worth.<sup>65</sup> For example, successful immigrants were those who could find sureties in the town for their financial independence and their good behaviour, surely sometimes as a result of links previously established between them elsewhere.<sup>66</sup> In 1626 John Reading, the vicar of St. Mary's in Dover, preaching against bribery, confessed himself troubled by magistrates' continuing indulgence to certain men at the instance of "some uncle, brother, cousin or friend."<sup>67</sup> This suggests that such traditional pledge relationships implied the "mutual recognition of reciprocal obligations of a practical kind", which Wrightson includes as one element in his definition of neighbourliness, a definition that, in spite of his reservations, seems to have certain features in common with the extended kin groups that have been assumed as normal in pre-industrial towns throughout this study.<sup>68</sup>

The means by which extended kin groups and social networks were formed are examined here in detail in Chapter 4. The importance of affinal kinship, with marriage providing what Palliser has called a "social cement among the governing class," is as clearly marked among the ruling group of Dover as it has been shown to be in other towns of the period.<sup>69</sup> It has been argued here that it was also important among other occupational groups in Dover, for economic as well as social

reasons. This can be seen particularly clearly among its sailors, who tended to intermarry, forming linked networks of seafaring families that were constantly renewed by the introduction into them, by marriage, of immigrants. Older, or more successful, sailors employed their younger kindred; ownership of boats was shared and provision made for them to be kept in use for the support of a widow and children after the death of a part-owner.<sup>70</sup>

Brewers have been shown also to have had economic as well as social reasons for linking themselves by marriage to other brewing families and especially to rural families through whom they acquired the land they needed for grain and fuel.<sup>71</sup> The importance of women in maintaining occupational and family continuity has once again been noted.<sup>72</sup> It has been suggested that because of the nature of the their trade, retail butchers were to some extent an alienated group and that butchers' families, who were quite persistent in the town, had some of the features of a caste, marrying almost exclusively between themselves, with wives and widows working actively in the trade.<sup>73</sup>

Biological kinship was perhaps less important to innkeepers, who functioned in differently constructed social and economic networks. In Dover at this period they were frequently long-distance immigrants to the town, but their purchase of the freehold of an inn was usually in itself sufficient to confer their freedom, although it happens that a number of them acquired inns through marriage.<sup>74</sup> Their path to economic success depended on the patronage of those who could supply them with a wine licence, or stand as surety for their recognizances as victuallers, and on the influence of the officers at the Castle who could supply them with powerful and distinguished clients. Their networks were therefore less equally reciprocal than those of other occupations, but when their deference operated successfully, it was rewarded by upward mobility.<sup>75</sup> It has been shown that, although they continued to become part of the

ruling group, from the later sixteenth century leading innkeepers were sometimes at odds with other jurats and more often became deputy bailiffs, answerable to the Crown, than mayors of the town.<sup>76</sup> As it has already been suggested here, the system of clientage and patronage in which they were enmeshed was also becoming more evident in the corporation's appointment of men to minor offices by the early seventeenth century, and this systematically unequal relationship, involving payment, was a move away from the tradition of reciprocal duties and obligations between the corporation and the town's inhabitants that had customarily been a reflection of normal social relationships.<sup>77</sup>

Business networks, usually based on economic interest and friendship and often cemented by marriage, have been noted, for example the joint ownership of lime-kilns by wealthier men in the town in which the land, stock and profits were divided between the partners and passed on to their heirs after death.<sup>78</sup> Some of the same men, who were not sailors themselves, also shared boats in common, sometimes with men from London, and certain networks of this kind rivalled each other in salvaging ships.<sup>79</sup>

The socio-economic knot that tied people into networks is perhaps revealed most clearly in their credit relationships. It has been suggested by Keith Thomas that debt may have been a form of social cement in rural England.<sup>80</sup> The evidence of this study suggests that this was very likely to have been the case in towns. There was a strong drive to keep available capital in circulation: testators typically instructed that their money should be "put to use," and the granting of credit was a normal means of economic redistribution. The debt cases heard in the Hundred Court, and examined in Chapter 2, suggest that there was some movement in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century towards profiting from credit in a manner that was divorced from

personal relations.<sup>81</sup> Nevertheless, in this small town for most of the period, evidence from testamentary material and the civic and church courts has shown that credit circulated between men and women who had continuing connections with each other through their occupation or their extended kin group, and who lived either in the town or in the rural region close to it.<sup>82</sup>

Credit was given in two ways - either as part of the normal circulating system in which payment for goods, services or rents was deferred or balanced against the receipt of other goods or services, or in the form of a loan, which might be recorded by a bond or bill.<sup>83</sup> Networks of tradesmen involved in normal, local trading debts have been described here: for example retail butchers, their customers, the tanners who loaned money to butchers on the promise of hides to come, the graziers with whom they bargained for cattle, and the merchants and widows from whom they borrowed money, which they then sometimes repaid with meat or tallow.<sup>84</sup> Similar networks in other trades seem likely to have been among the influences that conditioned fathers' choice of masters for their apprentice sons.<sup>85</sup>

Wealthier townsmen were also involved in credit networks beyond the town, chiefly with Londoners.<sup>86</sup> Some mariners, particularly those who shared boats with Londoners or sailed for London merchants, also had debts there, but their credit networks spread also to other English ports on the east coast where they bought coal and dairy produce and on the west coast where they bought cloth, and also presumably to continental ports with whose mariners they sometimes shared boats.<sup>87</sup>

Among the wealthiest families, the importance of blood kin in supplying credit is illustrated most clearly by the Hughessens.<sup>88</sup>

Yet credit networks also existed at the humblest level. It has been shown that the corporation extended credit to its poorest inhabitants, in the form of unpaid rents and fines, and poor men would sometimes pay

these debts for one another, clearly as links in a chain of credit.<sup>89</sup>

Disturbances among women sometimes resulted from failure to pay very small debts.<sup>90</sup> One case from the civic court has illustrated the way in which goods were credited, sold and exchanged over an extended period between a network of poor women, one of whom seems to have acted as banker.<sup>91</sup>

Dover evidence supports the view that widows often lent a large proportion of their capital.<sup>92</sup> It has been suggested here that some urban widows tended to lend money to men in the rural areas from which they originated, thus reasserting their loyalty to their own original networks.<sup>93</sup> It is also clear that they helped to redistribute capital to those who were important to them in the next generation, by making loans to the masters of their sons' apprentices, and to the men who married their daughters.<sup>94</sup>

Access to capital, and other desirable commodities such as licenses or office, could sometimes be arranged only through an intermediary, a manipulator of networks, who perhaps lacked major resources himself, but had contacts with those who owned them, thus performing something of the function of the "broker" described by Jeremy Boissevain.<sup>95</sup> It is clear that the vicar of Ringwold operated as an intermediary for those wanting money from Thomas Philpott, in that he was "not a factor" but "spoke to Thomas Philpott at other people's request."<sup>96</sup> John Pringle, a leading member of the oligarchy, who was "well acquainted with proceedings in Parliament," and was thus a potentially influential man, was clearly part of a mariners' network as well as of the oligarchy and was overseer to the wills of men much humbler than himself.<sup>97</sup> Men holding public office were clearly at the hub of a number of networks, and the town clerk of Dover, Francis Raworth, senior, provides an example of an intermediary between them. He negotiated loans to the corporation from both a friend and a brother in London, recommended to the Lord Warden's

secretary that the man he described in his will as his "loving friend", the Calvinist preacher, John Reading, should be the next vicar of St. Mary's, and was instrumental in passing the wine-licence he had received as a reward to another friend.<sup>98</sup> Like other attorneys who wrote wills, he had, of course, access to information about people. Bequests in some of those wills reveal that he was a friend to the Eatons and the Ellwoods, who were connected to the stranger network; he and his son, together with other fervently protestant believers, received books in the will of the lawyer William Fulbeck.<sup>99</sup> He seems to have created a network of lawyers in the town: originating from Derbyshire himself, he took in turn two servants from Wales, both of whom remained to practice law in Dover, and one of whom married his kinswoman.<sup>100</sup>

This study has noted how the continuous process of socio-economic change in the small town of Dover became visible in the early seventeenth century when events made it temporarily more comparable in mercantile terms with larger towns. It has also shown that, at the reformation, changes in religious belief, among the will-making group at least, were perhaps less marked than they were in some other towns; there is no evidence for the existence of the important religious gilds found elsewhere, and it seems likely that an existing reformist tendency led to the ready embrace of Protestantism.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless the closing of some churches, the dissolution of St. Martin's Priory, the Maison Dieu and St. Bartholomew's Hospital, the ending of religious ceremonial and the replacing of images by painted texts on whitewashed walls in St. Mary's church marked a significant cultural change in the town that was perhaps most keenly felt by the poor and the illiterate.<sup>102</sup> In terms of government and social order it is perhaps the similarities between towns that are most marked at this period. McCaffrey writes of the "profound identification of the merchant magnates with the cause of order, whatever its ideological dress", and Patrick Collinson says of

Elizabethan and Jacobean Suffolk that "the commonplace that magistracy and ministry were complementary functions in an orderly commonwealth exercised a strong and practical appeal."<sup>103</sup> The preacher, John Reading, chosen to be lecturer and minister of the civic church by the Dover oligarchy, ultimately disappointed some townsmen by his middle-of-the road views, nevertheless he seems to have expressed something of the oligarchy's paternalistic view of rule in his vision of a father who should care and provide for his family and instruct them in the fear of God and examples of true religion, as Abraham did.<sup>104</sup>

It has been shown here that the rulers of the town cherished the liberties their predecessors had obtained, but that they modified traditions transmitted by custom in the light of economic and social change. "Ancient tradition" was their conceptual representation of rights and liberties claimed by earlier inhabitants, to which contemporary inhabitants might appeal. An appeal to the town's traditions was sometimes used therefore as a justification for renewed action rather than as a prescriptive model and could thus be used to generate and legitimize adjustments to custom rather than merely to enshrine it, as the phrase might suggest. The shared concept of a town's customs and traditions could both unite the ruling group and legitimize the administrative changes they needed to make in their encounters with social and economic change. Thus, it is clear that many of the decrees made by the corporation were not intended to be applied rigorously in all cases for ever, but were rather made to deal with specific and occasional problems, and then to remain on the record to be appealed to if further action were necessary in the future.<sup>105</sup> It has been noted that orders from the Privy Council were also sometimes treated in a discretionary and selective way.<sup>106</sup>

Throughout this study the oligarchy's perception of its responsibility for regulating both the market and social order has been stressed - the

market in its twin function of providing reliable food for all the town's inhabitants and enabling the town's freemen to make a profit; social order springing from the inhabitants' mutual responsibilities for harmonious behaviour and regulated by the magistrates' administration of the law when this failed.<sup>107</sup> The oligarchy's sense of the importance of these coupled economic and social functions was perhaps most clearly expressed in the costly building they erected in 1606, which combined a new market cross with a court hall above it.<sup>108</sup> Tittler has speculated about the phenomenon of small communities finding the money at this period for such prestigious civic buildings, which he sees as having had a cultural significance and at times to have taken on "an aura of the sacred", and he shows that, although some were simply renewals of existing buildings, others were built at a peak of prosperity or in celebration of a charter.<sup>109</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the corporation of Dover first financed a "new edifying" of its town hall in 1580-81, the year in which money and materials were made available to the town for the new work on the harbour by the Act of Passing Tolls.<sup>110</sup> The much more expensive new market cross and court hall was begun in 1606, the year the corporation surrendered its rights in the harbour to the Crown in exchange for a new grant of money to its maintenance. There is irony in the fact that the emblems of the King and the Lord Warden's nominee as Burgess to Parliament were worked into the windows of the building that celebrated civic prestige just at the moment when the corporation ceded to the Crown its rights in the harbour that had formerly given the town its only emblematic significance to the nation.<sup>111</sup>

It has been suggested that the ceding of the harbour was only one of a number of unpalatable situations that the corporation was compelled to accept after the accession of James I, and that there were senses in which a town like Dover became increasingly unable to perceive itself as

a self-contained unit after this period.<sup>112</sup> War and dangerous encounters at sea had always made coastal towns more sensitive to their vulnerable position and to the economic imperatives of the world beyond their immediate environment, and in the early seventeenth century the Spanish war brought great dangers to Dover's sailors and great inconvenience to the town. The corporation had less control over its own affairs also in that nominees for election as the town's Burgesses to Parliament were increasingly likely to be presented to it, rather than to be drawn from its own inhabitants, and to live in London rather than in Kent.

After the accession of James I, the Crown issued orders rather than requests to the corporation and insisted on pursuing measures that the corporation had presented to it as unreasonable. The apparent indifference of central government to urban realities is perhaps best illustrated by the long dispute over the installation of a boom at the harbour and the charging of fees to pass it, in which the Privy Council seems to have displayed either misunderstanding or ignorance of arrangements made by the Customs Farmers. Both the Customs Farmers and the mayor and jurats opposed the charging of fees, and the town council eventually agreed to pay the Lieutenant of the Castle an annual fee in lieu of his taking direct fees on shipping because his renewed request to levy charges actually coincided with a new reduction on re-export rates on French, German and Dutch goods that had been negotiated by the Customs Farmers precisely to encourage trade through the Dover entrepot at a time when it seemed threatened.<sup>113</sup>

During the period of personal rule by Charles I townsmen more frequently took refuge in discussion with and support from the other Cinque Ports in response to demands from the Crown. During this period, because no subsidies were levied, the Ports naturally lost the income they usually received as "billet money" from their advocates.<sup>114</sup> Worse was to come,

and in 1640, when the common assembly of Dover heard from one of its Burgesses to Parliament that demands had been made there for the Ports to pay subsidies themselves in future, they sent their town clerk to London with Charters of Edward IV and Edward VI "to prevent...such payment."<sup>115</sup> It has been noted that the corporation was having to borrow money from outsiders at this time.

The town's liberties, then, seem to have been more vulnerable in 1640 than they had been in 1509. In the intervening period, however, an increasingly effective oligarchic administrative machine had evolved, stimulated by pressure from the Crown in the Marian period, but also by a customary desire to preserve the liberties and privileges of the freeman class from which the ruling group emerged, and by responsibility for the good governance of all the inhabitants of the town. The ambiguities inherent in the balance of these interests had become more marked by the end of the period under discussion and are in a sense manifested in the composition of the nine-strong jurat body of 1640. One was a mariner of some distinction, one a barber-surgeon who had been called "Puritan" on more than one occasion, one an inn-keeper, who had connections with the stranger community; all the others were merchants and grain dealers with some interest in shipping. Four called themselves "gentleman"; one merchant, who had a licence to import Spanish silver, was Dutch in origin and, to judge from his books, a man of wide culture and strongly protestant faith.<sup>116</sup> They were, however, no longer exclusively the most significant men in the town. The jurat group had been snubbed on more than one occasion by the Customer, Jacob Brames, who was currently attempting to direct goods for re-export to his own storehouses and away from the town's, thus depriving the corporation of income.<sup>117</sup> Some jurats had also come under verbal attack in the past from humbler townsmen because of their grain-dealing and private marketing.<sup>118</sup> In spite of their own businesses and pressures from all

sides, they continued to give a great deal of time and energy to the administration of the town, meeting as a bench of magistrates as often as every two or three days, and in common assembly at least once a month. They also served on committees to resolve such issues as the numbers and rates of pay of labourers who could act as porters to the Pier, or how best to dispose of land belonging to the corporation; they negotiated with the Commissioners of Dover Harbour for new leases for sluisage, tonnage and cranage and they went to London to petition for the town's causes.<sup>119</sup>

Such men cannot be seen merely as inward-looking craftsmen and tradesmen. As townsmen, they knew that their liberties depended on the Crown, and that they needed the goodwill of the Lord Warden for the continued success of the harbour; as merchants, they were participating in a European network of credit exchange while sharing the frustrations of all those English merchants who did not belong to the great London companies, and finding themselves frequently at odds with the English navy in the Channel.<sup>120</sup> Because of new commercial opportunities and examples abroad, demographic expansion, especially of the poorer sort of people, in the town and insensitive intransigence at the centre, ambiguities in the position of the oligarchy that had been capable of mutual accommodation in the past were developing into irreconcileable differences of interest that could probably not hold together. With hindsight, it is clear that Dover's "great trade" was already beginning to decline by 1640, so that it would have been difficult to predict what form change would take. Nevertheless, it seems that by that date structural change, if not inevitable, was very likely.

## APPENDIX A

A certificate submitted to Sir John Hippiesly, Lieutenant of Dover Castle, by the mayor and jurats of Dover surveying all ships, barques and vessels belonging to the town and port, at home or abroad, their strength and burden, what ordnance was aboard every ship and what they were capable of, the names of their owners and part-owners and the mustering of all Masters, mariners, pilots, gunners, sailors and fishermen.

9th October, 1626

Great ships

at home	The <u>Assurance</u>	burden 240 tons	ordnance 22
	John Diggery Master.	Mr.Nicholas Eaton, Mr. James Hughessen jr., Robert Evering, Executors of Mr. Garrett - owners.	
at sea	The <u>Seahorse</u>	burden 350 tons	ordnance 18
	Mr. Hall Captain, manned in London.	Mr. Cornelius Hughessen, now Mr. James Hughessen - part owners.	
at home	The <u>Greyhound</u>	burden 130 tons	ordnance 6. 6 more she may carry.
	No men. Now in the harbour of this town.	Owners unknown.	
at home	The <u>John</u>	burden 120 tons	ordnance 6. She may carry 4 more.
	Walter Taylor Master, no men.	Mr. Williams, Sandwich, Walter Taylor, Dover, and others of Calais - owners.	
at sea	The <u>James</u>	burden 120 tons	ordnance 6. She may carry 4 more.
	John Woodgreen Master, 13 men.	Mr. Nicholas Eaton, Mr. James Hughessen, Edmund Woodgreen - owners.	
at sea	The <u>Jacob</u>	burden 100 tons	ordnance 6. She may carry 4 more.
	Richard Jacob Master, 14 men.	John Jacob and others of London - owners.	
at sea	The <u>Charles</u>	burden 90 tons	ordnance 8. She may carry 2 more.
	George Fagg Master, 13 men.	Mr.Nicholas Eaton, George Fagg and merchants of London - owners.	
at home	The <u>Africa</u>	burden 100 tons	ordnance 7. She may carry 2 more.
	William Legent Master, 15 men.	Mr.Thomas Tiddeman, George Fagg, Joseph Loope, John Morris - owners.	
at sea	The <u>Margaret</u>	burden 100 tons	ordnance 8. She may carry 2 more.
	Peter Shernall Master.	Peter Shernall and others of London - owners.	

at sea      The Ark      burden 100 tons      ordnance 8. She may carry 2 more.  
               John Walton Master. Mr. Nicholas Eaton, John Walton and others of London - owners.

at home     The Anne      burden 100 tons      no ordnance, of the Flemish built.  
               John Kite Master. Roger White, Richard Golder, John Denne and John Kite - owners.

at home     The Request      burden 80 tons      no ordnance. She may carry 6.  
               Edward Goodwin Master, 10 men. Mr. John Hudson, Edward Goodwin and others of London - owners.

at sea      The Rose      burden 60 tons      no ordnance. She may carry 6.  
               Edward Loome Master, 9 men, 1 boy. Edmund Woodgreen, William Legent, George Fagg, Thomas Stone, Edward Loome - owners.

at home     The Jane      burden 50 tons      no ordnance. She may carry 4.  
               Thomas Argar Master, 8 men. Edmund Woodgreen, John Morris, John Walton - owners.

at sea      The Katherine      burden 50 tons      ordnance 2. More she may carry 2.  
               Anthony Shernall Master, 8 men. John Valey, Peter Shernall, John Morris and others - owners.

at sea      The Katherine      50 tons      no ordnance. She may carry 4 small pieces.  
               Richard White Master, 8 men. Thomas Day, Edward Wenwright, Richard White himself, William Tatnall - owners.

at home     The Primrose      70 tons      no ordnance. She may carry 4.  
               Rowland Macklin Master. Mr. Nicholas Eaton and others of London - owners.

at home     The Jane      50 tons      no ordnance. She may carry 2 pieces.  
               Anthony Ady Master. John Valey, John Chalke, Arnold Brames - owners.

at sea      The Hopewell      60 tons      no ordnance. She may carry 2 pieces.  
               Daniel Shortwilliams Master. James Hughessen, jr., Joseph Loope, Edward Loome - owners.

at sea      The Robert      40 tons      no ordnance. She may carry 2 pieces.  
               James Rudder Master. Edmund Woodgreen, James Rudder, William Legent, Joseph Loope - owners.

at home     The Alice      40 tons      2 pieces of ordnance.  
               Nicholas White Master. Mr. James Hughessen, jr., William Legent, Joseph Loope, Nicholas White - owners.

at sea      The Diana      40 tons      no ordnance  
               Peter Whiting Master. John Chalke, Thomas Day, Peter Whiting - owners.

at home     The Thomazine    50 tons      no ordnance  
               Henry Sargeant Master. Mr. James Hughessen, jr., Henry Sargeant and others.

at sea      The Abigail     50 tons      no ordnance  
               Bennett Hickson Master. Mr. Nicholas Eaton, Bennett Hickson and others - owners.

at home     The Gift of God 40 tons      no ordnance  
               John Younger Master. John Valey, Edward Woodgreen, John Younger - owners.

at home     The Fortune     46 tons      no ordnance  
               Thomas Browne Master. Mr. John Pringle (mayor), Edward Wenwright, Thomas Day, Simon Dugdale, Thomas Browne - owners.

at home     The Falcon     40 tons      no ordnance  
               Henry Tiddeman Master. Mr. Thomas Tiddeman, John Morris, Robert Smith and others - owners.

at sea      The Rose       40 tons      no ordnance  
               Thomas Rudder Master, 5 men, 1 boy. Mr. John Pringle (mayor), John Finnes, William Tatnall, Thomas Rudder - owners.

at sea      The Content     40 tons      no ordnance  
               John Walker Master. John Walker, Mrs. Goldstone, Katherine Woodgreen, widow - owners.

Masters of great ships - 26  
 Ordnance aboard the said ships - 103  
 Ordnance that the said ships may carry besides the same - 56.  
 Sailors belonging to the said ships for the most part belong to London and other ports whose names we cannot learn.

#### Bargues under the burden of 40 tons

at sea      The Endeavour     36 tons  
               John Courage Master, 5 men, 1 boy. Mr. James Hughessen, Henry Sargeant, Richard Barnett - owners.

at sea      The Edward       36 tons  
               Thomas Johnson Master, 5 men, 1 boy. Edward Wenwright, Thomas Stone, Simon Bowden - owners.

at home     The William and John 30 tons  
               William Hare Master. Samuel Moore, William Ward, Nicholas Roberts, William Hare - owners.

at home     The Jane         35 tons  
               John Miller Master. Mr. John Pringle (mayor), Mr. James Hughessen, jr., Christopher Bulger, Daniel Porten, Edward Woodgreen - owners.

at home      The Mary and John                    36 tons  
                Thomas Pascall Master. Ralph Pascall, Joseph Loope, William Tatnall, Eliazer Kirton - owners.

at sea       The Willing Mind                    35 tons  
                Joseph Loope Master. The said Joseph Loope the sole owner thereof.

at home       The Speedwell                    30 tons  
                James Sherlock Master. Henry Sargeant, Thomas Weekes, Thomas Day - owners.

at home       The John                            36 tons  
                William Pascall Master. Edmund Woodgreen, Ralph Pascall, Joseph Loope, William Eaton - owners.

at home       The Samuel and John            30 tons  
                John Bulger Master. Mr. William Wentworth, William Ward - owners.

at home       The Jane                            35 tons  
                John Stanton Master. Mr. James Hugessen, jr., John Valey, John Stanton, Eliazer Kirton - owners.

at home       The Charles                        36 tons  
                John Daniel Master. John Daniel, William Wentworth, Katherine Foster, widow - owners.

at home       The Elizabeth                    30 tons  
                William Brayden Master. William Ward, Edward Loome, Widow Flinder - owners.

Masters of barques of under 40 tons - 14.

Barques under 30 tons

at home       The John                            26 tons  
                Giles Parker Master. Mr. John Golder, Giles Parker, Richard Pascall - owners.

at home       The Edward                        26 tons  
                Gawen Askew Master. Mr. Thomas Tiddeman, Edmund Woodgreen, William Tatnall - owners.

at sea        The James                            26 tons  
                William Frost Master. Thomas Rudder, William Frost, Thomas Hart - owners.

at home       The Violet                        18 tons  
                William Tiddeman Master. Mr. John Pringle (mayor), William Tiddeman, Christopher Bulger - owners.

at home       The Margaret                    18 tons  
                Eliazer Kirton Master. Joseph Loope, Eliazer himself, Thomas Cullen - owners.

at home       The Sarah                            18 tons  
                Henry Blackboy Master. Samuel Moore, William Waad, Henry Blackboy - owners.

at home      The Mary and John                          18 tons  
                   Henry Younger Master. John Valey, John Younger and Henry  
                   himself - owners.

at home      The Ellen                                  18 tons  
                   James Walker Master. John Valey, John Chalke, Henry  
                   Blackboy - owners.

at home      The Blessing                                  25 tons  
                   John Wallop Master. The said John Wallop sole owner.

at home      The Christian                                  26 tons  
                   Timothy Greenleafe Master. The said Timothy sole owner.

at home      The Mary                                          18 tons  
                   Robert Trapham Master. Henry Goodwin, the said Robert,  
                   Agnes Trapham, widow - owners.

Masters of barques under 30 tons which want men to go to sea with - 11.

#### Fisherboats

at sea      The Mary and Thomas                          16 tons  
                   Thomas Gibson Master. Mr. Thomas Tiddeeman and himself -  
                   owners.

at sea      The Speedwell                                  16 tons  
                   William Earle Master. George Turke, Thomas Perkin - owners.

at sea      (unnamed)                                          10 tons  
                   Richard Gregory Master. John Wallop and himself - owners.

at sea      The Jane                                          16 tons  
                   Guy Hudson Master. The said Guy and others of Hythe -  
                   owners.

Fisherboats - 4.

#### Pilots

Christopher Bulger	John Moore
John Chalke	Nicholas Robins
Edmund Woodgreen	Robert Saunders
John Hudson	Robert Bennett
John Jacob	Francis Bronger
Edward Wenwright	Richard Hellen
Thomas Stone	Thomas White, jr.
Robert Smith	John Bennett
Thomas Morrice	William Dunstone

55 sailors and 19 fishermen are also listed.

"The most part of the abovesaid ships and barques lie in the Harbour not employed for want of trade and men, there being not sailors in this Town to man a third part of them."

Source: BL Egerton 2584: Letters etc. to Lord Zouch, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, fos.375-380v.

## APPENDIX B

The form of prayers, instituted in February 1599, to be used before discussion in the common assembly in Dover.

Our help standeth in the name of the Lord our God which hath made both Heaven and earth.

O Blessed be the name of the Lord our God from this time world without end.

My song shall be of mercy and Judgment, unto the Lord will I sing

O let me have understanding in the way of goodness

When wilt thou come unto me, I will walk in my house with a perfect heart

I will take no wicked thing in hand, I hate the sin of unfaithfulness,  
there shall no such cleave unto me.

A froward heart shall depart from me I will not know a wicked person.

Whoso privily slandereth his neighbour him will I destroy

Whoso also hath a proud look and high stomach I will not suffer him.

Mine eyes look unto such as be faithful in the Land that they may dwell with me.

Whoso leadeth a gody life he shall be my servant

There shall be no deceitful person dwell in my house, he that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight

I will soon destroy all the ungodly that are in the land that I may root out all wicked doers from the city of the Lord.

Glory be...etc.

Our Father which art in Heaven...etc.

O Lord Save the Queen and all Christian magistrates

And mightily defend them against Antichrist and all his complices.

Let us pray

O Almighty God and most merciful father King of Kings and Judge of

Judges, which by thy divine ordinance has appointed temporal rulers to govern thy people according to equity and justice and to live amongst them as loving fathers among their natural children unto the advancement of the good and punishment of evil. We most humbly beseech thee that forasmuch as it hath pleased thee to call us thy servants here present unto the government of this town under thy well beloved servant Queen Elizabeth our governess. Thou wilt vouchsafe to breath into our hearts through thy holy spirit that wisdom which is ever about the throne of thy majesty whereby we may be provoked, moved and stirred to love, fear and serve thee, to seek thy glory, to banish idolatry, superstition and hypocrisy out of this our town. And to study in the stead thereof to plant true religion in the hearts of them that be committed to our government. Give us grace also most loving father gladly and willingly to hear the cause of the poor oppressed truly and indifferently to judge all matters and so justly and uprightly to behave ourselves in all our doings that in the execution of our office we may truly and lively represent thine unspotted Justice and Judgment to the advancement of virtue and the extirpation of all sin and wickedness. Give us also grace most gracious Lord so trayne (sic) our lives amongst thy people that they beholding our godly conversation may thereby be provoked to embrace true godliness, and encouraged daily to proceed from virtue to virtue in all obedience and holiness of life unto the glory of thy blessed name. Amen.

Source: BL Egerton 2095 fos.433v.-434.

Notes and references to Introduction

1. T.S.Willan, "Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade  
Manchester (1959) Introduction, p.v

2. For a full explanation of the Cinque Ports' immunity from taxation in return for ship service, see K.M.E. Murray, "The Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports"  
Manchester (1935)

3.e.g. W.G. Hoskins, "English Provincial Towns in the early sixteenth century" in "Provincial England" (1963); J.F. Pound, "The social and trade structure of Norwich 1525-1575", Past and Present, no.34 (1966) pp. 49-69; Alan D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the sixteenth century (Leicester 1973) pp.174-176

4. see e.g. p.85; pp.414-417

5.e.g. Charles Phythian-Adams, "Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages Cambridge 1979); p.3; D.M. Palliser, The Age of Elizabeth:England under the later Tudors 1547-1603 (1983) pp.241-246

6. W.T.MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640 (Second edition 1975) p.54

7. ibid. pp.54-71

8. e.g. D.M.Palliser, Tudor York (Oxford 1979) pp.82-87 - only a few rolls remain for this period in York, however; Peter Clark and Paul Slack (eds.) Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700 (1972) Introduction pp.13-14; Alan D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the sixteenth century (Leicester 1973) pp.216-221

9. e.g. see pp.48-50 for a discussion of deficit finance and misleading totals of income; pp.102-104 for difficulties in interpreting redemptions of freemen from the accounts alone; p.108-9 for the misleading evidence of payments for inventories; pp.80-81 for the difficulties in using the payment of wine maltote as quantifiable evidence

10. For the origin of this term see E.P.Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century", Past and Present no.50 (February 1971) pp.76-136.

