Being One Body: Everyday Institutional Culture in Canterbury and Maidstone Corporations, 1600-1660

Avril Mary Leach

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Abstract

This thesis concerns institutional group culture in the civic corporations of Canterbury and Maidstone, examining it through the lens of local organisational practice between 1600 and 1660. In this period, often characterised as one of disjuncture and disruption, a growing number of incorporated towns in early modern England, envisaged as a series of civic commonwealths, faced challenges of rising political and religious tensions after 1600 culminating in mid-century civil war. Corporation members, often overseers of parliamentary franchise, were involved with early Stuart contested elections and subject to post-1640 corporate purges, a factor in the development of late seventeenth-century partisan politics. Since urban corporations are frequently portrayed within a framework of elite political power, the contribution of everyday and institutionalised behaviours to a shared corporate cultural identity, their role in continuity of function and social responsibility after 1640, and their significance for socio-political developments has rarely been considered. This thesis investigates the relevance of diversity of experience of corporate officeholding by means of a comparative case study of 'organisational culture', using the understudied civic records of the two principal towns of seventeenth-century Kent, one a cathedral city, the other a market town.

This study considers how the individuality of each corporate institution was founded in its urban context, chartered development, economic status, the form of corporate structure, and member demographics, and strengthened by non-institutional social, religious and spatial associations. It presents an analysis of burghmote meeting systems, a fundamental organisational requirement, and the scale and motivations of absenteeism, revealing unique working environments and tensions between personal and corporate life. By exploring an alternative view of the material political culture of town halls, civic gowns, and insignia, features commonly used to publicly express corporate identity and authority, it draws out their additional everyday significance for corporate communities and involvement in post-1640 continuity of civic life. Established mechanisms of urban patronage and hospitality, mediated by locally distinct food gifting patterns of venison and sugar loaves, are shown to undergo significant alteration in this period, prompted by the refashioning of personal relationships and wider cultural shifts. However, these changes are set against an enduring and stabilising consistency of local corporate dining customs, representative of, and important to, individual corporate cultures.

The evidence presented develops our understanding of seventeenth-century urban governance by taking a new approach to the study of early modern borough corporations, nexus points of early modern social, political and administrative networks. It demonstrates the existence of a corporate 'private face' balancing external connections and public expressions of identity and power. This provided opportunities for communal bonding and individual dissent with a potential impact on individual lives and corporate decision-making. This has implications for research approaches to early modern relationships between individuals and institutions, between civic and domestic culture, and to processes of urban and political development.

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Finally, in honour of the 350th anniversary of the death of Canterbury historian, William Somner, to whom I am grateful for his personal and scholarly dedication in producing *The Antiquities of Canterbury* (1640), I can do no better than to follow his example and sign off this thesis with the final words from his Preface: ‘Such as it is, I commend it to thy favourable acceptance (friendly Reader)’.

Abbreviations

Arch. Cant.	*Archaeologia Cantiana*
CCEd	*Clergy of the Church of England database*
Econ. Hist. Rev.	*Economic History Review*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
Hist. J.	*The Historical Journal*
Hist. Res.	*Historical Research*
Hist. Work. J.	*History Workshop Journal*
HLQ	*Huntington Library Quarterly*
HoP	*History of Parliament Online*
J. Brit. Stud.	*Journal of British Studies*
JEMH	*Journal of Early Modern History*
J. Econ. Hist.	*Journal of Economic History*
J. Hist. Soc.	*Journal of Historical Sociology*
J. Int. Hist.	*Journal of Interdisciplinary History*
J. Med. Hist.	*Journal of Medieval History*
J. Urb. Hist.	*Journal of Urban History*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
P&P	*Past & Present*
ROLLCO	*Records of London Livery Companies Online*
Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
VCH	*Victoria History of the Counties of England*

Author's Note

This thesis considers the corporations of Canterbury and Maidstone as institutional communities, comprising mayor, aldermen or jurats, and common councilmen, who are denoted by the term 'corporate community'. For this reason, the third-person, plural personal pronouns 'they', 'them', and 'their' are used throughout when discussing the corporation, rather than 'it'.

All dates are standardised so, for example, 1 February 1620/1 becomes 1 February 1621.

In quoted primary source transcriptions original spelling has been retained and contractions silently expanded.

Introduction

Under the common name of 'corporation' the chartered institutions of early modern England's towns may appear as equals. Beneath this veneer of commonality, local approaches to urban governance established unique working environments. This thesis investigates group culture in the corporations of Canterbury and Maidstone – the two principal towns of Kent – from the point of view of local organisational practice. It gives comparative definition to corporate variation and presents original data and analysis which add to our knowledge of the specific seventeenth-century towns of Canterbury and Maidstone, and cultural aspects of early modern governance more generally. It evidences cultural continuity and change in both towns over the period 1600-1660. This thesis proposes that corporate cultural identities produced by local variations in ways of working together led to different understandings of what it meant to be one corporate body. This has implications for the ways in which each corporation made decisions in relation to the many other aspects of early modern life with which they were involved.

William Sheppard, Sergeant at Law, writing in 1659, considered the 'invention' of corporations (and guilds and fraternities) to be 'the best of Polities' upon which the 'flourishing estate' of many English towns depended.[1] Sheppard was born in a small village in the last few years of Elizabeth I's reign and lived most of his life in a rural parish.[2] His knowledge of urban governance came from his legal practice and work preparing charters under Oliver Cromwell. Sheppard's admiration for the corporation was that of a legal mind; he credited its development as having made man 'the nearest resemblance of his maker'.[3] Legally, the corporate structure was 'to be in a sort immortal' with a 'Body Politick that indureth in perpetuall succession'.[4] The body politic constituted a collection of individuals bound together in law as one 'body'. F. W. Maitland summed up this duality using the descriptor 'group-persons'.[5] The powerful early modern imagery of a multitudinous singularity is well-known as the principle behind Thomas Hobbes' frontispiece vision of *Leviathan* in 1651, representing a social contract between ruler and ruled and grounded in the principle of a 'commonwealth' to

[1] William Sheppard, *Of Corporations, Fraternities, and Guilds* (1659), To the Reader.
[2] Nancy L. Matthews, 'Sheppard, William', *ODNB*.
[3] Sheppard, *Of Corporations*, To the Reader.
[4] Sheppard, *Of Corporations*, To the Reader, pp. 1-2.
[5] F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough* ([Cambridge], 1898), p. 15.

ensure peace and unity within human society.[6] As features of a socio-political structure, Hobbes had a less rosy view of England's urban corporations than Sheppard. He saw them as representing a potential threat to the greater commonwealth of a nation:

> Another infirmity of a Common-wealth, is the immoderate greatnesse of a Town, when it is able to furnish out of its own Circuit, the number, and expence of a great Army: As also the great number of Corporations; which are as it were many lesser Common-wealths in the bowels of a greater, like wormes in the entrayles of a naturall man.[7]

That they featured in Hobbes' thinking, however, demonstrates his recognition of the role they played in the life of the nation – albeit in his mind a potentially disruptive one.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century, and continuing during the lifetimes of Sheppard and Hobbes, the number of incorporated towns in England more than quadrupled from thirty-eight in 1500 to one hundred and eighty-one in 1640, resulting in a more widespread existence of this form of governance across the country.[8] Incorporation placed legal authority over a town in the hands of leading citizens which, as Robert Tittler sums up, 'further separated those local elites from their fellows'.[9] They remained connected with inhabitants, however, by local mechanisms of economic and political control, most often based on systems of urban freedom. As such, incorporated towns encompassed local 'city commonwealth' communities constituting the corporate institution as well as wider groups of urban freemen, citizens and burgesses, and sharing characteristically local social values, economic practices and political habits.[10]

This thesis concerns the institutions at the core of two such city commonwealths, focusing on the mayor, aldermen or jurats, and common councils of Canterbury and Maidstone. It was these small groups of men who exercised most control over corporate decisions in terms of running an organised institution. The externally-orientated actions and interactions of corporations – whether courting patronage, undertaking high profile jurisdictional disputes, or engaging in public ceremony – often take centre stage, the spotlight less often turning inwards to consider the everyday working lives of members.

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[6] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or The Matter, Form, and Power of a Common-wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil* (1651).

[7] Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 174.

[8] Phil Withington also makes the point that re-incorporations raise this figure further and that English developments exceeded those in Scotland over the same period, *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizens and Freemen in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 18.

[9] Robert Tittler, '"…and No Loose People to Trouble the Hall": Oligarchy and the Division of Space in the English Civic Hall to 1640', *History Compass*, 10 (2012), 622-32 (p. 625).

[10] Withington, *Politics*, pp. 10, 48.

This study, by contrast, takes a detailed look at the internal culture and working practices of the two corporations of Canterbury and Maidstone. It is not intended to promote the idea of corporate institutions as insular, nor is it a study of oligarchic power; rather, in studying aspects of internal function it emphasises that everyday experiences also formed an important part of early modern corporate life. The way corporate members worked together over time produced a group culture which framed decision-making in relation to social, economic, and political circumstances. This aspect of urban governance has been understudied and undervalued but presents an opportunity to understand and compare individual and collective interpretations of corporate life in different locations. The central question of this thesis is, therefore, directed at the inner workings of the two corporations of Canterbury and Maidstone in order to investigate the nature of the internal cultural environments generated within each working organisation.

It can be easy to take urban variation for granted. Michael Braddick, who considers the role of local officeholding in the context of the process of state formation, acknowledges 'a great diversity among forms of borough organisation'.[11] He also argues that the need to tackle political or social challenges produced innovative or reactive responses from local institutions of governance, feeding a progressive strengthening of the state; he affords corporations a 'capacity to influence administrative development'.[12] Such moves may have been influenced by local cultural identities with an influence on institutional approaches and leading to particular ways of forming social networks, for example, or handling relationships with lesser officeholders and freemen.

This thesis explores the subject of local working practices and the opportunities and constraints they presented. It takes a new approach to the study of early modern corporations, examining the experience of being one working body by looking at 'organisational culture' in Canterbury and Maidstone, the two key administrative towns in seventeenth-century Kent. The emphasis of analysis overall, and very specifically in certain sections, is on Canterbury, a cathedral city first incorporated in 1448 and made a county of itself in 1461, and which has a more comprehensive civic archive. Maidstone,

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[11] Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England c.1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 35-6.

[12] Braddick, *State Formation*, pp. 36, 433.

a smaller town incorporated in 1549, but within the same county, provides comparative detail.

Studying small groups of urban elite men might seem unfashionable when studies of 'history from below', women's history, gender history, and international horizons are, correctly, broadening our view of the true complexity and multi-layered experiences which form human history. Sufficient reason to study early modern corporations comes, however, from reflecting on the critical nexus they represent within early modern society, having some influence on almost every conceivable group in economic, religious, political, social and cultural contexts. Further justification, given the potentially hegemonic position of civic elites, is provided by recent revision of the picture of early seventeenth-century towns as places of economic and demographic stagnation in favour of a view which emphasises progressive behavioural urbanisation centred around citizenship in early modern city commonwealths.[13] An evidential rise in incorporation as a form of urban management which increased the numbers of working corporations, and the impact of post-1640 corporate purges on the development of the English political system, add further weight to the importance of an accurate understanding of the inner world of the early modern corporation.[14] If the simple manner of working together produced diverse local group cultures, then corporate approaches to common social or political situations emerged from groups with potentially quite different perspectives.

This thesis adds a cultural layer to our knowledge and understanding of early modern corporations and urban governance. By analysing demographic and financial data, different meeting systems and attendance patterns, everyday aspects of political culture, and local gifting and dining practices in Canterbury and Maidstone between 1600 and 1660, it argues that local organisational practice contributed to a diversity of individual experiences of corporate officeholding and collective understandings of corporate identity. Corporations were not simply diverse in form or function; they were distinct cultural environments which potentially informed and constrained individual behaviour and corporate action. Without a deeper knowledge of internal group culture, the ways in which corporate life and personal life intersected, and the sense of how

[13] Withington, *Politics*, p. 7.
[14] Paul D. Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic: Partisan Politics in England's Towns 1650-1730* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 7.

corporate groups understood themselves as a corporate body, is missing from our understanding of the practice of early modern urban governance.

This introduction continues by establishing the local context of the two towns of Canterbury and Maidstone, providing detail of general urban differences as well as the similar social and political challenges experienced by each town's ruling elite which required them to work together as a corporate community (see Appendix A for a timeline including charter dates, MPs, and known notable plague years for both towns). It then examines the historiographical background of the subject of early modern corporations and urban governance. This draws together several strands of research showing both a need to examine aspects of internal corporate culture and the potential benefits of doing so. This is followed by a methodological explanation and finishes with a summary outline of each chapter of the thesis.

The Local Context

The county of Kent is situated between London and the continent of Europe (Figure 1). In the seventeenth century, to the north-west of the county, the coastal town of Gravesend provided regular river transport into London; on the east coast of Kent lay the port of Dover. With a county population of about 130,000 in 1600, seventeenth-century increases stemmed largely from growth in the towns, often driven by migration.[15] There were, perhaps, over thirty towns in early modern Kent; they included several market towns, with Maidstone amongst them, four of the five Cinque Ports, and the two cathedral towns of Canterbury and Rochester.[16] The county lacked a large provincial centre like Norwich or Exeter, and county administration was mostly shared between the two principal towns of Canterbury and Maidstone, though by 1600, Canterbury also had separate county status which set it somewhat apart from Kent county administration.[17] Along with several of the Cinque Ports, the tiny town of Queenborough, and Rochester, Canterbury and Maidstone had a right to return MPs to Parliament.[18]

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[15] C. W. Chalklin, *Seventeenth Century Kent* (Rochester, 1965; repr., 1978) pp. 27, 30, 33.

[16] For example, Alan Everitt identifies thirty-three in 'The Market Towns', in *The Early Modern Town*, ed. by Peter Clark (London, 1976), pp. 168-204 (p. 168); Jacqueline Bower suggests a figure of twenty-five towns in 'Kent Towns, 1540-1640', in *Early Modern Kent, 1540-1640,* ed. by Michael Zell (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 141-76 (p. 142).

[17] Clark and Slack identify five provincial capital towns in this period: Bristol, York, Norwich, Exeter and Newcastle, *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700* (London, 1976), p. 46.

[18] Queenborough had an estimated population of a mere 150 people in 1676.

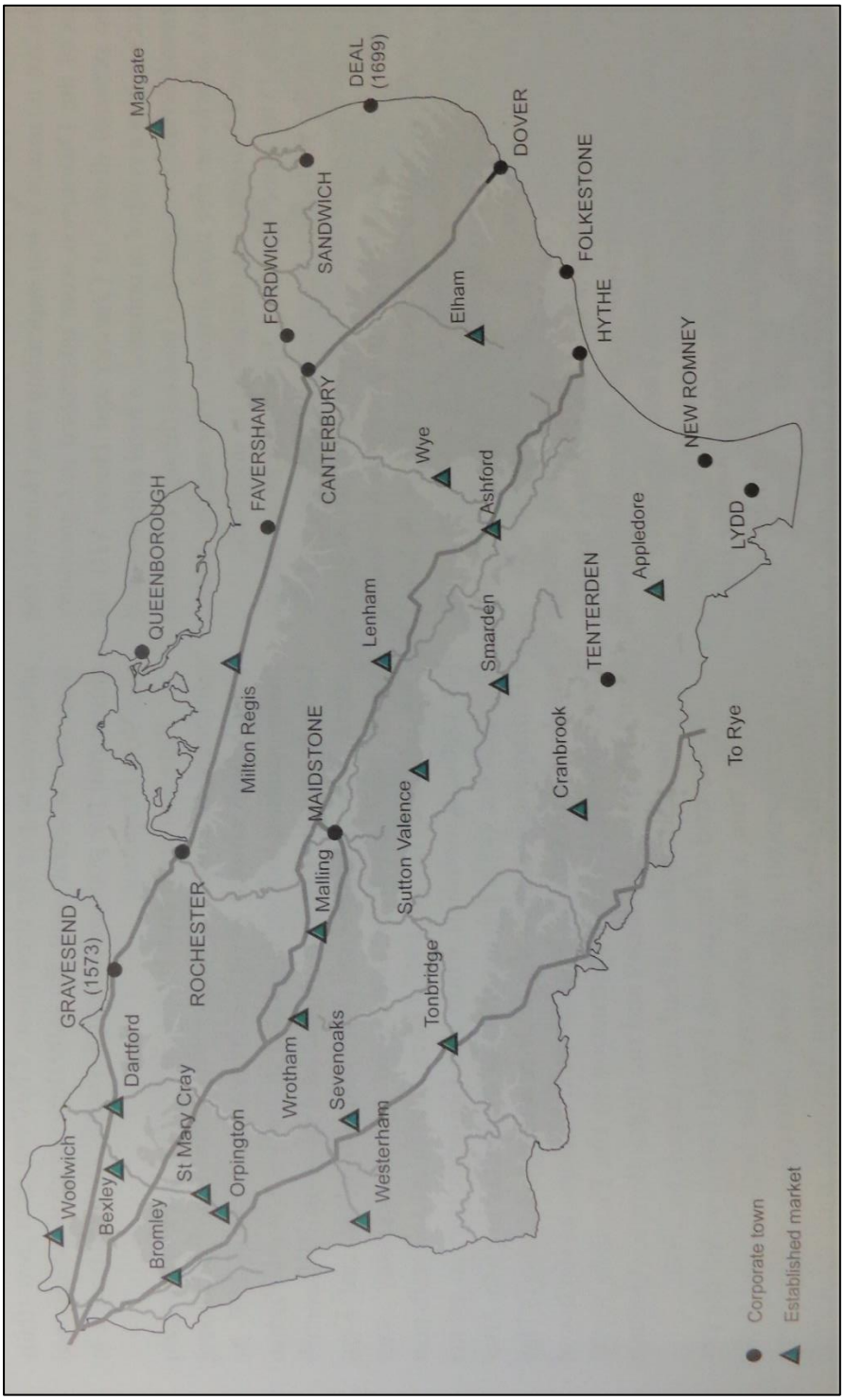


Figure 1: Map of Kent showing market and corporate towns, and land routes, 1500-1700 (image taken from *An Historical Atlas of Kent*, ed. by Terence Lawson and David Killingray with cartography by John Hills (Andover, 2004; repr. 2010), p. 67).

Early in the seventeenth century, the influence of the nobility in the county – the Brookes of Cobham and the Sidneys of Penshurst – had reduced, leaving Kent with an 'aristocratic power vacuum'.[19] Alan Everitt, in his study of the 'county community' of Kent, formed by the gentry, identifies seven principal gentry groups in the county in 1640-1660, each largely defined by the geography of the landscape.[20] Canterbury, to the east of the North Downs, was close neighbour to the 'Lesser Stour group', and Maidstone, to the west of the Downs, sat within the 'Mid-Kent group'. Geographically and administratively, the county had two hearts, with Canterbury the main east Kent town and Maidstone the centre for west Kent, the county's sessions and assizes being held alternately in the two towns.[21] Traditionally, elections for shire MPs were held at Penenden Heath on the outskirts of Maidstone, a point which marks the physical centre of the county.[22] Before 1640, county administration was arranged, as elsewhere, through the actions of the county's sheriff, Lord Lieutenant, and JPs, though with an additional role for the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.[23] In the early 1640s, a Parliamentarian County Committee – meeting in Maidstone – was formed from Kent's gentry under Sir Anthony Weldon; having long since been formed as a separate administrative county, Canterbury had its own Committee.[24] In 1655, Thomas Kelsey, governor of Dover Castle since 1651 but not a native of Kent, was appointed as major-general for Kent and Surrey under Oliver Cromwell's rule. [25] Both Canterbury and Maidstone corporations, incorporated in 1448 and 1549 respectively, retained chartered control of their local urban environments throughout the period from 1600-1660 whilst remaining open to external pressures from the monarchy (before the regicide), government, parliament, and county structures.

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[19] Jacqueline Eales, 'The Rise of Ideological Politics in Kent, 1558-1640' in *Early Modern Kent* ed. by Zell, pp. 279-313 (p. 279). See also Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640* (Hassocks, 1977), for a comprehensive analysis of Kent society.

[20] Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion 1640-60* (Leicester, 1966), p. 19.

[21] *Kent at Law, 1602,* ed. by Louis A. Knafla, List and Index Society, 6 vols (Kew, 1994-2016), I (1994), p. xix. Occasionally there were meetings at Dartford, Rochester, or Sevenoaks.

[22] Peter Clark and Lyn Murfin, *The History of Maidstone: The Making of a Modern County Town* (Stroud, 1995), p. 6.

[23] See for example, Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660* (London, 1975); Anthony Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England* (London, 1986); J. S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1974); and for Kent, Everitt, *Community*.

[24] Everitt, *Community*, pp. 126-7, 130.

[25] Everitt, *Community*, p. 292. J. T. Peacey, 'Kelsey, Thomas', *ODNB*.

Canterbury grew up around the river Stour (Figure 2).[26] With evidence of substantial early settlements, Canterbury antiquary, William Somner, was justified in his belief that nothing was 'better grounded in Tradition, than […] the Antiquity of this our City'.[27] By 1600, Canterbury's medieval pilgrim trade, centred on the cathedral and shrine of Thomas Becket, had long gone, but the city retained its importance by virtue of the cathedral and its place *en route* to the continent. Travellers of all sorts passed through the city, including a series of ambassadors and members of the royal family; Charles I had an extended stay on the occasion of his marriage to Henrietta Maria in 1625.[28]

A charter granted to the city by James I in 1608 described Canterbury as 'a city very populus'.[29] At the turn of the seventeenth century, with an estimated population of about 5-6,000, the city was probably the thirteenth largest in England, with the population growing to c.6,500 in 1640 and probably upwards of 7,000 by 1670.[30] From the late sixteenth-century onwards, a proportion of the city's growth came from influxes of Protestant immigrants from Europe, with a further arrival of Huguenot refugees in the early 1620s.[31] They formed a significant sub-population in the town and were heavily involved in weaving trades.[32] They were to some extent a self-contained community, worshipping separately in the crypt of the cathedral and mediating the details of trade, taxes, and social problems through appointed men who communicated with the city corporation.

Though Canterbury retained a broad economic base, as will be seen in Chapter Two, the cloth trade was important to the city, in part due to the weaving skills brought by the Protestant 'strangers' from the 1580s onwards.[33] The corporation benefitted

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[26] Chalklin, p. 9.

[27] William Somner, *The Antiquities of Canterbury*, 2nd edn (London, 1703; repr. Wakefield, 1977), p. 1.

[28] This visit has been described by Margaret Toynbee: 'The Wedding Journey of King Charles I', *Arch. Cant.*, 69 (1955), 75-89.

[29] CCA-CC/A/A/56 (hereafter AA); For an English translation see: A Citizen [C. R. Bunce], *A Translation of the Several Charters &c. granted by Edward IV. Henry VII. James I. and Charles II. to the Citizens of Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1791), p. 153.

[30] For various estimates see: Graham Durkin, 'The Civic Government and Economy of Elizabethan Canterbury' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 2001), pp. 31-32; Chalklin, p. 31; Bower, pp. 141, 145; Jacqueline Eales, 'The Clergy and Allegiance at the Outbreak of the English Civil Wars: The Case of John Marston of Canterbury', *Arch. Cant.*, 132 (2012), 83-109 (p. 85).

[31] Clark, *Provincial Society*, p. 320.

[32] Further details of the Walloon and Huguenot populations may be found in various *Arch. Cant.* articles, and Francis W. Cross, *The History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church* ([London], 1898). A catalogue of names of the Walloon congregation in June 1622 may be found in SP14/131/142.

[33] Durkin, p. 111.



Figure 2: Street plan of Canterbury c. 1640 included in William Somner's *The Antiquities of Canterbury* (image by permission of University of Kent Special Collections and Archive, copy C640.SOM).

financially from the community with quarterly payments for their share of the sealing of cloth stuffs, and payments from the 'delinquentes and offenders of their Congregacon' in the 1650s.[34] The strangers' presence, however, was not without its problems. In 1635, the corporation pushed back against Archbishop Laud's attempts to force the strangers from their place of worship in the cathedral crypt – a privilege granted by Queen Elizabeth I – back into the parishes.[35] Issues like this highlight the requirement for members of the city corporation to sometimes engage in networks of patronage or connect with county or government administrators in order to secure support for – or defend their position in relation to – local issues.

The corporation might also drive forward their own local initiatives. The city had regular fish, flesh and general markets which provided for the town and local rural population, and which were subject to authoritative control by the corporation. In about 1618, they fruitfully expanded the flesh market effectively doubling their income from butchers' rents from an annual £12-14 to £25-37 overnight.[36] In the late 1630s, they also arranged the construction a new wharf 'betweene the towne wall at Spratts hole and Abbottes mill' to land coals and other trade goods and expand their economic control further.[37] The regular running of markets and the implementation of city projects were subjects discussed at the corporation's two-weekly burghmote court meetings where decisions relating to social and economic control of the town were made.

Like all urban settings, Canterbury was socially diverse and corporation members interacted with poor and rich alike in their domestic and institutional capacities. The city's wealthiest, and most influential, men inhabited a range of ex-monastic houses within and without the city walls. The jurisdictional boundaries of these were sometimes the subject of dispute, as were those of the cathedral precinct, leading to several protracted legal Quo Warranto disputes in the first half of the seventeenth century.[38] The corporation supported the poor in all manner of ways: they purchased 'Cards and wheeles to sett the poore to worke', distributed financial legacies, supported the Bridewell and orphans, and sometimes provided clothing and burial sheets for those

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[34] CCA-CC/F/A/26 (hereafter FA), fols 28^{v}, 339^{r}.

[35] William Laud, *The Works*, ed. by W. Scott and J. Bliss, 7 vols (New York, 1977), VII, p. 134.

[36] Based on annual sums in FA20-26. In 1616-17 it raised £14 1s. 5d. for the corporation, in 1617-18, £28 9s. 4d.

[37] FA24, fols 138^{v}, 153^{v}; see Durkin, p. 175 for a failed Elizabethan river project.

[38] For more on such issues see Catherine Patterson, 'Quo Warranto and Borough Corporations in Early Stuart England: Royal Prerogative and Local Privileges in the Central Courts', *EHR*, 120 (2005), 879-906.

who could not afford it. They dealt with repeated episodes of plague, particularly bad in the 1600s and the mid-1630s, with the city corporation paying to house the sick in out of the way 'tents' and for women to tend the 'visited'.[39] Legal cases, social issues, and economic regulations all required decisive action from the corporate community, matters agreed by the mayor, aldermen, and common council meeting together as burghmote court.

In terms of religion, an important feature of seventeenth-century national and local politics, the city and corporation both contained a diverse mix of religious groups, a topic examined further in Chapter Three. As in other English towns, the development of 'puritan' factions within the corporation generated internal tensions, and ultimately led to purges of members along ideological lines, most significantly from the 1650s onwards.[40] The corporation also suffered the strain of other national political issues in this period. In common with other towns, they were involved in raising Ship Money for Charles I in the 1630s; they further dealt with disputes over the billeting of soldiers in the city, and organised military musters for which they erected tents at Bab's Hill on the outskirts of the city.[41] After 1640, the city also saw episodes of iconoclasm directed at the cathedral, and the direct impact of the abolition of episcopacy as Independent congregations moved in to use the cathedral space for worship. It was the corporation, however, who were responsible for removing the market cross from the central Bullstake marketplace in May 1645, and in the 1650s, they appropriated the cathedral's bell, paying the ringers for 'tolling Bell Harry on every satterdaie weekely before ten of the Clocke to give noetice to the Maior and Members of the Court of Burghmtoe to goe & survey the marketes'.[42] They even considered bringing the cathedral precinct 'to be within the Countie of the Citty', though there is no evidence that they took this proposal any further.[43]

The mayoral year of 1647-8 was an especially turbulent one for Canterbury and the most significant moment of urban crisis for the city's corporation. Christmas Day in 1647, and the days following, saw serious rioting erupt in the city, an event which led

[39] FA21, fol. 72^{r}, FA24, fol. 334^{v}.
[40] For a detailed study of this in Kent borough corporations see Madelaine V. Jones, 'The Political History of the Parliamentary Boroughs of Kent, 1642-1662' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1967).
[41] For example, FA24, fol. 95^{v}, CCA-CC/A/C/4 (hereafter AC), fols 50^{v}, 120^{v}.
[42] AC4, fol. 203^{v}, FA26, fol. 294^{r}.
[43] FA26, fol. 236^{v}.

towards the Battle of Maidstone in June 1648, part of the broader 'Kentish Rising'.[44] Prior to the riots, there had been a year of high prices, bad harvests, and plague; levels of arrests in the city also reached a peak that year.[45] As Peter Clark indicates, 'By the winter of 1647 the risk of some form of popular disorder was clearly high'.[46] The aftermath saw several corporation members jailed by county leaders for some weeks and some impact of this disruption on regular corporate function is visible in civic records as will be detailed in later chapters. The records, however, also evidence a sense of continuity as members continued to work within a familiar cultural framework, despite the challenging circumstances.

This brief outline of seventeenth-century Canterbury highlights the range of responsibilities which fell within the remit of the corporation and which might require co-ordinated action. To this end, the mayor, aldermen and common councillors met in the town hall every two weeks as a burghmote court, as well as holding other courts concerned with behavioural control, with the mayor and several other members standing as Justices of the Peace. Finances were handled by the city's annually appointed chamberlain, and a range of supporting administrative offices existed, including a sheriff – usually a member of the common council – a recorder, other legal counsel, ward constables, a sword-bearer, four sergeants-at-mace, a keeper of the jail and other, lesser offices.[47] Constables might later move into the common council, but lesser offices were usually held by freemen who petitioned for vacant roles and were unlikely to hold higher office. Thus, a range of roles and an internal hierarchy existed within the wider corporate institution, features also necessitating a level of organisational management.

Within the county setting, Canterbury's main urban rival was Maidstone, a town which would, by the end of the seventeenth century, supersede Canterbury as the central administrative centre for Kent. Sitting in the heart of the county, it was well-placed as a crossing point on the river Medway (Figure 3). Under the manorial lordship of the Archbishop of Canterbury until 1537, its location, size, markets and fairs, meant its place as the foremost West Kent town was established by the mid-sixteenth century.