11. see e.g. pp. 110-113; p.148; p.165; pp.174-176; p.188; pp.209-210; pp.220-223

12. see pp.184-188

13. see e.g. p.160; p.192; pp.199-200; pp.223-224

14. see e.g. pp. 31-34; 39-42; 45-46; 48; 54-55

15. Peter Clark and Paul Slack, English Towns in Transition 1500-1700 (Oxford 1976) p.110; Peter Clark, "The Ramoth Gilead of the Good": Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester 1540-1640 in Jonathan Barry (ed.), The Tudor and Stuart Town, 1530-1688 (Harlow 1990)
16. Charles Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages (Cambridge 1979) p.51 ff.
17. D.M.Palliser, Tudor York (Oxford 1979) p.204
18. ibid. p.271
19. R.H.Britnell, Growth and Decline in Colchester 1300-1525 (Cambridge 1986) pp.204-5, 207-8; Penelope Corfield, Urban Development in England and Wales in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (1976) Reprinted in Jonathan Barry (ed) The Tudor and Stuart Town 1530-1688 (Harlow 1990) pp. 43-45.
20. N.R. Goose, "In Search of the Urban Variable", Economic History Review, 2nd series xxxix,2 (1986), pp.165-185
21. ibid. p.184
22. Robert Tittler, "The Vitality of an Elizabethan Port: The Economy of Poole, c.1550-1600" Southern History (1986) pp.95-113.
23. Stephen Hipkin, The Economy and Social Structure of Rye, 1600-1660 (Oxford University D.Phil thesis 1985) pp.154-161.
24. ibid. Conclusion passim.
25. Zoe L.Ollerenshaw The Civic Elite of Sandwich, Kent 1568-1640 Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, University of Kent 1990
26. The figures from which these estimates have been derived, using alternative multipliers, are discussed in Chapter 3, pp.359-375
27. Peter Clark "The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good" op cit.; for the widening range of wealth in Dover see pp.89-90 of this study
28. e.g. see p.569 for numbers of incomers and vagrants to Dover; cf. Hipkin op.cit who shows that only 8 vagrants were recorded in Rye from 1600-1660; Robert Tittler op.cit. shows that during Poole's period of prosperity, its "refined" mean household size increased to 5.06 persons, above the norm of 4.75 established by Laslett, and that the mean size of both servant and sibling group increased with household size.
29. Edward Gillett A History of Grimsby (1970)
30. D.M. Palliser Tudor York (Oxford 1979) p.188
31. W.T.MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640 (Second edition 1975)

32. see Table 1:1, p.24
33. see pp.77-78. Fines recorded in the accounts show a preoccupation with the regulation of the market at this period; craft corporations were set up and new regulations made against foreigners setting up in trade; Table 1:19, p.114 and Table 1:20, p.118 show that rents paid for houses quadrupled and rents paid for encroachments or improvements tripled in the 1580s.
34. see e.g. C.G.A.Clay, Economic expansion and social change: England 1500-1700 vol.I p.18 for evidence of an increase in deaths in this period in the North west, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Devon, Newcastle, Nantwich, rural Suffolk, Essex and Kent; see pp.44-47 of this study for details of civic financial difficulties in Dover at this period.
35. see pp.14-15
36. see W.T.MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640 (Second edition 1975) p.58; this study Table 1:4, p.25
37. see Table 1:4, p.25 for the diminution in the civic income following the end of the entrepot.
38. MacCaffrey op cit. p.281; Palliser op cit. p.293; Dyer op cit. p.226
39. Paul Slack Poverty and Politics in Salisbury 1597-1666, pp.164-203 in Peter Clark and Paul Slack (eds.) Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700 (1972)
40. e.g. D.M.Woodward, The Trade of Elizabethan Chester (Hull 1970)pp.122-124; Roger Howell, Jr., Newcastle and the Nation: The Seventeenth Century Experience p.277 in Jonathan Barry (ed.) The Tudor and Stuart Town 1530-1688 (Harlow 1990)
41. e.g. in Peter Clark, "The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good" op cit. pp. 259-260; Derek Hirst, The Representative of the People? Voters and Voting in England under the Early Stuarts (Cambridge 1975); Palliser, York op cit. p.69; MacCaffrey, op cit. pp.14-25
42. John T.Evans, Seventeenth Century Norwich: Politics, Religion and Government, 1620-1690 (Oxford 1979), p.27
43. Zoe L.Ollerenshaw, The Civic Elite of Sandwich, Kent 1568-1640 University of Kent unpublished M.Phil Thesis, 1990, p.37
44. Stephen Hipkin, The Economy and Social Structure of Rye 1600-1660 Oxford University unpublished D.Phil thesis, 1985
45. e.g. by new regulatory fines and by building property for rent pp.76-7; 119
46. see e.g. pp.7-8 for the Master of the Maison Dieu's responsibility for the harbour.

47. e.g. Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler, The Mid-Tudor Polity (1980)p.83; referred to here on p.111

48. see p.433

49. pp.424-451

50. W.T.MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640 (Second edition 1975); P.McGrath, Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth-Century Bristol, (Bristol Record Society, 1955)pp.xxv-vi; D.M.Woodward, The Trade of Elizabethan Chester (Hull 1970) p.122; Alan D.Dyer, The City of Worcester in the sixteenth century (Leicester 1973)

51. cf. D.M.Palliser op cit., p427, who shows that in York at the beginning of the Tudor period only gentry participated in civic government, but that the first innkeeper was admitted to the bench in 1540.

52. see pp. 432-433

53. see p.429

54. see pp. 429-432

55. see pp. 435-438

56. see p.434; p.438

57. see e.g. pp.336-349 passim; pp.141-144; pp.202-204

58. see e.g. p.442; p.447

59. see p.444

60. see p.186; p.199 for examples of their increasing social exclusiveness

61. see e.g. pp.141-143; pp.207-209

62. see p.443

63. see p.444; p.450

64. see e.g. pp.246-253 for an account of the Hughessen, Eaton and Brames families.

65. e.g. by Peter Clark "The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good" op cit. p.254, 257

66. D.M. Palliser op cit., p.80; this study pp.73-74; Derek Hirst op cit., p.56-57; this study pp.272-4; pp.344-51

67. see e.g. Table 1:2 p.24; pp.135-6; pp.445-456

68. see p.73

69. John Waad, see p.446

70. see p.34

71. e.g. when money was needed a long-neglected fine was reintroduced because the corporation was "desirous to revive some ancient decrees of this town", p.82; a mayor's expenses to London on what was considered private business were disallowed "for that he is a townsman sworn to the liberty", p.43; having to attend a court in Canterbury was felt to be "somewhat repugnant to our privileges", p.449

72. see e.g. the discussion on restraint and the supply of grain, pp. 270-278; Palliser also noted the anticipation of certain statutes by the York magistrates, see Palliser op cit, p.81

73. see Chapter 7, especially pp. 561-566

74. Alan Everitt, The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion 1640-10 (Leicester 1973) p.14; p.13; for examples of contact beyond the town see this study p. 282; pp.300-303; p.515

75. e.g. A.Hassell Smith, County and Court (Oxford 1974) pp.229-230 shows how some Norfolk gentry sued for crown patents licensing them to raise money to implement policies that were sometimes tacitly ignored by magistrates.

76. Peter Clark, "The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good" op cit. p.273; David Harris Sacks, The Corporate Town and the English State: Bristol's "Little Businesses" 1625-1641, pp. 297-333

77. Robert Brenner, Merchants and Revolution: commercial change, political conflict and London's overseas traders, 1550-1663 (Cambridge 1993) p.655, p.671.

78. see pp.153-160

79. see e.g. pp.8-10; 152.

80. see e.g. p. 170 for the corporation's necessary repairs to the harbour after it had been ceded to the Crown; p.157, p.171 for the forced construction of a boom across the harbour mouth to increase the collection of customs revenue, against the corporation's advice; p.115 for the corporation's loss of rents; p.157, 160-162 for their having to pay rents to a friend of the Crown for the harbour facilities they had earlier constructed for the profit of the town.

81. see e.g. p.449; pp.155-157

82. p.159

83. p.217

84. see pp.216-17; p.239

85. Peter Clark English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution (Hassocks 1977) pp.334-340; Derek Hirst, The Representative of the People? Voters and

Voting in England under the Early Stuarts (Cambridge 1975) pp.201-2; this incorrectly identifies the "faction" with certain "base fellows", who were actually brought to court for other reasons.

86. see e.g. pp.190-192.

87. e.g. Stephen Hipkin, Rye thesis op cit. shows that shipping movements were recorded in the Rye maltote books; D.M.Woodward, The Trade of Elizabethan Chester (Hull 1970) p.138 suggests that, for most trade, the port books are nevertheless more reliable than the Sheriff's Customs Entry Books; W.B.Stephens, Seventeenth Century Exeter (1958) p.xx cites the Town Customs' Records.

88. see pp.52-72 for an examination of port dues; Table 1:1 p.24 for a summary of this income; p.16 for the dues as a percentage of total income.

89. see pp.332-336.

90. see p.70, Table 2:8; compare the maps on pp.1 and 2; p.361, Fig.3:1; pp.368-9.

91. for Sir Cavalier Maycott, see Theodore Rabb, Enterprise and Empire. Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575-1630. The corporation used his help to invest in a venture to Virginia in 1610, CKS DCAM Judgements fo.56v.

92. see pp.245-264.

93. W.B.Stephens, "The Cloth Exports of the Provincial Ports, 1600-1640", Economic History Review, 2nd.series 22 (1969), pp.228-248; T.S.Willan, The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750 (Manchester 1938), Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade (Manchester 1959), The Inland Trade: Studies in English Internal Trade in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Manchester 1976).

94. Stephens op.cit. p.240

95. Willan, Inland Trade, op.cit. p.35.

96. see e.g. pp.245-264.

97. see e.g. Table 1:7, p.68.

98. see p.10 for the Queen's granting of a licence for the export of grain, and pp. 270-278 for a discussion of the effects of restraint on the movement of grain.

99. J.S.Kepler, The Exchange of Christendom: The International Entrepot at Dover 1622-1651, (Leicester, 1976) See also Harl-and Taylor, "Trade, Neutrality, and the "English Road", 1630-1640", Economic History Review, 2nd. series 22 (1969), pp. 228-248. Direct reference is made to Kepler's work here on pp.14-15, and pp.240-241.

100. Kepler, op.cit. p.112.

101. Harland Taylor op. cit. p.251.

Notes and references to the FOREWORD: The Development of Dover Harbour,  
1509-1640

1. Plate 1: Dover Harbour, 1581, BL Additional MS 11,815a; Plate 2: William Eldred's Survey, "The Platt of Dover Castel, Town and Harbour", 1641. Reproduced by kind permission of Dover Harbour Board (manuscript drawing no.7478)
2. For the early history of the harbour see John Bavington-Jones, Dover: a Perambulation of the Town, Port and Fortress (Dover 1907)
3. see p.86.
4. H.M. Colvin (ed.), The History of the King's Works, vol.iv (1982), hereafter referred to as Colvin, pp.729-764.
5. CPR 1266-72, p.31. The masters of the Maison Dieu had an interest in the harbour dating from a charter of Henry III.
6. BL Egerton 2108 fo.24.
7. ibid.fo.5.
8. ibid.fo.25 et seq.
9. The painting is at Hampton Court; a copy is held by Dover Museum.
10. ibid.fo. 61 et seq. cf. CKS DTA 1626-49 Expenses 1627-8.
11. see Chapter 1 iv)b.
12. BL Egerton 2093 fos. 44-45.
13. BL Additional Ms 29618 Expenses 1531-2; PRO E101/58/13.
14. BL Additional Ms 12514 fo.37.
15. LPD Henry VIII x 102..
16. LPD Henry VIII viii 826.
17. BL Titus B.1 425.
18. e.g. LPD Henry VIII xi 145, 150, 151, 184 (1536).
19. Colvin p.736.
20. BL Egerton 2093 fo.134v.
21. Colvin p.736.

22. PRO E101/462/28 fos. 29-30.
23. PRO SP1/124 fos.178, 179.
24. Colvin p. 748-9.
25. LPD Henry VIII xix (i) 724.
26. Colvin p. 750.
27. e.g. PRO E101/463/4 (1558).
28. BL Egerton 2094 fo.57.
29. BL Additional Ms 12514 fo.37v.
30. e.g. BL Egerton 2109 fos.18 (1560) Dutch surveyors paid to view the haven; 19, 26, payments made for "setting forth of the new haven" (1560, 61); CKS DTA 1558-81. Expenses 1559-60 dinner for the surveyors; Egerton 2093 fos. 205v. (1562) solicitors sue for a new haven to the Queen and Council, 240, 279 jurats go to London about the new haven.
31. PRO SP15/158/46; SP15/24/92.
32. PRO SP12/158/46.
33. PRO SP12/131/72 (ii)
34. ibid. (ii)
35. see Chapter 1 ii) for corruption connected with this.
36. 23 Eliz., cap.6 (1581).
37. Colvin p. 757.
38. PRO SP12/150/46; SP12/252/25, 28.
39. PRO SP12/153/15.
40. Colvin p. 758.
41. ibid. p.759.
42. e.g. BL Egerton 2108 fos.64-70; for the seventeenth century method see Chapter 1 iv)b.
43. PRO SP12/161/3.
44. see Chapter 4 iii).
45. Holinshed, Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland (1586, reprinted 1808) pp.865-6.
46. PRO SP12/161/4, 6 (i, ii).
47. see Chapter 1 iv)b.

48. Colvin pp.762-4.
49. in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 i), mariners.
50. e.g. BL King's Ms xvi 46, 47.
51. Dover Harbour Board Ms drawings 10665-10676.
52. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.27.
53. ibid. fo.7.
54. ibid. fo.16.
55. ibid. fos.17v., 19v.
56. John Bavington Jones, The Records of Dover (Dover 1920) p.53 ff. reprints the Charter in English and Latin. Original copies are held by the Dover Harbour Board.
57. J.S. Kepler, The Exchange of Christendom: The International Entrepot at Dover 1622-1651 (Leicester 1976), hereafter referred to as Kepler(1976).
58. Harland Taylor, Trade, Netruality and the "English Road", 1630-1648, Economic History Review. Second series 25 (1972) pp.236-260.
59. Kepler (1976) pp.37-38.
60. see Chapter 1 iii)d.
61. see Chapter 1 ii) and iii).
62. CKS DTA 1558-81! Expenses 1564-5.
63. see Chapter 1 ii).
64. CSP Elizabeth lxxi 23.
65. CKS DTA 1558-81. Receipts 1559-78 passim.
66. for the presence of the Sea Beggars in Dover see G.D. Ramsey, The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands: the end of the Antwerp Mart, Part II (Manchester), hereafter referred to as Ramsey, pp.174-9.
67. see Chapter 1 ii) below for details.
68. Holinshed p.850.
69. BL Egerton 2095 fos. 221, 225v., 263v., 264, 270, 275, 278.
70. e.g. BL Egerton 2108 fo.41v.
71. PRO SP1/193 fo.57.

72. PRO SP1/95 fo.142.
73. Holinshed pp.865-6.
74. e.g. PRO SP1/96 fo.59 (1535).
75. e.g. BL Egerton 2108 fos.67v., 73.
76. PRO SP1/101 fo.223.
77. e.g. PRO E101/462/24, the Surveyor's book for the 22nd payment in 1537. All the sailors and many of the tun men and labourers listed are recognisably Dovorians.
78. PRO E101/462/29 (1537); Colvin p.767.
79. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.14v. (1605).
80. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.265 (1583).
81. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.14v., BL Egerton 2584 fo.322 et seq. (1622).
82. see e.g. BL Egerton 2584 fo.322 et seq.
83. Alec Hasenson, The History of Dover Harbour (1980).
84. CKS DTA 1626-49. Summary of accounts 1648-9; Receipts 1635-6.

Notes and references to Chapter 1

1. BL Stowe 850.
2. BL Egerton 2095 fo.211v. (1581).
3. These are to be found in BL Additional Manuscript 28618 for 1509-1546, then CKS DTA 1546-58, 1558-81, 1581-1603, 1603-26, 1626-49.
4. P.Bowden, "Statistical Appendix" Table xiii, Average of all agricultural products, in J.Thirsk ed., Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol.iv (1967).
5. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.51, the list of brewers at fault includes three jurats and the town's attorney.
6. see Foreword : the development of Dover harbour.
7. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.411 (1595)
8. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1557-8 Receipts no amounts are entered for unpaid freemen's and foreigners' sesses or for rents "as appeareth by the book" and "by the rental".
9. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1564-5 Receipts John Dawes and John Caseby.
10. It is bound in at the end of CKS DTA 1603-26, following f.686 but refers to the years 1619-20, 20-21.
11. ibid. fo.543.
12. ibid. fos.543, 570v.
13. ibid. fo.611 et seq.
14. ibid. fos. 612v.-617v.
15. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.36 the chamberlains were paid 8s.8d "for drinking on Saturdays by all the year" as they were throughout the period.
16. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.53v. £20 to complete a sea wall (1613), 93v. £130 for the expedition against the Algiers pirates (1620), 146 to buy gunpowder (1635).
17. BL Egerton 2095 fo.438.
18. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.1613.
19. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1601-2 Payments.
20. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1579-80.
21. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.30 Levang Buffkyn (1509)
22. e.g. BL Egerton 2094 fo.197 William Tiddeman (1560).

23. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 Thomas Wappoll became a common councillor (1595); CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1597-8 he was chamberlain.
24. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fos.380 John Carpenter was chamberlain (1589), 402 he was a common councillor (1594).
25. by using the biographical preambles to depositions made in the church court.
26. CKS DTA 1558-81 passim.
27. CKS DTA 1581-1603 passim.
28. BL Egerton 2095 fo.445.
29. BL Egerton 2095 fo.438.
30. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1598-99 Expenses paid for stone.
31. BL Egerton 2095 fo.438.
32. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1608-9.
33. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.14.
34. for more detail of the latter see Chapter 4 iii).
35. BL Additional Ms 29618, September 1509, 1510, 1511.
36. e.g. BL Additional Ms. 29618 fo.33 et seq. (1510-11)
37. ibid. fo.62 (1512-13)
38. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1555-6 Receipts.
39. e.g. CKS 1558-81, 1560-61 Receipts.
40. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1569-70 Receipts.
41. ibid. 1580-81 Receipts.
42. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1546-7.
43. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1583-4 "we leave unreceived these parcels following."
44. ibid. 1601-2 Expenses "2 bills of £3 which is lent to William Macklin and John Bargar".
45. e.g. ibid., 1590-91 Expenses "to Richard Tristram for his money that he did lend towards the township."
46. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1620-21 Expenses.
47. BL Additional Ms 29618 fos.62, 59, 57.
48. ibid. passim.

49. ibid. fo.99.
50. ibid. 1521-22.
51. ibid. 1523-24.
52. ibid. 1527-8.
53. ibid., 1528-9 This probably refers to a box into which were put dues taken from the registered boat owners each time they made a Channel crossing, or "half-passage", and which was reserved to pay for necessary repairs to the wyke, or harbour.
54. ibid. fo.289 et seq. the title page of that year's accounts is defaced and lacks a date.
55. ibid. 1533-4 - 1536-7 passim.
56. ibid. fo.315 (1539) it sold the lesser bells of St.Martin's Priory.
57. CKS DTA 1546-58 fo.30, 45v.
58. ibid. fo.115v. these were probably also from St. Martin's.
59. ibid. fo.133v.
60. ibid. fo.267v.
61. ibid. fos.299, 302. Passage money was a tax paid per passenger carried on a ship, collected from ship-masters and probably intended primarily for the maintenance of the harbour.
62. e.g. ibid. 1557-8, £8.
63. Debts were usually dated by reference to the name of the mayor in office at the time when they were incurred.
64. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1564-5, 1569-70 Expenses.
65. ibid. fo.211.
66. e.g. ibid. fo.340v.
67. ibid. fo.260, the coins were: 8 old royals, 8 old angels, 5 double ducats, 3 old English crowns.
68. ibid. 1566-7, 1567-8 Expenses.
69. John Hobday, 1561-2; John Hugheson, 1562-3, William Reve, mercer, 1563-4.
70. ibid. fo.418, £12.15s. in bills and 5s.3d. in ready money.
71. BL Egerton 2095 fo.54v.

72. ibid. fo.232 Jeremy Garrett petitioned for the guild of merchants and linen drapers (1592); BL Egerton 2098 fo.33 he signed his recognizance as a tallow chandler; Egerton 2095 fo.283 he deposed that he had 700 seams of lime on the "Pelican", of which he was master (1583); CKS DTA 1558-81 and 1581-1603 show frequent payments to John Spritwell for meals and wine on civic occasions.

73. BL Egerton 2095 fo.59v.

74. e.g. ibid. fo.335.

75. ibid. fos.397, 415v.

76. ibid. fo.437v.

77. CKS DTA 1558-81 fo.463.

78. PRO SP12/157/40, SP12/170/18 show that the Crown had allowed him to sell the materials from the church in order to use the profit for the benefit of the harbour reconstruction, but that he absconded with the money - possibly to keep it from the hands of the corporation - and had to be called to account for it in 1584. This is taken up again in Chapter 4 iii).

79. CKS DTA 1558-81 fo.447v. Withernam was a process used by each of the Cinque Ports to recover an apparently desperate debt owed to one of their inhabitants by any inhabitant of another town. Letters of warning to the offender's town were followed by the arrest of the next person coming from it. See K.M.E.Murray, The Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports (Manchester 1935) - hereafter referred to as Murray (1935) - p. 52 for a complete explanation.

80. CKS DTA 1558-81 fo.463v.

81. ibid. fo.463v.

82. see CKS DTA 1546-58, 1558-81, 1581-1603, 1603-26 for rent lists in Receipts, showing that the rent was paid consistently from at least 1546 until the death of the lease-holder in 1623, after which ownership of the lease was subject to legal dispute.

83. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1578-9 Payments this year include meals given to Mr. Gigges, Mr. Wilford and others who came to survey the harbour.

84. ibid. 1580-81 Payments.

85. ibid. under the heading "Opening of shops and old debt."

86. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1587-88 Payments.

87. ibid. fo.35.

88. in Chapter 4 iii), "The ruling group".

89. CKS DTA 1581-1603 fo.101v.
90. ibid. 1590-91 Payments December.
91. ibid. Receipts.
92. ibid. fo.282v.
93. ibid. 1594-5 Receipts.
94. ibid. fo.312v.
95. for an explanation of the billet system see below iii)d,  
income derived from membership of the Cinque Ports.
96. BL Egerton 2095 fo.414.
97. ibid. fo.423v.
98. ibid. fo.393v.
99. ibid. fo.409; see Chapter 6 iv) for Thomas Olvill's  
religious dissent.
100. ibid. 409v.
101. ibid. fo.330v.
102. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1584-5 for Thomas Olvill; ibid.  
fo.397v. for Richard Dawkes' freedom.
103. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.83.
104. CKS DTA 1581-1603 fo. 313.
105. ibid. fos.334-347v.passim; 309-376 passim; 399-407  
passim.
106. ibid. 1597-98 Payments (August).
107. ibid. 1599-1600 Payments.
108. ibid. fos.434v., 471.
109. e.g. ibid. fo.44 the receipt of £3.9s.0d. as interest on  
£100 loaned by the town to Charles Brames .
110. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.88 (1618) the town invested  
£20 in a voyage to Virginia.
111. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1598-99 Receipts; 1603-1626, 1603-4  
Receipts.
112. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.93.
113. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-1626, fo.44 (1604) Charles Brames;  
fo.655v. (1623) Thomas Cullen's wife in the expectation of her  
husband's wages; DTA 1626-1649 fo.261 (1635) Stephen Monins  
£50, John Harvey £100.

114. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.34v. (1608) they borrowed at interest to buy corn for the poor; 132v. (1630) they borrowed £80 to pay the town's arrears to the Lord Warden and Assistants of the Harbour.
115. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.136,137.
116. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1607-8 Payments June and September.
117. ibid. fo.162 £200 borrowed from Mr. Reade at interest is entered in the receipts.
118. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.38.
119. CKS DTA 1603-26 fos.547v., 548v.
120. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.95v.
121. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1609-10 Payments February.
122. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1596-7 Payments £5.6s.4d. to him for a dinner he had supplied to the mayor and Commissioners when they met to discuss the harbour; he was son-in-law to John Spritwell, innkeeper.
123. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.22.
124. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1613-14 Receipts and Payments.
125. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.81 (1617) the bailiff justified his claim for petty customs on merchant strangers' goods because there was "little trade here but by strangers."
126. CKS DTA 1603-26 fo.546v.
127. ibid., 1624-5 Payments December.
128. ibid., 1620-21 Payments April, where it appears only in the form of £5 interest paid to him on the loan.
129. ibid. fo.574v.
130. ibid., 1624-5 Summary of accounts, 1625-6 Payments December.
131. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1627-8 Payments.
132. ibid., 1627-8 - 1633-4 Payments passim.
133. ibid., 1633-4 Payments November.
134. ibid., 1629-30 Receipts under "moneys borrowed."
135. ibid., 1629-30 Receipts, 1632-3, 33-4 Payments.
136. ibid., 1629-30 Receipts September.
137. ibid., 1632-3, 33-4.

138. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.139v.
139. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.44, 118.
140. ibid. fo.129v.
141. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1627-8.
142. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.137.
143. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.129v., CKS DTA 1626-49, 129v.
144. see e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1618-19.
145. CKS DTA 1626-1649, 1632-3. Receipts.
146. ibid., 1626-7 Receipts; fo.46v; 1627-8 Receipts April.
147. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58 fo.82 foreigners paying maltote are listed as "the tailor in Hamons" and "the next house."
148. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81 fo.189 Christopher Elliott paid John Packman's pale sess in 1564 .
149. see Introduction, the development of Dover harbour.
150. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1586-7 Thomas Atkins, chamberlain was paid £2.3s.8d. towards the £10 he had paid out for soldiers' coats, but there is no reference in following years to any further payments made to him.
151. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.16.
152. ibid. fos. 52v., 56, in December 1612 the pent wall was breached and the mouth of the harbour could not be opened; the farmer of harbour droits for that year asked for compensation for his lost receipts.
153. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1603-1626, the total annual amounts collected in harbour dues between 1601 and 1603 were £141, £143, £183; in the immediately subsequent years they were £231, £271, £247 and £302.
154. see Introduction, the development of Dover harbour.
155. as set out in D.C. Coleman, The Economy of England 1450-1750 (Oxford 1977) p.65.
156. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.31.
157. e.g. ibid. fos.25v. (1606) a complaint was made that some Frenchmen were defrauding the corporation of droits due from merchants, 64v. (1614) factors refused to pay duties on their packs; BL Egerton 2095 fo.457 (1602) a certificate alleged customs deceit.

158. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.7, this change was made partly so that the mayor should in future be barred from personally bestowing the lucrative office of pounder.

159. ibid. fo.105.

160. see ibid. fos.134. 136v., 138, 140, 141v. for names of the farmers and the sums they offered.

161. ibid. fo.64.

162. ibid. fo.56.

163. ibid. fo.87.

164. BL Additional Ms 29617 (1500-01), the accounts have a note under "murage" that the King had commanded that "we should no more take head money of the men of the Staple of Calais."

165. BL Egerton 2093 fo.76.

166. BL Egerton 2093 fo.83 (June 1528).

167. CKS DTA 1546-58 fo.324.

168. see CKS DTA 1558-81 Receipts, "half-passage", passim for the figures; a similar influx to Rye is reported in Graham Mayhew Tudor Rye (Falmer 1987) p.82.

169. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1625-6 Receipts; 1626-49, 1626-7 Receipts.

170. BL Additional Ms 29618, Receipts "faring pence."

171. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1541-2, 1542-3, 1544-5, 1553-4, 1556-7 Receipts.

172. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.18; contemporary evidence for the decrees has not survived.

173. CKS DTA 1626-49, Receipts passim.

174. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.17v.

175. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.239v. shows that among those who paid the tax in 1526-7 were Robert Justice, Robert Giles, John Unthank, John Barbour and Edward May.

176. BL Egerton 2093 fo.191v.

177. BL Egerton 2095 fo.320v.

178. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.18.

179. ibid.

180. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1605-6 Payments.

181. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.91v.
182. e.g. ibid. fo.60 (1614), a petitioner for a place was to be "remembered next time occasion offers" because another man needed the place more because of his poverty.
183. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.36.
184. e.g. ibid. fos.152-3 (1619)
185. e.g. ibid. fo.143v.(1618).
186. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.65v.
187. ibid. fo.138.
188. BL Egerton 2094 fo.200.
189. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.130.
190. BL Egerton 2093 fo.161v.
191. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1635-6 Receipts.
192. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.48.
193. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.108v.
194. BL Egerton 2094 fo.52.
195. Coleman (1977) p.84 shows that continuous figures for coal shipped in the coastal trade from Newcastle do not start until the early 1590s, but show an increase of 168% between then and the 1620s.
196. BL Additional Ms 29618, Receipts 1520-1, 21-2, 22-3, 26-7, 28-9, 31-2, 33-4, 34-5, 37-8, 38-9.
197. see W.G.Hoskins, The Age of Plunder The England of Henry VIII 1500-1547(1976)p.87.
198. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.275.
199. CKS DTA 1558-81, Receipts passim.
200. PRO E190/638/5 (1567-8) Humfrey Meede, hops to Ostend; E190/640/1 (1576-7) William Willis, 200lb. hops to Calais; Richard Wenlock 1000lb. hops to Dunkirk. "Packs" were most likely to contain cloth, clothing and other soft goods; CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.65v. (1615), the porters complained that packs recently brought from Sandwich containing bayes were greater than those usually brought from London.
201. CSP Charles 1 xxi 27.
202. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1553-4 Receipts.
203. BL Egerton 2099 fo.14.

204. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1626-49, Receipts passim.
205. BL Egerton 2095 fo.302.
206. e.g.CCA PRC 32/34 fo.177 (1581) William Eaton shared a link-kiln with Edmund Michell and Antony van Dene when he died; PRC 32/45 fo.323 (1623) it was subsequently shared between Peter Eaton, James Hughessen, Thomas Michell and William Ward.
207. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.72.
208. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1581-1603, 1603-26, Receipts passim.
209. BL Egerton 2095 fo.301, a driffat was taken from a cart and rolled on to the ground for inspection, and therefore was presumably a large bundle of goods.
210. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.64v.
211. ibid. fo.10.
212. ibid. fo.70v.
213. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.136.
214. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1520-21 payment was made for "making and repairing of bridges to ship cattle with."
215. ibid. fo.342.
216. ibid. fo.140 et seq.
217. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.106v. (1623) a committee was set up to look at the avoidance of duties in such cases.
218. see e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.424v.
219. e.g. CCA PRC 32/40 fo.218v. (1606) Richard Sisely; PRC 32/42 fo.89 (1611) Charles Brames; PRC 28/7 fo.295 (1613) Edward Kempe; PRC 28/7 fo.295 (1617) John Tooke; PRC 28/11 fo.703 (1623) William Ward; PRC 28/12 fo.65 (1624) William Tatnall.
220. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1581-1603, 1626-49 Receipts passim.
221. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1598-9 Receipts; DTA 1626-49, 1635-6 Receipts.
222. CKS DTA 1581-1603, Receipts.
223. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.98v.
224. ibid.
225. BL Egerton 2095 fo.385v.
226. ibid.

227. ibid. fo.424v.
228. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.105.
229. ibid. fo.115.
230. ibid. fo.138v.
231. CKS DTA 1603-1626, 1626-1649, Receipts passim.
232. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.106v.
233. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1637-8 Payments.
234. e.g. BL Egerton 2094 fo.41v. (1551) the regulation that all goods sold within the town by men other than freemen should be forfeited to the town.
235. see BL Egerton 2095 fo.418 (1596); CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.53v. (1613); BL Egerton 2095 fos. 279, 408; DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 51, 73v.
236. BL Egerton 2095 fo.468.
237. ibid. fos.322, 340.
238. ibid. fo.30.
239. ibid. fos.357 (1581), 273 (1583).
240. in Chapter 5 iv).
241. BL Egerton 2095 fos. 400, 422.
242. in Chapter 2 ii)b, the regulation of the market; Chapter 5 i) the quantification of petty crime and social disorder.
243. BL Additional Ms 29618, Receipts for each year.
244. ibid. 1511-12, 1520-21 Receipts.
245. ibid. 1519-20, 22-23, 23-24, 31-32, 38-39, 40-41, Receipts.
246. ibid. 1519-20, 22-23, Receipts.
247. ibid. 1520-21, Receipts.
248. ibid. 1531-32, 42-43, 43-44, Receipts.
249. ibid. 1514-15, 22-23, 26-27, Receipts.
250. ibid. 1545-46 Receipts, "bloodwipes, frays and fines", "hackneymen", "casting filth into the brook", "candles too dear", "evil rule", "regrating".
251. CKS DTA 1546-58, Receipts 1546-7, 47-8 "bloodwipes", 1550-51, 51-2 "fines and forfeits"; thereafter "fines, forfeits, amercements and bloodwipes", or "fines and

bloodwipes"; DTA 1581-1603, Receipts 1601-2 "fines and bloodshed" became the normal heading.