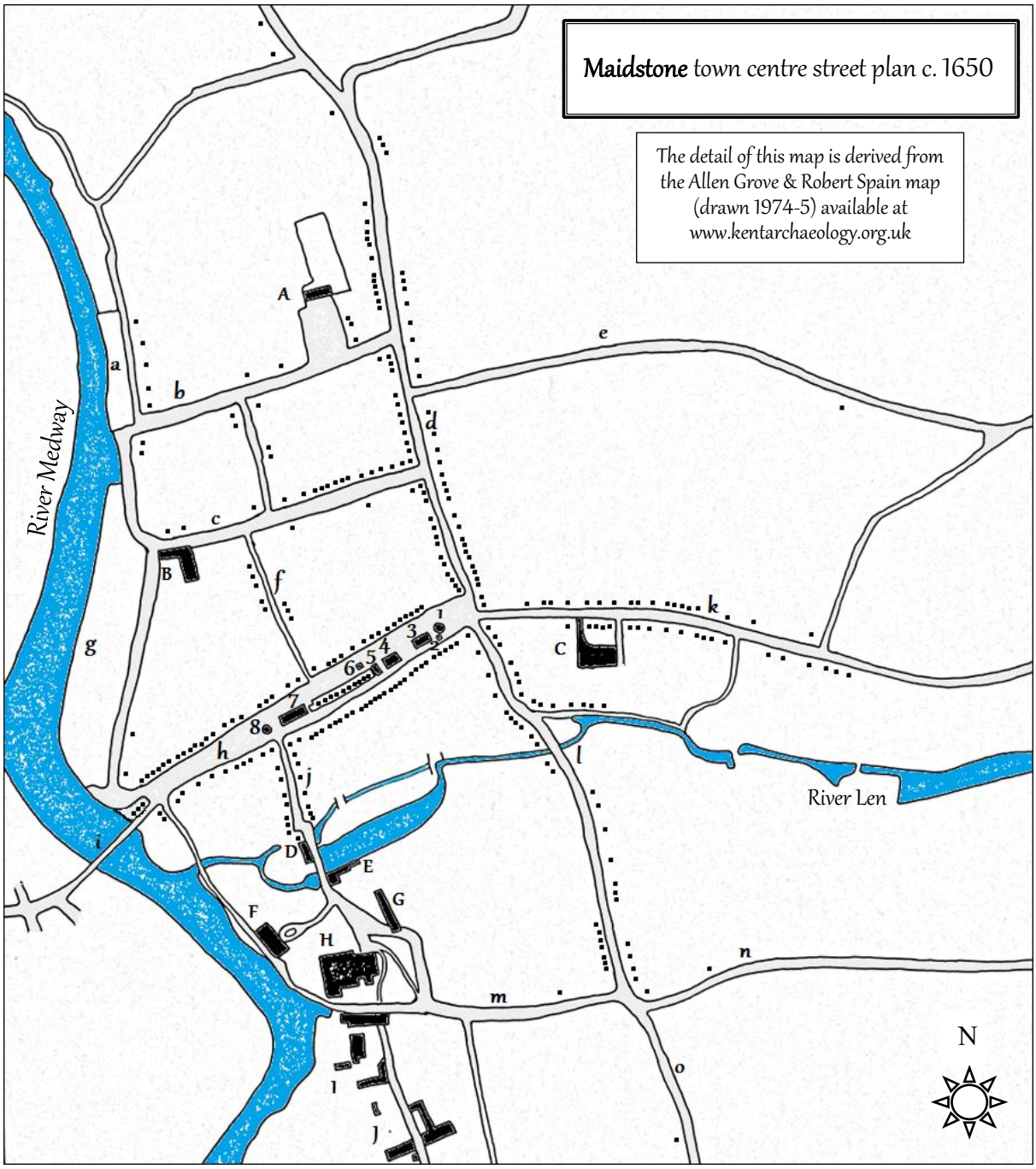
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[44] Everitt, *Community*, pp. 231-270.

[45] This is based on the number of 'five penny fees' recorded in the chamberlains' accounts, each relating to an arrest in the city.

[46] Clark, *Provincial Society*, p. 389.

[47] For further detail see Durkin, pp. 43, 246.



Key: ■ Large building ▪Approximate location of recorded building: house, tenement, cottage, inn

A St Faith's Chapel
B Corpus Christi Hall
C House of Correction
D Mill
E Mill
F The Palace
G Stables
H Collegiate Church of All Saints
I College of Priests
J College Farm Buildings

1 Market Cross
2 Conduit
3 Upper Court House
4 Lower Court House
5 Brambles
6 Conduit
7 Shambles
8 Butter Market

a Wharves
b Way to River
c Bullocke Lane
d Weeke Street
e Tylers Lane
f Puddinge Lane
g King's Meadow
h High Street
i Great Bridge
j Mill Lane
k East Lane

l Little Bridge
m Knightrider Street
n Moat Lane
o Stone Street

Figure 3: Street plan of Maidstone, c. 1650 (derived from the Allen Grove and Robert Spain map available at www.kentarchaeology.org.uk).

Following release from archiepiscopal control during the early Reformation period, Maidstone witnessed a demographic and economic expansion and by the middle of the seventeenth century was a 'youthful metropolis'.[48] By then, it had developed sufficiently to be 'the leading administrative town' for the west of the county, in part due to its regular hosting of Kent's assizes. For this, the town's corporation organised the regular raising and dismantling of a temporary courthouse until a new, more permanent, building was constructed in 1611.[49] This economic investment helped towards securing the town's administrative future, and the regular law gatherings provided opportunities for making important network connections with local patrons.

In contrast to Canterbury's historic status, Lambarde, in 1576, dismissed Maidstone as not 'above once named in any ancient history'.[50] By 1697, Celia Fiennes considered it to be 'a very neate market town…its buildings are mostly of timber worke, the streetes are Large' and thought it looked 'like the habitation of Rich men'.[51] The town's population was, of course, mixed, and probably in the region of 3-4,000 inhabitants for much of the seventeenth century, roughly comparable with the population of the port towns of Dover or Sandwich.[52] Like Canterbury, the town also had a sub-population of protestant immigrants.[53]

The developing industries of textiles, papermaking, and brewing helped to grow the town through the early modern period. Celia Fiennes, though interested to try and identify a 'staple Comodity' towards the end of the seventeenth century, could not, pointing instead to a more general spread of economic trades and industries.[54] In religious terms, the early seventeenth century saw the town develop as 'a prominent Puritan centre'.[55] This was marked by conflict between the corporation and Robert

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[48] Everitt, *Community*, p. 21; Clark and Murfin, p. 3.

[49] Clark and Murfin, pp. 2, 3. KHLC-Md/FCa1/1609 (hereafter FCa1), fol. 3^{v}; construction payments: FCa1/1611, fols 5^{v}-6^{r}.

[50] William Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent conteining the Description, Hystorie, and Customes of that Shyre* (London, 1576), p. 175.

[51] *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes c.1682-c.1712*, ed. by Christopher Morris (London, 1982), p. 124.

[52] Available population estimates for Maidstone in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries vary though the figures quoted are broadly consistent. See: J. M. Russell, *The History of Maidstone* (Rochester, 1978), pp. 233-5; Clark and Murfin, pp. 42, 43, 72; Bower, pp. 150-1, 159-61. Bower qualifies that estimates should be 'taken with extreme caution' on account of the minimal evidence on which they are based. For later detail, see Hugh Brodie, 'Economic Change: Maidstone, Kent 1690-1730' (unpublished thesis, Concordia University Canada, 1991), pp. 65-6.

[53] Clark and Murfin, pp. 42-43.

[54] Morris, p. 124.

[55] Clark and Murfin, p. 2.

Barrell, a more 'conservative', perhaps 'conformist' minister, of the town's church in the 1620s, and connections with a popular local non-conformist preacher, Thomas Wilson.[56] The church of All Saints was designated the town's parish church by charter; another church, that of St Faith's, was by 1660 'disused, other than by the Dutch Inhabitants'.[57] Richard Kilburne, in 1659, describes the 'sweet, large and populous Towne' as being 'in' the parish rather than the other way around and the two were closely associated: official records regularly refer to 'the town and parish of Maidstone'.[58] This direct connection between town and parish sits in contrast to Canterbury, a city encompassing fourteen parishes of varying sizes.

Many of the matters of practical governance in Maidstone – providing and overseeing markets, running courts and jails, urban maintenance – were the same as in Canterbury. Maidstone's corporation, however, only held a small number of irregular burghmote gatherings, though, as is explored in Chapter Four, there were attempts to alter this in the seventeenth century. The corporate community in Maidstone had a lesser level of income than in Canterbury, although the town's finances were administered by two chamberlains. They were supported by two, later three, sergeants-at-mace, as well as a recorder, and other officers including a clock keeper. During the civil war period, the town suffered damage when the Battle of Maidstone was fought in the streets of the town in 1648. The town corporation was also connected to issues of national politics in that the mayor of Maidstone elected in 1648 and 1659 was the regicide, Andrew Broughton; he subsequently absconded during his mayoralty in 1660 to avoid trial, remaining in Europe until his death.[59] Like Canterbury, the civil war brought a level of disruption to urban life in Maidstone, and neither town was isolated from regional or national issues. Each corporation, nevertheless, sought to carry out their primary purpose for being brought together as a corporate body, the maintenance of order in the town and the practical governance of the town's inhabitants.

By 1600, both towns had established forms of corporate governance, significant immigrant populations, and were important administrative centres within Kent. Canterbury was larger and a county of itself with a more strategic history and position, but Maidstone was growing as an important centre for West Kent. Both had to deal with

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[56] Clark and Murfin, pp. 63-4.
[57] Richard Kilburne, *A topographie or survey of the county of Kent* (1659), p. 177.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Clark and Murfin, pp. 67, 97.

the same county administrators, and both had sizeable populations and urban landscapes to govern. The ways in which the corporate communities of each town approached and experienced some of the common features of corporate governance – meeting together, expressing political authority through material culture, patronage networks marked by food gifting, and the shared experiences of dining together on different occasions – are the subject of this thesis, and the detail revealed demonstrates the impact of local variation on the corporate cultural identity of each governing body.

Having set out the local contexts within which the corporations of Canterbury and Maidstone worked, the next section examines the historiographical position in relation to the development of our understanding of early modern corporations and the nature of local governance, with a consideration of the questions which underpin this thesis.

Historiography: Urban Governance and the Early Modern Corporation

The histories of civic corporations are inextricably linked with those of the towns over which they governed, and our knowledge of corporations frequently comes through a town lens with the actions of city governors providing a means of assessing historical themes. It has, perhaps, not always been this way. When William Somner penned *The Antiquities of Canterbury* in 1640, he took a spatial approach, organising his work as a textual perambulation about the city; the corporation did not feature highly in his vision of Canterbury's history. Whilst pointing the finger at their lack of care for the city walls and inadequate provision of 'pesthouses' for plague victims, his history of the city's 'Temporal Government' was ostensibly a list of mayors.[60] By contrast, in 1958, when Wallace MacCaffrey came to write his history of Exeter, he used the viewpoint of the civic elite as a way to bring together his research, bemoaning that 'So absolute was [their] monopoly that the rest of the city's inhabitants seem hardly to emerge from the shadows of history'.[61] Whilst much recent urban history is recovering the lives of those 'unseen' inhabitants, actions of urban governors remain a useful organising principle for exploring broad urban themes and local situations although, we have, in a sense, come full circle from Somner. Fiona Williamson's recent work on Norwich approaches that city's seventeenth-century overlapping networks of social relations through the concept and understanding of urban space, in order to study the city 'from the perspective of its

[60] Somner, pp. 9, 178-85.
[61] Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540-1640*, 2nd edn (London, 1958), p. 246.

inhabitants'.[62] Nevertheless, Williamson's work provides a new historical interpretation of the city's history by taking a different viewpoint. The assessment of aspects of urban governance and early modern corporations which follows suggests that the current historiography promotes a somewhat skewed view of corporation members and underplays the impact of regular behaviours and institutional processes which produced a shared group culture.

Urbanisation and Urban Governance

Prior to the 1960s, evidence of the function and role of corporations typically appears in published town histories and legal or technical assessments. Some remain useful: for example, Martin Weinbaum's consideration of borough incorporations or J. M. Russell's *History of Maidstone*.[63] In the latter part of the twentieth century, influenced by social science approaches, an emphasis on the demographic, social, and economic fortunes of towns contributed to the influential work of Peter Clark and Paul Slack and a range of town studies. Clark and Slack address early modern English towns as a genre, presenting a 'typology' of towns and drawing out several common themes which set the direction for subsequent urban research. These include the rise of oligarchic urban governance during the sixteenth century and the framing of a fundamental alteration in the character of early modern urban settlements: 'By 1700 there was a more modern, open and integrated, urban society in England, compared with the traditional, relatively closed, and semi-autonomous worlds occupied by the corporate towns of the early sixteenth century'.[64]

This view, along with the disjuncture of the seventeenth-century civil wars and Interregnum, encouraged a historiographical split marked by the period before 1640, 1640-60, and post-1660. This separates work such as that of Charles Phythian-Adams and Peter Borsay. Phythian-Adams demonstrates the 'demise of the late medieval social structure' in sixteenth-century Coventry using a detailed social analysis, and emphasises a denuded sense of community following the disappearance of urban guilds,

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[62] Fiona Williamson, *Social Relations and Urban Space: Norwich, 1600-1700* (Woodbridge, 2014), p. ix.

[63] Martin Weinbaum, *The Incorporation of Boroughs* (Manchester, 1937); *British Borough Charters, 1307-1660*, ed. by Martin Weinbaum (Cambridge, 1943). Paul Halliday's bibliographic listing in *Dismembering the Body Politic* also makes clear this point, pp. 372-377.

[64] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition*, pp. 72-3, 159. See also *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History*, ed. by Peter Clark and Paul Slack (London, 1972), pp. 1-56.

fellowships, and associated civic ceremonies as a result of the Reformation.[65] Borsay, looking at architectural and cultural developments in post-Restoration towns, evidences an 'urban renaissance' marked by active and innovative urban planning and the development of towns as centres for leisure and entertainment.[66] Narratives of 'crisis and decline' in sixteenth-century towns driven by social and economic challenges left early seventeenth-century towns somewhat characterised by a relative stagnation, no longer truly 'civic communities' but not yet 'urban', recovering from late sixteenth-century population growth, social polarisation and problems of urban poor, whilst dealing with the ratcheting up of national religious and political issues.[67]

A reassessment of this view, with an emphasis on the role of citizenship in England's early modern towns, has been put forward by Phil Withington. Central to his work is the understanding of the environment of 'incorporated communities', or, in contemporary terms, the '"small" or "city commonwealth"'.[68] At the top of these communities sat the controlling corporate institutions created at incorporation, most often a mayor and two councils. Below them were other civic structures, and households and spaces connected with those enjoying free urban status, economic privilege, and rights of franchise.[69] Together, England's city commonwealths formed a 'corporate system', inhabited locally by English citizens, but centrally connected to London.[70] Each new urban incorporation brought together groups of townsmen for the purpose of governing, but incorporation also framed the civic community within the newly established form. Whilst civic leaders may have undertaken elements of urban governance prior to this, and local corporate character may show elements of continuity from pre-incorporation systems of governance, this point marked the legal creation of a

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[65] Charles Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 272.