252. for fines involving strangers see CKS DTA 1558-81, Receipts 1561-2, 62-3, 63-4.

253. BL Egerton fo.228.

254. ibid. fo.302v.

255. ibid. fos.322 (1585), 348 (1587), 321 (1585).

256. ibid. fo.338.

257. ibid. fos.341, 274.

258. CKS DTA 1558-81, Receipts 1558-9; DTA 1581-1603, Receipts 1586-7.

259. see CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments and Dover Depositions 1630.

260. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.8 (1604) a ballast master was appointed; 146 (1635) a decree was passed concerning fire and candle-light on ships; 148 (1635) provision was made for storing gunpowder from ships in the harbour.

261. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fos. 66v., 69 (1635).

262. e.g. ibid. fos.100 - John de Callice, 121v. - Peter Cassell.

263. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts e.g. fos.121 appointment of a scavenger, 141v. dogs to be tied up and muzzled; 150v. regulations for a time "of pestilence"; fo.49v. a fine of 40s paid by an innkeeper for entertaining an infected guest.

264. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1626-49 Receipts passim.

265. see Chapter 5 iv) on victualling houses and disorder.

266. e.g. BL Additional Ms fo.40v.

267. ibid. Receipts 1541-2.

268. BL Egerton 2095 fo.445.

269. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58 fo.261; DTA 1581-1603 fo.117.

270. e.g. Robert Fluce whose payments were comparatively large, but which were made only sporadically between 1509 and 1532 during which time he frequently supplied wine to distinguished visitors, e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.191.

271. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.59.

272. BL Egerton 2093 fo.456.

273. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 1544-45.

274. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1551-52 Receipts.
275. ibid. in 1552-3, 53-4, 56-7, 57-8, "Receipts of foreign victuallers drawing beer." The maximum amount paid was £4.13s.11d. in 1556-7.
276. CKS DTA 1558-1581, 1581-1603, 1603-1626 Receipts passim.
277. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.87.
278. ibid.
279. CKS DTA 1603-1626, 1618-19, 19-20 Receipts; DTA 1626-49, 1630-31 Receipts.
280. BL Egerton 2095 fo.382.
281. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1542-3 Receipts.
282. ibid. 1545-6 Receipts.
283. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1581-2, 82-3 Receipts.
284. BL Egerton 2095 fo.274.
285. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1582-3, 83-4, 84-5, 85-6 Receipts.
286. see CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1603-1626 Receipts for the relevant years.
287. CKS DTA 1603-26, the first payment is in 1604-5 Receipts.
288. BL Egerton 2094 fo. 72v.
289. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1552-3, 53-4 Receipts.
290. BL Egerton 2095 fos. 228-237v.
291. CKS DTA 1581-1603 fo.10v. "fellowships".
292. ibid. 1594-5 Receipts "corporations".
293. BL Egerton 2095 fo.437v.
294. ibid. fo.404.
295. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.7.
296. ibid. fo.41.
297. ibid. fo.80v.
298. ibid. fo.151.
299. BL Egerton 2094 fo.225; Graham Mayhew, Tudor Rye (Falmer 1987), p.81 shows that 500 refugees arrived in Rye in 1562, but that most of them probably returned home in the following year. There had always been a small alien community in the town. Peter Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640 (Hassocks 1977) p.150 cites stranger religious communities founded at Sandwich, Maidstone and Canterbury in the 1560s and 70s.
300. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1569-70 Receipts; apart from sailcloths, these were good woollen cloths of the kind used for making cloaks.

301. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.30 (1509), Robert Giles and Thomas Andrew who were common councillors that year, and John Halliday, who became a chamberlain in 1511-12, see ibid. fo.37.

302. ibid. fo.6-7.

303. ibid. fo.33 malitot artific' intern' et extn'.

304. ibid. fo.115.

305. ibid. fo.312.

306. ibid. Receipts 1542-3, 44-5.

307. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1559-60 Receipts.

308. CKS DTA 1546-58 fo.266v.

309. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-1581 fos.89 "received this year foreigners maltote due in the time of Thomas Pepper", i.e. the previous year; 136 "debts not levied"; DCAM 1603 Acts fo.95v. remission granted for those too poor to pay the sess.

310. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.27.

311. CKS DTA 1603-26 fo.160; although this is bound in at the end of the accounts for 1607-8, it seems to refer to a sess paid in 1609.

312. e.g. CKS Register of Dover Freemen 1601-1721 shows examples of those who paid the foreigners' assessment in 1609 and continued to pay regularly: John Sherwin - free 1611, John Winter - free 1619, Thomas Norman - free 1611, Christopher Bagthwaite - free 1621.

313. e.g. ibid. 1620 £3 returned to Thomas Cullen, 1623 £3 returned to Edward Wainwright and Joseph Rich.

314. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.92v.

315. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1596-7 Receipts; BL Egerton 2095 fo.413.

316. e.g. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1627-31 Receipts passim.

317. e.g. ibid. Receipts passim, Peter Nephew, Daniel Porten, Bartholomew Planck, John de Marle.

318. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.132 (1629).

319. ibid. fo.69.

320. ibid. fos.71, 72v.

321. ibid. fo.31.

322. ibid. fo.95v.

323. e.g. CKS DTA 1626-49, Receipts of foreigners' assessment passim, John Daniel (1627) 6s.8d., (1629) 5s., (1631) 2s., 1632 nothing - the intervening years show arrears; John Smith (1627) 20s., (1628) 10s., (1629) nothing; Thomas Copper (1627) 7s., (1628) 6s., (1629) 1s; Thomas Sacrey (1627) 10d., (1628) 4d., (1629) nothing.

324. BL Egerton 2094 fo.34; the only ordinary freemen sses recorded in the accounts between 1509 and 1551 were taken in 1546-7 and 1549-50, see CKS DTA 1546-58 fos.11-11v., 114v.-115.

325. see iii) d below.

326. BL Egerton 2093 fo.163v.

327. ibid. fo.199.

328. BL Egerton 2094 fo.30v.

329. CKS DTA 1546-58 fos. 236-7, 249v.-50, 326-326v.

330. BL Egerton 2095 fo.352.

331. ibid. fo.381.

332. John Bavington-Jones, Dover a Perambulation of the town, port and fortress (Dover 1907) says that all marketing except fish was transacted there until about 1480 when the market was established near the walls of St. Martin's Priory and that when it was no longer a commercial centre it became a meeting place for leisurely conversation and hence, contemptuously, "Penniless Bench."

333. BL Egerton 2095 fo.388v.

334. ibid.

335. ibid. fo.397.

336. ibid. fos.416, 418.

337. ibid. fo.464v., 468.

338. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.19v.

339. ibid. fos.26, 26v.

340. ibid. fo.44.

341. for an explanation see Introduction, the development of Dover harbour.

342. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.53.

343. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.423v., ship service for the expedition to Calais in 1597 seems to have been estimated at 3s.in the pound of the annual income received on a taxable "land."

344. Register of Dover Freemen 1601-1721.

345. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1608-9 Receipts: Robert Howard, shoemaker, fined for opening a shop; Dover Register of Freemen, October 1608 he became free by marriage.

346. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1601-2 Receipts: Edward Hudless, shoemaker, fined for opening a shop; 1608-9 Receipts: he became free by purchasing a freehold.

347. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.49 (1511); CKS DTA 1546-58, 1549-50 Receipts.

348. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1556-7 Receipts.

349. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1588-9 Receipts.

350. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1514-15 Receipts; CKS DTA 1558-81, 1565-66 Receipts.

351. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1565-6 Receipts; DTA 1581-1603, 1586-7 Receipts.

352. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1581-2 Receipts.

353. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1617-18 Receipts.

354. ibid. 1611-12, 1626-7 Receipts.

355. BL Egerton 2095 fo.367; Egerton 2098 fo.38.

356. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1559-60 Receipts, 1565-66 Receipts.

357. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1584-5 Receipts; see BL Egerton 2095 fo.302v. for the decree.

358. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1603-4, 1605-6 Receipts.

359. Register of Dover Freemen 1604, 1606.

360. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1607-8 Receipts "petty chapman", 1620-21 Receipts "peddler." The figures given here for foreigners, or unfree men, setting up shops cannot be compared with those used by the historians of other towns to suggest occupational structures, such as those used in e.g. W.G. Hoskins The Age of Plunder: the England of Henry VIII 1500-1547 (1976), p.94 Table 4:1 which outlines the occupational structures of Coventry, Northampton, Leicester, Norwich and York. Those figures are based on freemen's listings. Palliser York op.cit. p. 149 points out that unfree traders usually go unrecorded. The figures given here, therefore, are interesting in suggesting the occupations followed by less prosperous inhabitants, rather than significant in establishing an occupational pattern for the town of Dover.

361. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.381, when two men requested their freedom in June, 1590 they were reminded that under the decree of the admission of freemen no man could require his oath between the feasts of Pentecost and the Nativity of Our Lady (September 8). They could, however, "enjoy freedom fully and wholly" immediately, apart from taking no part in the next elections and not being sworn until after they had taken place.

362. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.11, 18 (1604).

363. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.27v.

364. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.8v.(1609), 65, 133v.

365. e.g. ibid. fos. 50, 60, 133; CCA X.11.14 fo.35.
366. CCA X.9.11
367. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.160v., 163, 167v., 179.
368. CCA PRC 19/2 fo.30
369. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.83, 102.
370. BL Egerton 326v. (1622), Dover Depositions 1630 fo.5 (1630).
371. e.g. CCA PRC 28/14 fo.654, Josias Wakefield, glazier; PRC 28/8 fo.359, Edward Sturman, pewterer; PRC 28/12 fo.6 Stephen Wiles, shoemaker; fo.153, John Pearson, basket-maker; PRC 20/8 fo.133, Robert Cole, surgeon.
372. BL Egerton 2094 fo.27.
373. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58 fos.198 (1552), 228 (1553); fo.324 (1557), of nine entrants, all but one paid in instalments of 5s. or 10s.
374. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1558-9, 1561-2 Receipts, Thomas Dunkin is listed thus, each time on payment of 10s.
375. ibid. fo.359v.
376. CKS DTA 1581-1603, fo.9.
377. e.g. ibid. 1588-9 Receipts, two men paid 40s and one £5; 1590-91 Receipts, one paid £2 "by consent of the common council"; 1596-7 Receipts, one paid for "his freedom and foreigner's sess £3.6s." and one paid £2.10s. with another £2.10s. remitted.
378. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26 fo.11.
379. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.122.
380. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1627-8, 28-9 Receipts show that only three men paid in these two years, and all had most of the payment remitted because they had been apprenticed in the town.
381. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.131.
382. ibid. fo.136.
383. CCA PRC 19/1 fo.65.
384. e.g. CKS Register of Dover Freemen, Hugh Russell, bricklayer (1610), William Forman, sailor (1615), John Hamon, sailor (1622).
385. ibid. 1627-40.
386. BL Egerton 2094 fo.27.

387. ibid. fo.253 (1575); BL Egerton 2095 see under 1581, 83, 84, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95 passim.
388. in Chapter 4 i).
389. BL Egerton fo.228 et seq.
390. ibid. fo.355.
391. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.40 (1610) Robert Harford, 71v. (1616) John Kennett, 138 (1632) James Beardwell.
392. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.77, Sir Thomas Harfleet "desired" to be free when he became Scoutmaster of the Cinque Ports in 1617.
393. ibid. fo.92v.
394. CKS Dover Register of Freemen, 1603-40 passim; DCAM 1603 Acts fos.1-143 passim.
395. CCA PRC 32/39 fo.233; CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.74 (1617).
396. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.10, Henry Clark.
397. CKS Register of Dover Freemen, 1639 Henry Hart; 1640 Nicholas Simpson.
398. ibid. 1603-1640.
399. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1559-60 Receipts.
400. BL Egerton 2095 fo.386.
401. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1590-91 Receipts; DTA 1603-26, 1604-5, 06-7, 13-14, 17-18, 25-6 Receipts.
402. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.15v.
403. ibid. fo.53v.
404. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1604-5 Receipts.
405. ibid. 1613-14 Receipts; for the inventories see CCA PRC 28/7 fos.598, 95, 319; PRC 27/2 fo.126; PRC 28/6 fo.70; PRC 23/5 fo.418; PRC 27/2 fo.129; PRC 27/7 fo.295.
406. e.g. CCA PRC 28/16 fo.552, appraisers Thomas Broome and John Elfreth; PRC 28/17 fo.520, Thomas Broome and Richard Golder; PRC 28/14 fos. 145, 103, PRC 28/13 fos.362, 374, Thomas Broome and George Sisely.
407. CKS DTA 1546-58. Receipts.
408. e.g. ibid. fo.155.
409. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1581-1603, Receipts passim.

410. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1605-6 Receipts, Michael Burnley; 1606-7, Alexander Bredgate.

411. e.g. ibid. 1608-9 Receipts, John Golder, John Hughessen; 1609-10, Mr. Hughessen and Mr. Ward; 1611-12, Mr. Willoughby and Peter Dibbs.

412. CKS Books of the Hundred Court, Records of Pleas 1603-26.

413. Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler, The Mid-Tudor Polity (1980) p.83.

414. e.g. Hughes and Larkin p.172, 1527 proclamation to prevent forestalling and the playing of unlawful games; the first subsequent fine in Dover for forestalling was in 1531 and for playing unlawful games 1545.

415. see Chapter 3.

416. BL Egerton 2094 fo.225.

417. Mayhew (1987) p.26.

418. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.19.

419. S.P.H.Statham Dover Charters and other Documents (1902), hereafter Statham, Charter cii p.349.

420. see below d) income derived from membership of the Confederation of the Cinque Ports.

421. Statham, Charters cxviii p.400, cxxxiv p.452, cxxxv p.454.

422. e.g. ibid. Charter xiv p.29.

423. ibid. Charter lxxxi p.257.

424. ibid. Charter cv p.361.

425. e.g. ibid. Charter cxix p.403.

426. e.g. ibid. Charter cxxi p.411.

427. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos. 32v. (1608), 61v. (1614), 132 (1629).

428. BL Additional Ms 29618 Receipts of rents passim.

429. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1546-7 Receipts of rents.

430. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1598-9 Receipts. The year of Edward VI referred to is unfortunately illegible.

431. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.155v.(1637)

432. BL Additional Ms 29618 (1513), CKS DTA 1626-49 Receipts of rent passim show that rents were paid for the close and Swinfield Lands at the beginning and end of the period; CKS

- DTA 1546-58, 1626-49 Receipts of rent for St. Martin's Priory.
433. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1551-2, 53-4, 61-2 Receipts of rent; Statham pp.415, 419.
434. BL Egerton 2094 fo.36.
435. CKS DTA 1546-58 Receipts of rent.
436. CKS DTA 1558-81 Receipts of rent passim.
437. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1553-4 Receipts of rent; 1558-81, 1569-70 Receipts of rent.
438. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1570-71 Receipts of rent.
439. usually to Henry or William Tidde man, e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1587-8, 88-90, 90-91 Receipts of rent.
440. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.15v.
441. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1581-1603 Receipts of rent passim.
442. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1573-4 Receipts of rent - the heirs of Goodall.
443. e.g. ibid., 1577-8 Receipts of rent, "The mayor - part of his brewhouse", "Thomas Allen - encroachment with his house in the market", "John Reynolds - encroachment on the street by his house."
444. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1581-2 Receipts of rent.
445. Dover Harbour Board Ms Drawings 7478, 9635, 10665-10676.
446. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1546-7 Receipts of rent.
447. e.g. ibid. 1550-51 Receipts of rents.
448. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1602-3 Receipts of rents - owing "as may appear by their names not crossed in the book."
449. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1559-60 Receipts "there is due more to the town other rents ungathered as appears in the book."
450. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1635-6 Receipts of rent.
451. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1602-3 Receipts of rents.
452. ibid., 1582-3, 86-7 Receipts of rents.
453. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1555-6 Receipts of rents; DTA 1558-81, 1574-5, 77-8 Receipts of rents; DTA 1581-1603, 1580-81, 84-5, 96-7 Receipts of rents; DTA 1603-26, 1604-5 Receipts of rents.
454. BL Egerton 2093 fo.119.
455. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1623-4 Receipts of rent.

456. see CKS DTA 1558-81, 1561-2, 70-71, 80-81 Receipts of rent; DTA 1626-49, 1633-4 Receipts of rent.

457. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1552-3 Receipts of rent; DTA 1626-49, 1635-6 Receipts of rent.

458. CKS DTA 1581-1603 Receipts of rent passim.

459. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.119v.

460. ibid. fo.32v.

461. ibid. fo.21.

462. ibid. fo.59.

463. ibid. fo.125.

464. ibid. John Pensax.

465. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1561-2, 74-5 Receipts of rents.

466. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.149v.

467. ibid. fo.126.

468. ibid. fo.129.

469. ibid.

470. ibid. fo.40v.

471. ibid. fo.132.

472. for details of these transactions see ibid. fos. 129v., 133, 134, 135, 158.

473. ibid. fo.152.

474. ibid. fos.138, 140, 149v., 152.

475. ibid. 154v.

476. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1565-6 Receipts of rents.

477. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.139.

478. CKS DTA 1626-49 Receipts of rent passim.

479. at iv)b

480. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1615-16 Receipts of rents.

481. ibid. 1617-18 Receipts of rents.

482. ibid. 1618-19 Receipts of rents.

483. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.139v.

484. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1639-40 Receipts of rents.
485. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1648-9 total rent receipts were £5.16s.0d.
486. Statham (1902) p.178; Murray (1935) p.44.
487. Murray (1935) p.54.
488. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1513-14 Receipts "contribuciones".
489. e.g. ibid. fo.102 a messenger to Faversham.
490. e.g. ibid. 1514-15 4d. on wine "to them that brought the contributions of St. Peters and Kingsdown".
491. ibid. 1536-7, 37-8, 38-9, 39-40.
492. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1587-8 from Folkestone, 1588-9 from Birchington, 1594-5 from Faversham.
493. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1634-5 Receipts.
494. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1626-49, 1624-5, 27-8, 28-9 Folkestone paid; 1629-30 Faversham paid for two years.
495. e.g. ibid. Payments record that the mayor, accompanied by the town clerk, conducted courts in Thanet and Ringwold; 1602-3 he acted as coroner; 1603-4 enquired into riots; 1607-8 checked weights and measures.
496. Murray (1935) p.240 note, p.55.
497. ibid. p.220.
498. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1522-3 Receipts "allowances of advocates"; CKS DTA 1558-81, 1559-60 Receipts "for the billets."
499. Murray (1935) p.144, Statham (1902) p.98.
500. BL Egerton 2095 fo.414.
501. CKS DTA 1546-58 fo.33v.
502. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.34v.
503. ibid. fo.22v.
504. see e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81 fos. 46, 176, 200, 277v.-278.
505. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.5, 8, 15v. billets granted to Thomas Denne, Sir Thomas Waller and Sir Thomas Fane.
506. CKS DTA 1558-1581 fo.200.
507. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1603-4, 1607-7 Receipts.

508. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1555-6 Expenses, 4d. to a poor woman to clean out the market gutters.
509. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1574-5 Expenses.
510. ibid., 1581-1603, 1581-2, 82-3 Expenses.
511. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1605-6, 13-14 Expenses.
512. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1603-26, 1588-9, 1618-19 Expenses.
513. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.15v., 20 give details of her sexual misconduct.
514. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1594-5 Expenses.
515. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1619-20 Expenses.
516. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.113.
517. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1633-4 Expenses.
518. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1603-4 Expenses.
519. ibid. 1605-6 Expenses.
520. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1588-9 Expenses.
521. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1604-5 Expenses "2s.to the drummer for calling labourers to work on the harbour."
522. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1618-19 Expenses..
523. ibid. Expenses 1619-20.
524. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.34v. 8d. paid to the porters for saving stones.
525. ibid. 4d. paid to the porters when they took their oath.
526. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.93 William Nethersole.
527. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.56.
528. e.g.CKS DTA 1558-81, 1561-2, 67-8, 68-9 Expenses.
529. BL Additional Ms fo.306.
530. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1581-2 Expenses.
531. BL Egerton 2095 fo.320.
532. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fos. 230 (1525), 249 (1526), 306 (1536).
533. ibid. fo.34.
534. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1612-13 Expenses.

535. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.7.

536. BL Egerton 2093 fo.161v.

537. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1581-1603, 1563-4, 64-5, 65-6, 96-7 Expenses.

538. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1585-6 Expenses; the flesh jury was presumably the inquiry, made on a ward basis, into those who had offended in killing or eating flesh at times of religious prohibition that had been enjoined by Statute law.

539. see section iii)d above for an explanation of billets.

540. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1609-10 Expenses.

541. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1558-81, 1581-1603, 1603-26, 1626-49 Expenses passim.

542. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1603-26 Expenses passim.

543. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.53v., part payments made.

544. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.59 (1614).

545. CKS DTA 1546-58 Expenses passim.

546. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1597-8 Expenses.

547. ibid. 1601-2 Expenses.

548. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1606-7 Expenses, 2s. paid by the town clerk to Mr. Reyvell's man "to put his master in mind" of a plea concerning the transport of wheat.

549. ibid. 1603-4, 1605-6 Expenses.

550. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1546-7 Expenses £2 to Mr. Mody and Mr. Lawrence Elvinden for being at the coronation of Edward VI.

551. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1631-2 et seq. Expenses.

552. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1616-17, 17-18, 18-19 Expenses.

553. e.g. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1632-3 Expenses 2s. to James Forseite, schoolmaster, for teaching Nicholas Rogers, an orphan.

554. ibid. 1635-6 Expenses.

555. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1603-26, Expenses 1602 and 1609 Randle's wife, 1603 Widow Heely, 1607 and 1608 Mother Ghost, 1609 and 1611 Widow Storey, 1624 Crookback Jane.

556. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1514-5 Expenses "paid to Harry Bundy for a proclamation 2d."; CKS DTA 1546-58, 1546-7 Expenses "2 proclamations 8d." DTA 1581-1603, 1602-3 Expenses "to the boder 8d., to the town clerk and town sergeant 8d. for a proclamation against seminary priests and Jesuits."

557. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1546-7 Expenses "to the Boder for precepts and proclamations from the Castle...£1.2s.0d."

558. e.g. ibid. 1547-8, 1550-51, 1555-6.

559. ibid.

560. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1610-11 Expenses.

561. CKS DTA 1603-26, Expenses.

562. ibid. Expenses 1614-15.

563. BL Egerton 2093 fo.129 he made his mark on a document which some other men signed.

564. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1509-10 Expenses; CKS DTA 1558-81, 1570-71 Expenses.

565. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1623-4 Expenses.

566. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.100.

567. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1548-9 Expenses; 1603-26, 1613-14 Expenses; 1626-49, 1633-4 Expenses.

568. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1511-12 Expenses; ibid. fo.313.

569. CKS DTA 1558-81 Expenses.

570. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1547-8 Expenses to Sergeant Halles "about our charters".

571. ibid. 1553-4 Expenses.

572. ibid. for the resulting charter see Statham (1902) cviii p.371.

573. for expenditure on this see e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1561-2, 62-3, 64-5, 66-7, 73-4, 77-8, 78-9 Expenses.

574. see Introduction, the development of Dover harbour.

575. ibid.

576. see Chapter 4iii) the ruling group.

577. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1587-8 Expenses, £7.9s.6d for horse hire, diet and lodging for those sent up to London to answer matters against Mr. Allen.

578. ibid. 1585-6, 86-7 Expenses.

579. ibid. 1584-5, 88-9 Expenses.

580. e.g. PRO SP14/81 fos.27-32.

581. CSP James 1 clxx 16.
582. CSP Charles 1 xix 17, xxi 24.
583. e.g. CSP James 1 cxvii 4, 44, 45; cxx 17.
584. CSP Charles 1 clxxxv 67.
585. ibid. cxiv 46, 51.
586. BL Egerton 2095 fo.474v.
587. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1602-3 Expenses; DTA 1603-26, 1603-4, 1608-9, 1617-18, 1619-20, 1620-21, 1621-2 Expenses.
588. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.35.
589. ibid. fo.81.
590. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.177.
591. CSP Charles 1 lxxxv 4, lxxxvii 77.
592. ibid. xciii 13.
593. ibid. xcvi 64 (1629).
594. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.126.
595. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1627-8, 28-9 Expenses.
596. CSP Charles 1 xxxix 76.
597. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1603-4, 1604-5, 1606-7 Expenses.
598. ibid. 1608-09 Expenses.
599. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1634-5 Expenses.
600. J.S. Kepler Entrepot policy versus projects for perquisites in the administration of Dover Harbour: the dispute over charges for passing the boom, 1635-1638, Arch. Cant. vol.cxv, 1979 p.53 gives a detailed analysis of this incident.
601. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.98v. gives the common council's reaction to this.
602. CSP James 1 lxxii 114, lxxvi 17, cxiii 76.
603. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.114v.
604. CKS DTA 1626-49. 1629-30 Expenses.
605. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.59.
606. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1626-49 Expenses.
607. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.116.

608. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1623-4 Expenses.
609. ibid. 1614-15 Expenses.
610. CKS DTA 1603-26 Expenses.
611. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1626-7, 27-8 Expenses.
612. CSP James I clxxvii 33.
613. reported e.g. in CSP James I clxxvii 46.
614. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1609-10, 1613-14 Expenses.
615. e.g. CSP James I clx 49 (1624); see B.Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change in England 1600-1642 : a Study in Instability (Cambridge 1964) p.68 for the protests of the outports in 1621; Robert Ashton "The Parliamentary Agitation for Free Trade in the Opening Years of the Reign of James I", Past and Present no.38, 1967 pp.40-55 considers the role of Sir Edwin Sandys in 1604, and summarizes the provincial fears of London's domination of trade: C.G.A.Clay Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700, vol.II pp. 198-200, 208, 239 summarizes the main issues; see also this study pp.236, 239-240.
616. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1635-6 Expenses.
617. cf. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.24, CKS DTA 1626-49, 1633-4 Expenses, £103.6s.4d.
618. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1538-9 Expenses, paid to the Archbishop of Canterbury; for the grant of the Priory and its lands to Henry Bingham of Wingham see CCA Y.2.29 fo.155v; CKS DTA 1546-58, 1553-4 Expenses, the rent was paid to John Cocks "rent gatherer"; CKS DTA 1558-81, 1576-8, 69-70 Expenses, it was paid to Thomas Whiting, "Mr. Bingham's servant."
619. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1606-7 Expenses.
620. CKS DTA 1581-1603.
621. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1608-9 Expenses.
622. ibid.
623. CKS DTA 1626-49.
624. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fos. 82 watching prisoners, 106v. watching the town's new ship; CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1583-4 Expenses watching the sluice.
625. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1588-9 Expenses 4d. for providing a cart for the punishment of a man and woman for whoredom.
626. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1580-81 Expenses.
627. ibid. CKS DTA 1581-1603.
628. CKS DTA 1626-49.
629. CKS DTA 1581-1603.
630. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1551-2, 1558-9; CKS DTA 1558-81, 1573-4, 77-8, 78-9; CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1583-4, 85-6, 86-7, 87-8 Expenses.
631. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1561-2, 62-3, 63-4, 64-5, 66-7, 68-9, 69-70, 73-4, 74-5, 77-8.

632. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1552-3, DTA 1558-81, 1558-9, 60-61,  
74-5 Expenses.

633. CKS DTA 1581-1603.

634. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1574-5 Expenses, 2s. to Sheppe when  
he was banished, 4s. to two banished persons towards their  
necessities in departing.

635. CKS DTA 1603-26.

636. CKS DTA 1626-49.

637. ibid.

638. Chapter 7.

639. Chapter 5 ii)

640. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1604-5, 06-07, 10-11, 11-12, 14-15,  
19-20 Expenses.

641. e.g. ibid. 1610-11, 15-16.

642. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1626-49.

643. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1603-26.

644. CKS DTA 1603-26.

645. CKS DTA 1626-49.

646. ibid.

647. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1545-6 Expenses.

*Foreword:*

648. see Introduction, the development of Dover harbour.

649. e.g. CCA PRC 28/6 fo.70 (1611), the inventory of Charles  
Brames.

650. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.19, 19v.

651. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1594-5, 97-8 Expenses.

*Foreword:*

652. ibid., DTA 1603-26; see Introduction, the development of  
Dover harbour for reference to the turn water.

653. CKS DTA 1603-26 fos.205-214 passim.

654. BL Egerton 2095 fo.61v.

655. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1520-21 Expenses; fo.274.

656. BL Egerton 2093 fo.11.

657. ibid. fo.265.

658. BL Additional Ms 29618, Expenses passim.

659. ibid.
660. ibid. fo.189 et seq.
661. e.g. ibid. 1515-16 Expenses, for renovation of the town's houses and the Court Hall; 1522-3 Expenses, for details of repairs to houses, bridges and the fish market.
662. e.g.ibid. fo.392.
663. e.g. ibid. 1526-7 Expenses.
664. BL Egerton 2093 fos. 108, 78, 82.
665. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1552-3, 53-4 Expenses.
666. ibid. 155-56 Expenses.
667. CKS DTA 1558-81 Expenses.
668. ibid.
669. CKS DTA 1581-1603.
670. e.g. Tittler in Loach and Tittler (1980)
671. e.g. CSP Elizabeth xxiv 92 (1576) Sir Amias Paulet wrote to Lord Burghley from Calais saying that he would never take passage from Dover again, "the haven of Dover being in such utter ruin, as the passage thereby is utterly decayed."
672. see e.g. BL Egerton 2109 fos. 19, 26; Egerton 2094 fos. 58, 205v.
673. CKS DTA 1558-81.
674. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1580-81 Expenses.
675. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, Expenses 1584-5.
676. ibid. 1585-6 Expenses.
677. ibid. 1598-99 Expenses.
678. ibid.
679. CKS DTA 1603-26.
680. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.26 (1607).
681. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1626-49.
682. CKS DTA 1603-26.
683. ibid., DTA 1626-49.
684. CKS DTA 1626-49.
685. CSP Charles 1 cccxciii 39.

686. ibid., for a full account of this and subsequent events see Kepler (1979).

687. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos. 19, 19v. gives their reasons for surrendering the harbour.

688. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1605-6 Expenses.

689. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos. 16, 17v.

690. ibid. fo.18.

691. see Chapter 4 iii).

692. Robert Austen in 1609, Thomas Foord in 1616 and 1625, Nicholas Eaton in 1617, 1631 and 1632, and John Pringle in 1626.

693. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.14v.

694. John Bavington Jones, The Records of Dover (Dover 1920) p.53 gives the English version of the Charter.

695. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.4.

696. CKS DTA 1603-26, fos.79v.-90v, 114-119v. passim.

697. ibid.

698. ibid.

699. ibid., DTA 1626-49.

700. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1605-6, 1606-7 Expenses.

701. ibid. 1615-16 Expenses.

702. ibid.

703. CKS DTA 1626-49.

704. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.140v.

705. e.t. BL Egerton 2095 fos. 400, 415 (1592, 1593).