[66] Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford, 2002). Borsay – and others – have recently revisited his original work and, in light of subsequent research, suggest a continued relevance of the 'renaissance' theme for this period: Peter Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance Revisited', in *The English Urban Renaissance Revisited*, ed. by John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (Newcastle, 2018), pp. 6-27.

[67] For more on the debate concerning the 'civic' or 'urbane' nature of early modern towns and the relationship with rural England, see: Jonathan Barry, 'Provincial Town Culture, 1640-1780: Urbane or Civic?', in *Interpretation and Cultural History*, ed. by Joan H. Pittock and Andrew Wear (New York, 1991), pp. 198-234; Carl B. Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces, 1660-1780* (Stanford, CA, 1998).

[68] Withington, *Politics*, p. 10.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Withington, *Politics*, pp. 17-18, 20-22.

corporate 'body'. The circumstances of incorporation and subsequent working practices translate into local interpretations of what it meant to be a working corporate body.[71]

Withington also picks up a point made by Clark and Slack relating to a rise in the number of incorporated towns in England. Clark and Slack identify the 'classic age for the incorporation of boroughs' as an extended two-hundred-year period from 1440, with an 'additional impetus' arising from the redistribution of ecclesiastical property after the Reformation.[72] This particular theme is also taken up by Robert Tittler who traces the redistribution of property into the hands of townsmen in a periodization of the Reformation in urban – rather than religious – terms.[73] Tittler links the opportunity to purchase property with townsmen seeking incorporation, suggesting it – and sometimes an ensuing sense of competition between neighbouring urban settlements – as one reason for the rising number of incorporated towns.[74] In relation to urban governance, he suggests this provided 'an obvious boost for the mayoralty', establishing such authoritative roles in the growing number of newly incorporated towns.[75] Withington also connects the rise in incorporated towns with a more general increase in the number of market towns, a feature across most of England but more pronounced towards the broad south-west.[76] In this respect, he sees a previously overlooked 'correlation between commercialisation and incorporation'.[77] By drawing attention to the shared values, economic processes and internal opportunities for political engagement located within urban communities demarcated by incorporation, he argues that towns of this period witnessed 'not so much a diminution of urbanity as the opposite: sustained urbanisation'.[78]

Withington contests the view of England's provincial towns as slow to develop as 'urban' centres by presenting an alternative view of the processes of urbanisation, one based on 'behavioural urbanisation' – as defined by Jan de Vries – as a counterpoint to

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[71] See the example of the circumstances of Ludlow's incorporation and subsequent corporate character in Withington, *Politics*, pp. 69-74.
[72] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition*, pp. 127-8.
[73] Robert Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c.1540-1640* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 5-10.
[74] Tittler, *Reformation*, pp. 113, 177.
[75] Tittler, *Reformation*, p. 240; Tittler provides a useful discussion of the role of the mayor in urban governance, pp. 235-241.
[76] Withington, *Politics*, pp. 21-2.
[77] Ibid., p. 25.
[78] Ibid., p. 7.

social and demographic markers.[79] Working from the premise that 'urbanisation involves certain practices, values, and commodities (material and symbolic) becoming at once associated with towns and disseminated by them', he emphasises that urbanisation may be seen as a 'cultural and institutional as well as demographic process'.[80] In *The Politics of Commonwealth,* he traces the 'propagation, institutionalisation, and practice of "civility" and "good government"', locating it within city commonwealths and the corporate system.[81] The acknowledgement of the importance of behavioural processes to urbanisation prompts the question of what is currently understood of the group culture of the corporate institutions which sat atop city commonwealth communities.

Another major theme of the work of Clark and Slack is the oligarchic nature of corporate governance.[82] They argue that the sixteenth-century religious Reformation led to the loss of forms of civic ritual thus breaking many of the cultural links between civic governors and the wider urban population.[83] Combined with fading civic guilds – often influential in the urban setting – they suggest this was a factor in creating an urban 'power vacuum' in many towns which encouraged corporate oligarchy.[84] Phythian-Adams identifies how Coventry's sixteenth-century city governance became 'more inbred and more oligarchical' with the decline of civic ceremony.[85] Long term views, such as Peter Clark's study of changes in the demographics and social connections of Gloucester's 'civic leaders' between 1580 and 1800, can, however, reveal an eventual move towards greater integration with society beyond the urban boundary.[86]

The suggested closed and inward-looking nature of urban corporations was not, however, universal. Sacks shows the expansive outlook of Bristol's corporation, and their involvement with the Merchant Adventurers and the development of Atlantic

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[79] Withington, *Politics*, p. 6. Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500-1800* (London, 1984), pp. 254-5.
[80] Withington, *Politics*, pp. 6, 7.
[81] Withington, *Politics*, p. 7.
[82] The topic of oligarchy forms one theme of Ian Archer's chapter, 'Politics and Government 1540-1700', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, 3 vols, II (Cambridge, 2000) pp. 235-62 (pp. 241-6).
[83] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition*, pp. 149-50.
[84] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition*, pp. 130-2.
[85] Phythian-Adams, *Desolation*, p. 272.
[86] Peter Clark, 'The Civic Leaders of Gloucester 1580-1800', in *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, ed. by Peter Clark (London, 1984), pp. 311-45 (p. 333).

trade.[87] Evans sees an increasingly open attitude to officeholding in seventeenth-century Norwich, a 'decline of oligarchy', which he argues may have been partly due to the city's large group of freemen and 'weak guilds', providing a redistribution of local power.[88] Nevertheless, civic elite, were, by definition, elite. In most towns, however, they were merchants and tradesmen rather than gentry and nobility. Set within the 'middle sort' – a term ably problematised by Henry French – they were the 'chief inhabitants', those who French suggests most identified with a shared sense of 'gentility', 'a social archetype that embodied wealth and power'.[89]

It is wealth and power from which the principles of oligarchic rule, and associated opportunities for corruption, might be seen to flow. David Hirst provides evidence that, in some cases, oligarchy also provided local focus for early Stuart disputed parliamentary elections.[90] The notion, however, of oligarchy as 'an evil thing in and of itself' is challenged by Robert Tittler. He cautions against a modern reading of the term, in relation to the implication of some form of undesirable class rule, asserting a 'general willingness' of townsmen to acknowledge the suitability of the 'better sort' to undertake the responsibilities of urban governance.[91] Early modern society remained, after all, a hierarchical one.

Ian Archer further argues that oligarchy is a subject which is 'in need of revision' – away from the view of urban governance as a simple brand of oligarchy which reflects a gradual concentration of power and wealth in a small number of individuals, and an association with corruption.[92] In this respect, Tittler pointedly does not overstate observable problems of corruption in England's urban governors, identifying a level of legitimate practice in some aspects of corporate privilege and showing great faith in early modern townsmen, suggesting they 'had a sense of what seemed right'.[93] Archer has a similarly balanced view of London's Elizabethan elite, stating: 'It would be wrong to present the elite as an oligarchy of rapacious extortioners ruling entirely in their own interests', but that 'On the other hand the aldermen were not entirely the disinterested

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[87] David Harris Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700* (London, 1993).
[88] John T. Evans, 'The Decline of Oligarchy in Seventeenth-Century Norwich', *J. Brit. Stud.*, 14 (1974), 46-76 (p. 76).
[89] Henry French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600-1750* (Oxford, 2007), p. 20
[90] Derek Hirst, *The Representative of the People? Voters and Voting in England under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 45.
[91] Tittler, *Reformation*, pp. 183-4.
[92] Archer, 'Politics', p. 241.
[93] Tittler, *Reformation*, p. 186.

servants of the people'.[94] These, more balanced and nuanced views have both refined ideas of early modern oligarchy and the importance of understanding local situations, whilst also complicating assessments of the general picture of urban governance.

Some problems of fatigue in the use of the term 'oligarchy' have also been identified by Withington, who points out the sometimes 'pejorative shorthand' use of the word to imply negative political, social, and economic situations.[95] It is, however, the historiographical approach of seeing urban governance in terms of 'bastions of oligarchic power' which he confronts, arguing for a broader vision of urban politics as 'a participatory and elective culture based upon incorporated privileges', whereby civic communities constitute urban 'variants of an indigenous republican tradition', whilst remaining 'patriarchal and elitist'.[96] This is a useful reminder that well-worn themes, such as assumptions of oligarchy, can veil other aspects of social, cultural, and political processes. In light of this, there is value in revisiting the subject of town corporations to assess and better understand their internal cultural environments.

The Early Modern Corporation

Urban corporate institutions were set within frameworks of power. Studies of early modern authority, expressed by Griffiths, Fox, and Hindle, as 'the power or right to define and regulate the legitimate behaviour of others' have shown the many ways in which authority was experienced, interpreted and negotiated by different social groups and in different contexts.[97] In the English urban setting, as in Europe, governance was determined 'by a process of negotiation with other political forces', most notably the monarch and government, but also inhabitants, including citizens as outlined above.[98] Friedrichs makes the point that with changes of those who gave legitimacy to urban rulers, the latter's response was invariably a 'pragmatic' one, less concerned with

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[94] Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991; repr. 2002), pp. 56-7.

[95] Phil Withington, 'Citizens, Community and Political Culture in Restoration England', in *Communities* in *Early Modern England*, ed. by Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (Manchester, 2000), pp. 134-55 (p. 139); see also his discussion of the contemporary concept of oligarchy in relation to forms of urban governance in 'Agency, Custom and the English Corporate System', in *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800*, ed. by Henry French and Jonathan Barry (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 200-22 (pp. 208-9).

[96] Withington, 'Citizens, Community', p. 139.

[97] Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle, 'Introduction', in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. by Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle (London, 1996), pp. 1-9 (p. 1). This point follows that of sociologist Max Weber who posited that authority may be understood as legitimate rule with an unspoken consensus between ruler(s) and ruled that such a relationship is acceptable.

[98] Christopher R. Friedrichs, *Urban Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Abingdon, 2000), p. 20.

loyalty to their ruler than with the continuation of their own authority.[99] Such a situation pertained after the regicide in England in 1649, when although town corporations may have been divided internally along religious or political lines, they did not give up local rule. Evans shows that in Norwich, after the death of King Charles I, a local 'revolution' to mirror the national one 'never took place', and in Newcastle, Howell finds that 'The leaders were, in short, well content to drift with the times and assume whatever face the situation required'.[100] At a cultural level, material elements of royal and urban political culture – as shown in Chapter Five – could be re-identified with the new post-regicide regime, providing a local continuity of use in spite of different symbolic meanings in relation to the authority they represented.

Studies concerned with determining local reactions to the civil war, an important aspect of revisionist and post-revisionist historiography, provide much of our knowledge of seventeenth-century corporations. Older works, like Howell's study of Newcastle (1967), are distinctly grounded in political and socio-economic aspects and identify an essentially local 'sub-political' response of the town's governors.[101] John Evans' longer period of study for Norwich (1620-1690) provides a narrative of the internal religious affiliations and politics of the corporation there, showing how the early 1640s 'triumph of the parliamentary-Puritans in capturing the Norwich corporation had been gradual, peaceful, legal, and non-provocative'.[102] Reynolds argues that Evans presents an insular picture of Norwich, but the detail of Evans' work, nonetheless, reveals the high degree of internal politics which could exist at a local level within a corporate institution and 'city commonwealth', providing an insight into the internal political culture of the corporation. Evans' work also illustrates the constraints which local corporate practice, in terms of hierarchical progression within the Norwich civic community, set upon achieving Puritan control, and the ways in which members were sometimes prepared to alter normal procedures to their own ends.[103] This sense of internal politics at work is observed in a number of ways in this thesis, reinforcing the importance of seeking to understand the individual corporate cultural environments of

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[99] Friedrichs, p. 21.

[100] John T. Evans, *17th Century Norwich: Politics, Religion, and Government 1620-1690* (Oxford, 1979), p. 183; Roger Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution: A Study of the Civil War in North England* (Oxford, 1967), p. 217.

[101] Howell, *Newcastle*, p. 342.

[102] Evans, *Norwich*, pp. 131-2.

[103] Evans, *Norwich*, pp. 110-1.

each town which may have enabled or constrained other behaviours of corporate members or the whole corporate community.

Reynolds balances Evans' 'localist' approach by demonstrating the 'rich, heterogeneous urban religious scene' in Norwich and the interest of elites in national politics, showing them to have had 'wider intellectual horizons' which fed into the local political situation.[104] Ann Hughes and Mark Stoyle further demonstrate the importance of local urban responses to national politics by examining connections between townsmen and the deeper national issues of the period, showing layered complexities of parish, town, county, and nation.[105] Other, smaller case studies covering this period pinpoint particular aspects of other towns' problems of economic drain and strained relationships with the central government and the Crown.[106] Lehmberg provides a vivid picture of the different, but generally difficult situations, which England's cathedral towns, including Canterbury, experienced over the civil war period.[107] The religious and political issues of the civil war and its aftermath thus dominate the historiography of urban governance and our knowledge of corporate life for 1640-60. The detail is less often set within the longer-term or cultural context of each corporation as a community of working governors.

When the actions of corporations are examined by historians, it is often on the basis of the agreed decisions of the group as a whole, but a notable feature of seventeenth century politics was the existence and impact of different religious or political factions within a corporate body. Factions within corporations were not a novelty in the mid-seventeenth century or, as Friedrichs notes, restricted to English governance, but they were ultimately of greater consequence in this time period with a relevance to local contexts and national politics.[108] For English towns, Hipkin details divisive problems in Rye, and Fletcher in Chichester in the period before 1640 which

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[104] Matthew Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich, c.1560-1643* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 31.
[105] Ann Hughes, 'Local History and the Origins of the Civil War', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London, 1989), pp. 224-53. Mark Stoyle, *From Deliverance to Destruction: Rebellion and Civil War in an English City* (Exeter, 1996).
[106] Julia Topazio, 'The Impact of the Civil War on Reading', *Southern History*, 36 (2014), 1-28; David Roberts, 'Governing Winchester 1638-88: The Politics of a Seventeenth Century Corporation', *Southern History*, 36 (2014), 56-83; Christine Jackson, 'A Town "Governed by a Company of Geese in Furred Gowns": Political and Social Conflict in Reading c.1620-40', *Southern History*, 36 (2014), 29-58. See also John K. G. Taylor, 'The Civil Government of Gloucester 1640-60', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 67 (1946-48), 59-118.
[107] Stanford E. Lehmberg, *Cathedrals under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600-1700* (Exeter, 1996).
[108] Friedrichs, p. 36.

likely fed into later, serious disputes in the towns.[109] In terms of national politics, Cogswell notes Kishlansky's placement of a significant change in parliamentary politics arising from the increasing number of contested local elections of MPs in the 1640s.[110] Incorporated towns like Canterbury and Maidstone often had the right to return MPs to Parliament and Kishlansky's work highlights the part factionalism could play in the outcome of contested elections where more than one candidate stood for a seat.[111] Cogswell assesses early Stuart borough contests against those for county seats and suggests a need to 'revisit' the subject of disputed parliamentary elections for the earlier period in light of evidence pointing towards a greater number of contests occurring in English boroughs at this time.[112] He argues that any studies should be framed 'within a larger study of how Corporations made decisions about all kinds of matters, both great and small'.[113] This thesis, in examining organisational culture in borough corporations between 1600 and 1660 has relevance to this proposal and evidence presented in later chapters sheds light on aspects of internal politics which could be pertinent to such a study.