706. e.g. CCA PRC 21/15 fo.55 (1602); CKS DCAM 1602 Judgments, fos.4-7 (1603).

707. ibid. 1611-12, 17-18 Expenses.

708. e.g. ibid. 1619-20 Expenses "stones carried to the decayed church of St. Martins from the inn called the Greyhound."

709. e.g. CCA PRC 39/48 fo.17 (1638).

710. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1626-49, Expenses.

711. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.41.

712. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1617-18, 19-20 Expenses.
713. CKS DTA 1626-49.
714. CKS DTA 1603-26.
715. ibid.
716. e.g. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1626-7, 35-6 Expenses.
717. see ~~Introduction~~<sup>foreword</sup>, the development of Dover harbour.
718. CKS DTA 1603-26.
719. BL Additional Ms 29618, CKS DTA 1546-58, 1581-1603.
720. CKS DTA 1626-49.
721. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1626-49.
722. CKS DTA 1558-81.
723. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1620-21 Expenses.
724. ibid., 1625-6 Expenses.
725. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1555-6 Expenses.
726. CKS DTA 1581-1603.
727. CKS DTA 1546-58.
728. e.g. 1558-81, 1563-4, 64-5, 68-9, 69-70 Expenses.
729. CKS DTA 1581-1603.
730. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1626-49.
731. ibid.
732. see Chapter 4 i).
733. CKS DTA 1626-49.
734. ibid.
735. CKS DTA 1603-26.
736. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.86.
737. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.62v. makes this clear.
738. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1514-15 Expenses.
739. CKS DTA 1546-58.
740. see e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1563-4, 64-5, 67-8, 68-9 Expenses.

741. CKS DTA 1581-1603.

742. CKS DTA 1546-58, Richard Elam.

743. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1568-9 John a Wood, John Knapp, Clement Norton, Richard Hayward, Thomas Bredgate, John Spritwell.

744. ibid. 1773-4, 74-5 Expenses.

745. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1584-5 Expenses, leading innkeepers like John Haines and Thomas Hickes and the victualler George Christopher were approved.

746. ibid. 1584-5, 85-6, 1599-1600 Expenses.

747. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1606-7 Expenses.

748. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1581-1603.

749. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.54, 4d. in wine "at going out of Dover"; CKS DTA 1558-81, 1571-2 Expenses 13s.6d. for the mayor and jurats' supper on their return from Romney, 16s. for the mayor and jurats' supper "coming out of Thanet."

750. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.25v.(1509-10) 2s.8d; CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1586-7 £1.2s.0d.

751. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1587-88, 88-89 Expenses.

752. CKS DTA 1603-26.

753. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.84v.

754. ibid., 1536-7 Expenses.

755. ibid. 1509-10, 13-14, 37-38; CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1588-9 Expenses.

756. BL Additional Ms 29618.

757. CKS DTA 1546-58.

758. ibid.

759. for details of these see Clark (1977) pp.79-80.

760. ibid.

761. CKS DTA 1581-1603.

762. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1558-9 Expenses.

763. CKS DTA 1546-58.

764. CKS DTA 1558-81; these payments are considered in more detail below under expenditure on the relief of the poor.

765. CKS DTA 1558-81, and e.g. DTA 1581-1603, 1581-2, 82-3 Expenses.

766. e.g. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1628-9 Expenses.

767. CKS DTA 1603-26.

768. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fos. 130v., 137v.

769. CKS DTA 1603-26.

770. e.g. ibid. 1608-9 Expenses, £1.13s.8d. to the Lord Warden's keeper, £1.14s.9d. for baking the venison, £1.4s.0d for wine and sugar to accompany it.

771. CKS DTA 1626-49.

772. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.40v.

773. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1514-15, 15-16 Expenses passim.

774. e.g. BL Additional Ms fos. 84, 102; CKS DTA 1546-58, 1557-8 Expenses.

775. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1581-1603.

776. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1626-49.

777. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1513-14 Expenses.

778. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1560-61, 64-5; DTA 1581-1603, 1581-2, 84-5; DTA 1626-49, 1635-6 Expenses.

779. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1551-2; DTA 1558-81, Expenses 1559-60.

780. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1512-14, Mr. Hale and Mr. Hall; CKS DTA 1546-58, 1546-7, Mr. Agre; DTA 1581-1603, Mr. Thurbarn and Mr. Mann; DTA 1603-26, 1605-6, Sir John Boys and Mr. Hadd.

781. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, Mr. Moning; DTA 1558-81, 1578-9, Captain Ward; 1581-1603, 1587-8, Captain Crispe and Captain Goring.

782. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1563-4, dinner wine and sugar to the masters of Sandwich.

783. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1626-49.

784. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1596-7, 1597-8 Expenses.

785. CKS DTA 1546-55, 1558-81.

786. CKS DTA 1581-1603.

787. CKS DTA 1546-58.

788. BL Additional Ms 29618; CKS DTA 1546-58.

789. CKS DTA 1546-58.
790. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1559-60 Expenses.
791. e.g. ibid., 1563-4 Expenses, dinner to Mr. Manwood and Mr. Boys £1.15s.8d.
792. ibid., 1578-9 Expenses.
793. CKS DTA 1581-1603, DTA 1603-26, DTA 1626-49.
794. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1615-16, 1616-17 Expenses.
795. ibid., 1617-18 Expenses.
796. CKS DTA 1558-81.
797. CKS DTA 1626-49.
798. CKS DTA 1581-1603.
799. CSP Charles 1 cclxx 37.
800. CSP Charles 1 ccxcv 18.
801. BL Additional Ms 1514-15 Expenses.
802. e.g. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1546-7 Expenses.
803. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1585-6, 86-7, 88-9, 97-8, 98-9, 99-1600; DTA 1603-26, 1620-21, 24-5 Expenses.
804. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.60v.
805. CKS DTA 1603-26.
806. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1619-20, 6s.8d. each for his coachman and two footmen.
807. ibid., 1617-18 Expenses.
808. BL Additional Ms 29618, Expenses passim.
809. ibid.
810. CKS DTA 1558-81.
811. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1518-19 Expenses.
812. ibid. passim.
813. CKS DTA 1546-58.
814. e.g. ibid., 1548-9 Expenses.
815. CKS DTA 1581-1603.
816. ibid.

817. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1558-81, 1581-1603, 1603-26.
818. BL Additional Ms 29618, Expenses passim.
819. CKS DTA 1558-81, DTA 1603-26.
820. ibid.
821. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.25v., Mr. Fyneux had been mayor the year before.
822. ibid. fo.82.
823. CKS DTA 1546-58.
824. CKS DTA 1558-81.
825. ibid., John Spritwell was the innkeeper most frequently paid by the corporation at this period, as Robert Fluce had been earlier.
826. CKS DTA 1581-1603.
827. BL Additional Ms 29618 1510-11; CKS DTA 1546-58, 1558-81 Expenses.
828. CKS DTA 1546-58.
829. CKS DTA 1558-81.
830. CKS DTA 1581-1603.
831. CKS DTA 1603-26.
832. ibid., DTA 1626-49.
833. ibid.
834. CKS DTA 1626-49.
835. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1558-81 Expenses passim.
836. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1581-1603 Expenses.
837. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1584-5, 85-6, 86-7, 87-8 Expenses.
838. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1613-14, 14-15 Expenses.
839. see Chapter 6 v).
840. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1577-8, 78-9 Expenses.
841. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1603-26 Expenses passim.
842. e.g. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1620-21, 23-4, 26-7, 30-31, Expenses.
843. BL Egerton 2094 fo.131.

844. CKS DTA 1558-1581.
845. e.g. ibid. 1567-8, 69-70, 73-4, 74-5, 77-8, 86-7 Expenses.
846. ibid.
847. BL Egerton 2094 fo.227.
848. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1574-5, 78-9; DTA 1581-1603, 1585-6 Expenses.
849. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1565-6, 66-7, 68-9, 69-70 Expenses.
850. e.g. ibid. 1574-5 Expenses.
851. CKS DTA 1546-55, 1553-4, 56-7, 57-8; DTA 1558-81, 1558-9 Expenses.
852. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1588-9 Expenses: Whitbread's wife, Mother Maye, Robert Tetro, Julie's wife, Goodwife Gray, Colley's widow; 1590-91 Expenses: Mother Gray, Robert Tetro, Mother Staunton, Horne's wife, John Higham, Rapeseed's wife, Biggar's wife, Thomas Atkins' wife.
853. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1581-1603, 1603-26 Expenses passim.
854. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1580-81 Expenses.
855. CKS DTA 1581-1603, Expenses 1596-7, 97-8.
856. ibid., 1586-7, 87-8, 88-9 Expenses.
857. CKS DTA 1603-26, Expenses.
858. CKS DTA 1581-1603.
859. ibid., 1583-4 Expenses relating to Anne Sames.
860. e.g. ibid. 10s.6d. fo healing Ghost's legs.
861. e.g. ibid. 1584-5 Expenses.
862. e.g. ibid., 1586-7 Expenses, 1s. to Widow Willis; 1587-8, 1s. to John Colley, 1s.6d. to a poor woman.
863. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1606-7 Expenses.
864. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.36v.
865. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1602-3 Expenses.
866. ibid., 1585-88 Expenses passim.
867. ibid., 1597-1602 passim.
868. ibid., 1602-3 Expenses.
869. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1609-10 expenses.

870. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1635-6 Expenses.

871. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1584-5 Expenses.

872. Paul Slack, Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England (1988), chapter 3.

873. W.G. Hoskins, The Age of Plunder: King Henry's England 1500-1547 (1976), Fig.3: The quality of English harvests 1480-1620, p.87.

874. see e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.443, CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.16, ibid., Acts fo.32.

875. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.36.

876. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1607-8 Expenses, £48 on rye for the poor; DCAM 1603 Acts fo.32 (1608).

877. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.10.

878. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.37.

879. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.89v.

880. ibid. fos.41, 45.

881. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.83.

882. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1619-20 Expenses.

883. ibid. 1612-13 Expenses.

884. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.113 (1613); CKS DTA 1626-49, 1631-2, 33-4 Expenses show payments made to the Overseers from fines paid by beer brewers.

885. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.23 (1632).

886. Chapter 7.

887. CKS DTA 1581-1603.

888. ibid. 1597-8, 98-9, 99-1600.

889. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1597-8, 98-9, 1602-3; DTA 1603-26, 1606-7, 1604-5 Expenses.

890. see Murray (1935) p.25 for an explanation of the historical reasons for the fifteen day period.

891. in section iii)d of this chapter.

892. BL Egerton 2093 fo.4v. et seq. shows this clearly.

893. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.360 (1588).

894. e.g. ibid. fo.349 (1587).

895. cf. e.g. BL Egerton 2093 fo.1 (1520); CKS DCAM 1603 Acts, fo.124v. (1626).
896. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1513-14, 14-15 Expenses.
897. ibid. fos. 61-62.
898. ibid. fo.76.
899. ibid. 1514-1518 Expenses passim.
900. ibid. 1521-22 Expenses.
901. BL Egerton 2093 fo.3.
902. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.135v.
903. BL Egerton 2093 fo.36.
904. ibid. fo.98.
905. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1632-3 Expenses.
906. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1562-3 Expenses.
907. BL Egerton 2095 fo.349.
908. ibid. fo.359v.
909. ibid. fo.358.
910. ibid. fo. 359.
911. ibid. fo. 360.
912. ibid.
913. ibid. fo.358v.
914. ibid. fo. 412.
915. ibid. fo. 413v.
916. e.g. CKS DTA 1596-7, 98-9 Expenses.
917. Egerton 2095 fo.417.
918. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1599-1600 Expenses.
919. BL Egerton 2095 fo.437v.
920. ibid. fo.440; CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1601-2 Expenses.
921. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1604-5 Expenses, gratuities to Sir Thomas Fane, John Boys etc. were levied "by shipping at 20s. the ship"; 1619-20 Expenses, charges of the solicitors etc. at the Guestling were "paid by way of shipping."
922. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.88v.

923. ibid. fo.91v.
924. CKS DTA 1603-26.
925. ibid.
926. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo. 142v.
927. CKS DTA 1626-49, 1635-6 Expenses.
928. ibid.
929. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.163.
930. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.142v. (1634).
931. CSP Charles 1 xxxiii 50.
932. ibid. xli 42.
933. ibid. vii 66.
934. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.207 (1525).
935. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1614-15 Expenses.
936. see Murray (1935) p.197 for a description of the functions of these courts.
937. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1513-14 Expenses; CKS DTA 1626-49, 1626-7 Expenses.
938. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.80-81.
939. e.g. ibid. 1514-15 Expenses, 15d. to the clerk, sergeant and servants; CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1581-2 Expenses, 4s. to the clerk and doorkeeper; DTA 1603-26, 1615-16 Expenses, 8s.8d. to the clerks and door-keeper; 1623-4 Expenses, gratuities 15s.
940. e.g. CKS DCAM 1558, fo.134v. et seq.
941. BL Additional Ms 29618, 1509-10 Expenses; CKS DTA 1558-81; DTA 1581-1603; DTA 1603-26; DTA 1626-49.
942. see section iii)d above in this chapter; for a full explanation see Murray (1935) pp.220-222.
943. CKS DTA 1581-1603.
944. CKS DTA 1603-26.
945. CKS DTA 1626-49.
946. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1601-2 Expenses; DTA 1603-26, 1603-4, 07-08, 09-10 Expenses.

947. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1609-10 Expenses - to Thanet to view a murdered body, to Thanet for a verdict on the body.

Notes and references to Chapter 2

1. see e.g. Chapter 1 iv)b for evidence of deteriorating buildings and iv)f for the town's difficulty in providing enough men for ship service.
2. see Chapter 4 iii) on the ruling group for a discussion of these men.
3. for examples of sixteenth century investors in leases and tithes see CCA PRC 32/26 fo.145 (1558), will of John Bowles; X.10.7 fo.5v. et seq. depositions in a case concerning the tithes of land formerly belonging to St. Bartholomew's; X.10.12 fo.128 et seq. (1564) depositions about tithes formerly belonging to the Priory.
4. Chapter 1 iii)a.
5. BL Stowe 850 fo.134.
6. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.330, payments made by fishermen for "mackerel fare" on June 1, 1542.
7. BL Egerton 2093 fos.173, 173v.
8. ibid. fos.191v., 192.
9. ibid. fo.199v.
10. BL Additional Ms 29618 fos.333, 349.
11. BL Additional Ms 29617 fo.226.
12. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.16v. (1509-10), under the heading "maltot de le codds et faring pence" only 15s.4d. - for faring pence - is recorded.
13. e.g. ibid. fos. 47, 114v.
14. e.g. ibid. fos. 315v., 333.
15. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1546-7 Receipts.
16. CKS DTA 1558-81.
17. CKS DTA 1546-58.
18. BL Egerton 2093 fo.193v.
19. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.125v.
20. CSP Charles 1 clxxxvi 79.
21. CCA X.10.12 fos.200-218 passim.
22. CCA X.10.19, fo.221v., X.11.5 fo.99; X.11.1 fo.257.
23. BL Egerton 2095 fo.27.

24. CCA PRC 21/3 fo.102 (1576) Hugh Jacob; PRC 21/12 fo.12 (1594) Richard Jacob; PRC 28/16 fo.160 (1630) Christopher Gray; PRC 28/16 fo.435 (1631) William Taverner; PRC 28/19 fo.451 (1634) James Harrison.
25. CCA PRC 27/2 fo.2 (1611); PRC 28/20 fo.434 (1637).
26. CSP Charles 1 xc 70.
27. ibid. ccclxxx 22.
28. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts 44v. (1610); Dover Depositions 1630 fo.69v. (1635).
29. CCA PRC 21/4 fo.28v., PRC 21/10 fo.42v.
30. CCA PRC 26/6 fo.70; PRC 27/2 fo.2.
31. CCA PRC 28/11 fo.395 (1622) Mace; PRC 28/14 fo.248 (1625) Garrett; PRC 28/12 fo.489 (1625) Ingram; PRC 28/14 fo.229 (1628) Chalke; PRC 28/19 fo.24 (1636) Sargeant; PRC 28/19 fo.126 (1637) Gull; PRC 18/20 fo.434 (1637) John Wallop; PRC 28/20 fo.29 (1638) Thomas Wallop.
32. given in full at Appendix A.
33. e.g. BL Egerton 2093 fo.190.
34. e.g. CSP Elizabeth xiii 11 (1566), Sir Thomas Hoby to William Cecil; xxiv 92 (1576), Sir Amias Paulet to Lord Burghley.
35. BL Egerton 2093 fo.200.
36. ibid.
37. John Lyon, The History of the Town and Port of Dover (Dover 1813) vol i p.287.
38. BL Egerton 2093 fo.182v.
39. e.g. BL Egerton 2118 fo.2 (1550).
40. e.g. ibid. fo.2v. Edward and Robert May.
41. ibid. fo.5v.
42. ibid. fo.9v.
43. Chapter 1 iii)a.
44. BL Egerton 2108.
45. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.299v. (1584), 308v. (1585); CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.31 (1633), CSP James 1 clxv 75 (1624).
46. BL Egerton 2095 fo.361.

47. CSP Charles 1 ccxcv 65 (1635).
48. BL Egerton 2095 fo.341.
49. e.g. BL Egerton 2108 fo.3 (1511) the Mighell Bailly, a ship of 50 tons, paid half-passage; Additional Ms 29618 fo.62 (1513), the Mighell Bailly was paid for ship service to the King; Egerton 2093 fo.51v. (1523) the Mighell Bailly rifled a Dutch ship between Winchelsea and Rye while carrying goods along the coast.
50. e.g. PRO E190/638/5 (1567-8); E190/640/1 (1576-7); E190/641/7 (1579-80). For shipping routes see Map 1:1.
51. BL Egerton fo.44.
52. see e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.92; DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.163v.
53. BL Egerton 2093 fo.207.
54. BL Egerton 2095 fo.210.
55. ibid. fo.345v.
56. BL Egerton 2094 fo.51; Egerton 2095 fo.51.
57. CCA PRC 32/35 fo.156v.
58. BL Egerton 2099 fo.13v.
59. CKS DTA 1546-58.
60. e.g. PRO E190/638/5 (1567), Humfrey Meede and John Lucas; E190/640/1 (1575-76), John Atkins, William Willis, John Kenton, Richard Wenlock.
61. BL Egerton 2095 fo.302v.
62. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.344v., Edmund Michell exports lime to Middleburgh; CCA PRC 32/34 fo.177, the will of William Eaton (1581) shows that he shared three eighths of a lime-kiln with Edmund Michell.
63. e.g. BL 2095 fo.308v. (1585) John Tench's malt and wheat were taken by a man of war when on their way to Flushing; CSP Charles 1 xxvii 79 (1626), a request that grain boats should be allowed to go to London from Dover again.
64. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fos.221, 225v (1581), Thomas Robinson, Mitchell Colbrand, Thomas Mowell; 263v. (1582) William Wood; 270, 275, 278 (1583) Gilbert Knowles, William Crispe, Nicholas Colbrand.
65. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.275 (1531-2).
66. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.355 (1587), CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.17 (1604).

67. BL Egerton 2093 fo.54.
68. BL Egerton 2108 fos.3-17 passim.
69. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.61 et seq.
70. e.g. BL Egerton 2108 fos. 45-6 (1519-20); 70v. (1525-6).
71. ibid. fo.64.
72. BL Egerton 2584 fo.67.
73. ibid.
74. at Appendix A.
75. ibid. fos. 375-380v.
76. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.148.
77. ibid.
78. see ~~Introduction~~<sup>Foreword</sup>, the development of Dover harbour.
79. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.21.
80. Kepler (1976), Appendix C pp.162-3; the years run from Christmas to Christmas.
81. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.106v.
82. e.g. ibid. fo.128; DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.186; Dover Depositions 1630 fos.23, 28v., 30v., 35v..., 42v., 52, 66v., 68, 69v., 71v.
83. PRO SP16/17/74, SP16/17/100, SP16/17/120, SP16/17/125, SP16/17/154. The certificates grant permission for the ships to carry ordnance.
84. Kepler (1976), pp.105-109.
85. CSP Charles 1 xxxvii 45.
86. ibid. lxxiii 26.
87. ibid. cccccxxix 16.
88. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.19.
89. PRO E190/638/5.
90. PRO E190/640/1.
91. PRO E190/657/11.
92. PRO E122/212/34.
93. Acts of the Privy Council 1625-26, p.123.

94. CCA PRC 28/17 fo.178 (1632);PRC 28/20 fo.653 (1637).
95. CCA PRC 20/5 fo.240.
96. e.g. CCA PRC 32/34 fo.177 (1581), the will of William Eaton; PRC 32/145 fo.323 (1623), the will of William Ward; PRC 32/46 fo.203 (1625),the will of Robert Garrett.
97. CCA PRC 39/46 fo.115 (1634).
98. e.g. CCA Z.4.3 (1624), John and Robert de Marle; Z.4.6 (1637), John de la Vilette, Mr. Budier, Mr. Le Toffe, Mr. Vandewall, Mr. van Ellen, Walter Wybrames.
99. CSP Charles 1 v 53, 54 (1625).
100. G.H.Overend, Strangers in Dover, Proceedings of the Huguenot Society, Vol. 3 No.2 (1889-90) p.165, hereafter Overend; CCA X.11.13 fo.47.
101. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.61 (1614); DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.41 (1634).
102. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 195v, 196.
103. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos. 34v., 46.
104. CCA PRC 39/39 fo.56 (1627).
105. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.102.
106. CSP Charles 1 xciv 30.
107. CKS Dover Hundred Court Books, 1583-1591, 1591-1603, 1603-1626, 1626-1643 passim.
108. CCA PRC 20/8 fo.267 (1627).
109. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.47v.
110. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 172v., 177, 180.
111. CSP Charles 1 iii 82 (1625).
112. ibid. v 53, 54.
113. ibid. v 109, vii 66, xix 44 (1626).
114. e.g. CSP James 1 xcvi 10.
115. CSP Charles 1 cxv Register Book; lxii 85
116. see Appendix A.
117. CSP Charles 1 xxxv 91 (1626).
118. CCA X.11.16 fo.190.
119. CCA PRC 32/35 fo.177 (1581).

120. ibid.
121. CCA PRC 32/39 fo.233 (1603)
122. CCA PRC fo.147; PRC 32/35 fo.156v.
123. CCA PRC 32/50 fo.316, will of Jane Eaton (1635); see also Chapter 4 i).
124. Appendix A.
125. CSP Charles 1 cxv Register Book.
126. CCA PRC 28/20 fo.653.
127. CCA PRC 32/51 fo.319.
128. e.g. by Dorothy Gardiner ed. The Oxinden Letters (1933) p.xvii.
129. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 11v., 16 (1604), 20, 26v. (1605); ibid. Acts fo.25 (1606).
130. CCA PRC 28/6 fo.70.
131. CCA PRC 32/42 fo.89.
132. CKS Register of Dover Freemen 1601-1721 (1613).
133. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.98v., 106, 158.
134. ibid. fo.158.
135. Dover Harbour Board. Drawings nos.10665-10676.
136. CSP James 1 xc 14.
137. Dover Depositions 1630 fo.105v.
138. CSP Charles 1 xxi 12 (1626).
139. e.g. PRO E122/212/34 (1637-8).
140. PRO SP16/7 fo.66.
141. BL Egerton 2095 fo.466v.
142. E.Hasted, The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent (Canterbury 1790), Vol.iii pp.724-5.
143. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.163.
144. in 1617-18, 1630-32, 31-32; CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.78v., 134, 136v.
145. CSP Charles 1 cclxx 37.
146. BL Egerton 2093 fo.29 (1533-4); Egerton 2094 fo.256 (1575-6); CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.1v. (1602-3).

147. BL Egerton 2093 fo.29.
148. CCA PRC 32/28 fo.81v.
149. CCA PRC 21/4 fo.28v.
150. CCA PRC 21/10 fo.42v.
151. CCA PRC 32/40 fo.218v.
152. CCA PRC 28/6 fo.395; PRC 28/9 fo.411.
153. CCA PRC 28/7 fo.592 (1613); PRC 28/9 fo.569 (1618); PRC 28/10 fo.137 (1623); PRC 28/13 fo.248 (1625).
154. e.g. in 1623, CCA PRC 28/11 fo.221 Robert Fleming; in 1624, PRC 28/12 fo.65 William Tatnall, shipwright; PRC 28/12 fo.47 Michael Wallop; in 1625, PRC 28/12 fo.454 Thomas Mayre; PRC 28/10 fo.396 William Tatam; PRC 28/12 fo.334 John Woodgreen; in 1626, PRC 28/13 fo.302 Robert Cloakes; PRC 28/10 fo.394 Agens Trapham.
155. CCA PRC 27/2 fo.2.
156. CCA PRC 28/9 fo.567.
157. CCA PRC 28/9 fo.569.
158. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.5.
159. CCA PRC 28/11 fo.416; PRC 28/1 fo.299; PRC 28/13 fo.284.
160. CCA PRC 39/42 fo.172v.
161. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.121.
162. CCA PRC 28/12 fo.263; Dover Hundred Court Book, Records of Pleas 1603-25 (1618)
163. CCA PRC 28/10 fo.396.
164. CCA PRC 28/12 fo.334.
165. CCA PRC 20/7 fo.203; PRC 28/12 fo.454.
166. CSP Charles 1 cccxxi 77.
167. CCA PRC 28/14 fo.229.
168. CCA PRC 28/16 fo.141; PRC 32/48 fo.293.
169. CCA PRC 28/20 fo.434; PRC 32/52 fo.377.
170. CCA PRC 27/11 fo.837.
171. CCA PRC 39/46 fos.257v., 258v.
172. CCA PRC 28/12 fo.65.

173. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.161v., 153v.
174. CCA PRC 28/19 fo.126.
175. e.g. PRO E122/212/34 (1637-8).
176. BL Additional Ms fo.139.
177. see BL Egerton 2094 fos.1 (1505), 5 (1508); Additional Ms 29618 fo.57 (1512) for Nethersole's mayoralties; Egerton 2093 fos.48 (1523), 91 (1529) for his service as Burgess to Parliament; Egerton 2093 fos. 79v (1528), 102 (1532) for Vaughan's mayoralties; Egerton 2093 fos.48 (1523), 163 (1537) for his service as Burgess to Parliament.
178. e.g. PRO E179/230/192 (1538-9); E179/231/204 (1540-41).
179. e.g. see PRO E179/125/308 for lay subsidies paid by Robert Nethersole, junior, and James, John and Richard Nethersole.
180. BL Egerton 2093 fos.112-119.
181. BL Additional Ms 29618 fos.8, 158.
182. CCA PRC 32/27 fo.381, Bendes; PRC 32/25 fo.1, Mody; PRC 21/4 fo.199, Redwood; PRC 32/36 fo.158, PRC 21/10 fo.47, Gibbons; PRC 32/37 fo.80v. Glide; PRC 32/36 fo.106v., Tench; PRC 32/35 fo.116, PRC 21/6 fo.551, Jane Eaton; PRC 28/4 fo.78 Brome; PRC 32/40 fo.1, Bredgate; PRC 32/42 fo.361, PRC 28/7 fo.28, Robert Austen; PRC 28/6 fo.231 Graunt; PRC 32/42 fo.89, PRC 28/6 fo.70, Charles Brames; PRC 32/45 fo.323, PRC 28/11 fo.703 Ward; PRC 28/3 fo.33 Peter Hughessen; PRC 28/14 fo.339, Cornelius Hughessen; PRC 28/14 fo.673, PRC 20/9 fo.496, Waller; PRC 28/19 fo.494, Finnes; PRC 28/20 fo.717 Alderstone; PRC 27/6 fo.96 Jefford; PRC 32/52 fo.401v., PRC 28/18 fo.8 Weekes; PRC 28/15 fo.106 Wentworth; PRC 32/51 fo.319, PRC 28/20 fo.653, Eaton.
183. BL Egerton 2095 fo.380.
184. ibid. fo.18; CCA X.10.19 fo.147.
185. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.16.
186. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1605-6 Expenses.
187. CCA PRC 23/47 fo.191.
188. BL Egerton 2118 fo.7.
189. see CCA X.11.5 for her deposition setting out her mother's objection to the marriage.
190. CSP James 1 lxxii 114 (1613).
191. CCA PRC 27/11 fo.104.
192. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.132, 154.

193. CKS Dover Depositions fo.89 et seq.
194. CCA PRC 27/11 fo.9.
195. CCA PRC 21/15 fo.402.
196. e.g. Clement Faulkner, William Flintstone, Captain Stevens, John Haslewood, Edmund Woodgrene.
197. e.g. Daniel and David Nephew, Mr.Brailsford, John Ryall.
198. Dover Harbour Board, Ms.drawings nos. 10,665-10, 676.
199. CCA PRC 28/20 fo.80; PRC 28/18 fo.12.
200. CCA PRC 28/9 fo.569; PRC 28/2 fo.249; PRC 28/13 fo.302.
201. CCA PRC 28/6 fo.70.
202. CCA PRC 32/43 fo.261.
203. CCA PRC 28/3 fo.168, his inventory; PRC 20/7 fo.15, his accounts; PRC 20/19 fo.26, his widow's inventory.
204. CCA PRC 32/51 fo.267v.
205. see e.g. the following wills: CCA PRC 32/47 fo.126 (1626) Richard Smith; PRC 32/49 fo.173 (1630) Christopher Bulger; PRC 32/49 fo.209 (1630) Katherine Sacrey; PRC 32/50 fo.278 (1630) Stephen Askew.
206. CCA PRC 21/16 fo.394; PRC 28/6 fo.194.
207. CCA PRC 27/6 fo.96.
208. CCA PRC 28/20 fo.434.
209. CCA PRC 20/5 fo.158 (1620); PRC 32/46 fo.187v.(1625); PRC 28/14 fo.504 (1627); PRC 32/47 fo.236 (1628); PRC 28/19 fo.24 (1636).
210. CCA PRC 28/11 fo.416.
211. R.B.Outhwaite, Dearth and Government Intervention in English Grain Markets, 1590-1700, EHR Second Series, 1981, vol.34 pp.389-406; Paul Slack, "Books of Orders: the Making of English Social Policy, 1577-1631" Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 5th series, number 30 (1980) pp. 1-22 gives an account of the Books of Orders as "late manifestations of an established practice of using the Crown's prerogative powers to publicize its social policy, educate magistrates in its principles and supervise its application." He discusses the influences on the development of the dearth orders and the difficulties experienced in enforcing them, particularly in the political context of the 1630s. In Paul Slack, Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England (1988) pp. 139-148 he distinguishes between what he sees as sensible legislative measures to get grain to market and to persuade municipal governments to purchase corn, and the doubtful use of searches and market regulations, cf. those described here on p.273.
212. Outhwaite, Dearth and Government Intervention op. cit. p.389, which also refers to A.Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce" in J. Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, iv, 1500-1640. (Cambridge 1967) pp.530-1, 581.
213. BL Egerton 2094 fos.17 (1510), 37v.(1522).
214. PRO SP1/96/59.
215. ibid.
216. BL Additional Ms 29618 fos. 305, 307, 311.

217. BL Egerton 2095 fo.400.
218. 39 Eliz. c.16.
219. BL Egerton 2095 fo.402v.
220. ibid. fos.408v., 424.
221. ibid. fo.412.
222. e.g. ibid. fo.346v. (1587).
223. ibid. fo.415.
224. ibid. fo.413v.
225. ibid. fo.422.
226. ibid.
227. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1597-9 Expenses.
228. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.16.
229. ibid. fo.10.
230. ibid. fo.16; Vincent Glover and John Bredgate.
231. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.36v.
232. ibid. fos.31. 32.
233. ibid.
234. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.36v.
235. ibid. fo.87.
236. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.64v.
237. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.127.
238. CSP James 1 lxxxviii 54.
239. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.140v.
240. CSP James 1 cxvi 134.
241. ibid. cxvi 135.
242. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.172v.
243. ibid.
244. ibid. fo.173.
245. ibid. fo.177.
246. ibid. fo.180.