It is also of significance that the expanding corporate system gave English 'citizens' a significant input to parliamentary elections in 1640.[114] Withington argues for a greater consideration of the role of urban citizenship in the civil wars, on the basis that 'Far from being bastions of apolitical "localism" or the simple extension of "county communities", citizens, burgesses, and freemen could form highly politicized and well-informed bodies with a host of powers at their disposal and liberties and freedoms to protect'.[115] This brings a new angle to mid-century politics and connects with the work of Paul Halliday in relation to later seventeenth-century political developments. Halliday argues that it was the constraint of members of English borough corporations seeking unity in the face of ideological corporate purges from 1650 onwards which was

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[109] Stephen Hipkin, 'Closing Ranks: Oligarchy and Government at Rye, 1570-1640', *Urban History*, 22 (1995), 319-40.

[110] I am grateful to Dr Thomas Cogswell for early sight of his article taking a new look at a diary of Canterbury resident Thomas Scott, and its implications for the political significance of the 1626 election, discussed further in Chapter Two. The article is now published: Thomas Cogswell, 'The Canterbury Election of 1626 and *Parliamentary Selection* Revisited', *Hist. J.* (2019) 1-25 (p. 25), <https://doi:10.1017/S0018246X18000432>.

[111] Mark A. Kishlansky *Parliamentary Selection: Social and Political Choice in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986). See Hirst, pp. 213-5 for a list of borough franchises in 1641.

[112] Cogswell, 'Canterbury Election', pp. 23-4.

[113] Ibid., p. 25.

[114] Withington, *Politics*, pp. 38-44.

[115] Phil Withington, 'Urban Citizens and England's Civil Wars', in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution*, ed. by Michael J. Braddick (Oxford, 2015), pp. 312-39 (p. 314).

the prompt for the 'first rumblings' of national partisan politics.[116] He proposes that post-Restoration political stability came not so much through a 'resolution of conflict' but that 'conflict between organized local teams [in borough corporations] was endemic' and resulted in an 'accommodation of conflict' which ultimately led to a partisan system.[117] If the corporate purges which began the process of 'dismembering' England's political bodies were conceived within the conflicts of the 1640s, or even before, then an accurate understanding of the internal culture and political behaviour of corporations during, and prior to, this period seems desirable.

There is no doubt that urban governors faced acute and chronic challenges in the mid-seventeenth century. The political and religious outlooks and actions of corporations are of importance but draw attention away from other aspects of urban governance in this period, despite evidence from civic records indicating a significant level of ongoing economic, social, and cultural activities. We cannot easily know whether members argued their differences *every* day, but, as much as what may have divided them, shared aspects of corporate life are likely to have played a role in informing their interactions with each other and maintaining a level of functionality.

The divisive nature of the civil war period paradoxically provokes an acknowledgement of the general continuity of function of urban governance and maintenance of urban stability in this period. Again, this is not a feature unique to this century but one of greater contrast. In late Elizabethan London, which was subject to a run of disorderly events, Ian Archer argues that the connected social framework of London's corporation assisted their ability to maintain order and that the 'ruler' and 'ruled' relationship was a central component of urban stability.[118] He further suggests an important role for a sense of corporate unity in maintaining urban stability, by minimizing potential consequent splits in other social groups connected to the civic elite.[119] In examining similar issues, Rappaport's more structural approach acknowledges the role of the maintenance of authority of the mayor and aldermen but stresses the vital role of the lower council, guilds, freemen, and other officers, in

[116] Halliday, p. 7.
[117] Halliday, p. 28.
[118] Archer, *Pursuit*, pp. 9, 16.
[119] Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 17.

implementing processes of governance.[120] This reinforces the importance of understanding internal relationships within civic communities.

Rappaport also takes to task 'Historians who accuse London's aldermen of having been an insensitive elite' for ignoring the 'organised performance of the mundane chores which prevented London from becoming a city of ruins'.[121] This echoes discussion of the problems of focus and distorted viewpoints above, prompting the consideration of all aspects of corporate life which may have been of relevance to urban governance in order to provide a balanced view of the reality of corporate life in the round.

Despite Rappaport's comment, the social actions of urban governors have not gone unnoticed. Dealing with transgressive behaviour via the courts and depositions, the economic restrictions and health concerns of plague, and the charitable maintenance of the urban poor were all occupiers of corporate time, and have been the subject of study.[122] The evidence of civic accounts and minutes when taken as a whole also point to urban maintenance – including the upkeep of town halls, street paving, corporate rental properties, and public privies – being no less a part of urban governors' lives. Though an old study, Ernest Sabine shows how in medieval London 'the mayor, the aldermen, and the common council, working as a unit, planned and organized the city cleaning', noting that, on occasion, even the king took an interest in ensuring it was done.[123] More recently, Dolly Jørgensen demonstrates how, over time, solutions to the problems of city cleaning in Norwich and Coventry altered how corporations worked together, showing city governors 'actively developed strategies to provide these services because such services fit into their larger understanding of the public good', adding, 'In doing so, they experimented with organizational structures that would later become characteristic of modern city management'.[124] The provision of water in medieval towns has come in for scrutiny from John Lee, but was a no less important urban challenge in the seventeenth century.[125] Paul Slack's examination of long-term continuities and

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[120] Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 173- 8.
[121] Rappaport, p. 179.
[122] For example, see Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1985).
[123] Ernest L. Sabine, 'City Cleaning in Mediaeval London', *Speculum*, 12 (1937), 19-43 (p. 21).
[124] Dolly Jørgenson, '"All Good Rule of the Citee": Sanitation and Civic Government in England, 1400–1600', *J. Urb. Hist.*, 36 (2010), 300-15 (p. 311).
[125] John S. Lee, 'Piped Water Supplies managed by Civic Bodies in Medieval English Towns', *Urban History*, 41 (2014), 369-93.

'improvements' in the provision of 'public welfare' further reinforces the vital role of institutions in aspects of social development.[126] Such activities demanded regular action, requiring corporation members to gather not only in court as magistrates but also to set by-laws and organise urban systems of governance, these decisions usually being taken at local equivalents of Canterbury and Maidstone's burghmote courts.

There was, then, a significant level of local organisation required to establish and maintain urban authority and order which was arranged by each town's rulers. How they approached these tasks derived from how they understood their remit and the extent of their responsibilities as a corporate body. The ways in which members worked together to achieve these aims shaped the internal political and cultural life of each corporation. As seen above, there is already a motivation to better understand the nature of corporate group culture, and its impact on corporate decision-making. The cultural life of civic corporations, is however, another area of study which has tended to focus on corporations as a single body, and on their external political need to express unified identity and corporate power by ritualistic and ceremonial means. The next section examines our current understanding of the cultural life of early modern corporations and the relative lack of studies of everyday aspects of internal culture and function, points which this thesis addresses in the chapters which follow.

Cultural life

Corporate communities shared expressive civic and political cultures intended to display a public face of authority and the corporate ideal of a unified body. One notable aspect of material political culture was the increase in construction of town halls by urban governors over the period 1540-1640. Clark and Slack see them as 'monuments to the rise of closed civic government', resonating with their emphasis on oligarchic governance.[127] Robert Tittler sets the same process within the context of the construction of a political culture defined as 'the political outlook of the townsmen of this era, and the means by which they sought to obtain their civic goals'.[128] His work in relation to the growth in civic portraiture in the same period – paintings often displayed in town halls – adds another aspect to the cultural meaning of town halls as places of

[126] Paul Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 26-7.
[127] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition*, p. 147.
[128] Robert Tittler, *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community c.1500-1640* (Oxford, 1991), p. 157.

symbolic displays of power and status.[129] Withington challenges Tittler's concentration on the political nature of town hall development, arguing for a greater recognition of the economic significance of their construction to townsmen, often requiring them to become involved in systems of credit which stretched beyond local boundaries and into rural hinterlands and the capital.[130] This view embeds the town hall in social and economic networks but given the regularity with which town halls were used by corporate members, there remains the possibility of a further community-orientated meaning as a part of a shared institutional culture, a point addressed in Chapter Five.

Other aspects of the ceremonial life of corporations also emphasize public display and a sense of identity. Tittler argues that the tension of maintaining authoritative legitimacy with both monarch and inhabitants 'required a civic culture of deference and loyalty on the part of the governed, a high standard of civic decorum on the part of the governors, and an overall image of political authority, civic virtue and institutional identity for the community itself'.[131] Subsequent to the gradual disappearance of many civic ceremonies following the Reformation, as notably described by Phythian-Adams for Coventry, it was mostly 'secular ceremonies', rather than religious-based ones, which remained in the seventeenth century.[132] In London, Elizabethan and early Stuart civic ceremonial 'looked outward to the wider national audience centering on the court' and 'became more grandiose than ever before'.[133] Both David Bergeron's work on civic pageantry, as well as Tracey Hill's examination of the ostentatious Lord Mayor's shows (1585-1639) and their rich meaning and symbolism in relation to London's corporation, guilds and inhabitants, demonstrate exactly this point.[134]

In provincial towns, the ceremonies of mayor-making were also important moments in corporate life. Ezzy et. al show for Norwich how the ritual handover of power was understood as an event wherein 'the mayor embodies the corporate

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[129] Robert Tittler, *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007).

[130] Withington, *Politics*, pp. 33-4.

[131] Tittler, *Face of the City*, p. 101.

[132] Michael Berlin, 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London', *Urban History Yearbook*, 19 (1986), 15-27 (p. 15). Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry 1450-1550', in *Crisis and Order in English Towns*, ed. by Peter Clark and Paul Slack (London, 1972), pp. 57-85. Some more traditional ceremonies did survive, for example, Lichfield's 'Whitsun Bower', see Peter Borsay, '"All the Town's a Stage": Urban Ritual and Ceremony 1660-1800', in *Transformation,* ed. by Clark, pp. 228-58.

[133] Berlin, p. 24.

[134] David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642* (London, 1971). Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show 1585-1639* (Manchester, 2010), pp 11-3.

continuity of the City', and was surrounded by performative rituals and other symbols of authority: the taking of oaths, civic insignia, gowns, and participating but deferential crowds.[135] Victor Morgan asserts that mayor-making was also 'pre-eminently an occasion on which an event made a statement about an institution'.[136] His detailed probing or '"event analysis"' of the Guild Day in Norwich utilises anthropological 'thick description' to unpick the sights and sounds experienced by participants and observers, carefully setting each within a contemporary material and spatial contextual meaning to provide a '"listen-and-look" type of institutional history'.[137] This somewhat altered perspective, away from the purely visual and symbolic towards a more everyday experience, raises questions in relation to aspects of civic life. Was there another side to material aspects of civic ceremony – one which, perhaps, related to the culture of the corporate body as a community *away* from public display? What was the material or everyday experience, and relevance of civic insignia or the wearing of gowns, beyond ceremonial symbolism? These practical considerations were shared by members of early modern corporations as much as public ceremony and therefore may be seen as relevant, but understudied, features of a communal organisational culture.

Civic ceremony and ritual have also been shown to be a way of negotiating the boundaries of urban authority, especially in cathedral cities where two powerful institutions were set alongside each other. In early seventeenth-century Wells, the city corporation were brought into conflict with the cathedral by processions held in the spaces of the marketplace, at city gates, and within the cathedral precinct; the period of the Interregnum, however, allowed a civic appropriation of urban space which, though rebalanced, was not reversed at the Restoration.[138] This form of negotiating power through the medium of urban space and ritual in cities like Canterbury was just one way in which authoritative tensions between corporations and cathedrals were played out. Catherine Patterson uses the circumstances of Salisbury's incorporation in 1612 to delineate the triangle of relationships which existed between corporation, monarch, and

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[135] Douglas Ezzy, Gary Easthope and Victor Morgan, 'Ritual Dynamics: Mayor Making in Early Modern Norwich', *J. Hist. Soc.*, 22 (2009), 396-419 (pp. 401-6).

[136] Victor Morgan, 'A Ceremonious Society: An Aspect of Institutional Power in Early Modern Norwich', in *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society*, ed. by Anne Goldgar and Robert I. Frost (Leiden, 2004), pp. 132-63, p. 141. For more on 'thick description' see Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), Ch. 1.

[137] Morgan, 'Ceremonious Society', pp. 134, 143.

[138] Carl B. Estabrook, 'In the Mist of Ceremony: Cathedral and Community in Seventeenth-century Wells', in *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (Manchester, 1995), pp. 133-61. See also, Carl B. Estabrook, 'Ritual, Space, and Authority in Seventeenth-Century English Cathedral Cities', *J. Int. Hist.*, 32 (2002), 593-620.

cathedral, of particular importance due to the significant level of urban authority lying with the city's bishop.[139] Patterson argues that in a dispute over local lines of authority, Salisbury's townsmen 'consistently sought to bind themselves more closely to the central government, seeing their freedom in their subjection to the monarch alone', a process which served the purpose of the monarch, whilst strengthening the state.[140] This highlights the important relationship which existed between centre and locality but Salisbury's ultimate success in their venture relied to some extent on their courting of influential patrons.

Patterson's thematic work on urban patronage looked across 'all towns' to draw out how both patron and client could benefit by gaining prestige from such relationships.[141] Motivated by political aspirations, or a need for aid from those in powerful positions, patronage relationships in the period to 1640 were frequently materially expressed by forms of gifting.[142] Felicity Heal's tackling of the subject of gifting in relation to the royal Court demonstrates the variety of gifting contexts and the range of gifts which existed in early modern England.[143] Apart from Patterson's broad view of urban gifting, however, this subject, though a common feature of the mechanism of corporate patronage, has not been examined in detail and there is a lack of studies of local patterns of gifting and their significance within the context of other cultural aspects of corporate life. This subject is addressed in Chapter Six for Canterbury and Maidstone.

Felicity Heal also shows how members of early modern corporations engaged in forms of hospitality, most often in relation to a feast, and sometimes connected with receiving gifts of venison. She argues that urban hospitality represented an important variant form of the hospitality of the rural elite, the 'collective pride in a good table and in courtesy to visitors that transcended social boundaries'.[144] She suggests that urban hospitality retained a 'concern for honour and reputation', and a 'shared belief that neighbourliness was central to the community' whilst also making clear that surviving evidence from civic records suggests that many instances of shared dining were forms

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[139] Catherine Patterson, 'Whose City? Civic Government and Episcopal Power in Early Modern Salisbury, c.1590–1640', *Hist. Res.*, 90 (2017), 486-505.
[140] Patterson, 'Whose City', pp. 487, 504.
[141] Catherine Patterson, *Urban Patronage in Early Modern England: Corporate Boroughs, The Landed Elite, and The Crown, 1580-1640* (Stanford, CA, 1999), p. 7.
[142] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 18.
[143] Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014).
[144] Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 300-51, 389.

of commensality as much as hospitality.[145] As shared experiences, often hosted by corporations, such occasions represent another important feature of the cultural life of early modern corporate communities.