247. ibid. fo. 180v.
248. CSP Charles 1 clxiv 47.
249. ibid. clxvi 32
250. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.135.
251. ibid. fo.136.
252. CSP Charles 1 clxxx 62.
253. e.g.CCA PRC 21/8 fo.375 (1587) John Hart, Newcastle; PRC 28/3 fo.145 (1599) John Lovell, Fowey, Totness; PRC 21/15 fo.55 (1602) Henry Tiddeman, Yarmouth; PRC 20/8 fo.251 (1627) John Ingram, Yarmouth; PRC 20/7 fo.203 (1626) Thomas Mayre, Newcastle; PRC 27/8 fo.43 (1640) Philip Bagthwaite, Exeter; PRC 20/7 fo.371, the body of Henry Vannam, mariner, was "freighted from the West country."
254. Chapter 6 iii).
255. e.g. CSP Charles 1 cccxxxii 59 (1636), Arnold Brames paid £139.2s.0d. to a Scots mariner that was due to him from merchants in San Sebastian.
256. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.23 (1632); for Peter Nephew see Overend p.166.
257. CCA PRC 20/9 fo.99 (1630); PRC 20/8 fo.355 (1627).
258. CCA PRC 20/8 fo.39 (1627).
259. CCA PRC28/19 fo.106 (1637).
260. CCA PRC 20/7 fo.215 (1625); PRC 19/1 fo.84 (1638).
261. see testamentary accounts CCA PRC 20/1 fo. 356 (1609); PRC 20/2 fo.200 (1611); PRC 20/3 fo.25 (1614); PRC 20/3 fo.242 (1615); PRC 20/4 fo.143 (1620); PRC 20/5 fo.44; PRC 20/5 fo.57 (1621); PRC 20/6 fo.312 (1623); PRC 20/6 fo.54 (1624); PRC 20/7 fo.215; PRC 20/7 fo.291; PRC 20/251 (1625); PRC 20/7 fo.203 (1626); PRC 20/7 fo.158, PRC 20/8 fo.359; PRC 20/8 fo.462 (1627); PRC 20/10 fo.274, PRC 20/11 fo.562 (1632); PRC 20/10 fo.1 (1638); PRC 20/10 fo.150 (1639); PRC 19/1 fo.65 (1640); PRC 19/2 fo.10 (1642).
262. CCA PRC 21/17 fo.264; PRC 21/16 fo.79; PRC 20/8 fo.488.
263. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.29v., 145v. 172.
264. CCA PRC 39/48 fo.42v.
265. CCA X.10.18 fo.56.
266. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.104.
267. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.132v.

268. ibid. fo.108.

269. CCA PRC 32/13 fo.191; PRC 32/33 fo.13; BL Egerton 2106 fo.26; PRC 32/33 fo.50v; PRC 32/34 fo.236v; PRC 32/37 fo.162v; PRC 32/40 fo.89; PRC 32/49 fo.142; PRC 32/51 fo.384v.

270. e.g. CCA X.10.2 fo.9 et seq. (1543); X.10 7 fo.99 (1560); X.11.1 fo.181 (1588); CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.132 (1629).

271. BL Egerton 2094 fo.13; CCA PRC 32/26 fo.19; CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.127, 129v, 131v.

272. BL Egerton 2095 fo.280v (1583) William Elwood "servant to the customer"; Egerton 2109 fo.58 (1588) Thomas Elwood "deputy customer"; CCA PRC 32/42 fo.165 Thomas Elwood left land in St. John's Thanet and Buckland near Dover, his overseer was his kinsman William Elwood of Sandwich.

273. CCA U3/26/1/1 Vincent Huffam, clerk, married Alice Tench July 1599; PRC 32/42 fo.238 (1613), he left lands in Ash adjacent to that of his brothers; PRC 32/50 fo.181v. (1631), Thomas Huffam left lands at Eastry, Hougham and Ash, and had farmed land formerly belonging to Dover Priory.

274. CCA PRC 32/32 fo.70.

275. CCA X.10.16 fo.5 et seq., X.10.16 fo.121 et seq.

276. CCA PRC 32/11 fo.77 (1513), will of William Colley; PRC 32/26 fo.19 (1554), will of John Moninges.

277. CCA PRC 32/26 fo.145 (1558).

278. CCA PRC 32/33 fo.22v.

279. CCA PRC 21/17 fo.143.

280. CCA PRC 28/7 fo.295.

281. CCA PRC 28/20 fo.717 (1635), inventory; PRC 20/10 fo.1, accounts.

282. CCA PRC 32/45 fo.6; PRC 20/5 fo.283.

283. CCA PRC 20/8 fo.462.

284. CCA PRC 32/49 fo.142 (1630).

285. CCA PRC 32/51 fo.384.

286. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.29v; CCA PRC 20/2 fo.128.

287. CCA PRC 20/8 fo.226; PRC 20/10 fo.108.

288. CCA PRC 20/5 fo.57 (1621).

289. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.80v.

290. CCA PRC 20/9 fo.359.

291. Murray (1935) p.44.
292. BL Egerton fos. 346v., 348.
293. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1594-5 Expenses.
294. BL Egerton 2095 fo.33.
295. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fos.72v.(1513-14), 134 (1519-20); CKS DTA 1546-58, 1552-3 Receipts.
296. CCA PRC 20/1 fo.189.
297. CCA PRC 20/2 fo.414 (1612); PRC 19/12 fo.11 (1641).
298. CCA PRC 20/2 fo.268 (1611); PRC 19/2 fo.2 (1641).
299. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.170v.
300. CCA PRC X.11.6 fo.60.
301. ibid. fo.177 et seq.
302. CCA PRC 21/6 fo.267.
303. CCA PRC 32/27 fo.13(1558).
304. CCA PRC 20/4 fo.222, John Kennet; PRC 20/11 fo.133.
305. BL Egerton 2094 fo.32.
306. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fos.42, 99.
307. ibid. fos. 102, 109v.
308. CCA PRC 20/8 fo.512.
309. BL Additional Ms 28530 fo.58, the General Custumal of the Cinque Ports, 1549.
310. CCA PRC 33/1 fo.51; see also PRC 32/12 fo.118, will of Thomas Aldaye of Sandwich; PRC 17/19 fo.307, will of Alexander Aldaye of Sandwich. I am indebted to Jane Andrewes for this reference.
311. CCA X.11.7 fo.59v.
312. BL Egerton 2095 fo.295v.
313. ibid. fo.344v.
314. ibid. fo.295v.
315. ibid. fo.338.
316. Chapter 4 i).
317. CCA PRC 21/6 fo.556 (1584); PRC 32/46 fo.233v (1625).

318. CCA PRC 32/52 fo.377 (1637).
319. CCA PRC 32/36 fo.152v; PRC 32/50 fo.150v; PRC 32/44 fo.249; PRC 32/46 fo.203.
320. CCA PRC 32/52 fo.30v.
321. CCA PRC 20/7 fo.371.
322. BL Egerton 2095 fo.330.
323. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.195v.
324. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.188 (1522); PRO E190/638/5 (1567-8).
325. CCA PRC 21/2 fo.2.
326. CCA PRC 20/3 fo.242.
327. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1605-6 Expenses.
328. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1623-4 Expenses.
329. CCA X.11.16 fo.210.
330. CCA X.11.6 fo.39 (1592).
331. CCA PRC 21/10 fo.165; PRC 21/11 fo.24.
332. CKS DTA 1546-58.
333. CCA PRC 21/2 fo.73.
334. CCA PRC 21/14 fo.246; PRC 21/14 fo.262; PRC 21/1 fo.358.
335. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1605-6 Expenses.
336. CCA PRC 32/29 fo.58v.
337. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.88.
338. CCA PRC 20/9 fo.359.
339. e.g. BL Egerton 2093 fo.207 (1544); CKS DTA 1546-58, 1551-2 Receipts.
340. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.165 (1620).
341. BL Additional Ms fos.147v., 148.
342. e.g. ibid. 1526-7 Receipts; CKS DTA 1546-58, 1551-2 Receipts.
343. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.75v; Dover Depositions 1630 fos. 82, 114.
344. CCA PRC 32/27 fo.100.

345. CCA PRC 21/2 fo.9.
346. CCA PRC 28/3 fo.145; 20/1 fo.120; 20/1 fo.298; 20/2 fo.100.
347. CCA PRC 20/2 fo.136; 20/9 fo.343.
348. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo. 121 (1616); Dover Depositions 1630 fo.15v. (1631).
349. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1608-9, 23-4, 24-5 Expenses.
350. BL Egerton 2584 fo.162 (1619).
351. CCA PRC 28/20 fo.204.
352. CCA X.11.16 fo.76.
353. CCA PRC 20/9 fo.203.
354. CCA PRC 32/44 fo.281.
355. CCA PRC 20/7 fo.86; PRC 20/8 fo.516.
356. CCA PRC 19/1 fo.23.
357. CCA PRC 20/2 fo.500.
358. CCA PRC 28/7 fo.592.
359. CCA PRC 19/1 fo.24 (1640).
360. CCA PRC 20/5 fo.3.
361. CCA PRC 20/8 fo.39 (1627); PRC 20/8 fo.39; PRC 20/9 fo.496; PRC 19/1 fo.9.
362. CCA PRC 21/14 fo.43 (1598).
363. CCA PRC 20/2 fo.496.
364. CCA PRC 32/28 fo.78v; PRC 32/22 fo.58; PRC 32/32 fo.353v.
365. CCA PRC 32/36 fo.95; PRC 20/5 fo.57; PRC 32/45 fo.170v; PRC 32/50 fo.278; PRC 28/20 fo.204.
366. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.140 (1633).
367. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.111.
368. CCA PRC 19/2 fo.85.
369. in Chapter 1 iv) f.
370. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.91v.
371. ibid. fo.97 (1621).

372. see i) a above in this chapter.
373. CCA PRC 21/7 fo.384.
374. CKS Records of Pleas 1591-1603, 1596, 1597.
375. e.g. CKS Records of Pleas 1603-25, 1610, Thomas Paramore against Josias Norwood, both of Thanet.
376. e.g. ibid. 1606, Giles Dian of Sandwich, merchant, against Corren Corynson Waddy of Bruershaven Zealand; 1617, Francis Griffin, merchant tailor of London, against Richard Cottle, tailor of London.
377. ibid., 1611.
378. e.g. CKS Records of Pleas 1546-59, 1550 John Bundy, Dover, sued Yogham Grott, "Dansk"; 1557 Henry Hocke, Calais butcher, sued John West, Dover, victualler; 1558 Thomas Pilbeam, yeoman, sued Oliver de Boulogne; Records of Pleas 1583-91, 1586 John Iland, victualler, sued Adrian Lillo, Flushing; Records of Pleas 1603-25, 1604 George Hedge, Dover, hackneyman, sued Guillaume Gaulle de Bruges, Flanders, hackneyman.
379. ibid. 1626-56, 1636.
380. ibid. 1627, Nicholas Brett against John Sampson, William Young against John and Alice and Thomas Sampson, William Young against John Sampson.
381. CKS Records of Pleas 1603-25; 1626-56.
382. e.g. BL Egerton fo.374v.(1587) gives the causes why Robert Marsh was aggrieved with Henry Marsh who had advised Thomas and John Marsh to go to law with Robert.
383. CCA X.11.4 fo.13v.
384. CCA PRC 32/46 fo.31.
385. CCA PRC 32/34 fo.236v.
386. e.g. CKS Records of Pleas 1546-59, 1552 Richard Marsh of Oxney, 1557 Christopher Marsh; Records of Pleas 1583-91, 1584 Henry Marsh, 1592 Robert Marsh; Records of Pleas 1603-25, 1603 John Marsh of Coldred, 1613 George Marsh of Ewell.
387. CKS Records of Pleas 1603-25, 1615, 1616.
388. CKS Records of Pleas 1626-56, 1635, 1639.
389. CCA PRC 20/7 fo.203.
390. CKS Record of Pleas 1626-56, 1628.
391. The extensive case is at CCA PRC 39/33 fo.7 et seq.
392. ibid. fo.18.

393. ibid. fos.303-304v.
394. ibid. fos.7-8.
395. ibid. fo.309v.
396. ibid. fo.306.
397. ibid. fo.324v.
398. ibid. fo.321.
399. in section ii) a of this chapter.
400. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.10 (1604).
401. CCA PRC 39/33 fo.330.
402. ibid. fo.19.
403. CKS Records of Pleas 1626-56, June 1637.
404. CCA PRC 39/33 fo.325.
405. ibid.
406. CKS Records of Pleas 1583-91; 1591-1603; 1626-56.
407. For an overview of these arguments see C.G.A.Clay,  
Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700, 2  
 vols. (Cambridge 1984)
408. e.g. by Joan Thirsk: Policy and Projects: the development  
 of a consumer society in early modern England (Oxford, 1978).
409. CCA PRC 21/1 fo.130 John Hobday (1571); PRC 21/9 fo.320  
 John Tench (1588); PRC 21/13 fo.79 Henry Leonard (1594); PRC  
 28/4 fo.78 John Browne (1600); PRC 28/6 fo.70 Charles Brames  
 (1611); PRC 28/9 fo.567 John Tooke (1617); PRC 28/6 fo.203  
 Robert Forman (1611); PRC 28/7 fo.295 Edward Kempe (1613); PRC  
 28/14 fo.284 Peter Eaton (1625); PRC 28/13 fo.248 Robert  
 Garrett (1625); PRC 28/11 fo.703 William Warde (1623); PRC  
 28/10 fo.396 William Tatam (1625); PRC 28/10 fo.340 John  
 Evering (1625); PRC 28/16 fo.134 Thomas Foord (1630); PRC  
 28/19 fo.652 John Golder (1633); PRC 28/18 fo.8 Thomas Weekes  
 (1638); PRC 28/15 fo.166 William Wentworth (1630) PRC 28/17  
 fo.412 Thomas Huffam (1631); PRC 27/7 fo.8 William Mereweather  
 (1639); PRC 28/20 fo.26 Edward West (1638); PRC 28/16 fo.141  
 George Fagg (1630); PRC 28/20 fo.434 John Wallop (1637); PRC  
 28/19 fo.126 Thomas Gull (1636); PRC 28/20 fo.653 Nicholas  
 Eaton (1637); PRC 27/6 Fo.62 Richard Dawkes (1638).
410. e.g. CCA PRC 21/10 fo.93 (1590)
411. e.g. CCA PRC 28/16 fo.160 (1630).
412. CCA PRC21/2 fo.138v.
413. CCA PRC 28/13 fo.64.

414. CCA PRC 28/11 fo.407 (1623); PRC 28/12 fo.267 (1625).
415. e.g. CCA PRC 28/7 fo.122 (1631) Tobias Loveday, butcher; PRC 27/8 fo.98 (1640) John Moore, tailor.
416. CCA PRC 21/17 fo.355 Winter Stone; e.g. PRC 28/6 fo.70 (1611) Charles Brames, merchant; PRC 28/7 fo.592 (1613) Richard Willoughy, mariner.
417. e.g. CCA PRC 21/8 fo.137v. (1589) John Hart, mariner; PRC 21/11 fo.127v. (1592) James Ruther, fisherman.
418. CCA PRC 21/9 fo.320.
419. e.g. CCA PRC 28/12 fo.334 (1625) John Woodgreen, mariner; PRC 28/19 fo.691 (1632) John Daniel, mariner.
420. e.g. CCA PRC 20/5 fo.321 (1620) Edmund Dell, baker.
421. e.g. CCA PRC 28/11 fo.250 (1623) John Goodwin.
422. CCA PRC 28/15 fo.166 (1630) William Wentworth; PRC 28/19 fo.695 (1633) Edward Doves; PRC 28/19 fo.494 (1633) John Finnes.
423. CCA PRC 21/7 fo.406.
424. CCA PRC 21/10 fo.136v. William Reve (1590); PRC 21/12 fo.123v. Christian Jones (1594); X.11.5 Thomas Allen (1596).
425. e.g. CCA PRC 21/13 fo.293 Alexander Tideman fisherman (1597); PRC 28/4 fo.309 Thomas Whiting victualler (1597); PRC 21/14 fo.459 John Kirton fisherman (1598).
426. CCA PRC 28/17 fo.412; PRC 28/19 fo.81; PRC 28/20 fo.75.
427. CCA PRC 21/9 fo.320.
428. CCA PRC 28/6 fo.70; PRC 21/1 fo.218.
429. CCA PRC 21/2 fo.132; PRC 21/4 fo.28v; PRC 21/9 fo.320; PRC 21/11 fo.11.
430. CCA PRC 10/14 fo.80 (1582); PRC 28/4 fo.4 (1601).
431. CCA PRC 28/7 fo.295.
432. CCA PRC 28/11 fo.221.
433. CCA PRC 21/2 fo.86; PRC 21/7 fo.406; PRC 21/9 fo.311.
434. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.8.
435. CCA X.11 15 fo.228v.
436. CCA PRC 28/7 fo.592 (1613); PRC 28/14 fo.316 (1629); PRC 28/19 fo.691 (1632); PRC 27/6 fo.70 (1637).

437. CCA PRC 28/6 fo.70 (1611) Charles Brames; PRC 28/19 fo.81 (1636) Avis Kingsnod; PRC 28/11 fo.703 (1623) William Warde.
438. CCA PRC 28/20 fo.75 (1638); PRC 28/11 fo.211 (1623).
439. e.g. CCA PRC 21/8 fo.137v. (1589) John Hart, mariner; PRC 21/17 fo.194 (1598) John Cole, mariner.
440. CCA PRC 28/11 fo.703; PRC 28/16 fo.329.
441. e.g. CCA PRC 20/10 fo.112 (1635); PRC 19/2 fo.10 (1641).
442. CCA PRC 20/3 fo.360.
443. CCA PRC 28/14 fo.665 (1628); PRC 28/11 fo.416 (1621).
444. CCA PRC 28/6 fo.70 (1611); PRC 28/7 fo.295 (1613); PRC 28/11 fo.703 (1613); PRC 27/11 fo.9 (1643).
445. e.g. CCA PRC 28/16 fo.134 (1630) Thomas Foord; PRC 28/17 fo.412 (1613) Thomas Huffam, gentleman; PRC 28/14 fo.103 (1627) Richard Boys, merchant; PRC 28/10 fo.40 (1625) Thomas Evering; PRC 28/14 fo.435 (1625) Richard Marsh, gentleman.
446. CCA PRC 28/12 fo.263 (1625) Richard Doves.
447. CCA PRC 21/3 fo.39.
448. CCA PRC 21/4 fo.94.
449. CCA PRC 28/3 fo.157; PRC 21/5 fo.208 (1600).
450. CCA PRC 28/3 fo.208.
451. CCA PRC 28/8 fo.436; PRC 28/12 fo.157; PRC 27/8 fo.130.
452. CCA PRC 27/8 fo.98.
453. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1603-1626 passim.
454. CCA PRC 28/6 fo.203.
455. CKS Records of Pleas 1603-15, 1611; CCA PRC 32/42 fo.35 (1611)
456. CCA PRC 39/30 fo.177 (1607).
457. CCA PRC 21/9 fo.305v.
458. CCA PRC 28/13 fo.264 John Filleys; PRC 28/13 fo.21 Edward Hudless.
459. CCA PRC 28/20 fos.447, 32.
460. BL Egerton 2095 fo.320 (1585).
461. CCA PRC 21/10 fo.136v. (1590).
462. CCA PRC 21/16 fo.351.

463. CCA PRC 21/16 fo.362.
464. CCA PRC 28/5 fo.288; PRC 28/16 fo.362.
465. CCA PRC 21/11 fo.153v; PRC 21/13 fo.109; PRC 28/19 fo.494.
466. CCA PRC 21/7 fo.409.
467. CCA PRC 28/4 fo.302; PRC 28/8 fo.359.
468. CCA PRC 28/20 fo.85.
469. CCA PRC 28/3 fo.58.
470. CCA PRC 20/5 fo.568.
471. CCA PRC 28/13 fo.372.
472. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.171 (1621); CSP James 1 lxxxii 27 (1615).
473. CCA PRC 28/12 fo.35 (1623); PRC 27/11 fo.47 (1643).
474. CCA PRC 28/14 fo.654 (1628) Josias Wakefield; PRC 28/20 fo.396 (1638) Mark Blunket.
475. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1605-6 Expenses.
476. CCA PRC 28/6 fo.70.
477. CCA PRC 28/12 fo.153.
478. CCA PRC 27/7 fo.44.
479. CCA PRC 28/4 fo.250.
480. CCA PRC 21/12 fo.154; PRC 21/16 fo.227.
481. BL Stowe fos.139, 140.
482. BL Additional Ms 28530 fo.43v.
483. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.51v.
484. BL Additional Ms 28530.
485. BL Egerton 2095 fo.321.
486. e.g. BL Egerton 2094 fos.49, regulations for butchers; 55, regulations for searchers of leather and flesh; 59, regulations for tallow chandlers (1552).
487. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fos.274v, that some poorer victuallers should not sell beer (1583); 292v., imposition of fines on foreign butchers; 302v., no foreigner to set up shop in the town (1584).

488. e.g. ibid. fos.401, restrictions on malt-making (1593); 406, butchers not to sell on Sundays (1595).
489. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.110v. (1615) fines of the town's brewers paid to the Overseers of the Poor of St. Mary's and the churchwardens and Overseers of St. James's; 111, a fine for drunkenness paid to the poor.
490. at 1) d in this chapter.
491. BL Egerton 2095 fo.357.
492. e.g. ibid. fos.211v.(October 1581); 277 (June 1583); 285 (October 1583).
493. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81 fo.324v.
494. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.14 (1604).
495. ibid. fo.72v.
496. ibid. fo.11v.
497. BL Egerton 2093 fo.20.
498. BL Egerton 2098 fo. 22 (1591).
499. BL Egerton 2109 fos.3, 18v.
500. BL Egerton 2095 fo.279.
501. ibid. fo.382.
502. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.149v. (1619); 184 (1623).
503. BL Egerton 2094 fo.440.
504. ibid. fo.73v.
505. BL Egerton 2095 fo.274v.
506. BL Egerton 2098 fo.29 (1591).
507. BL Egerton 2095 fo.340.
508. e.g. ibid. fo.406.
509. e.g.ibid. fo.88v.
510. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.103.
511. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.58v.
512. ibid.
513. BL Egerton 2095 fo.328v.
514. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.268.

515. BL Egerton 2094 fo.50v.
516. BL Egerton 2095 fo.273v.
517. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.11
518. e.g. ibid. fos. 57v., 159., 180v.
519. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.44v.
520. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.57v. (1610).
521. ibid. fo.140, Agnes, widow of Peter Eaton; Katherine, wife of John Davey; Thomazine, wife of Edward Follett; Rebecca, wife of George Bever.
522. ibid. fo.180v.
523. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.28.
524. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.63v.
525. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.158 (1619).
526. ibid. fo.189 (1624).
527. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.84.
528. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.11.
529. CCA PRC 28/20 fo.26 (1638).
530. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.73v.
531. ibid. fo.129.
532. ibid. fo.111v.
533. ibid. fo. 62v.
534. ibid. fo.63v.
535. ibid. fo.70.
536. ibid. fo.132.
537. BL Egerton 2094 fo.41v.
538. BL Egerton 2094 fo.42v. (1551).
539. see Chapter 1 iii) b for more details.
540. BL Egerton 2095 fo.228 et seq.
541. see Chapter 1 iii) b.
542. BL Egerton 2095 fo.338.
543. ibid. fo.464.

544. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.8.
545. ibid. fo.8. (1604).
546. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.1605.
547. ibid. fo.48v.
548. ibid.
549. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.188v. (1624), widow Wells, widow Packnam, Thomas Cooke, John King, Thomas Jones, Mother Haslewood, widow Lap, widow Edmonds; Dover Depositions 1630, fo.58v. (1635), widow Beere, John Appleton, widow Harrison, widow Evans, Thomas Haslewood.
550. BL Egerton 2108 fos. 18-22v. shows such variations in wages recorded from March 1514-February 1515.
551. CCA PRC 28/20 fo.523.
552. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.64.
553. ibid. fo.140v.
554. ibid. fo.159v.
555. e.g. CCA X.10.16 fo.133 (1575).
556. BL Egerton 2584 fo.322v. et seq.
557. ibid. fo.325.
558. BL Egerton 2108 fo.6 et seq.
559. ibid. fo.56 (1521).
560. ibid. fos.3-87 passim.
561. PRO SP 1/96/59.
562. PRO E101/462/29; E101/462/28 (1537).
563. CKS DTA 1546-58, 1547-8 Expenses.
564. ibid. 1550-58 Expenses passim.
565. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1581-2 Expenses, mending the prison house; 1596-7 Expenses repairing the almshouse in the fish market.
566. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1603-4 Expenses of labourers at the turn-water; 1604-5 Expenses, working on the new gun mount.
567. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1623-4 Expenses, work on the custom house.
568. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.81v..

569. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1618-19 Expenses.
570. CCA PRC 39/3 fo.259 (1616); CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.141v.(1618).
571. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.72v.
572. CKS DTA 1603-26, see e.g. fo.5 of a booklet bound in at the end of the volume and referred to on fos. 543, 570v.
573. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1581-89 Expenses passim. The Dover records do not give sufficiently good information on prices to enable them to be set against wage rates to establish real wages, but see p. 356, Table 2:7 for an index of a limited range of prices and wages.
574. e.g. CKS DTA 1581-1603, 1597-8 Expenses, repairing the sluice and making a new bridge.
575. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1605-6 Expenses passim.
576. ibid. 1615-16 Expenses.
577. ibid. see the booklet bound in at the end of the volume.
578. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.344 (February 1587).
579. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-81, 1580-81 Expenses: 3 dozen bread to the poor on Coronation Day 3s; DTA 1603-26, 1607-8 Expenses: 5 dozen bread to the poor last November 5s.
580. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.17.
581. BL Egerton 2093 fo.53.
582. BL Egerton 2094 fo.200v.
583. BL Egerton 2095; CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments passim.
584. BL Egerton 2095 fo.359.
585. ibid. fo.381.
586. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 39v., 41v., 43v.,(1607), 54v.(1609), 61v.(1610), 85(1612).
587. BL Egerton 2093 fo.20.
588. BL Egerton 2095 fo.361.
589. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.189.
590. BL Egerton 2094 fos. 11, 29, 168.
591. BL Egerton 2095 fos. 275, 381; CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.157.
592. G.D.Ramsey: The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands: the End of the Antwerp Mart, Part ii (Manchester 1986), hereafter referred to as Ramsey (1986).

Notes and references to Chapter 3

1. BL Egerton 2110 fos.1-19v.
2. HLRO Main Papers 1641/2 Protestation Returns, Kent.
3. see Chapter 6 ii for details of the long demise of St. Peter's and for the existence of other parish churches in the early Henrician period.
4. CCA U3/30/1/1. U3/30/1/2.
5. CCA U3/30/1/1 1587, 88.
6. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 4,5,7 (1603); DCAM 1603 Acts, fo.150v. (1636).
7. e.g. CCA PRC 21/15 fo.55 (1602), Henry Tiddeman and his wife; PRC 20/10 fo.374 (1639) Thomas Harvey; PRC 20/8 fo.359 (1627) Elizabeth Newton; PRC 20/11 fo.324 (1636) James Spry.
8. CKS DTA 1603-26; DTA 1626-49.
9. E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, The Population History of England 1541-1871 (1981), hereafter referred to as Wrigley and Schofield (1981), p.178.
10. see Chapter 1 ii), iii) b.
11. see Chapter 5 iii), iv), v).
12. CCA General Licences vol.13, 1634.
13. CCA X.8.10 December 1579.
14. Arthur J.Willis, Canterbury Licences (General) 1568-1646 (1972), hereafter referred to as Willis (1972), Miscellanea, 1607.
15. CSP James 1 cxx 123.
16. CSP James 1 cxix 62.
17. e.g. X.9.14 (1616).
18. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.124 (1616); Dover Depositions 1630 fo.100 (1638).
19. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-26, 1609-10 Expenses.
20. Lyon vol.1, p.25.
21. Dover Harbour Board Drawings nos. 1478, 9683, 10,665-10,676; see also Chapter 2 i) c on harbour leases.
22. CKS DCAM 1558 fos.32-66v.

23. CCA PRC 39 1-43; X.11.6-19 passim, Registers of Depositions.
24. e.g. Julius Deedes, gentleman from Great Chart; Thomas Hickes, innholder, from Cranbrook; Thomas Kitchell, gentleman, from Aldington; John Lulham, grocer, from Biddenden; Roger Ramsden, merchant, from Benenden; Henry Steed, jurat, from Lenham.
25. CCA X.11.1 fo.38v. et seq.
26. CKS DCAM 1558 fos.34-66v.
27. The movement of apprentices is treated in more detail in Chapter 4 ii).
28. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.34 (1602).
29. CCA PRC 21/15 fo.204; PRC 20/6 fo.54; PRC 20/7 fo.203; PRC 20/11 fo.418.
30. CCA PRC 20/3 fo.107; PRC 20/10 fo.444.

Notes and references to Chapter 4

1. see Chapter 2 ii)b
2. This is discussed in Chapter 2 ii)b
3. see Chapter 2 i)a
4. BL Egerton 2093 fos.46v., 102; CKS DTA 1558-1581 fo.126; BL Egerton 2094 fo.230; CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.1v., 137v., 163v.
5. Alec Hasenson The History of Dover Harbour, 1980 p.20. See pp.1, 2 and 3 of his study for contemporary maps and an explanation.
6. e.g. CKS DTA 1558-1581, 1581-1603 Receipts passim.
7. e.g. BL Egerton 2094 fo.108 (1554) shows that all the aldermen and constables for the district from St. James's to the suburbs of Charlton were mariners.
8. At least three mayors lived there then: CCA PRC 32/40 fo.18v. Richard Sisely; CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.33v. (1608) Henry Steede, fo.53v. (1613) Edward Kemp.
9. BL Egerton 2110 passim.
10. e.g. BL Egerton 2118 fo.7 (1595).
11. e.g. BL Egerton 2093 fos.172 (1539), 166 (1540).
12. CSP Charles 1 cxxxvi 73
13. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.128 (1628) shows that he was part-owner of the "Hercules" with Nicholas Eaton; f.140v. gives his daughter's marriage; see CCA PRC 32/47 f.236 (1628) for John Chalke's will.
14. CCA PRC 32/44 fo.276 (1617) will of Isabel Neales; PRC 20/7 fo. 251, the testamentary accounts of Joseph Rich show that he shared a ship with John Vale, William Tatam and Thomas Hudson.
15. see CCA PRC 32/46 fo.215 (1625), the will of William Tatam, senior, jurat; PRC 32/47 fo.236 (1628), the will of John Chalke, mariner.
16. CCA PRC 28/19 fo. 87
17. CCA PRC 32/48 fo. 293(1630) The will of George Fagg left valuable bequests to his daughter, Elizabeth.
18. CCA PRC 32/46. fo.215 (1625)
19. CCA PRC 32/40 fo.218v (1605) The will of Richard Sisely, the step-father of Katherine Jacob (nee Doves) shows that his wife had formerly been married to Jarman Doves.
20. CCA U3/26/1/1 (1596)

21. CCA PRC 32/46 fo. 152 (1624) John Goldstone's will shows that some of his other daughters also married sailors.
22. CCA PRC 32/46 fo.203 (1625) The will of Robert Garrett, jurat, shows that Joan had brought him a boat, the "Little John" of Rye, from an earlier marriage.
23. CCA U3/26/1/1, 1602 and 1620; PRC 32/44 fo.369 (1617)
24. CCA PRC 32/47 fo.54v. (1627) William Tiddeman left nets to his daughter, Sibyl Sparks; PRC 32/48 fo.293 (1630) George Fagg's will shows that Robert Sparks was his sister's son.
25. CCA U3/26/1/1, 1598
26. CCA PRC 32/30 fo.6v. The will of Ralph Hambrook left bequests to his wife's son, Jacob, and to her former husband's brother, Richard.
27. CCA PRC 32/50 fo. 295v.
28. CCA PRC 32/40 fo.218
29. see above
30. CCA U3/26/1/1 (1627)
31. CCA PRC 32/11 fo.72 (1513); PRC 32/14 fo.42 (1523); PRC 32/47 fo.56 (1627)
32. CCA PRC 32/30 fo.6v.
33. CCA PRC 32/40 fo.250 (1608)
34. CCA PRC 32/50 fo.295v. (1631)
35. CCA PRC 32/48 fo.293 (1630)
36. CCA PRC 32/46 fo.215 (1625)
37. CCA PRC 32/50 fo.150v. (1634)
38. CCA PRC 32/45 fo.279 (1622)
39. CCA PRC 32/40 f.218v.
40. CCA PRC 32/37 fo.16v.(1591)
41. CCA PRC 32/39 fo.55 (1605)
42. CCA PRC 32/27 fo.150v. (1558)
43. CCA PRC 32/36 fo.152 (1589)
44. BL Additional Ms. 29618 expenses 1514-15
45. CCA PRC 32/27 fo.222
46. CKS DTA 1558-1581 receipts 1560-61

47. BL Egerton 2095 fo.103v. (1579)

48. e.g. BL Egerton 2099 fo.8v. (1546). Egerton 2095 fo.366v.- (1588) shows that when William Woods was killed in action against the Spaniards, his widow was given the choice of having beer worth 40s. in order to continue victualling, or having 40s. in money.

49. CCA U3/26/1/1 (1597)

50. CCA X.10.4 fo.114v.et seq.

51. CCA PRC 32/51 fo.203

52. CCA PRC 32/50 fo.205 (1633)

53. CCA PRC 32/18 fo.222

54. CCA X.11.7 fo.223; X.11.11 fo.105; X.11.15 fo.40; X.11.16 fo.110; PRC 39/42 fo.64v., PRC 39/46 fo.119; fo.162; fo.189; fo.283v.

55. CCA PRC 39/46 fo.162 (1636)

56. CCA PRC 39/46 fo.119 (1635)

57. ibid.

58. CCA X.11.15 fo.40 (1615)

59. CCA X.11.7 fo.223 et seq. (1615)

60. e.g. CCA X.11.15 fo.40 et seq.; X.11.16 fo.109 et seq. Of the deponents, most of the immigrants were men rather than women, e.g. X.11.16 fo.109v. (1626) Thomas Kelsey; PRC 39/46 fo.119 (1635) Andrew Thornton; fo. 283v. (1638) Edward Watson.

61. CCA X.11.11 fo.105 (1610)

62. CCA X.11.16 fo.111v.

63. CCA X.11.11 fo.105 et seq.

64. CCA PRC 39/42 fo.64v.

65. CCA X.11.7 fo.223 et seq. (1615)

66. BL Egerton 2099 fo.12

67. CSP Charles 1 cxiv. 46, 51

68. BL Egerton 2095 fo.367v.

69. CCA PRC 32/45 fo.166 (1614) Katherine Spritwell left the "Greyhound" in her will; BL Egerton 2095 fo.334 (1587) describes the "George" as John Haines' house; ibid. fo. 345v. lists the "Rose" as Thomas Hicks's house; ibid. fo.329v.(1586) describes the "Flower de Luce" as Mr. Bachelor's house.

70. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.142
71. e.g. BL Egerton 2098 fos.2-18v. Recognizances of victuallers, 1591-92
72. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.66
73. ibid. fo.71
74. CCA PRC 19/1 fo.84 (1640)
75. CKS DTA 1603-1626 Payments 1606-07
76. CSP Charles 1 xxxiii 68
77. BL Egerton 2094 fo.40v.
78. CSP James 1 clxxii 36
79. BL Egerton 2093 fo.190
80. CCA PRC 32/45 fo.334
81. see CCA U3/30/1/1 (1581) for the marriage; BL Egerton 2095 fo.289v. (1584) for his freedom received in the right of his wife
82. BL Egerton 2095 fo.461
83. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.37
84. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgements fo.172
85. CSP Charles 1 cccxxxix 13
86. BL Egerton 2093 fo.90 (1528); Additional Ms fo.334 (1541); ibid. fo.364 (1544); Egerton 2093 fo.122 (1547); Egerton 2094 fo.29 (1561)
  
87. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.335 (1586), John Spritwell nominated
88. BL Egerton 2095 fos.51 (1552), 262 (1582), 283 (1583)
89. in section iii) of this chapter
90. CCA PRC 32/29 fo.55
91. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.115. James Hughessen had it by 1623
92. BL Egerton 2095 fo.345v. (1587)
93. see CCA X.11.6 fo.176v. (1593); Y.3.3. fo.113.
94. CCA X.11.13 fo.67 (1618); CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.131v. (1629)
95. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.102 (1614)

96. see CCA Y.3.3. fo.113 for their marriage; CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.107v. (1638) for the "Flying Horse".
97. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.469v. (1603); CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.102 (1614), 184 (1623); Dover Depositions 1630 fos.37 (1633), 107v.(1638).
98. Dover Depositions 1630 fo.23 shows that Thomas Garrett had the "George" by 1632.
99. CCA PRC 20/25 fo.3
100. CCA PRC 32/43 fo.264.
101. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.142.
102. CCA PRC 39/39 fo.98 et seq.
103. BL Egerton 2099 fo.13 (1545) shows that the "Chequer" had 8 beds and a stable; Additional Ms. 29618 f. 383v. (1545) for payment of wine maltote; CCA PRC 22/4 fo.110 (1496) for the will of Geoffrey Elam.
104. CCA PRC 21/2 fo.132.
105. CCA PRC 32/26 fo.145 (1556).
106. BL Egerton 2106 fo.3.
107. BL Egerton 2099 fo.12.
108. ibid.
109. BL Egerton 2106 fo.24.
110. CCA PRC 32/39 fo.236.
111. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.99 (1614).
112. CCA X.10.17 fo.60; X.10.11 fo.256.
113. CCA X.10.12 fo.218v.
114. CCA X.10.12 fo.218v.
115. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.186.
116. CCA X.11.11 fo.163; PRC 39/39 fo.98.
117. For his inheritance see CCA PRC 32/40 fo.39v., for his office see CSP Charles 1 xxxv 91 (1626).
118. BL Egerton 2094 fo.306v.
119. BL Egerton 2095 fo.59v.
120. CCA X.10.11 fos. 13v., 14v., 21.
121. CCA PRC 32/45 fo.166.

122. CCA PRC 20/10 fo.1 (1638), PRC 20/1 fo.217 (1606), PRC 20/10 fo.374 (1639), PRC 20/2 fo.553 (1613), PRC 21/17 fo.143 (1604).
123. see Chapter 2 i)b on the accumulation of wealth by maltsters who owned ships.
124. quoted in CCA Y.2.29 unfoliated.
125. CCA X.10.11 fo.265v.
126. quoted in CCA Y.2.29 unfoliated.
127. BL Egerton 2094 fo.60 (1552) for John Millward, brewer; Egerton 2095 fo.279 (1583) for Emmanuel Millward, brewer; ibid. fo.313 (1585) for Thomas Millward, maltman.
128. CCA PRC 32/39 fo.298 (1600) the will of Robert Bargar of Bridge.
129. CCA PRC 32/35 fo.4 the will of William Bargar, son of John.
130. ibid.
131. ibid.
132. CCA PRC 32/47 fo.203v.
133. CCA PRC 32/35 fo.298.
134. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.279 (1583)
135. ibid.
136. BL Egerton 2093 fo.20; Egerton 2108 fo.6.
137. CCA PRC 32/11 fo.77.
138. BL Egerton 2093 fo.97 (1531)
139. BL Egerton 2093 fo.13v.
140. see CCA PRC 32/11 fo.71v. (1513) for mention of her in John Clerke's will.
141. BL Egerton 2093 fo.135.
142. BL Egerton 2099 fo.7 (1545)
143. PRO E179/231/204, 206, 207.
144. CCA PRC 32/32 fo.70.
145. e.g. see CCA X.10.17 fo.32, X.10.16 fos.58-260 passim, X.10.10 fo.5v.
146. CCA X.10.16 fo.132.

147. see CCA PRC 32/33 fo.22v. for his will in which some of these relationships are clarified.
148. see CCA PRC 20/2fo.268 for his testamentary accounts.
149. CCA PRC 19/2 fo.2.
150. CCA PRC 20/11 fo.414.
151. CCA PRC 29/46 fo.240.
152. CCA X.9.11 fo.134.
153. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.11.
154. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.27v.
155. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.65.
156. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.45v.
157. BL Egerton 2095 fo.465 shows that he had been a searcher of flesh in 1602.
158. see e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.14, Robert Harford (1630), fo.122v. Edward Harford (1639); BL Egerton 2095 fo.405, Abraham Marlton (1595); CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.49 (1634) Edmund Marlton.
159. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo. 122v. (1640); DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.52v. (1609).
160. see e.g. CCA Z.4.2 fo.74 (1622), Z.4.5 fo.225v. (1630).
161. CCA PRC 32/44 fo.176v.
162. see CCA PRC 32/39 fo.242 for evidence of this.
163. BL Egerton 2095 fo.340 (1586).
164. CCA PRC 19/12 fo.11.
165. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.44 (1634) shows this, although he is not recorded in the apprentice indenture list.
166. see BL Egerton 2098 fo.29 (1591) for Abraham's recognizance as a butcher; CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.103 (1615) for Edmund's description; CCA PRC 32/44 fo.48 (1615) for the will of John Marlton of Deal, butcher.
167. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.80v.
168. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.58v.
169. see Chapter 2 ii)a.
170. see e.g. BL Egerton 2106 fo.15 (1581) for an agreement between the sisters about some property; CCA PRC 21/7 fo.384 (1585) for the testamentary accounts made by Silvester, widow of William Lovell, butcher.

171. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.118 (1624) shows Rebecca Pensax and her son, Thomas Bryant, butcher, involved in a case of withernam.

172. e.g. CCA X.9.12 fo.80.

173. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.173 (1621)

174. Register of Dover Freemen 1601-1721, 1604.

175. CCA X.11.14 fo.42.

176. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.63.

177. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 115v., 121, 122, 170, 174; Dover Depositions 1630 fo.80.

178. e.g. BL Egerton 2109 fo.15; CCA X.9.4 fo 1534-153v., X.11.11 fo.93; Z.4.1 fo.43.

179. see Chapter 2 iii)b on the regulation of the market for more details of these restrictions.

180. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.80v. (1636).

181. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 195, 174v.

182. e.g. BL Egerton 2106 fo.32v.

183. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.148v.

184. e.g. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.62v. Thomas Minehard, Thomas Ball, Thomas King, Thomas Culvenden, John Smallwood.

185. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.73.

186. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.92.

187. see e.g. BL Egerton 2106 fos. 29, 32, 33, 34v.

188. e.g. BL Egerton 2106 fo.29 (1583) 8d. was to be paid annually in quarterly instalments in this case.

189. e.g. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.59v. Andrew Clifford, wheelwright, Frederick Vinck draper; fo.62 Henry Giles, cooper.

190. BL Egerton 2109 fos. 33, 34v., 29.

191. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.8; CCA PRC 39/48 fo.14.

192. CCA PRC 32/33 fo.22v.

193. see CCA PRC 32/37 fo.162v. for the will of Thomas Fisher.

194. CCA PRC 32/31 fo.356.

195. BL Egerton 2095 fo.340.

196. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.34.

197. ibid. f.40, Edward Owden.
198. ibid. f.45v. Michael Richards.
199. This runs from 1598-1667 and is included in DCAM 1558 at fos. 34-73. 1640, the end of the period under discussion, is at fo.66v.
200. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.34.
201. see Chapter 2 ii)a on the economic region.
202. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.56, William Blackborne, son of John Blackborne.
203. e.g. ibid. f.61v. Augustine Terry, son of Augustine Terry, deceased, of Canterbury.
204. ibid. fo.55, Thomas Dennis, son of George Dennis.
205. see CCA X.11.6 fo.84 (1592).
206. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.119v. shows that he became free in 1624; DCAM 1558 fo.56 shows that he took Abraham Bobba apprentice in that year also.
207. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.57, William Grime.
208. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.44v.
209. ibid. fo.47v. William Lovell from Landolph and John Hichens from Saltash.
210. see CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.66v. for a deposition made by him.
211. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.45v. Robert Treneyman, Landolph; fo.50 Abraham Trescott, Woodbury, Devon.
212. e.g. ibid. fo.34 Richard Sisely took as apprentice Nicholas Champe, son of a linen weaver from Dorset.
213. ibid. fo.58v. Francis Marigill.
214. ibid. fo.43.
215. ibid. fos.45, 54, 64v., 55.
216. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.30.
217. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.57v.
218. ibid. fo.60
219. ibid. fo.62, John Herriot from Boxley, fo.64 Thomas Brian from London, fo.65v. Michael Page from Canterbury.
220. ibid. fo.34 John Woollett, fo.44v. Richard Turrall, fo.54 Francis Barrett, fo.56 Richard Bate.
221. see CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.107v. for his wardenship; CCA PRC 32/52 fo.103v. for his will.

222. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.45 John Hudless, fo.47 Peter Hudless, fo.49 Thomas Bullock, fo.56 Robert Crumpe.

223. CCA PRC 32/47 fo.80v. the will of Elizabeth, the wife of John Robinson, shoemaker; CKS DCAM 1558 fo.57 John Robinson took as apprentice George Tiddeman, son of Thomas Tiddeman, gentleman, mayor of Folkestone.

224. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos. 105 (1622), 183v.(1623).

225. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.43 John Foche from Deal, fo.46 Thomas Rootes of Dover Castle, fo.55 Henry Everard of Sarre, fo.58v. Robert Coveney of Wye, fo.65 Thomas King of Rochester.

226. see Chapter 2 i) for a brief summary of his business career, which may have included lending money, and Chapter 2 ii) for his relationship to Thomas Philpott, the Ringwold yeoman who lent money.

227. ibid. fo.42v. Thomas White, son of a jurat of Burmarsh, fo.52 John Rolfe, son of a yeoman of Folkestone, fo.59v. Robert Hamon, son of a yeoman of Folkestone; fo.60 John Rolfe took Thomas, son of Stephen Rolfe, yeoman of Folkestone.

228. ibid. fo.57 Thomas Ffidge, fo.46 John Denne, fo.59 Thomas Sheafe, fo.65v. James Poll.

229. ibid. fo.40 Edward Clark, Sandwich; fo. 41 Robert Cole, Romney and Robert Palle, Saltwood; fo.43 Henry Wood, Deal; fo.47 Thomas Chambers, his son; fo.53v. Robert Pert, Dover Castle.

230. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.37v.

231. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.43 Henry Brockman, fo.44 Walter Roades, fo.47v. Thomas Miles, son of a yeoman from New Romney, fo.61 Thomas Watkins, son of a gentleman of Dover.

232. CKS Dover Depositions fos.104 (1638), 123v.(1639)

233. see e.g. ibid. fos.8, 44v.

234. e.g. CKS DCAM fo.47 John Binge, son of a yeoman from Bekesbourne, fo 53 Thomas Turner, son of a clerk from St. Lawrence in Thanet, fo 61v. Thomas Denne, son of a tailor in Sandwich; fo.53 Joseph Turner was apprenticed to William Parker, tailor.

235. ibid. fo.39v. Edward Bridges from Chatham, fo.40v. Valentine, son of Thomas Tatnall from Sutton next Dover.

236. see e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fos.38, 39v.

237. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.61v. George Parker from St. John's Thanet, fo.65 Matthew Riall (Royal); see also CCA PRC 39/48 fo.17 for Julius Royal, shipwright.

238. e.g. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.62v. Richard Collar, son of a shipwright; fo.66 Thomas Finniss, son of a carpenter from Hougham; fo 64v. Thomas Collins,son of a millwright from Chard, Dorset.

239. ibid. fo.58 Edmund Hope, Dover; fo.60v. John Richards, Guston; fo.62v. William Bayley, the Maison Dieu.
240. ibid. fo.44 Gregory Harrison, fo.60v., Henry Kennardy; fo.64 Thomas Ball.
241. see CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.132 for Goodwin's freedom in the right of his father, John Goodwin, attorney; see also DCAM 1558 for his apprentices: fo.59 Richard Rosse, fo.61 John Harrison, fo 62v. Luke Howard, fo.65v. John Smallwood.
242. e.g. CKS DCAM 1558 shows that Robert Smith, mariner, had three: fo.53 Nicholas Nebbe, fo.54v. Thomas Smith and Susan Edgate; John Walton, mariner, had two: fo. 58 Edward Pascall and Thomas Smith; John Miller, mariner had two: fo.59v. John Edgate, fo.63 Thomas Ringford.
243. ibid. fo.66v. Thomas Phillips from Canterbury; see CCA PRC 39/46 fo.258v. for evidence of Dawkes's age.
244. CKS DCAM 1558 fo.59 (1630) John Foord took John Winckfield apprentice; the Register of Dover Freemen 1601-1721 shows that he became free by birth in 1630.
245. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 fos.22v., 40.
246. BL Egerton 2095 fo.396.
247. ibid. fo.378.
248. e.g. DCAM 1558 fo.46v. William Foord, fo.47 John Crampe, fo.59v. Thomas Edgate and William White.
- 249.CCA PRC 32/35 fo.41.
250. BL Egerton 2095 fo.465.
251. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 121v., 127.
252. see e.g. ibid. fos.72, 87v., 114v., 120v., 124v., 139v., 147v., 163, 187v; Dover Depositions 1630 fo.52.
253. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.49v.
254. see e.g. ibid. fos.122v., 184, 195.
255. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.332v; CKS DCAM 1603 Judgements fos. 49v., 72v., 115v.
256. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.103.
257. ibid. fo.104.
258. ibid. fo.115v.
259. e.g. ibid. fos.154v., 168.
260. ibid. fos.160v., 184, 193, 122v.
261. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.37v.

262. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 131, 136v.
263. ibid. fo.93.
264. ibid. fo.120.
265. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.71.
266. ibid. fo.19v.
267. ibid. fos. 35v., 129.
268. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.183.
269. ibid. fo.145v.
270. ibid. fo.100.
271. ibid. fo.195.
272. For more detailed discussion of this see Chapter 6 i).
273. BL Stowe 850 fo.1.
274. e.g. BL Additional Ms. 29618 fo.284 (1531)
275. BL Stowe 850 fo.137.
276. see BL Additional Ms 29618 receipts passim.
277. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.62
278. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.104.
279. CCA PRC 32/15 fo.257 Robert Fluce and Ralph Buffkyn, mayors, John Andrew, father of Thomas Andrew, mayor.
280. CCA PRC 13/15 fo.84v.
281. see e.g. Jennifer I Kermode: Urban Decline? The flight from office in late Mediaeval York, EHR May 1982, pp.178-189.
282. BL Egerton 2093 fo.19.
283. ibid. fo.61v.
284. ibid. fo.32.
285. ibid. fo.62 (1523) Richard Couche was elected Bailiff to Yarmouth; ibid. fos.11-15 (1520) passim lists lands held "in right of his wife"; ibid. fo.97 (1531) Edmund Jannyth elected mayor; ibid. fo.112 (1532) he held land "in right of his wife", the widow of Thomas Colley; CCA X.10.11 (1568) Thomas Foxley entered Dover about 1522, age 24; BL AM 29618 fo.334 (1541) he was elected mayor; CCA PRC 32/33 fo.69 shows that his wife was Alice Mereweather.
286. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.237v. (1582) John Knapp was a petitioner for the fellowship of tailors and drapers; ibid. fo.265 (1583) he received a recognisance as a victualler; ibid. fo.344 (1587) he was

described as "merchant".

287. see note above; BL Egerton 2094 (1551) fo.40 Thomas Allen's recognisance as a chandler, ibid. fo 52 (1522) he bought Newcastle coal; ibid. fo.72v. he was warden of the Tailors and Drapers Company; ibid. fo 274v. (1576) William Willis described as "merchant", BL Egerton 2095 fo.346v. (1587) he sold barley in the market; ibid. fo.18 (1577) Geoffrey Glide sold cloth from his shop, ibid. 237v. (1582) he signed the petition for the company of tailors and drapers; ibid. fo.2095 fo.366 Humfrey Meede described as a "promoter"; CCA PRC 32/35 fo.104 John Skeith was described in Ellen Clarke's will as "linen draper", BL Egerton 2098 fo.33 (1592) gives his recognisance as a tallow chandler.

288. see e.g. Dover Record of Pleas 1603-1625 1611 John Waad "woollen draper"; CCA PRC 32/52 fo. 319 (1636) the will of Nicholas Eaton; Dover Record of Pleas 1603-1625 1618 and 1624 Luke Brailsford "merchant", "maltster", part-owner of the "Hector".

289. Occupations are also recorded in wills and inventories.

290. see BL Egerton 2106 fo.34 for an indenture with Edmund Michell, "merchant"; BL Egerton 2094 fo.42v. for his juratship.

291. BL Egerton 2094 fo. 107 (1554) William Burden jurat, fo.176 William Burden "Controller of Dover"; CKS DTA 1546-155 fo.316 (1557-58) jurats with a maritime interest were Edward Maye, Thomas Bassingbourne, John Robins, Thomas Burnell, Richard Giles.

292. He appeared in no further lists of jurats. CCA PRC 32/26 fo.114 probate of his will granted July 1, 1556.

293. see note 287 above.

294. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 6 iv) and v).

295. see e.g. CCA Y.2.29 fo.155 for the copy of an indenture made between Thomas Cranmer and Henry Bingham of Wingham for the lands formerly belonging to the Priory of St. Martin in Dover.

296. see CCA X.10.16 fo.144v. for his early biography; BL Egerton 2094 fo.118 surety for a London merchant.

297. e.g. see CCA X.10.11 fos. 164, 165, 190.

298. CCA X.10.7 fo.247; X.10.11 fo.59v.

299. CCA X.10.13 fo.37.

300. CCA X.10.16 fo.147.

301. CCA X.10.11 fo.256.

302. see e.g. CCA X.10.13 fo.167v; Y.2.29 fo.103v.

303. see e.g. CCA X.11.6 fo.202 his deposition on behalf of John Allen.

304. CCA X.10.12 fo.216.

305. see Chapter 2 iii)b.

306. BL Egerton 2094 fo.42v. (1551) Thomas Portway, Thomas Fynnett, Lawrence Elvyden, Edmund Michell, senior.
307. ibid. Thomas Burnell, John Harris.
308. ibid. John Victory, Peter Quintain, Richard Cocke, John Kempsole.
309. BL Egerton 2094 fo.184 (1559) all three were sworn jurats.
310. BL Egerton 2094 fo. 235 (1575) Edmund Michell jurat; Egerton 2095 fo.307 1584 John Spritwell jurat.
311. BL Egerton 2094 fo.235 (1574) Edmund Michell became town clerk and was the first to sign himself "Recorder" on depositions; see Egerton 2095 fo.312 for a letter from the Privy Council urging that Edmund Michell should be removed from the juratship because he "hath been a special instrument to nourish contention and faction."
312. BL Egerton 2094 fo.154.
313. BL Egerton 2095 fo.259.
314. BL Additional Ms 28530.
315. BL Egerton 2094 fo.205.
316. BL Egerton 2094 fo.256 (September 1575).
317. ibid. fo.18v. (December 1577)
318. CCA PRC 32/32 fo.70.
319. ibid. Thomas Burnell, John Edwards, John Lucas, Thomas Foxley, Thomas Warren, John Robins, Thomas Watson.
320. This is copied at BL Egerton 2095 fo.49.
321. ibid. fo.50.
322. ibid. fo.225.
323. see CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.33v. (1608) for an unusually complete description of the ceremony.
324. see Foreword for details of the financial arrangements and the work done.
325. BL Egerton 2095 fo.280v. et seq.
326. ibid. fo.272.
327. ibid. fo.259; see also CCA X.11.6 fo.183v. for George Warham's deposition about his relationship to the Allens and the Andrews.
328. PRO SP12/155/38.
329. see e.g. PRO SP12/157 fo.39v.
330. BL Egerton 2095 fo.270v.

331. ibid. fo 274v.

332. ibid. fo.277 Thomas Allen, John Knapp, William Willis, Edmund Michell, Henry Leonard, Humfrey Meede, Geoffrey Glide, John Skeith.

333. ibid. fo.280.

334. ibid fo.288v.

335. ibid. fo.289.

336. e.g. in PRO SP12/155 fo.38 et seq., SP 12/157 fo.17 et seq. The incorrect dating has been incorporated into the Calendar of State Papers.

337. PRO SP12/157 fo.17.

338. ibid. fos. 19-21.

339. ibid. fos.23-25.

340. ibid. fo.31 et seq.

341. BL Egerton 2095 fo.265.

342. PRO SP12/157 fo.40.

343. ibid. fo.36.

344. BL Egerton 2095 fo.289 (January 1584).

345. see e.g. CCA X.11.5 fo.102 (1596) he is named as Thomas Andrew, "gentleman of Hougham", where he has lived for eight years.

346. BL Egerton 2095 fo.289. (January 1584)

347. see e.g. complaints against him at BL Egerton 2095 fo.339 (1586), CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.2v. (1603); ibid. Judgments fo. 24 shows that in 1605 he gave up his attorneyship and asked that his son might have it; ibid. fo 35v. in 1606 he was asked to desist from interfering in the courts.

348.CCA X.10.11 fo.221v. (1570) "Deputat le customer", age 38.

349. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fos. 280v., 342v., 347.

350. CCA X.10.19 fo.147 et seq.

351. BL Egerton 2095 fo.264; for other examples see ibid fos 270v., 272v.

352. cf. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.6 Williams contra Grice.

353. CCA X.10.19 fos.147, 179, 151v, 175.

354. ibid. fo.181.

355. BL Egerton 2095 fo.294.

356. see e.g. CCA X.10.19 fos. 147, 181; PRC 32/35 fo.156v.

357. The sources for this information are the following wills: CCA PRC 32/22 fo.58 (1546) John Halliday, PRC 32/34 fo.138 (1579) John Almonson, PRC 32/78 (1555) John Andrew, PRC 32/26 fo.114 (1556) Edmund Michell, senior, PRC 32/37 fo.80 (1592) Geoffrey Glide, PRC 32/27 fo.100 (1558) William Almonson, PRC 32/35 fo.4 (1582) William Bargar; see also X.11.6 fos. 180-188v., 202-210v. depositions concerning the will of Thomas Allen, which give comprehensive details of relationships.

358. BL Egerton 2095 fo.356.

359. ibid. fo. 366 (October 1588), fo.380 (September 1589)

360. ibid. fo.366 (October 1588)

361. CCA PRC 21/9 fo.126v. inventory of John Garrett (November 1587); see BL Egerton 2095 fo.366 (October 1588) for the death of Thomas Brodgate.

362. BL Egerton 2095 fos. 394, 403.

363. ibid. fo.351.

364. CCA PRC 32/37 fo.213v. (December 1594) will of Henry Leonard; BL Egerton 2095 fo.403v. (June 1594) William Leonard sworn jurat.

365. BL Egerton 2095 fo.414.

366. ibid. fos. 335, 364.

367. CCA PRC 32/36 fo.106v.

368. BL Egerton 2095 fo.384 freeman by right of marriage to Alice, widow of John Tench; CKS DTA 1581-1603, f.411 (1599) mayor; DCAM 1603 Acts fo.50v. (1612) mayor; ibid. fo 53v. died Sunday March 28 1613.

369. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos. 53v., 85, 90v.

370. CCA U3/26/1/1 (1595); CCA PRC 32/49 fo.142 (1630) will of Thomas Foord, jurat; CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.73v. (1616) Thomas Foord mayor.

371. CCA PRC 32/42 fo. 238 (1613) the will of Vincent Huffam clarifies all these relationships.

372. BL Egerton 2095 fos. 384, 445v., 375.

373. CCA U3/26/1/1 (1606).

374. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.123 (1625).

375. CCA PRC 39/42 fo.231 et seq.

376. see CCA PRC 22/45 fo.326v. the will of William Warde.

377. see e.g. CSP James 1 lxxii 114 (1613).

378. BL Egerton 2095 fo.442v.

379. CKS DCAM 1603 fo.119v.
380. CSP James 1 xciii 141.
381. Willis 1618.
382. see e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo 136v. (1618), Dover Depositions 1630 fo.87 (1637) for criticisms of him; see also Chapter 6 v) below.
383. in Chapter 1 ii).
384. BL Egerton 2095 fo.434.
385. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 4,5,7 (1603).
386. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.1v.
387. see Chapter 6 iv).
388. BL Egerton 2095 fo.457.
389. see e.g. CKS Dover Depositions fo.130.
390. ibid. fo.85.
391. ibid. fo.123v.
392. see CCA PRC 32/52 fo.104 the will of Edward West.
393. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.14v. (1605).
394. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-1626 Expenses 1607-08 £2 to Mr. Gray, preacher, "according to the decree."
395. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.26
396. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.62.
397. CCA PRC 32/39 fo.233 will of John Skeith.
398. see e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.86v., 158, 192v.
399. ibid. fo.141, 180v., 190v; CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.130 shows that he gave up the juratship at his own request.
400. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.91 (1619), 94 (1620).
401. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.69v.
402. ibid. fo.70.
403. ibid. fo.86v.
404. ibid. fo.54.
405. see e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 89, 91, 92, 93v. in 1613 alone.
406. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 50v.(1609), 78v.(1612), 89 (1613), 105v. (1615), 156 (1619), 158 (1620), 180(1622), 187 (1623).

407. ibid. fo.194v.
408. for Henry Barnacle see ibid. fos. 138, 148, 171; PRO SP14/81 fo.27.
409. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.173 (1621)
410. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.45.
411. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.14, 105v., 49.
412. e.g.ibid. fos.163, 142.
413. ibid. fo.187v.
414. ibid. fo.50v.
415. see e.g. PRO SP14/74 fos.76-80 (1613) for the petitions of gunners and soldiers at the Castle and Moates Bulwark; SP14/81 fos.27-31, 68 for petitions of Dovorians for the renewal of places at the Castle.
416. CSP James 1 clxxiii 56 (1624).
417. BL Egerton 2584 fo.326v.
418. Peter Clark English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution (Hassocks 1977) pp.334-340.
419. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.116.
420. ibid. fo.59.
421. see CSP James 1 cxviii 29 (1620); cix 221 (1621).
422. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.116.
423. ibid.
424. CSP James 1 clxi 51.
425. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.129.
426. ibid.
427. BL Egerton 2095 fo.474v.
428. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.28v.
429. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos. 92, 101.
430. ibid. fo.81.
431. ibid. fo.35.
432. ibid. fo.128.
433. see ibid. fos. 119v (1625), 125 (1626), 126 (1627) for non-payment of billeting; fo.123 (1625) for a jurat's son awaiting ransom in Calais; fos.165, 175 for the taking of Hughessen and Eaton's vessel by a Dunkirker; fo.172 (1624) for sailors taken from a vessel half way across

the Channel; CSP James 1 clxxxv 127 (1625) for examinations of sailors who were tortured when their ship was taken by Dunkirkers.