Both Patterson and Heal's work tends to look towards the external social relationships involved in patronage, gift-giving, hospitality, and commensality, and their thematic approaches also shift our understanding away from how these events fitted into the cultural life of individual corporations. Detailed comparison of patterns of corporate gifting and dining provides an opportunity to observe similarities and difference in local approaches. This has the potential to provide definition and an understanding of local significance to a general view that all corporations simply engaged in gifting practices and regular feasting.

Between 1600 and 1660, then, English corporations were to a greater or lesser extent 'oligarchic' in the sense that members frequently shared characteristics based on wealth, occupation, and kinship but were not necessarily closed to social progression. As institutions, they were the key component of early modern city commonwealths which were proliferating across England. Corporations commonly expressed a material political culture which represented status and a unified identity, also a feature of civic ceremony. They negotiated their authoritative position locally with inhabitants and competing jurisdictions, and nationally with the monarch and government, often working through patronage networks. They had a social responsibility for the challenges of urban governance and usually maintained order sufficiently to ensure urban stability. As a group, they were not immune to religious divisions and were involved in local politics and the politics of the nation. Whilst, in the seventeenth century, the country was still essentially a rural society, aspects of urbanisation continued to progress, and for the growing number of inhabitants of incorporated towns, corporations formed a backdrop to urban living.

It may appear that the topic of urban governance is well-understood, however, our knowledge derives from a distinct emphasis on the outward-looking actions and interactions of corporations in relation to politics, society, and culture, what might be deemed their 'public face'. Where consideration is given to internal aspects there is an emphasis on shared social characteristics and the impact of political and religious division. Internal desires for stability and unity are often connected outwards with

[145] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 301, 303, 306-7.

public expressions of corporate identity and authority or the need for stability of urban control and order. Consideration of shared culture is orientated towards public displays of political culture and highly visible civic ceremonial.

There is, perhaps, a less coherent picture of what *private* culture corporate communities may have shared. Similar demographics did not make them a corporate body; that came legally by charter, and practically, from working together *as* a body. Even as an 'oligarchic' group, it was necessary to carry out regular activities to ensure urban governance. Ceremonial life, political culture, gifting, and dining were all contingent upon the existence of the organised institution of the corporation. Often studied in isolation, together, these, and other aspects of everyday practical governance, provide valuable untapped evidence of communal institutional culture.

Institutional Culture

Corporations were instituted in law for the purpose of the self-governance of a town. Because of the generally good survival of civic records we may know far more about the lives of corporation members than some other groups in society. An emphasis, however, on their public face has distracted attention away from their private face and the importance of the internal cultural identity arising from being a working institution.

As well as having relevance to the established historiographical debates detailed above, this thesis feeds into more recent debate concerning institutional cultural environments and their influence. A fundamental reason for examining institutional culture is competently expressed by Keith Wrightson who asserts that 'The institutional setting of any given society provides a frame for human interaction'; he continues:

> It designates roles. It also sets rules, since all social institutions embody norms, values and authority relations, and seek to protect them by means of a variety of sanctions, both formal and informal. In such ways institutions shape patterns of interaction and exert powerful influences on individual lives. They enable. They constrain. They foster expectations, create meanings and identities, and facilitate the transmission of these cultural elements between generations.[146]

Victor Morgan appraises what he sees as the 'three broad phases' of the study of institutional history, presenting as: the holistic public place of an institution in society; a procedural approach; and a prosopographical one.[147] He also proposes a new approach

[146] Keith Wrightson, 'Afterword', in *Institutional Culture*, ed. by Goldgar and Frost, pp. 354-9 (p. 354).
[147] Morgan, 'Ceremonious Society', pp. 139-40.

to a fourth, one which recognizes the 'institutionalized roles' individuals embody but also carries 'a recognition that institutions are not solidities of disembodied procedures. Rather, they are loci for what are usually structured, patterned and repetitive interactions between individuals. In short, that institutions are *processes*'.[148] These processes may be manifest in different ways in different places. For example, the shared 'high culture' of the institution of the Inns of Court, has recently been shown to be a vibrant one, providing more than a simple legal training or workplace for lawyers by offering an environment connecting members through art, architecture, literature and other cultural means.[149] Goldgar and Frost bring together a varied snapshot of early modern institutions as diverse as Jesuit missionaries to China, the environment of the Academie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in eighteenth-century Paris, and Victor Morgan's reassessment of Norwich corporation and the urban cultural connections of mayor-making, on the basis that 'many institutions of different types shared particular cultural practices, needs, and attitudes'.[150]

All these ways of looking at institutional culture across different institutions share the idea of closely observing interactions and 'ways of doing things' within the institutional setting. This thesis examines evidence of this nature for the corporate institutions of seventeenth-century Canterbury and Maidstone. It questions the nature of internal group culture and everyday functional behaviours, what the private side of publicly expressed culture might be, and the diversity of experience of corporate life in different towns given that a range of similar activities could be approached in all sorts of ways. These questions have implications for how individuals related to officeholding, to other members, and to their sense of 'the corporate body', as well as how group dynamics and actions may have been constrained or enabled by an internal group culture.

This thesis seeks to understand a fundamental aspect of internal group culture based around the shared experience of being a working corporate community. By comparing evidence from the two towns of Canterbury and Maidstone, this thesis provides a sense of the level of institutional difference, which may have a bearing on local corporate identities. It proposes a methodological approach of considering

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[148] Morgan, 'Ceremonious Society', pp. 140-1.

[149] *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Inns of Court*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Manchester, 2011).

[150] Anne Goldgar and Robert I. Frost, 'Introduction', in *Institutional Culture,* ed. by Goldgar and Frost, pp. xi-xxii (p. xiii).

'organisational culture', looking at aspects of corporate life arising from local working practices. The following section sets out the rationale and sources used.

'Organisational Culture'

The aim of this thesis is to uncover something of the cultural experience of corporation members working together in seventeenth-century Canterbury and Maidstone. It takes an approach which looks at evidence of patterns of behaviour, working practices, and aspects of material culture, drawing on the modern theory of organisational culture. Whilst not suggesting direct comparability with modern business corporations, reference to organisational culture theory offers an organising principle and opportunity to ask new questions about early modern borough corporations whose members were bound together as an institutional community for the purpose of urban governance.

In the modern era, swathes of incorporated companies contribute to the business world. Acknowledging the importance of the internal working environment to a company's success, theories of organisational culture began to emerge in the mid-twentieth century. Organisational culture theorist, Edgar Schein, summarised culture within modern organisations as 'learned patterns of beliefs, values, assumptions, and behavioural norms that manifest themselves at different levels of observability', including material expression.[151] These present a form of group 'culture' situated within an organisation, and generated by organised activity unique to each working group. The level of organisation and activity required to maintain urban order in an early modern town is clear from the local context set out above. Organisational culture theory prompts the question of how different ways of working together shaped local shared cultural environments.

Schein acknowledges the difficulties of defining 'culture', a point well understood by historians.[152] Typical is Peter Burke's statement: 'It is at once necessary and impossible to define the term "culture" before proceeding to employ it'.[153] Burke's own definition in relation to popular culture similarly combined the existence of shared beliefs and behaviours as well as the ways in which they were expressed by non-elites.[154] Schein similarly suggests that organisational culture is a '*shared* product of

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[151] Edgar H. Schein with Peter Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, 5th edn (Hoboken, 2017), p. 2.
[152] Schein, Ch. 1, esp. pp. 3-6. Tittler, *Architecture*, p. 157.
[153] Peter Burke, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century London', in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Barry Reay (Beckenham,1985), pp. 31-58 (p. 31).
[154] Burke, 'Popular Culture, London', pp. 31-42.

shared learning' which stabilises over time from the point of organisational inception and is something transmittable to new members.[155] Organisational culture theory also indicates the importance of external interactions as well as a need for internal stability in shaping organisational culture.[156] Thus, organisational culture theory indicates that for groups of individuals working together, small daily actions over time in relation to necessary organised activities, and driven by both internal and external group needs, produce a 'way of doing things' which constitutes a shared culture.

At one level, this 'way of doing things' may be related to the cultural customs inherited by successive generations of members of corporations, or even from locally established forms of urban governance prior to incorporation, and corporate development is examined in Chapter One. The role of corporate custom in connecting present and past and future established a 'relativism' within cultural practices which made them a potentially powerful tool in narratives of reform – where knowledge and understanding of customs enabled their manipulation – as well as in contests for local political control, grounded in legitimising authority.[157] Whilst customary practices may have been formed in the past, and might be altered in the future, they were, nevertheless, experienced in the present by successive members of corporate communities, and each custom, in combination with a range of other group practices produced a complete, and present, 'organisational culture'. This thesis questions that experience – denoted throughout by use of the terms 'organisational culture' or 'corporate culture' – and its contribution to a sense of corporate cultural identity.

Early modern corporations did not work together in the manner of a modern business environment. They used town hall space for a range of economic and political activities but were less bureaucratic and also expressed their authority in physical and visual ways through the streets and other urban spaces like the marketplace. Domestic houses – especially that of the mayor – could provide extensions to the 'working environment' as well as having a symbolic role in ceremonial occasions such as mayor-making. How far then, might early modern corporations be understood as an 'organisation', or even an 'institution' with a distinct identity? Here, sociologist Richard Jenkins' theory of social identity and definitions of organisations and institutions,

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[155] Schein, pp. 6-7.
[156] Schein, p. 7.
[157] Withington, 'Agency, Custom', passim.

though formulated against ideas of modern society, suggests a way to question what it might mean to interrogate the early modern corporation in this way.

Jenkins argues that identity is an active and ongoing process rather than 'some*thing* that simply *is*', irrespective of whether it is individual or collective.[158] He envisions this process as a reflective, iterative dialect between similarity and difference, 'who we are and who others are', fundamental to human life.[159] Jenkins' definition of organisations notes the combined role of structure and a sense of 'activity': 'Organisations are bounded networks of people – who are distinguished as members from non-members – following co-ordinated procedures: *doing* things *together* in inter-related and institutionalised ways'.[160] In sociological terms, a key feature of organisations is their external purpose and internal power structures which enable function: 'Organisations are constituted in the tension between solidary similarity, *vis-à-vis* outsiders, and the internal hierarchical differentiation of members from each other'.[161] Such a tension may be found in early modern corporations with a sense of being set apart from other urban inhabitants by being one corporate body in law and the internal hierarchical structure of mayor, and upper and lower councils.

Jenkins separately defines an institution – in his own words an 'open minimalist definition' – as 'a pattern of behaviour in any particular setting that has become established over time as "the way things are done"' and recognised as such by people.[162] Here, 'habitualisation' over time by more than one individual constitutes the formation of an institution without a definitive need for formal structure.[163] This process, and the recognized patterns of behaviour which follow, provide the basis of institutional group identification.[164] In this sense, a corporate institution might be considered as not created by a charter but by ongoing behavioural processes. The question of the nature of habitualized activities and differences between the two institutions of Canterbury and Maidstone can, perhaps, provide a means of considering collective corporate identity. Jenkins also identifies that the establishment of a 'normal' way of doing things in institutions concurrently produces an environment where 'sanctions are likely to

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[158] Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 4th edn (London, 2014), pp. 2, 18.
[159] Ibid., pp. 17-28.
[160] Ibid., p. 172.
[161] Ibid., p. 173.
[162] Ibid., p. 160.
[163] Ibid., p. 161.
[164] Ibid., p. 166.

become associated with deviation from institutionalised routine'.[165] Here, questioning individual attitudes to any such features observed in early modern corporations might allow us to gain a sense of tensions between individuals and their understanding of the corporate institution.

In light of the above, this thesis takes a research approach based on the examination of everyday patterns of behaviour and consistently regular activities, with an emphasis on internal rather than external relevance. The recent influence of anthropology on historical research has opened new avenues for understanding the past by investigating the 'everyday', particularly with respect to non-elites. For Hamling and Richardson, the 'everyday' may be understood as 'the routines of life, the daily practices of individuals and groups that shape and define cultural identity'.[166] Corporations may have been replete with civic elites but their responsibilities as urban governors led them into regular patterns of shared activities and behaviour. Together, their role in running courts, ensuring the provision of water supplies, controlling markets, networking with patrons or legal counsellors, enrolling apprentices and granting freedoms, supervising parliamentary elections, and simply meeting together to arrange all these things and more, required a level of organisation. The questions asked by this study are informed by the view of members of corporate institutions sharing a level of responsibility for carrying out actions necessary for establishing and maintaining the corporate organisation and urban governance.

To this end, this thesis considers the corporation as a community. The concept of community can be complicated and has been debated to the point of rejection of the term by some historians.[167] Part of its difficulty of use has been identified as arising from 'tensions between its past and current meanings'.[168] Linking 'conceptual transformation' with historical change, Withington and Shepard liken words to 'archaeological sites' and rebut the idea of discarding the word, arguing that 'Concepts of community should be discussed and fought over, not ignored; the archaeological site dug deeper, and more forensically, rather than simply filled in'.[169] They offer a reprieve to historical use of the term by considering its historiographical and problematic modern

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[165] Ibid., p. 162.
[166] Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham, 2010), p. 13.
[167] Phil Withington and Alexandra Shepard, 'Introduction', in *Communities* in *Early Modern England*, ed. by Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (Manchester, 2000), pp. 1-15 (p. 2).
[168] Ibid., p. 1.
[169] Ibid., pp. 1, 2.

use alongside evidence of its contemporary use and themes drawn from a series of articles. They propose a framework for understanding community as a six-part process, as 'something done as an expression of collective identity by groups of people'.[170] The elements of this are:

> First, the institutional arrangements, practices and roles that structured it. Second, the people who did it, did not do it, did not want to do it, were excluded from doing it. Third, the acts and artefacts -whether communicative or material – which defined and constituted it. Fourth, the geographical places in which it was located. Fifth, the time in which it was done and perpetuated. And, sixth, the rhetoric by which it was legitimated, represented, discussed, used and turned into ideology.[171]

This thesis considers these various aspects of the corporate community to a greater or lesser extent throughout the chapters which follow.

One further observation made by Withington and Shepard is also important to this thesis. They note that 'Community, as a state of interpersonal relations, did not preclude conflict. On the contrary, conflict was intrinsic to such relations, and the precepts and practices of community were invariably crystallised through attempts to resolve or contain it'.[172] Such a point has been made above, and is centrally relevant to Halliday's work on the development of partisan politics in borough corporations from the mid-seventeenth century and this theme will be explored further in Chapter Four.

The term 'community' may, of course, also be used analytically to define a group for study. Its descriptive use might be considered more problematic but the dangers of plucking out a group for a community analysis are perhaps evident from the example of Alan Everitt's sense of the gentry of Kent as a 'County Community'.[173] Innovative in its approach, it was criticized for its narrowness of vision and lack of consideration of how other societal groups connected with the gentry in relation to community formation and function.[174] This thesis is centred on two small communities comprising the mayor, aldermen or jurats, and common council of Canterbury and Maidstone. This is justified on the basis that the aim of this thesis is to examine organisational practice and obtain a sense of the internal working environment within each corporation. It is not intended to

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[170] Ibid., esp. p. 12.
[171] Ibid., p. 12.
[172] Ibid., p. 6.
[173] Everitt, *Community.*
[174] Clive Holmes, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography', *J. Brit. Stud.*, 19 (1980), 54-73.

indicate an insularity of the corporations. The approach reflects that these individuals were the most likely to meet together for the purposes of urban governance, had the greatest control over organised function and the ability to set or influence rules, and managed corporate finances.

The decision to restrict analysis to this group necessitates the further definition of connected terms. The distinction between urban, civic and corporate communities is important and the terms are utilised here in a very precise way. In this thesis, the term 'corporate community' is to be understood in the narrow sense of the formal members of the corporation as defined above. The corporate community, together with the freemen and other corporate officers with privileges of work and franchise, are denoted by the broader term 'civic community', whilst 'urban community' is reserved for the entirety or other subsets of a town population. These definitions are most significant when set alongside references to Phil Withington's recent work, *The Politics of Commonwealth*, in which he defines an 'incorporated community' as based on the pyramid of people formed from the mayor to the freemen and their households, and including the institutions and places to which they were connected.[175]

Methodology

Community studies lend themselves to a case-study format which allows detailed examination of a defined group. A comparative case-study inevitably sacrifices some level of depth or breadth but provides significant opportunities to uncover and characterise differences, and so produce a more complex understanding of the subject matter. Providing contrast is especially important here, given the previously described variation of form within early modern corporations, and the intent of this study to assess the level and detail of cultural difference. The choice of two towns within the same county setting, each the pre-eminent town in the split between east and west Kent, enhances the potential for observing similarity, whilst also facilitating the demonstration of disparity.

A fully comprehensive examination of group culture, even for a small group, presents a problem of scale and some level of focus is required. Within the case-study wrapper, this thesis is constructed to bring together aspects of corporate development, member demographics, meeting and attendance behaviour, political culture, gifting and corporate dining. These choices emerge, in part, from historiographical lacunae as

[175] Withington, *Politics*, p. 10.

outlined above, in conjunction with several other considerations. First, the examination of these features allows this study to sit in parallel with existing work. Here, the analysis of financial and demographic data allows useful comparison with other towns. For Canterbury, it also contributes to our knowledge of the city's urban history by filling a large part of a gap between existing unpublished studies of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.[176] Second, it allows the utilisation of a largely neglected aspect of civic records relating to the routine recording of meeting dates and attendance. In this regard, the specific method of recording seen in Canterbury's minute books provides a rare opportunity to analyse individual behaviour and attitudes to civic duty. Finally, it considers in detail, and from a new viewpoint of everyday function and group culture, aspects of corporate life which have been the subject of recent research but which tend to be of a more general and outwardly-focused nature, namely political culture, urban patronage, and hospitality. Thus, Chapter Five chiefly engages directly with the work of Robert Tittler and Chapter Six with that of Felicity Heal and Catherine Patterson. Overall, this approach complements existing urban research, provides original data and knowledge, and adds definition to broad studies of early modern corporations. Bringing these aspects together as a study of 'organisational culture' also provides a new research framework for examining borough corporations, transferable to other towns and time periods where suitable archival records exist.

The drawing together of different aspects of corporate group culture requires the use of several methods of analysis. Qualitative evidence, drawing on textual entries from minute books and chamberlains' accounts, runs throughout but is particularly used in Chapters Three, Five, and Six. The quantitative analysis of numerical data in Chapters One, Two and Four, and relating to financial data, freemen data, and meetings data, is grounded in counts and averages in order to draw out trends over time. A calculation of the size of the freemen body for Canterbury for the period 1600-1660 utilises unpublished data and methodology used for a study of the sixteenth-century corporation, and further detail is provided in Chapter Two. There is also a prosopographical element to Chapter Two in terms of the reconstruction of Canterbury's burghmote court membership for 1600-1660 which connects with previously unpublished work for Canterbury as noted above and the detail of the

[176] J. H. S. Palmer, 'Politics, Corporation and Commonwealth: The Early Reformation in Canterbury, c.1450 – 1559' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 2016); Durkin; Frank H. Panton, 'Finances and Government of Canterbury, Eighteenth to Mid-Nineteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1998).

method of reconstruction is addressed in that chapter. Part Two of the thesis focuses on tracing patterns of working practices over time with a sensitivity to the observation of changes. Further details of individual methods are presented in the chapters which follow, as appropriate.

By beginning at 1600, shortly before the accession of James I, the relatively stable practice of pre-civil war urban governance may be observed, in order to better understand the subsequent impact of mid-century disruptions and assess continuity of cultural practice. This also covers a period of early Stuart contested parliamentary elections in Canterbury. Furthermore, it is a point fifty-one years after Maidstone's incorporation, sufficient time for some organisational working practices to have become habitualized. By pushing the study to 1660, it is possible to examine the civil war and immediate post-civil war years and connect with the point at which corporate purges in particular began to significantly alter political practice and corporate function in the boroughs.

Canterbury and Maidstone's burghmote minutes and chamberlains' accounts, generated by the recording of the organised actions of the corporations, are the major sources for this thesis and their material nature is examined further in Chapter One. Minutes are likely to have been written up from rough notes taken at the time, introducing the possibility of omission and transcription errors.[177] For Canterbury and Maidstone, however, the records appear generally well-kept, even throughout the civil war period. One concern with using civic minutes can be that the totality of business discussed at meetings does not appear, rather the records are almost exclusively evidence of agreed orders. Comprising attendee lists, orders, occasional copies of legal documents, details of by-laws, records of freedoms and council elections, however, they remain a rich source of information in relation to actions taken by corporations. By their very nature, minutes also provide a record of organisational working practices in terms of the regularity of meetings and attendance, and this aspect, something independent of the recording of meeting discussions and orders, forms the basis of analysis in Chapter Four.

Extant minutes for Maidstone cover the period 1600-1660 but there is a hole in the run of Canterbury's burghmote minutes with the book for the period 1603-1630

[177] A few pages of what appear to be rough seventeenth-century meeting minutes exist in Canterbury city archive, CCA-CC-A/D/1/A, B.

missing, perhaps lost during the civil war years.[178] The book appears to have been in the city chamber in 1642 when an order is made to search 'the Burgmott book anno 1600 and soe forward for 7 yeeres' in relation to ownership of the 'Barton landes'.[179] Similarly, an order of 6 April 1647 concerning a search of the books suggests it may have still been in the chamber just prior to the Christmas Day riots later that year, though it had definitely disappeared by the time Alderman Bunce prepared his abridgement of the city books in 1794.[180] He writes: 'by reason that the Book (No 3) containing such Orders is lost, and having been long missing, it is apprehended is now irrecoverable'.[181] The missing book limits our knowledge of the activities of the Canterbury burghmote in the early part of the seventeenth century and necessitates an alternative method of reconstructing the burghmote membership for these years, a process outlined in Chapter Two. It also restricts the study of meetings practice, examined in Chapter Four, to the years after 1630, nevertheless, this does allow for a twelve-year pre-civil war period to be analysed.

Fortunately, Canterbury's chamberlains' accounts are complete between 1600 and 1660 and provide an alternative source of evidence for corporate life, albeit one based in activities resulting in flows of money rather than corporate decisions, though they can be connected. Maidstone's surviving accounts present a less complete record, covering only twenty-five years of the period 1600-60. Most of the surviving years are before 1630 and there are no accounts for the 1630s; seven years exist from the 1640s and 1650s, so that the spread of available records allows consideration of evidence across the period 1600-1660.[182] Since the emphasis of this thesis is on Canterbury with Maidstone as a comparator, though records for the latter are more limited, enough years survive to enable a reasonable level of comparison for the features examined.

Civic accounts in general are open to the vagaries of late payments and errors of omission and transcription but they were subject to a level of scrutiny through an annual audit thus ensuring most items are likely to have been recorded. The question of what a corporation pays for, and who pays for what, is one of some importance to this study, especially in Chapter Six in relation to corporate dining. Corporate officers in Canterbury and Maidstone, as elsewhere, are known to have borne some costs of office

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[178] See the archive catalogue entry for records CCA-CC/A/C.
[179] AC4, fol. 168[r].
[180] AC4, fol. 244[r].
[181] CCA-Uncatalogued, Alderman Bunce's Abridgement, title page.
[182] See Table 2 below for existing years.

themselves, however, it should be noted that this thesis does not assess money spent by individual corporate members but concentrates on the use of town funds spent by the chamberlains. Most often, individual expenses lay at the door of the mayor, sheriff, or chamberlain; in Exeter, the mayor had a salary as well as a 'major entertainment' allowance.[183] The opportunity to examine this type of spending is hampered by a general absence of extensive records of mayoral or personal spending and, as such, the chamberlains' accounts sit more generally as the mainstay source for assessing corporate spending. Chamberlains were responsible for the bulk of this, and money accounted for directly from central corporate funds may be viewed as representative of 'legitimate' communal outlays. In this sense, identifying what expenses were considered core to the function of the legal body of the corporation points towards each community's own interpretation of a corporate boundary.

Minutes and accounts are a natural source for uncovering evidence of everyday activities. Churchwardens' accounts have successfully been used to document material changes within ecclesiastical settings; the REED project has mined civic accounts for entries related to early English drama, and Robert Tittler has successfully gathered evidence of the construction and alteration of town halls using civic records.[184] Derek Hirst criticizes urban archives for being 'overwhelmingly concerned with economics'.[185] Lena Cowen Orlin, however, used guild records, similar in many respects to borough records, in her examination of the subject of early modern concepts and spaces of privacy and considered that, when set against the content of other family papers, 'The Drapers' minute books, by contrast, are so journalistic that they might be sites for anthropological field research'.[186] Canterbury and Maidstone's minutes and accounts contain regular, detailed, textual entries which allow insight into the extraordinary range of people and events with which members of early modern corporations might be involved. From providing sheets for burying the poor to gold cups for the monarch; from mending town privies to fighting legal cases in London courts; from organising the cleaning of bull's guts from the marketplace to arranging military musters, the expanse of experiences evidenced by civic minutes and accounts confirm that Orlin's observation may also be applied to civic records.

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[183] MacCaffrey, p. 265.

[184] *Records of Early English Drama*, 26 vols (University of Toronto Press, 1979-2018); Tittler, *Architecture*.

[185] Hirst, p. 45.

[186] Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford, 2007), p. 113.

Evidence from minutes and accounts is supported by various other sources which have enabled additional layers of detail to be added. Wills provide evidence of social networks and the death of corporate members, useful in reconstructing membership lists. The 1641 Poll tax for Canterbury, transcribed by Canterbury Christ Church University, allows a snapshot of residency and the wealth of corporation members just before the civil war period. National records in the form of State Papers, the online publications of the London apprentice rolls and other sources used are detailed in the chapters which follow and are referenced where appropriate.

Outline of Chapters

This thesis is organised in two parts. Part One consists of three shorter chapters which examine foundational aspects of incorporated bodies and demographic characteristics of the individuals within them, providing context for the second part which considers three specific aspects of organisational culture. Part One presents data of the nature and format of other studies of social and economic features of urban corporations but, importantly, considers them in light of their role in organisational culture. Chapter One considers the history of urban governance in Canterbury and Maidstone, providing a narrative of each town's path to incorporation and subsequent chartered development. It briefly examines the material nature of the major sources used in this study identifying their different characteristics. It also presents data in relation to each town's financial standing. These three elements show how each corporate community developed in individual ways, resulting in unique corporate histories, records, and different economic positions.

Chapter Two investigates the structure and demographics of the civic and corporate communities of Canterbury and Maidstone, with an emphasis on data from Canterbury. It considers freedom admission methods for the two towns and the relevance of different practices in this regard. It also presents an analysis of the size and occupational profile of Canterbury's group of freemen. It outlines the structural arrangements of the corporations of both towns, and the method by which Canterbury's burghmote membership lists have been reconstructed. It follows this with a demographic and occupational analysis of the alderman and common councilmen of Canterbury, demonstrating their distinctive characteristics as a group when compared with the wider civic community including all freemen. This chapter dovetails this thesis with previous work on Canterbury's corporation, whilst extending our knowledge of Canterbury's seventeenth-century civic and corporate communities.

Chapter Three examines shared associations between corporation members. It identifies how close links based on kinship and occupation, geolocation, and religious ideology existed between members both before and after individuals transitioned into the corporate community. Some aspects drew individuals together whilst others, especially religious beliefs, produced diversity within the corporate structure. These associative connections, though ostensibly independent of the organisational practice of the corporate community, were important in shaping pre-membership networks and facilitated the transition of individuals from civic community to corporate community.

Part Two contains a further three chapters. These are longer explorations of three elements of corporate life which generate an observable 'organisational culture'. Chapter Four considers corporate burghmote meetings, an important aspect of practical urban governance. Meetings practice in Canterbury and Maidstone is shown to have been distinctly different. This chapter uncovers short-lived attempts to alter the frequency of Maidstone corporation's burghmote meetings as well as patterns of hidden dysfunction within Canterbury's regular two-weekly meeting system. It evidences the potential power which lay in the individual office of the mayor and the sometimes-subversive behaviour of members in relation to attendance. It concludes with an assessment of the structure of corporate systems in relation to stability of function and political processes. The analyses of meeting frequency and attendance are revealing and novel in their extent and approach.

Chapter Five takes a fresh look at three recognized material expressions of corporate identity and power: civic political culture in the form of town halls, the wearing of gowns, and civic insignia. It provides an alternative reading of these markers of civic life, identifying how they may also have served a significant purpose within the everyday life of the corporate community, beyond public expressions of authority and identity. This chapter considers connections between town halls and domestic spaces, the practical side of the use of civic insignia including corporate seals, and the tensions surrounding the practice of wearing ceremonial gowns. It suggests that, as well as symbolic displays of power and corporate unity, these material elements had relevance as aspects of a more private sense of cultural identity.

Finally, Chapter Six examines patterns of gifting and elements of corporate dining. Both Canterbury and Maidstone corporations received venison and gifted sugar loaves and other food gifts – almost exclusively in the pre-civil war period. Though both towns sat within the same county setting, there was only a small overlap of gifting

networks, and each corporation's approach and experiences of gifting were distinctly individual. This chapter also places venison gifts, often eaten at a corporate feast, within the context of other corporate dining events. At such events, the two towns approached the funding of meals for officers and guests in consistently distinctive ways. Here, Maidstone's simpler and more inclusive approach contrasts with a more complex pattern in Canterbury, in keeping with observations from other chapters in relation to the nature of their internal group cultures.

Overall, this thesis traces and evidences both cultural continuity and change over the period 1600-1660 in Canterbury and Maidstone. There is evidence of significant continuity of cultural practice over the whole period but many apparent continuities, on closer inspection, also evidence change. This thesis demonstrates the impact of variability in the corporate system on the development of corporate cultural identity; the internal dynamics and tensions between individuals and institutionalised processes; the private side to public political culture; and the different ways in which officeholders in early modern corporations might experience being one corporate body.

Part I: Corporate Foundations

Chapter One: Corporate Frameworks

All borough corporations were founded on the principle of political autonomy achieved by a royal grant of incorporation consolidating existing self-governing structures or providing freedom from manorial authority. Within this common framework, local circumstances shaped each incorporation and determined its subsequent corporate development. Corporate income influenced expenditure and a town's specific geographic situation, population, economic character and prosperity established the resources available, as Goose observes of English pre-industrial urban economies: a 'town's overall fortunes followed that of its specialism'.[1] Thus, corporate governors in London, and across England's provincial market towns, ports, and regional centres ran institutions that shared a generic commonality whilst being specific in nature.