434. see Chapter 1 iv)a.

435. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos. 127-163v. passim Stephen Monins mayor Sept. 1627-Sept.1630 and Sept.1636-Sept.1638; Nicholas Eaton mayor Sept.1630-Sept.1632; Thomas Tiddeman mayor Sept.1632-Sept.1634 and Sept.1640-Sept. 1641; Luke Pepper mayor Sept.1634-Sept.1636; Thomas Day mayor Sept.1638-Sept.1640.

436. CKS Dover Depositions fo.28v.

Notes and references to CHAPTER 5

1. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments
2. Dover Depositions 1630.
3. Chapter 1 iii)b fines for offences against the town's statutes, iv)a expenditure on law and order.
4. see e.g. CCA X.11.16 fo.109v., (1626), PRC 39/46 fo. 125 (1635) for depositions concerning an alehouse keeper and a victualler who appear on no lists; CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.39 (1607) for a woman who was keeping an unlicensed tippling house but escaped a fine because of her poverty.
5. BL Egerton 2093 fo.138 (1536) shows that feuds between members of the ruling group could be taken up by their sons and servants as well.
6. e.g. ibid. fos 81, 131v., 176v., 209.
7. BL Egerton 2093 fo.27.
8. e.g. ibid.fos. 143, 154v., 214.
9. e.g. ibid. fos. 158, 160v., 177; Additional Ms 29618 fos.143v., 221v., 391.
10. e.g. BL Egerton 1094 fos. 57v., 61v.
11. e.g. BL Egerton 2093 fo.69v.
12. e.g. ibid. fos.70v., 202.
13. e.g. ibid. fos. 44, 49v., 63(1552)
14. ibid. fo.51v.
15. ibid. fo.121. J.A. Sharpe, Crime in seventeenth-century England: A County Study (Cambridge 1983) pp.191-192 distinguishes between "real" crime, presented by the victim, and "created" crimes that were the product of greater regulation. He shows that the latter increased from the mid-sixteenth century, producing fluctuations in figures in response to orders from central and local government.
16. BL 2093 fo.81.
17. e.g. BL Egerton 2095.fos. 260v., 263, 264, 264v.(1582), 270-270v., 273, 273v., 276(1583), 291, 292v., 293v.-294v., 295v., 298v., 300v., 301, 305v., 307(1584)
18. e.g. ibid. fos. 307v., 323v, 331.
19. e.g. ibid. fo. 367v.

20. see e.g. ibid. fos. 260v., 286, 287, 369v.
21. see Chapter 2 i)d
22. see Chapter 1 iv)c.
23. CSP Charles 1 cccccxxxi 15 (October 1639)
24. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 56, 100v., 193, 198v.
25. see Chapter 2 iii)b.
26. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fos.70v., 71, 73.
27. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.28v. J.A.Sharpe, Crime in seventeenth century England op.cit. pp.115-138, in an analysis of the more serious crimes brought to the Assizes and Quarter Sessions, shows that prosecutions of crimes of violence were second only in frequency to offences against property, and that violence was found in many different social strata. Alan Macfarlane, The Justice and the Mare's Ale: Law and Disorder in seventeenth-century England (Oxford 1981) Introduction pp.1-26 argues that, nevertheless, the extent of violence in the early modern period has been exaggerated, and that crime was concerned with economic gain rather than being the result of innate brutality.
28. see e.g. ibid. fos. 173, 174, 194 CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fos.16, 47v., 48, 70, 77v. for dissension between butchers; dissension between women is treated in more detail at the end of this chapter.
29. BL Egerton 2093 fos.120v., 121, 214 show that suspected felons were held by the bailiff but released when no one came forward with allegations against them.
30. e.g. ibid. fos. 9v., 10, 136v.
31. ibid. fo.88v.
32. ibid. fos. 150, 184v.
33. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.89.
34. see CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.10 (1605) for the common council's consideration of the problem.
35. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630fo.30.
36. see CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.148 (1635) for the decree, which says that the presenter of the offender shall have part of the fine.
37. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.34. The prosecution of these offences seems to support the view of J.A.Sharpe, op.cit. that some types of crime need to be seen in terms of "enforcement waves" rather than "crime waves."

38. for the last see ibid. fos.51, 66.
39. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fos. 13, 28, 28v., 29.
40. see Chapter 4 ii)
41. see e.g. CCA PRC 39/46 fo.150v. He was a brewer, and close friend of William Haines and William Mereweather, gentlemen.
42. in Chapter 4 iii)
43. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.174.
44. ibid. fo.178v.
45. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo. 111v. Charles Brames, merchant, refused to come to the mayor when bidden; DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.174v. Henry Barnes, unlicensed victualler, refused to pay his fine.
46. BL Stowe fos.137-138.
47. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 passim; n.b. also the widespread use of recognizances, and the inquisitions of neighbours in cases of petty crime.
48. BL Stowe 850 fo.133.
49. e.g. J.A. Sharpe Crime in Early Modern England 1550-1750, 1984; Keith Wrightson and David Levine: Poverty and Piety in an English Village. Terling 1525-1700 (1970).
50. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fos.6 et seq., 291v.
51. BL Stowe 850 fo.139. Alan Macfarlane, The Justice and the Mare's Ale op.cit. pp.196-7, considers that the comparatively orderly nature of English society at that period compared to that of some other countries owed much to the self-policing and familiarity with the law involved in the English system.
52. in Chapter 4 ii), iii).
53. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.77.
54. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 91, 117v.
55. ibid. fos. 154v., 165, 136v.
56. ibid. fo.20v.
57. BL Egerton 2095 fo.367.
58. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.12v.(1604).
59. ibid. fo.58.
60. ibid. fo.33.

61. ibid. fo.58.
62. ibid. fo.49v.(1612).
63. see e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fos. 239, 335.
64. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.51.
65. ibid. fo.96 (1614).
66. ibid. fo.160v.
67. ibid. fo.37v.
68. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.123
69. e.g. BL Egerton 2093 fo.157; 160v.
70. BL Egerton 2095 fo.334.
71. BL Egerton 2093 fo.174v. (1540).
72. BL Egerton 2094 fo.44.
73. BL Egerton 2095 fo.351.
74. e.g. ibid. fos.338 (1586), 351 (1587), 331 (1586).
75. BL Egerton 2094 fo.63.
76. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.188v. J.A.Sharpe, Crime in seventeenth-century England op.cit. pp.149-152 has found very few references in the Essex Assize records for the use of punishments involving public humiliation, and suggests that their use might have been eroded by the use of the house of correction; this does not seem to have been the case in Dover.
77. BL Egerton 2095 fo.270v.
78. ibid. fo.270v.
79. e.g. BL Egerton 2094 fo. 219v.(1562); CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.44 (1608).
80. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.190 (1624) a pregnant woman was whipped at the post; Dover Depositions 1630 fo.90 (1637) a sailor was fined 2s.6d. for abusing a young woman. Martin Ingram, "Ridings, rough music and the "reform of popular" culture in early modern England", Past and Present no. 105 (1984) pp.79-113, argues that charivaris, where the penal and festive contexts merged, had close affinities with such "shame punishments" and that, although they were criticized by Puritan ministers, they were evidence of a continuing shared culture.
81. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.76.
82. BL Egerton 2094 fo.204.

83. BL Egerton 2095 fo.364.
84. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.34.
85. ibid. fo.41.
86. ibid. fo.91 (1613).
87. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fos. 29 (1632), 41v.(1634), 115 (1639).
88. e.g. BL Additional Ms fo.143v. (1520)
89. e.g. CCA X.1013 fo.88v.(1570); BL Egerton 2095 fos. 295v. (1584), 320v., 322 (1585), 329 (1586).
90. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.44v. (1608).
91. BL Egerton 2095 fo.414 (1596).
92. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.97v.
93. PRO SP1/96 fo.151. John Whalley tells Cromwell two men still lie in the dungeon there and are likely to perish.
94. for more details see Chapter 6 iv)
95. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo. 11 (1604) sets out the bailiff's duties in detail.
96. BL Egerton 2095 fo.261.
97. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.64.
98. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.408v.
99. ibid. fo.382.
100. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.55.
101. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 166, 167 (1620).
- 102.e.g. ibid. fo.168v. an offender was sent there "in respect of his being sorrowful" for his offence.
103. ibid. fos. 50v., 167, 182v.
104. CKS Dover Depositions fos. 78, 108.
105. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 69v., 136.
106. e.g. BL Egerton 2093 fos.102 (1533),138 (1536)
107. ibid. fo.186.
108. ibid. fo.184.
109. BL Egerton 2095 fo.6.

110. ibid. fo.363.
111. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.330v.
112. BL Egerton 2095 fos. 282v., 291.
113. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.102v.
114. ibid. fo.121, Dover Depositions 1630 fo.47v.
115. Dover Depositions 1630 fo.18v.
116. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.123v.(1616)
117. CKS Dover Depositions fos.42v., 46.
118. ibid. fo.111v.
119. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.137.
120. ibid. fo.173.
121. ibid. fo.185v.
122. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.110v.
123. ibid. fo.133v.
124. ibid. fo.47v.
125. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.25.
126. ibid. fos.24v.-25 passim.
127. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fos. 112v., 82v.)
128. ibid. fo.11v.
129. ibid. fo.56.
130. ibid. fo.99.
131. ibid. fo.75v.
132. ibid. fo.111.
133. see Chapter 1 iv)d.
134. BL Egerton 2095 fos. 380v., 465.
135. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.39.
136. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.118v. Charles Phythian-Adams, "Ceremony and the Citizen: the communal year at Coventry 1450-1550" in Peter Clark ed. The Early Modern Town (1976) pp.113-115 shows how certain apparently disorderly festivities provided institutionalized outlets for social tensions in the late mediaeval period. Unsanctioned youthful disorder in Dover in the early modern period still apparently

focused on traditional festivals, although not Christian ones.

137. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.51, 68, 93; Dover Depositions 1630 fos. 23, 110v., 130v.

138. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.108v.

139. BL Egerton 2095 fo.359v.

140. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.32.

141. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.85, 87 (1612), 125v., 128v. (1617).

142. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.152.

143. ibid. fo.159v.

144. e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.364.

145. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.127.

146. CKS Dover Depositions fo.92.

147. ibid. fo.119.

148. ibid. fo.131. J.A.Sharpe, Crime in seventeenth-century England op.cit pp.34-36, 174-176 speculates on the role of the parish constable, showing that he was frequently the victim of assault, and that he may have become increasingly associated with the culture of the more substantial men of the parish.

149. ibid. fo.183v., Dover Depositions 1630 fo.75.

150. ibid. fo.183v., Dover Depositions 1630 fo.75.

151. e.g. ibid. fo.23v. (1605) a woman's claim that she was "none of the lime-kiln queans"; Dover Depositions 1630 fo.77 (1636) fighting in the bowling alley.

152. CKS Dover Depositions fo.105.

153. ibid. fo.83.

154. Peter Clark: The English Alehouse: a social history 1200-1830 (1983).

155. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.174 (1621), Dover Depositions fo.116 (1639).

156. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.46v.(1634), DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.108.(1615), 111v.(1615), Dover Depositions 1630 fos. 66 (1635), 194v. (1624).

157. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 96 (1614), 120 (1616); Dover Depositions fo.78 (1636).

158. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.68 (1635).

159. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.161.
160. BL Egerton 2094 fo.265.
161. BL Egerton 2095 fo.265.
162. BL Egerton 2098 fo.38.
163. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.64v.
164. e.g. for three of these men see CKS DCAM 1603 Judgements fos.58, 87v., Henry Stone, mariner, was master of the town's ferry boat in 1608, but in 1613 was sent to prison and in 1618 removed from his position because of his deceipts; fos. 136, 140v. Hugh Russell, a bricklayer, sought surety of the peace against his step-son John Pickering and defended the defamation that his sister had a bastard in 1618; fos. 65, 168v. Salomon Lovelace, a shoemaker, was allowed to become a victualler in 1610 because he took a young apprentice, but forced to stop in 1621 because he was considered unfit.
165. ibid. fo.168v.
166. see e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fos. 77, 78, 80v.(1636) for David Graves's offences; fo.125v. (1640) for John Pickering's rudeness; fos. 124v., 131 (1640) for affrays in Thomas Gill's house. Peter Clark, "The Alehouse and Alternative Society" pp.47-72 in Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas eds., Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History presented to Christopher Hill (Oxford 1978), suggests that alehouse keepers were commonly of the poorer sort. This seems not to have been completely true in Dover until the 1630s.
167. e.g. see note above.
168. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.70v.
169. ibid. fo.131v.
170. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.84.
171. ibid. fo.133v.
172. ibid. fo.55, CCA X.11.16 fo.109v. et seq. Peter Clark, "The Alehouse and the Alternative Society", op.cit. pp.59-60 gives examples of alehouse brothels. and of the opportunities alehouses also provided for casual liaisons.
173. CKS Dover Depositions fos.133,133v.
174. ibid. fo.79v.
175. ibid. fo. 76.
176. ibid. fos. 83, 92, 87.
177. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.147v.

178. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.78.
179. e.g. CCA X.8.8 fo. 53 Dorothy Ward (1594), X.9.4 fos. 51, 200v. Josina Springer and Katherine Trayle (1605).
180. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.68v.
181. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.114.
182. BL Egerton 2095 fo.223v.
183. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.54.
184. CCA PRC 39/46 fo.138v.
185. BL Egerton 2095 fos. 287 (1583), 375 (1589), 382v. (1590); CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 91 (1613), 100v. (1614), 163v. (1621), 193 (1624); Dover Depositions 1630 fo.98v.(1638).
186. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 159, 160 (1620)
187. ibid. fo.163v. (1620)
188. BL Egerton 2095 fo.300.
189. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.122v.
190. see Chapter 2 ii)b.
191. CCA X.11.11 fo.105.
192. BL Egerton 2095 fo.339.
193. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 9v., 136v., 151.
194. CKS Dover Depositions fo.107v. (1638)
195. ibid. fo.50 (1634)
196. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo. 150. A.D.J.Macfarlane, "Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart Essex", pp.72-89 in J.S.Cockburn, ed. Crime in England 1550-1800 (1977) shows, p.87, that witchcraft evidence "reveals a much less stable and simple popular mentality" than might be deduced from other sources. He summarizes research on witchcraft, p.88-89.
197. ibid. fo. 175v.
198. ibid. fos.71v., 87v., 115v.
199. ibid. fo.87v.
200. CKS Dover Depositions fo.85.
201. in Chapter 4 i) and iii).
202. for the function of Penniless Bench see Chapter 1 iv)b.

203. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.174.
204. ibid. fo.174v. Catherine, daughter of Edmund Woodgrene, mariner, was at school.
205. CCA PRC fo.323.
206. e.g. the series of depositions concerning Jane Gill and her neighbours between 1633 and 1636: CCA PRC 39/42 fo.229 Edmunds contra Gill, fo.240 Gill contra Wooden; fo.119 Gill contra Treape; PRC 39/46 fo.127 Treape contra Thornton, fo.189 Treape contra Pashley.
207. e.g. CCA X.11.7 fo.223 where the 61 year old widow who spoke for Margaret Finnes was described as a "good and grave neighbour."
208. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.92 Thomas Gill craved surety of the peace against Elizabeth Treape.
209. CCA PRC 39/39 fo.56.
210. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.92v; CCA PRC 39/39 fos. 145, 191v.
211. CCA X.10.13 fo.88v.
212. CCA x.11.11 fo.105.
213. CCA X/11/16 fo.109v. (1626)
214. CCA X.11.7 fo.142.
215. ibid. fo.223.
216. CCA X.11.15 fos.228v., 235.
217. see note 206 above.
218. CCA PRC 39/46 fo.125.
219. CCA PRC 39/39 fos.145, 146, 159v., 188v., 192v.
220. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions fo.70v. Katherine Ward and her sisters.
221. e.g. PRC 39/46 fo.162 Joan and Silvester Keet, the wives of sailor brothers.
222. e.g. CCA PRC 39/42 fo.64v.

Notes and references to CHAPTER 6

1. Margaret Spufford, Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Cambridge 1979) p.334; Peter Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution. Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640 (Hassocks 1977) p.58.
2. see iv) below on Religion, morality and civic rule in the seventeenth century. Claire Cross, "Priests into Ministers: the Establishment of Protestant Practice in the City of York 1530-1630" in P.N.Brooks ed. Reformation Principle and Practice (1980) pp.222-225 uses similar evidence from York that shows the comparatively slow acceptance of the new religious settlement there.
3. BL Egerton 2093 fo.114 the land sess list for the king's service in 1531 describes it as "seized to the town for lack of the king's service."
4. CCA PRC 32/22 fo.14.
5. John Lyon, The History of the Town and Port of Dover (Dover 1813) pp.106-108.
6. BL Egerton 1912 fo.63.
7. BL Egerton 1912 fo.64.
8. CCA PRC 32/37 fo.199, Thomas Peter; PRC 32/37 fo.239, Frances Vaughan; PRC 32/27 fo.145, William Burckman.
9. See the discussion of parishes in Chapter 3 Population; see also BL Egerton 2095 fo.225 (1581) when elections were moved from St. Peters which "is now fallen down."
10. Arthur J.Willis, Canterbury Licences (General) 1568-1646, (1972), hereafter referred to as Willis (1972), Inductions: 1574, 1608.
11. for his arrival see Batcheller, History of Dover (Dover 1828)p.214.
12. CCA PRC 32/29 fo.168.
13. CCA PRC 32/35 fo.4.
14. e.g. CCA PRC 32/36 fo.158, William Gibbons; 32/37 fo.49v. Thomas Dawkes.
15. CCA PRC 32/32 fo.75.
16. CCA PRC 32/35 fo.202.

17. e.g. CCA PRC 32/34 fo.90v; PRC 32/35 fo.11; PRC 32/37 fo.165v.
18. CCA PRC 32/37 fo.220. William Urry, Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury, edited by Andrew Butcher (1988) p.52 gives details of the tradition of protestantism in the Pownall family.
19. CCA X.11.6 fo.63v.
20. CCA PRC 32/32 fo.50v.
21. e.g. CCA PRC 32/33 fo.13 (1576) Robert Brome; PRC 32/32 fo.117 (1574) Thomas Burnell.
22. CCA PRC 32/36 fo.239v. (1591) John Idley.
23. e.g. CCA PRC 32/35 fo.116 (1584) Jane Eaton.
24. CCA PRC 32/35 fo.238v. (1586) John Sickerman; e.g. PRC 32/38 fo.14 (1596) Robert Bonyard.
25. in Chapter 4 iii) on the formation of the protestant ruling group.
26. CCA PRC 32/27 fo.389.
27. CCA PRC 32/30 fo.517.
28. CCA PRC 32/28 fo.42.
29. CCA PRC 32/31 fo.187v.
30. CCA PRC 32/36 fo.2.
31. CCA PRC 32/26 fo.19.
32. CCA PRC 32/42 fo.74.
33. e.g. CCA PRC 32/42 fo.361 (1614), Robert Austen.
34. CCA PRC 32/46 fo.188v. (1625)
35. e.g. CCA PRC 32/50 fo.316 (1635) Joan Eaton; PRC 32/46 fo.170v. (1624) William Tatnall.
36. see CCA X.11.13 fo.47 (1618) for his biography in the preamble to a deposition; PRC 32/53 fo.107 (1638) Margaret Raworth describes him as "my kinsman" in her will.
37. e.g. CCA PRC 32/43 fo.264 (1616), John Bachelor; PRC 32/52 fo.401v. (1637), Thomas Weekes, jurat.
38. e.g. CCA PRC 32/52 fo.35v. (1638), William Streeting; PRC 32/45 fo.39 (1614), Humfrey Meade, jurat.
39. CCA PRC 32/46 fo.236 (1625), Richard Darker; fo. 165 (1624), Michael Wallop.

40. e.g. CCA PRC 32/50 fo.278 (1630), Steven Askew; PRC 32/39 fo.242 (1603), William Chandler.
41. e.g. CCA PRC 32/40 fo.1 (1607), John Bredgate concluded his will with reference to a joyful resurrection; see also PRC 32/45 fo.170v. (1621), Alice Harwood; PRC 32/51 fo.29 (1633), Robert Marsh. Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants (Oxford 1979) pp.232-234 shows the importance of catechizing in implanting a religion consisting of patterns of printed words into less receptive heads at this period.
42. CCA PRC 32/45 fo.106v.
43. CCA PRC 32/47 fo.131v. (1628), John Jacob; PRC 32/47 fo.52 (1626), Thomas Fineux, gentleman.
44. CCA PRC 32/42 fo.277; PRC 32/40 fo.60; PRC 32/47 fo.110.
45. CCA PRC 32/13 fos.58 (1518), Alice Balgy, 20 (1519), Thomas a Barowe, 191 (1522) John Browne; PRC 32/11 fo.92 (1513) John Bingham.
46. BL Egerton 2095 fo.225 (1581)
47. e.g. CCA PRC 32/33 fo.22v (1576), James Smith; PRC 32/32 fo.70 (1573), Thomas Pepper.
48. Willis (1972) Sequestrations 1571, 74, 77, 1607; Miscellanea 1607.
49. e.g. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.117v. (1515)
50. ibid. fo.125v. (1517)
51. CCA X.10.12 fo.214 et seq.
52. e.g. in CCA PRC 32/13fo.55 (1521), Thomas Feasy, PRC 32/13 fo.23 (1518) Richard Fyneux.
53. e.g. in CCA PRC 32/11 fo.70v. (1513), John Claringbold, PRC 32/15 fo.23 (1527) Thomas Lybeas.
54. CCA PRC 32/11 fo. 92. See map on p.280.
55. CCA PRC 32/13 fo.23.
56. CCA PRC 32/15 fo.257.
57. e.g. CCA PRC 32/14 fo.3 (1523), Elizabeth Vaughan.
58. CCA PRC 32/15 fo.208.
59. CCA PRC 32/22 fo.58.
60. CCA PRC fo.159 (1526).
61. BL Egerton 1912 fos. 4-7 passim.
62. in Chapter 1 iv)d.

63. BL Additional Ms fo.126v.
64. LPD Henry VIII ix 717.
65. for details see Lyon p.77; CCA X.10.22 fos. 9, 13. 18, 51,52.
66. Lyon p.95.
67. BL Titus B.I. 358, an English translation of the letter.
68. BL Egerton 2093 fos. 309, 314. Peter Clark, English Provincial Society op.cit. p.58 seems to interpret these events as "continuing radical activity" at Dover.
69. CCA PRC 32/26 fo.145.
70. BL Egerton 1912 fos. 43v.-48 passim.
71. ibid. fos. 41, 41v.
72. ibid. fo.49v.
73. ibid.fo.88.
74. CSP Charles 1 ccccxxi 13
75. see e.g. R.J. Acheson The Development of Religious Separatism in the Diocese of Canterbury 1590-1660 (University of Kent Ph.D. thesis 1983) hereafter referred to as Acheson (thesis); R. J. Acheson Radical Puritans in England 1550-1660 (1990) hereafter referred to as Acheson (1990); Clark (1977).
76. for details of this see Chapter 1 iii)a.
77. see e.g. CSP Elizabeth xii 5, 22, 38; BL Egerton 2095 fos. 366,367 record payments to a widow and to a man wounded in the town ship sent against the Spaniards.
78. Ramsey pp.174-9.
79. see e.g. CSP Elizabeth cclxxiiii 30 (1599) the claim of Martin Andiers that he was not a Spanish spy and would not have risked landing at Dover, where he was well known, if he had been.
80. in Chapter 2 i)b.
81. BL Additional Ms 29618 fo.64. see footnote 299 to Chapter 1 for a similar situation in Rye.
82. ibid. fos.307, 311.
83. e.g. CCA X.11.1 fos. 41v.(1585) John Anderson signs Jan Anneson, 93 (1586) Thomas Olvill signs Thomas Horlsfeld.
84. e.g. CCA X.10.19 fo.147 John Skeith, X.10.12 fo.218v. John Spritwell.

85. G.H.Overend, Strangers at Dover Proceedings of the Huguenot Society, Vol.3 No.2 1889-90 p.95, hereafter referred to as Overend.
86. ibid.
87. CCA PRC 32/35 fo.202.
88. see note 84 above.
89. CCA PRC 32/39 fo.233.
90. CCA X.10.19 fo.175.
91. BL Egerton 2095 fo.404, John Skeith was mayor in 1594-94; X.11.8 fo.65 (1603) he was buried at St. Mary's; BL Egerton 2095 fos.52 (1578) John Spritwell became a common councillor, 303v. (1584) a jurat; X.10.18 fo.91v. (1598) he was a sidesman at St. Mary's church.
92. CCA PRC 32/39 fo.233 (1603), Edward Kempe, John Bachelor, Richard Doves, John Nethersole.
93. for evidence of this see his will, referred to in the previous footnote and CCA Y.3.3. 1603.
94. Overend p.92.
95. ibid. pp.98-99.
96. CCA U3/30/1/1 1568-1571 passim.
97. Overend p.159.
98. BL Egerton 2095 fo.225.
99. CCA PRC 21/16 fo.9 the testamentary accounts of the widow of the later administrator of the accounts of Thomas Fuller, made in 1595, mentions Alice Brame, the daughter of Martha Brame als Fuller.
100. CCA X.10.11 fo.131v.
101. CCA PRC 32/32 fo.10.
102. CCA PRC 32/33 fo.18.
103. CCA PRC 32/37 fo.66 (1592).
104. CCA PRC 32/35 fo.4 (1582).
105. CCA X.11.1 fo.289..
106. ibid.
107. Overend pp.118-121.
108. CCA X.11.1fos. 38v.-41, 289.

109. BL Egerton 2095 fo.309v. (1585).
110. ibid.
111. ibid. fo.354.
112. ibid. fo.354.
113. ibid. fo.304v.
114. CCA U3/30/1/2 (1627).
115. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.90v.
116. see note 97 above.
117. CCA PRC 32/46 fo.177v.
118. for their association see e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.380.
119. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.8.
120. CCA X.11.6 fo.83 et seq.
121. CCA X.11.6 fos.83-85.
122. CCA PRC 32/36 fo.243.
123. see e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.339v.
124. CCA PRC 32/35 fo. 202.
125. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo. 155v.
126. CSP James 1 cxxi 98.
127. ibid. cxxiii 70.
128. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.98v.
129. Acheson (thesis).
130. Overend p.165.
131. see Chapter 2 ii)b for Thomas Philpott as money-lender; CCA PRC 39/33 fo.330 for a short biography of Roger White; CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 9v. (1604), 118 (1616) for his marriages to the daughter of Edward Michell, by which he became free, and to the sister of Katherine Judge.
132. CCA PRC 32/46 fo.207v. will of Cornelius Loope.
133. CCA PRC 27/11 fo.83 (1644).
134. CCA PRC 20/6 fo.138 (1624).
135. CCA PRC 27/8 fo.146 (1640) the inventory of William Bradshaw, who owned the "Prince" shows that he leased it to David Nephew.

136. CCA PRC 39/48 fo.16v. (1638) he was described as a "merchant of great trade."
137. Register of the Walloon Church in Canterbury, publication of the Huguenot Society Vol.v part III, 1898.
138. CCA U47C1, Deacon's Accounts. I am indebted to Margaret Fisher for this information.
139. CSP Charles 1 ccxciii 12.
140. CCA PRC 39/48 fo.17.
141. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.125; CSP Charles 1 liv 51.
142. CCA X.11 13 fo.67 et seq. gives an account of her leaving him, with her money, after his adulterous relationships.
143. CCA PRC 39/46 fos. 149-150v.
144. ibid. fo. 148v.
145. for more details see iv) below: church-going, belief and dissent in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
146. CCA PRC 32/42 fo.165.
147. Acheson (1990) pp.21, 71.
148. see Chapter 2 ii)b for his role as an intermediary between Thomas Philpott and his debtors, and his sermons against usury.
149. CCA PRC 32/42 fo.277v. (1613).
150. e.g. CCA X.9.4 fo.221v., X.9.14 fo.293.
151. CSP Charles 1 ccccxxvi 60 (1639); CCA Z.4.6 fo.289 (1639).
152. CCA PRC 32/46 fo.170v.
153. see Chapter 5 iii) and iv).
154. CSP Charles 1 cclxxxviii 79.
155. CSP Charles 1 cccxiv 5.
156. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions fo.78 (1636).
157. ibid. fo.23 et seq.
158. ibid. fo.71v; see Acheson (thesis) p.68 for the Finnes family.
159. CCA Z.4.6 fo.58.
160. CCA Z.4.6 fos.58-63 (1637).

161. ibid. fo.65v.
162. CSP Charles 1 cccxxxvii 62.
163. CSP Charles 1 ccclxvii.
164. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.15v. (1604); DTA 1603-1626 Expenses 1604-5 - 1616-17 passim; CCA X.9.4 fo.19v. (1604); CCA Z.4.1 fos. 102v, 103v. (1620).
165. Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants op.cit. p.11; he discusses the difficulties of using this material pp.210-220.
166. X.9.12 fo.239 et seq. in May and July (1616).
167. CCA Z.4.3 fos.2-51v.
168. e.g. CCA Z.4.1 fos.43, 77, 102v., 103v., 200, 210.
169. e.g. Z.4.6 fos. 58, 61,65v.
170. Willis (1972) Inductions 1608; CSP James 1 xciii 141 (1617).
171. BL Egerton 2095 fo.391.
172. e.g. CCA X.8.10 (1579), X.18.4 (1592), X.9.11 fo.232 (1613), X.9.14 fo.225 (1619); see PRC 28/8 fo.89 (1619) for his inventory.
173. see Chapter 4 i) butchers.
174. e.g. CCA X.9.2 fos. 193-193v., X.9.11 fo.232., X.9.14 fo.10.
175. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.71.
176. CCA X.9.14 fo.30 et seq.
177. ibid. fo.30.
178. CCA Z.4.2 fo.125.
179. CCA Z.4.15 fo.22.
180. CCA Z.4.7 fo.8.
181. for a discussion of parish boundaries see Chapter 3.
182. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.145v.
183. CCA X.9.11 fo.223v.
184. CCA X.9.14 fos.10v., 11.
185. CCA X.9.14 fo.293.

186. Acheson (Thesis) p.68.
187. CCA Z.4.3 fo.27.
188. e.g. in CCA PRC 32/47 fo.108 the will of John Rootes, which contained a bequest to one "Freegift Witham"; PRC 32/52 fo.577 the will of John Wallop, mariner; PRC 32/46 fo.191 the will of Stephen Wiles, shoemaker.
189. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions fos.8, 44v.
190. CCA X.11.12 fo.11v.
191. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions fo.44v. (1634).
192. Acheson (Thesis).
193. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.136v.
194. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.105 (1623) he lost his freedom when she died.
195. CCA U3/30/1/2 marriages (1625).
196. CCA X.11.14 fo.242.
197. CCA Z.4.3 fo.44 et seq.
198. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.28 (1632).
199. ibid. fo.62v.
200. ibid. fo.59v.
201. CCA Z.4.3 fo.19 (May 1623); see above for John Loome's connections with stranger families.
202. CCA Z.4.4 fo.90
203. Acheson (Thesis).
204. CCA X.9.1 fo.5 (1599).
205. BL Egerton 2095 fo.468 (1603) Edward Powell, smith, sought a licence to victual.
206. CCA X.11.6 fo.83.
207. ibid. fo.59v.
208. Acheson (Thesis).
209. CSP Charles 1 ccccxxvii 78.
210. ibid. cccccxxii 27.
211. ibid. cccccxxvi 80.
212. ibid. cccccxxii 27.i.

213. CCA z.4.6 fos.289, 289v. Those mentioned in the presentation as having been there were: John Trendall's wife; Joan, wife of William, Tiddeman; John Haslewood; Edward Goodwin; the wife of John Broome; Elizabeth, wife of John, Hogben; Susan Lee, widow, and the wife of Nicholas Crookes.
214. Acheson (Thesis); see also note 122 above concerning the will of John Tiller, the weaver with Dutch connections.
215. CSP Charles 1 ccccxxvi 60; CCA Z.4.6 fo.289.
216. CKS Dover Depositions fo.122.
217. CSP Charles 1 ccccxxvi 60 (1639).
218. see e.g. preambles to the following wills PRC 32/44 fo.369v. Henry Tiddeman, fisherman; PRC 32/47fo.54v. William Tiddeman, mariner.
219. CCA Z.4.6 fo.289.
220. Overend p.317.
221. CCA Z.4.7 fo.36v.
222. see e.g. notes 189-190 above; CCA PRC 32/46 fo.243 the will of John Goodwin shows he had two sons, Edmund and Edward; CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.98 for John Goodwin's dismissal from juratship.
223. CSP Charles 1 ccccxxxii 27 II (1639).
224. ibid.
225. ibid.
226. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.127v.
227. CCA PRC 32/46 fo.243 the will of John Goodwin.
228. CCA U3/30/1/2 marriages August 1625; see above for the Elwoods.
229. CCA Z.4.6 fo.289v.
230. see inventories CCA PRC 21/11 fo.153v., 28/12 fo.65; 28/13 fo.264; 28/19 fo.87; 28/20 fos. 493, 85; 28/9 fo.569; 28/12 fo.61; 21/9 fo.126v John Garrett, 21/14 fo.332 Dirrick Garrett; 28/13 fo.248 Robert Garrett.
231. e.g. CCA PRC 28/15 fo.166 William Wentworth; 28/19 fo.437 Margaret Waller; 28/4 fo.233 Christopher Nethersole.
232. e.g. CCA PRC 21/4 fo.15v. Michael Brother; 28/6 fo.70 Charles Brames; 28/13 fo.290 Henry Damman; 28/14 fo.339 Cornelius Hughessen; 27/11 fo.83 John Looper; 28/17 fo.178 Peter Eaton; 27/11 fo.83 Daniel Porten; 27/6 fo.2 Adrian Adrianson.

233. CCA PRC 28/73 fo.310 George Dennis; 27/10 fo.13 Edmund Dennis; CCA PRC 32/50 fo.31 Bartholomew Lawrence.
234. CCA PRC 27/6 fo.70 William Kite; 28/20 fo.75 James Sherlock. David Cressy, Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England (Cambridge 1980) pp.48-52 gives a summary of the arguments for and against using evidence of book ownership in inventories as proof of literacy, and cautions against it.
235. CCA PRC 21/13 fo.79 (1594).
236. CCA PRC 21/10 fo.42v.
237. CCA PRC 28/17 fo.122.
238. CCA PRC 28/19 fo.652 (1633).
239. CCA PRC 28/6 fo.70.
240. CCA PRC 28/3 fo.86 Thomas Chambers; 28/14 fo.665 Thomas Wilds.
241. CCA PRC 21/2 fo.63v. (1576).
242. CCA PRC 27/10 fo.30 (1642).
243. CCA PRC 21/17 fo.330 Richard Pickering; 27/10 fo.49 Walter Richards.
244. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.95v.
245. CCA PRC 27/11 fo.9 (1643).
246. see note 197 above.
247. CCA X.9.8 fo.33; CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.61v.
248. e.g. A direction or preparative to the study of law, The Canon Law and the Common Law of England. I am indebted to Jonathan Lloyd Dean for this information.
249. CCA PRC 32/44 fo.249.
250. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.49v.
251. CCA X.8.12 fo.242v; X.11.1 fo.93.
252. CCA X.8.11 fo.10v. (1587).
253. CCA X.10.17 fo.182 (1574).
254. CCA X.9.2fo.79v. (1601).
255. CCA X.4.7 fo.111.
256. Willis (1972) Licences to serve cures, 1602.
257. CCA X.9.4 fo.28.

258. CCA X.9.6 fo.18v. (1607).
259. Willis (1972) Licences to serve cures 1608.
260. CCA X.9.7 fo.133; X.9.8 fo.33v. (1609)
261. CSP James 1 xciii 141.
262. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.1v.
263. ibid. fo.39v. shows that payment for freedom was remitted because he promised to preach the sermon annually.
264. ibid. fo.54 (1613).
265. CCA PRC 349/42 fo.231 et seq. Kempe and Percival contra Elwood; for Mrs. Elwood and William Hannington see notes 178-180 above.
266. CCA PRC 349/42 fo.243v.
267. CCA PRC 39/39 fo.108v.
268. ibid. fo.139.
269. CCA X.9.12 fo.239.
270. CCA PRC 28/19 fo.529.
271. CCA Z.4.6 fo.127.
272. ibid. fos.244v., 265v. There is no record, however, of popular protest in Dover against the restitution of rails as there was in some Essex parishes for example, as shown in William Hunt, The Puritan Movement: the coming of Revolution in an English County (Harvard 1983) p.276.
273. CCA Z.4.2 fo.116 (1621).
274. BL Egerton 2584 fo.305.
275. Clark (1977) p.323.
276. Acheson (Thesis).
277. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.116.
278. ibid. fo.98v. (1621).
279. see e.g. ibid. fo.97v. (1621).
280. ibid. fo.95v.
281. CCA Z.4.3 fo.9.
282. ibid. interleaved at fo.14.
283. Acheson (Thesis).

284. CCA Z.4.3 fo.44, referred to above.
285. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.8.
286. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos. 99 (1621), 113 (1623).
287. John Reading A sermon delivered at Maidstone in Kent at the Assizes there held, August 23 1641. Printed in London.
288. see Chapter 4 iii). The implications of the protestant ideal of an exemplary magistracy and ministry for corporate towns are discussed in Patric Collinson, The Religion of Protestants op.cit. pp.141-188; parallel changes in rural communities are summarized by Martin Ingram in Kaspar von Greyerz, ed., Religion and Society in Early Modern England 1500-1800 (1984) pp.177-193.
289. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.62.
290. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.135v.
291. see Appendix B.
292. John Reading Moses and Jethro or the Good Magistrate: containing sundry necessary admonitions to all Mayors, Governors, and Freemen of towns corporate, as they were delivered in a sermon at St.Mary's in Dover on the election day. (London 1626)
293. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.137.
294. CCA PRC 32/42 fo.165.
295. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.86.
296. see Chapter 7.
297. John Reading A guide to the Holy City, or directions and helps to an holy life. (Oxford 1651).
298. CCA PRC 32/46 fo.165.
299. CCA PRC 25/52 fo.371.
300. BL Egerton 2095 fo.434.
301. CCA X.9.4 fo.150 et seq.
302. e.g. CCA Z.4.1 fo.43 (1619); Z.4.2 fos.18v., 38v., 50 (1621), 74, 75 (1622); Z.4.3 fos. 2, 9v., 27 (1623); Z.4.4 fos. 48v., 53v. (1625)..
303. e.g. CCA Z.4.2fo.18v. (1621).
304. CCA X.9.11 fo.94 (1612).
305. this point has been discussed in Chapter 4 i).

306. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.64.

307. CCA PRC 39/48 fo.182 et seq.

308. CCA X.8.8-X.8.15, X.9.1-X.9.14, Z.4.1-Z.4.7 passim.  
Martin Ingram in Kaspar von Greyerz ed. Religion and Society in Early Modern England op.cit. p.190 notes that economic factors were probably of greater importance than religious ones to the development of a harsh attitude towards illegitimacy and antenuptial pregnancy at this period.

309. CCA X.8.10 fo.43.

310. CCA X.8.15 fo.150.

311. CCA X.8.12 fo.240v.

312. CCA X.9.8 fo.108.

313. CCA X.9.14 fo.225.

314. CCA X.9.8fo.108.

315. CCA Z.4.5 fos.194v., 225; Z.4.6 fo.68v.

316. CCA PRC 39/42 fo.231 et seq. in Kempe and Percival contra Elwood.

317. ibid. fo.233v.

318. ibid. fo.243v.

## Notes and references to CHAPTER 7

1. A.L Beier, Masterless Men. The vagrancy problem in England 1560-1640 (1985), hereafter referred to as Beier (1985)
2. Paul Slack, Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England (1988) p.31.
3. Chapter 1 iv)e.
4. e.g. Chapter 3 ii) in the restoration of the relationship between a master and his apprenticeship.
5. in Chapter 6 v).
6. e.g. in Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants The Church in English Society 1559-1625 (Oxford 1982), Chapter 4: Magistracy and Ministry.
7. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos. 101v., 134.
- 8.. see Introduction, the development of Dover harbour.
9. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.37.
10. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.15v.
11. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos.41 (1610), 80v. (1617), 102, 105 (1622)
12. CSP James 1 clxxvii 17 shows that money was very slow in coming to pay for this.
13. see Chapter 1 iii) the assessment of foreigners.
14. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.137.
15. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fos. 40, 55v., 68, 78, 81v., 100.
16. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.157.
17. in Chapter 1 iv)e.
18. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.41.
19. ibid. fo.55.
20. ibid. fos.83, 101v.
21. ibid. fo.135v.
22. CKS DTA 1558-1581 Expenses 1561-2, 62-3; 63-4, 68-9, 69-70; 1774-5.

23. CKS DTA 1581-1603 Expenses 1586-7, 88-9; 1596-7, 98-9. DTA 1603-1626 Expenses 1603-4.
24. CKS DTA 1603-1626 Expenses 1604-5.
25. for more detail see Chapter 5 ii).
26. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.57v. William Stephenson.
27. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.145v. (1618) a tailor from Rutland.
28. e.g. ibid. fo.147.
29. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 155v. (1619) James Bradshaw; Dover Depositions 1630 fo.78 (1636) Adrian Bultell. Peter Clark, "The migrant in Kentish towns 1580-1640" pp.117-163 in Peter Clark and Paul Slack eds. Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History (1972) sets up a distinction between "betterment" and "subsistence" migrants that has been widely accepted. While this distinction marks out the relatively local, wealthy and successful migrant, it has not been found by the writer of this study to deal appropriately with the complexities of migration or with the marginal position of the migrant worker, as these two examples demonstrate. See also the discussion of apprentices here, pp.407-419, and pp.396-7 for the long-distance migration to the town of innkeepers who later became very successful.
30. Beier (1985) found a tendency for west to east migration.
31. C.W.Chalklin, Seventeenth Century Kent (Rochester 1965), chapter IX gives details of ship-building at Chatham at this period.
32. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos.11v. Stephen Marwell, fustian weaver, Southampton; 13v. John Cooper, woollen weaver, Lancashire; 179 John Evans, loomer, Norfolk; 181 William Farmer, broadweaver, Gloucester and George Hunt, weaver, Somerset; 189 William Bursted, broadweaver born Norfolk, last worked with Jacob Turner in the Weald of Kent; Dover Depositions 1630 fos. 40v. Richard Tapsey, Sussex; Richard Miller, weaver, Devon.
33. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.85v. (1637).
34. ibid. fos. 77v. (1636) Thomas Lyne, London; 85v.(1637), William Moore; 101v. (1638) John Fynnis; 134v. (1640) Thomas True, Gloucester.
35. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.180.
36. CKS Dover Depositions fo.26v., Percival Braithwaite.
37. ibid. fos. 11v. (1631) Lawrence Harris; 100v. (1638) Robert Holland.
38. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.191v. (1624).

39. e.g. ibid. fo. 183 (1623) John Loveday; Dover Depositions 1630 fos. 41v. (1633 Edward Hall, 85v. (1637) Robert Bluett from Ireland confessed he and his wife had been married by a "mass priest" so they were sent away.

40. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.183v.

41. e.g. CKS DTA 1603-1626 Expenses passim. Benjamin Hilles, Goodman Hamon, Father Bowle, Richard Colley, Jeffery Cross, John Wraight, Oliver Anseker, David Staynes.

42. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.190 (1624).

43. e.g. CSP Charles 1 lviii 62; CKS DCAM 1603 Judgements fo.163v; Dover Depositions 1630 fo.59v.

44. e.g. see CCA X.10 20 fo.211v. for the friendship between Robert Day and Robert Simpson, both of whom came from Derby, but in different years.

45. in Chapter 4 ii).

46. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.58 (1635).

47. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.57.

48. ibid. fo.57.

49. BL Egerton 2095 fo.25v.

50. CKS Dover Depositions fo.8v.

51. ibid. fo.96v.

52. BL Egerton 2095 fo.25v.

53. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.57v.

54. ibid. fo.10.

55. e.g. ibid. fo.41.

56. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.189v. (1624).

57. e.g. see note 55 above; the group consisted of a man, wife and daughter, together with the man's sister and her daughter.

58. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.11v.

59. ibid. fo.28v.

60. ibid. fo.136v.

61. CKS Dover Depositions fo.59v.

62. e.g. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fos. 11v., 70.

63. e.g. ibid. fo.183, John Saunders, about 9 years old.

64. e.g. CKS Dover Depositions fo.62v. (1630).
65. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.186 (1623).
66. ibid. fo.186.
67. ibid. fo.79v.
68. ibid. fos.188v. Elizabeth Cannon, 192 (1624) Joan Byard; Dover Depositions 1630 fo.84 (1636) Elizabeth Clarke came to fetch a gown and some linen she had pawned for 14d. with a Dover woman when they harvested in Buckland.
69. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.32v. (1633).
70. CKS DCAM 1603 Judgments fo.181v. (1623)
71. CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fo.8v.
72. Shakespeare, Macbeth iv.1.

Notes and References to Conclusion

1. see the Foreword, "The Development of Dover Harbour, 1509-1640", pp. 4-21 passim.
2. Robert Tittler, "The Vitality of an Elizabethan Port: the Economy of Poole, c.1550-1600" Southern History (1986) pp. 95-113.
3. PRO SP 18/9, no.61, Thomas Violet's Report on the Decay of Trade.
4. see e.g. B.E. Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change in England 1600-1642: A study in the Instability of a Mercantile Economy (Cambridge 1964) p.161; Robert Brenner, Merchants and Revolution: Commercial change, political conflict and London's overseas traders, 1550-1663 (Cambridge 1993) pp. 45-50; K.R.Andrews, English Privateering during the Spanish War 1585-1603 (Cambridge 1964) pp. 226-229.
5. see pp. 359-364 for the increase in population; pp.469-470, 472-478 for the link between overcrowding and disorder; pp. 562-578 for the rise in the numbers of poor migrants and vagrants in the early seventeenth century; Table 1:12 on p.89 for the widening gap in the distribution of assessments for foreigners' maltotes; pp. 342-346 for the increase in private trading and difficulty in getting goods to the market; p. 358 for a summary of the situation.
6. see pp. 320-326 for the evidence of inventories about levels of consumption in the town, particularly p.327 for the acquisition of plate by the rich.
7. see e.g. pp.247-253 for an account of the Hughessen, Eaton and Brames families; p.245, pp.524-526 for other alien merchants; PRO SP16/314/5 for 15 Flemish factors resident at Dover early in 1635.
8. The exceptions were Nicholas Eaton, mayor in 1617-18, 1630-31 and 1631-32 and Daniel Porten (Dutchman), granted freedom in 1629 because it was thought he would bring benefit to the town by trade, who was a chamberlain from 1635-37 and became a jurat in 1637. For James Hughessen's and Michael Burnley's brief spells as jurats see p. 444. Charles Brames was chamberlain for one period of two years, see p.34. This compares with Exeter where wealth and civic power coincided - W.T.MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640 (Second edition 1975), p.251; York, where the city council was dominated by merchants - D.M.Palliser, Tudor York (Oxford 1979), p.106, and Bristol, where the merchant elite had most power, Jonathan Barry ed. The Tudor and Stuart Town 1530-1680, David Harris Sacks, "The Corporate Town and the English State: Bristol's "Little Businesses" 1625-1641" p.330. In Chester, however, the merchant retailers formed the majority of councillors and were at odds with the mere merchants, D.M.Woodward, The Trade of Elizabethan Chester (Hull 1970) pp.75 ff.

9. e.g. James Hughessen, jr. 1611-12, 1613-14; Jacob Brames 1615-16; John Valey 1630-31; Arnold Brames 1631-32; Daniel Porten 1634-35.

10. CKS Books of the Hundred Court of Dover, Records of Pleas 1603-1625, 1626-1656 (unfoliated) passim.

11. see pp. 252, 217, 248.

12. see B.E.Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change in England op cit. p.175 for the contemporary perception of the importance of silver; this study p. 248 for the Hughessens' illegal diverting of silver; and n.b. PRO E 178/60 27 for depositions against Jacob Brames's illegal dealing in gold while he was Customer of Sandwich in Dover.

13. Palliser, Tudor York op cit. pp.280-281.

14. see p.47.

15. see pp. 51-52.

16. see e.g. pp.37-38; p.213; p.41.

17. see p.50 - Mr Reade was from Folkestone; pp.51-52.

18. see pp.305-319.

19. The complexity of credit relationships in King's Lynn has been demonstrated by Craig Muldrew, "Credit and the Courts: debt litigation in a seventeenth century urban community" Economic History Review XLVI, I (1993) pp. 23-38; for changes towards the borrowing of larger amounts in Dover see pp. 308-309; this is a change noted by Postan in mercantile credit at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in recognizances recorded in the London City Records, as shown in J.M.Holden, The History of Negotiable Instruments in English Law (1955) p.10.

20. see pp. 310-314.

21. see pp. 298, 289.

22. Eric Kerridge, Trade and Banking in Early Modern England (Manchester 1988) pp.34-38 provides a useful definition of what actually constituted usury and points out that although moderate usury became respectable following the usury laws, some old men were still worried about it.

23. see pp.287-288; 263-265; n.b. also the rush to invest in leases of property near the harbour from about 1610, pp. 265-269.

24. see e.g. pp.346-347; pp.36-48.

25. see pp.45, 48.

26. see pp.265, 268-269.

27. E.P.Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the eighteenth century" Past and Present no. 50 (February 1971) pp.76-136.
28. see e.g. pp.28, 73-74, 271-273; p.33.
29. see e.g. pp. 232, 342-344 for large-scale buying of fish; pp. 344-345 for selling goods straight from ships; p. 348 for beer being exported from the town when it was needed there; p.247 for maltsters' buying grain direct from farmers' houses.
30. John Walter and Keith Wrightson, "Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England", pp. 108-128 in Paul Slack ed. Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England Cambridge 1984) pp. 110- 17-118.
31. see pp. 270-278.
32. see e.g. p. 272, p.275, p.277.
33. see p.273.
34. see pp. 336 ff. on the regulation of the market; p.75.
35. see e.g. p. 50; pp.124-126, 127, 131.
36. see pp. 95-97; pp.106-108; pp.109-110; pp.73-74.
37. MacCaffrey, Exeter op cit. p. 281; Palliser Tudor York op cit. p.293.
38. e.g. Stephen Hipkin, The Economy and Social Structure of Rye, 1600-1660 (Oxford University D.Phil thesis 1985) pp. 313-343 shows that a "quasi-professional governing mentality" was developing in the 1560s; MacCaffrey Exeter op cit. pp. 110 ff. describes "attempts to make permanent improvements in social structures"; Palliser, Tudor York op cit. p.277 comments on the new extent of official aid and machinery for poor relief in York from the 1570s; Alan D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the sixteenth century (Leicester 1973) reports, however, that there were no innovative methods in Worcester, probably because there was too much private charity.
39. Keith Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680 (1982) p.57.
40. for details of these changes see pp. 204-210, pp.564-565.
41. see pp. 61-62.
42. for evidence of this see pp. 550-558.
43. Charles Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages (Cambridge 1979) pp. 170-179; 74-79.
44. see pp. 186-188; 183.

45. see e.g. pp. 185-186 for the separation of the oligarchy from the rest of the inhabitants at festivals; pp.198-199 for the replacement of players by preachers; pp.443-445 for examples of the oligarchy's growing exclusivity; p. 479 for the indiscretion of drinking with poor men; pp.445-446 for verbal attacks on the oligarchy.

46. see. e.g. p. 105 - marriage to a freeman's daughter was the most popular method of entry to freedom; p.385 for the importance of marriage as an introduction to a new group; p.389 for the importance of married daughters to the inheritance of inns; p.380 for the importance of marriage choices to mariners; p.401 for the importance of wives to the transmission of brewing businesses; p.424 for the importance of marriage in the formation of the ruling group.

47. see e.g. pp.489; 491-2; 495.

48. see e.g. Keith Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680 (1982) pp.44-51, which also summarizes the work of Alan Macfarlane; Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling 1525-1700 (1979) pp.83-102; Keith Wrightson, "Household and Kinship in sixteenth century England", History Workshop Issue 12. Autumn 1981 pp.151-158, a critique of Miranda Chaytor, "Household and Kinship: Ryton in the late 16th and early 17th centuries", History Workshop, Issue 10, Autumn 1980, pp.25-60, where she argues against the assumption that the biological nuclear family was a natural unit unaffected by social and economic relations which took place "outside it", p.28. and demonstrates that remarriage meant that certain households had a claim on the resources of several kin groups, p.38.

49. David Cressy, "Kinship and Kin interaction in early modern England", Past and Present No.113 (1986), pp.38-69.

50. Diana O'Hara, ""Ruled by my friends"; aspects of marriage in the diocese of Canterbury, c. 1540-1570", Continuity and Change 6(1), 1991, pp.9-41.

51. see pp. 388-9; 490.

52. e.g. by R.J.Acheson, The Development of Religious Separatism in the Diocese of Canterbury, 1590-1660 (University of Kent Ph.D thesis, 1983); R.J.Acheson, Radical Puritans in England 1550-1660 (1990); Graham Mayhew, Tudor Rye (Brighton 1987) pp. 79-90; G.H.Overend, "Strangers at Dover" Proceedings of the Huguenot Society, vol.3 (1889-1890) pp.91-330; "Register of the Walloon Church in Canterbury" Proceedings of the Huguenot Society, vol.5, part III (1898).

53. e.g. see Peter Clark, "The migrant in Kentish Towns 1580-1640" in Peter Clark and Paul Slack eds., Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History (1972), where he chooses to exclude "a small number of aliens born on the Continent" from his sample. On the other hand, William Hunt,

The Puritan Movement: the Coming of Revolution in an English County (Harvard 1983), p.14 suggests that the Bibles and Protestant tracts smuggled into Essex from the Continent during the sixteenth century were a major force in English intellectual history, although almost nothing is known about the smugglers.

54. see pp.513-526.

55. see pp. 407-418.

56. see p. 411-413, p.417-418.

57. Margaret Gay Davies, The Enforcement of English Apprenticeship 1563-1642 (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1956) p.8 says that "obscurity conceals the fate" of the relevant clauses.

58. John Bossy, "Blood and Baptism: Kinship, Community and Christianity in Western Europe from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries", in Derek Baker, ed., Sanctity and Secularity: the Church and the World (Oxford, 1973) p.134.

59. ibid.pp.140-143; Keith Wrightson regards Miranda Chaytor as wise to have refrained "from any explicit suggestion that ties between extended kin formed the basis of social relations in the parish in the kind of way suggested in the work of John Bossy," in his article "Household and Kinship in sixteenth-century England", History Workshop Issue 12 Autumn 1981, pp.151-157, see p.153.

60. see p.453-4; and e.g. BL Egerton MS 2093 fo 138 (1536).

61. see e.g. BL Egerton 2095 fo.6 ff. (1577) for a series of depositions about a quarrel with daggers between two men in which kinsmen and friends also took sides.

62. see e.g. pp.397-398 for the case brought by an innkeeper against a hackneyman; pp.438-439 for the case brought by a merchant against a customs man and involving a number of the oligarchy.

63. see pp.434; 431; 402.

64. see p.557.

65. see p.460 for the pledge relationship in the custumal; p. 463-4 for responsibility for misdemeanours and for "friends" to act as references; see e.g.BL Egerton 2095 fos. 14, 60, 265v; 268v; BL Egerton 2098 fo.2. for lists of sureties for victuallers and tipplers between 1577-1592, which suggest connections between victualling families and between victuallers and shoemakers.

66. see pp.573-4 and 576; Peter Clark, "The Migrant in Kentish Towns", op.cit. pp.137-139 sees kinship ties as important in establishing what he calls "betterment migrants", but suggests

that they never dominated "subsistence migrants." In fact, it seems likely that migrants from wealthy families, "betterment migrants", are simply better documented than "subsistence", or poor, migrants, who also often moved to better themselves and may well have gone to places where they already had some contact and become those "inmates" lodging with friends rather than the less fortunate ones lodging with victuallers.

67. see p.551

68. Keith Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680 (1982) p. 51; see p. 376 of this study for a description of the lateral network of kin that has been assumed to have been regarded as normal in this society.

69. see e.g. Alan D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the sixteenth century (Leicester 1973) p.226; W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640 (Second edition 1975) pp. 254-256; D.M. Palliser Tudor York (Oxford 1979); Charles Phythian-Adams Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages (Cambridge 1979); see also p.424, pp.439-40; pp.441-442 of this study; Zoe L.Olleranshaw, The Civic Elite of Sandwich, Kent 1568-1640, University of Kent unpublished M.Phil thesis (1990), pp. 180 ff. demonstrates the importance of affinal and other horizontal ties rather than lineal connections among the Sandwich elite.

70. see pp.378-387; family linkage has also been noted among bargemen in Oxford, see Mary Prior, Fisher Row: Fishermen, Bargemen and Canal Boatmen in Oxford 1500-1900 (Oxford, 1982) pp. 24, 89.

71. see pp. 398-401.

72. see e.g.p.401. The brewer, Edmund Jannyth, who migrated into Dover and became a freeman by marriage to a brewer's widow, rose to become Mayor, then left the town when his freeman status ended at his wife's death; at this point her land and brewing interest passed, as it had been willed, to the son of her first marriage.

73. see p.402-407.

74. see e.g. p.392 for the inheritance of the "Greyhound" Inn and the office of King's Post by John Spritwell by marriage to Thomas Portway's daughter, and then by Aaron Windebanck by marriage to John Spritwell's daughter; p.394 for similar cases. Both the mobility of innkeepers and their acquisition of inns through marriage have also been noted in the Midlands, see Alan Everitt, ed. Perspectives in English Urban History (1973), pp.120-123; pp.129-134.

75. see pp. 389-398.

76. see p. 395; p.435-6 shows how the innkeeper, John Spritwell, together with two customs officers led the complaint against the factious mayor, Thomas Andrews. Spritwell was in

association with the dismissed town clerk, William Vanwilder, who was son-in-law of Richard Barrey, the Lieutenant of Dover Castle.

77. see p.443.

78. see e.g. pp.66, 246, 249-50, 442.

79. see e.g. p.50; p.251.

80. Keith Thomas "History and Anthropology" Past and Present No. 24, 1963 pp.3-24; p.11. He is quoting C.M.Arensberg writing about the Irish peasantry.

81. see p.309.

82. see pp. 281-319 passim.

83. The difference between trading credit and money-lending is set out clearly in B.A.Holderness, "Credit in English Rural Society before the Nineteenth Century, with special reference to the period 1650-1720", Agricultural History Review, vol. 24 (1976), pp.97-109; examples of rural money-lending are given in Margaret Spufford, Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, (Cambridge 1974) pp. 78, 105, 142; informal bonds are described clearly in J.M.Holden, The History of Negotiable Instruments in English Law, (1955) pp.10-11; the "egalitarian" and socially comprehensive nature of debt litigation in King's Lynn is analyzed by Craig Muldrew in "Credit and the courts: debt litigation in a seventeenth-century urban community", Economic History Review, XLVI,I (1993), pp.23-38.

84. see e.g. pp.291-293, pp.402-3.

85. see p.411.

86. see e.g. pp.298-304 passim.

87. see e.g. pp.238, 256, 282; for the implications of the exchange transactions involved in the silver carrying trade in the 1630s see Harland Taylor, "Trade, Neutrality and the "English Road" 1630-1648", Economic History Review 2nd series 25 (1972) pp. 236-260.

88. p.248.

89. p.53.

90. e.g. p.388.

91. pp.487-488.

92. see e.g. B.A.Holderness, op.cit. p.105; Keith Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680 (1982) p.52; Margaret Spufford op cit.p.212.

93. p.314.

94. see p.419; John Spritwell, the innkeeper, borrowed £28 from his mother-in-law early in his marriage, and was freed from most of this at her death. CCA PRC 32/29 1561.

95. Jeremy Boissevain, Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions (Oxford 1974) pp.147-149.

96. see p.315.

97. see p.380.

98. see pp. 51-52; 442; CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fos. 60, 71 (1615)

99. His own will shows that he also had a married daughter called Elizabeth Winkerlin; see p. 541.

100. see pp.506-507.

101. see pp.499-500; this might be set against the situation in York where the establishment of a Protestant state religion was unpopular, see D.M.Palliser, Tudor York (Oxford 1979) p.53 and in Coventry, where the two great fraternities, from which the ruling group was drawn, had a socio-religious origin, see Charles Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the later Middle Ages (Cambridge 1979) pp.118-122.

102. see pp. 508-513.

103. McCaffrey op.cit. p.20; Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625 (Oxford 1982) p.156.

104. see p. 553.

105. e.g. decree to tax estates of wealthy testators by ensuring their inventory fines were paid; to fine foreigners when too many came to the town.

106. see pp. 270-278 passim.

107. Mutuality of responsibility for disorder and its effects are discussed in pp. 459-456.

108. see pp.172-174 for details of the building and its cost.

109. R.Tittler: "The building of civic halls in Dorset, c. 1560-1640", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research LVIII (1985) pp.37-45.

110. see pp.169-170.

111. see pp. 171-174.

112.see pp. 153-160.

113. J.S.Kepler, "Entrepot policy versus projects for perquisites in the administration of Dover harbour: the dispute over charges for passing the Boom, 1635-1638". Archaeologia Cantiana, vol.xcv (1979), pp.53-64.

114. see pp. 135-138 for clarification of this process.

115. CKS DCAM Acts 1603 fo.164v. (1640).

116. CKS DCAM 1603 Acts fo.163v. (1640). Thomas Tiddeman, mayor, was a mariner; John Loome kept the "Flying Horse" inn, Thomas Day, barber-surgeon, the previous mayor, had been called "Puritan rogue" in 1630 and "dissembling Puritan" in 1634; see CKS Dover Depositions 1630 fos.8, 44v. Of the merchants, John Pringle had originally been a baker and was the only townsman in this period to be Burgess to Parliament, in 1626, see p. 522 for his connection with Flemish merchants and pp.531-532 for his and Thomas Day's connection with extreme protestant believers. Luke Pepper, Thomas Cullen, Luke Braylesford and John Golder were all maltsters. Daniel Porten, of Dutch origin, was probably the wealthiest of these men, for books in his inventory see pp.540-541.

117. see CKS DCAM 1603 Acts, fo.158 (1639).

118. see e.g. p.344.

119. see e.g. CKS DCAM Acts fos.,156v; 158; 164.

120. CSPD Charles I 1631-3 461, a sea captain reported that illegal transfers of goods into English ships lying outside Dover harbour were a daily occurrence; CSPD James I 1623 223 reports a merchant saying that English merchants hated all gentlemen, especially such as served His Majesty at sea because they were commanded to assist the Customs.

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contain records of the Cinque Ports' Brodhull and Guestling Assemblies and of the Bailiffs to Great Yarmouth. At the other end of the volume, fos.33-73 contain Dover apprenticeship indentures from 1598-1667.

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