This point is an acknowledged one. Robert Tittler states that 'Even with towns of comparable political standing it was difficult to find two which were exactly alike in their powers, customs, official terminology, by-laws or precise legal entitlements'.[2] Clark and Slack describe it as a 'bewildering degree of institutional variation'.[3] The point here is not to contest that towns differed but to define the potential extent of existing differences. By providing evidence of the developmental history and financial status of Canterbury and Maidstone corporations this chapter demonstrates that Tittler's observed diversity holds true for these two towns within the same Thames estuary 'cultural province' and administrative county setting.[4] The important point, however, is that patterns of local development produced unique corporate communities, at the heart

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[1] Nigel Goose, 'English Pre-Industrial Urban Economies', in *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1530-1688*, ed. by Jonathan Barry (London, 1990), pp. 63-73 (p.63).

[2] Robert Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation: English Urban Experiences 1540-1640 (Stanford, CA, 2001),* p. 22. The scale of difference can be seen by reference to Weinbaum's summary tables of chartered rights which defines 120 discrete clauses used in British borough charters before 1660, *British Borough Charters, 1307-1660*, ed. by Martin Weinbaum (Cambridge, 1943), p. xxix.

[3] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition,* p. 29.

[4] Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Introduction: An Agenda for English Local History', in *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850,* ed. by Charles Phythian-Adams (London, 1993), pp. 1-23 (pp. 9-18). As described by Phythian-Adams, each cultural province is a broad area bounded by significant geological factors within which separate local societies are more culturally similar than those in neighbouring provinces. The Thames estuary area encompasses Essex and Kent.

of the 'enclosed city commonwealths' described by Withington.[5] Internal institutional knowledge of the exact conditions which led to a town's incorporation and the text of charters provided a form of corporate memory for these communities. Access to money also provided the means to develop the community in cultural and functional ways, and so the foundations of corporate culture were set at incorporation and facilitated by corporate finances. This chapter begins by examining the corporate histories of Canterbury and Maidstone; it then compares aspects of the civic records kept by each corporation and finishes by considering the financial position of each corporate community.

1.1. Incorporation and Corporate Memory

Pre-incorporation

Charters, often the basis of local governance even before incorporation, form the backbone of civic archives. Pre-incorporation charters enabled local governance but did not constitute a corporate body in law. They provided a common purpose but not a separate identity as a legal corporation. The piecemeal extension of rights and privileges are part of the reason for extensive charter collections and Canterbury received at least twenty-nine charters and Letters Patent prior to incorporation.[6] As material objects, they were, perhaps, the most prized corporate possession and could be surrounded by internal ritualistic practices, as were corporate seals, a point returned to in Chapter Five. They also stood as a form of corporate genealogical pedigree. Parish communities relied heavily on custom and popular oral traditions, but civic governors could track the ancestry of their authority through a formalised, written and traceable past.[7] A succession of charters confirmed and shaped local practice and customary corporate responsibilities became 'validated by habit and charter'.[8] In Ludlow, where the civic elite controversially obtained a new charter confirming their right to rule without consent of the commons, both sides resorted to pre-chartered history to support their arguments since unwritten custom was harder to prove or deny.[9] Charters represented

[5] Withington, *Politics*, p. 48.
[6] AA/1-62.
[7] Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 106-12. Withington, 'Agency, Custom', p. 205.
[8] Wood, *Memory*, p. 116.
[9] Withington, *Politics*, pp. 69-75.

corporate power *and* corporate history and were material evidence of a corporate memory.

Canterbury's earliest extant charter dates from the twelfth century (Henry II, c.1155-61), and sanctioned previously granted rights and established the enduring two-weekly burghmote meeting pattern.[10] The second (Henry III, 1234), granted the city to the citizens as 'tenants in burgage' for an annual fee farm payment to the Crown of £60.[11] In 1227, Rochester paid £25 reflecting the perceived difference in value to the monarchy, a town's set amount also giving the citizens a sense of urban worth.[12] Maidstone's late sixteenth-century fee farm was set at £3.[13] As citizens gained direct and chartered rights to urban space, albeit ones they paid for, a new relationship was established between urban governors, the city's inhabitants, the built environment, the county and the monarch.

Of Canterbury's remaining pre-incorporation charters, ten confirm existing privileges and nineteen extend them. They include permission in 1403 to purchase property for rental to finance city wall repairs.[14] The stone walls, an important signifier of ancient status, were a financial burden for city governors and typical of the two-sided nature of civic authority whereby privilege of ownership brought responsibility for maintenance. The licence to purchase property ahead of incorporation established an early property rental portfolio and a valuable source of income for Canterbury's citizens. A key purchase was the Red Lion Inn, centrally situated in the High Street adjacent to the town hall; often let to corporation members, it remained a significant and prestigious rental in the longer term.[15] By 1600, subsequent land and property purchases generated a lucrative rental portfolio comprising over 180 rentals with a range of rates and property types. In this way, the ruling citizens increasingly translated their authority into physical form across the city, an important element of authoritative expression.

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[10] AA/1.

[11] AA/2.

[12] Philip H. Bartlett, *The City of Rochester Charters* ([Rochester], 1961), p. 6. Frederick Francis Smith, *A History of Rochester* (Rochester, 1976), p. 44.

[13] Maidstone Council, *Records of Maidstone: Being Selections from Documents in the Possession of the Corporation* (Maidstone, 1926), p. 10.

[14] AA/20.

[15] AA/20 (Henry IV) allowed the city to purchase property worth up to £20 per annum. AA/24 (Henry IV, 1409) details the purchase of the inn (then called the 'Lion at Hoop') and four and a half acres of land in the city.

Maidstone's pre-incorporation development differed from that of Canterbury. A Domesday manor, it sat under the authority of the Archbishops of Canterbury until 1537, their influence and lordship establishing a palace, a monastic college and importantly for the town's subsequent development, a bridge across the river Medway.[16] The archbishops were largely absentee landlords, and on a practical level the town was administered by a portreeve and twelve 'Brethren', the 'leading men of the town', with the support of twenty-four other inhabitants or 'Comeners'.[17] The manor was transferred from Archbishop Cranmer to King Henry VIII as part of the Reformation's redistribution of ecclesiastical holdings.[18] Maidstone elite's pre-incorporation experience of local governance was therefore one of less autonomous authority and sense of 'ownership' of the urban environment than at Canterbury thus establishing an early difference in the local history of urban governance.

Incorporation

Incorporation was marked by the grant of a charter which was often 'the culmination of customs, grants, precedents, and orders that urban inhabitants had accumulated or claimed to have accumulated, over preceding centuries'.[19] As an 'expression of administrative overruling', an incorporation charter provided legal strength to autonomous civic authority and enshrined five politically advantageous elements, consistent features of every town's incorporation charter from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.[20] These are well-documented: 'perpetual succession as a body corporate, license to hold lands in mortmain, the use of a corporate seal, the right to issue by-laws, and the power to plead (and be impleaded against) in the law courts of the realm'.[21] As life was breathed into the corporate body, direct control of inhabitants and the built urban environment was confirmed by these features. Official assignment of a corporate name gave members their first opportunity jointly to identify with a formal corporate identity. The new abstract construct of a corporate body was also manifested in two material forms: the charter itself and the corporate seal, both of which retained significant roles in internal corporate rituals in the seventeenth century. Incorporation

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[16] Russell, pp. 20-30.
[17] Clark and Murfin, p. 32. Russell, pp. 183-4.
[18] Clark and Murfin, p. 32.
[19] Withington, 'Agency, Custom', p. 205.
[20] Martin Weinbaum, *The Incorporation of Boroughs* (Manchester, 1937), pp. 2, 6.
[21] Weinbaum, *Incorporation*, p. 63. Robert Tittler, 'The Incorporation of Boroughs, 1540-1558', *History*, 62 (1977), 24-42 (p. 25).

went beyond a simple political or administrative action: it created new mental understandings of the form and extent of urban authority and instituted a corporate material culture.

Canterbury's incorporation by Henry VI in 1448 settled power and responsibility on an annually elected mayor in place of two bailiffs and promoted the city to a select group of fourteen incorporated English and Welsh towns including Bristol, York, Norwich and Kent's other cathedral town, Rochester.[22] Incorporation charters were theoretically renewable on the accession of each new monarch and, in this respect, Canterbury has been deemed pro-active; each subsequent petition provided an opportunity to address local issues and extend rights.[23] Incorporation raised the city's profile locally and nationally, and Kent's two cathedral towns consolidated their self-administrative standing in parallel with England's most important provincial and regional centres.

The years following Canterbury's incorporation saw a grant of county status and a corporate reorganisation. In 1461, Edward IV established Canterbury as a county as well as a city, removing its governors from county-level administrative and judicial oversight, thus reinforcing autonomous rule and strengthening further direct administrative and political links with the monarchy and parliament.[24] County status set the city apart from other small provincial centres of the urban hierarchy, and within Kent, consolidated its position as the foremost county town. The city governors now sat alongside the wider jurisdiction of Kent and those who administered it, concurrently raising and re-centring the seat of civic authority on themselves. Henry VII's 'nova ordinatio', granted in 1498, re-established the council as twelve aldermen and twenty-four common councilmen from the previous six and thirty-six.[25] The resetting of the corporate balance of power broadened the aldermanic power base and similar changes are seen in other towns. Newcastle's original cohort of six aldermen became ten under Philip and Mary, and Reading underwent two alterations from their original six aldermen to nine capital burgesses in 1560 and twelve in 1638.[26] Such changes were

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[22] AA/32. Weinbaum, *Incorporation*, p. 132.

[23] R. Horrox, 'Urban Patronage and Patrons in the Fifteenth Century', in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. by R. A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 145-80 (p. 146).

[24] AA/34.

[25] AA/44. This was, in part, a response to internal divisions, see Palmer, pp. 89-94.

[26] Howell, *Newcastle*, pp. 37-8. Weinbaum, *Borough Charters*, pp. 5-6.

part of the widespread process of refining the practicalities of urban administration through practice, but also, when coupled with increasingly restricted election practices, an important factor in the development and maintenance of forms of oligarchic power.

Maidstone's incorporation came much later than Canterbury's. The sixteenth century witnessed a 'dramatic post-1540 explosion' in towns seeking incorporation charters, driven in part, by large-scale Reformation changes in land ownership.[27] Maidstone's incorporation was part of the 'long and wide arc' of relatively high levels of incorporations observed across southern England.[28] Importantly, the removal of manorial control had opened the way to formal incorporation by Edward VI in 1549, following a twelve year interlude of royal oversight.[29] Nominally established as a mayor, twelve jurats and a commonalty, the desire for incorporation did not derive entirely from the sudden lack of seigneurial administration but from an administration without clear power: Maidstone's governors were 'found insufficient in Law to maintain such rule and government'.[30]

The case that post-Reformation English townsmen actively sought incorporation as part of a 'means of keeping pace' with neighbouring towns has been argued by Robert Tittler, identifying what he terms, 'a remarkable incidence of imitative political behaviour' between a series of local towns.[31] In Kent, he suggests Maidstone was competitively prompted by nearby Faversham's incorporation (1546).[32] It is true that the dates are close, but we should rightly heed Tittler's own caution against assigning competitive threat as the sole reason for the mid-sixteenth-century 'rash of incorporations': there could be many reasons for seeking incorporation.[33] As townsmen established themselves as rulers by law, they sometimes had to stand against powerful local forces, as with the Elizabethan governors of Chesterfield, an urban elite described as 'gradually asserting itself'; having been subdued by the earl of Shrewsbury, they rapidly moved for incorporation after his death.[34] Maidstone's loss of archiepiscopal oversight, however, and a local desire to take advantage of the dissolution of the guild

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[27] Tittler, *Reformation*, p. 89.
[28] Withington, *Politics*, p. 21.
[29] Clark and Murfin, p. 38.
[30] Russell, p. 184. Maidstone Council, *Records*, p. 8.
[31] Tittler, *Reformation*, pp. 176-7.
[32] Ibid., p. 177.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Wood, *Memory*, pp. 114-6.

of Corpus Christi, likely led the townsmen there to seek a new form of urban control. Furthermore, an opportunity to purchase the 'Brotherhed Hall', and ex-guild premises for a new grammar school, were underpinned by a Protestant agenda, possibly spearheaded by Maidstone's first mayor, Thomas Cole.[35] Ludlow similarly absorbed a local guild grammar school at incorporation.[36] Closely-related wording regarding the state of existing authority is to be found in both Maidstone and Faversham incorporation charters but the former may have used the latter as a guide rather than seen it as a rival.[37] Rather than only being the result of economic competition, Maidstone's reasons for incorporation in 1549 are likely to have been a complex mix of necessity, opportunism and religious activity, culminating in a vital aspect of any incorporation: legitimizing 'as clearly as possible the control, by citizens, of property, territory, and institutional resources'.[38]

In contrast to Canterbury, Maidstone's first half-century of autonomous rule was an uncertain one. In 1553, without a royal grant of parliamentary franchise, the town unsuccessfully tried to return MPs to parliament, perhaps misunderstanding the rights incorporation brought them.[39] The following year, their charter was forfeit for openly supporting the Protestant religion and Wyatt's rebellion; it was replaced by a charter of reincorporation from Elizabeth I in 1559.[40] By 1600, barely three generations of Maidstone's townsmen had taken part in, or experienced, true self-governance whilst successive generations of Canterbury's elite inhabitants had 152 years' experience of formal self-rule and were able to reflect on an extended corporate history and tradition underpinning their position. Evans describes a similar situation for seventeenth-century Norwich: 'A system which had been functioning for so long and with so little change must have assumed a sense of permanence'.[41] At the turn of the seventeenth century,

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[35] Maidstone Council, *Records*, pp. 8-9. Clark and Murfin, pp. 56, 38. N. M. Fuidge, 'Maidstone, 1509-1558', *HoP*. The town's petition was also supported by the Duke of Somerset who held assets of the dissolved guild.

[36] Withington, *Politics*, p. 28.

[37] Faversham's charter includes the phrase 'not to be sufficiently strong and valid in the law'; Peter Tann, *The Royal Charters of Faversham: including the Magna Carta* (Faversham, 2013), p. 154.

[38] Withington, *Politics*, p. 10.

[39] The two MPs, William Wotton and John Salveyn, took their seats in the parliament of early 1553 but within weeks were sent from the House and the town's charter checked to confirm their lack of right; Fuidge, 'Maidstone, 1509-1558'.

[40] Russell, pp. 185-6.

[41] Evans, *Norwich*, p. 26.

Canterbury's corporate maturity contrasts with an apparent corporate naivety in Maidstone.

The two towns' charter collections provided precedents for seeking and extending urban privileges into the seventeenth century. In 1600, Maidstone's three post-incorporation charters against Canterbury's twenty-two show clearly the extent to which corporate histories varied in their duration and narrative and endowed each corporate body with a unique record of corporate memory. Corporate memory, here, is taken as distinctly separate to the more often discussed civic memory as expressed in town chronicles and expressed through public civic ceremony; rather, this was an internal affair relating to a communal corporate identity.[42] The Reformation may have led to a 'profound cultural deracination' of wider urban political and civic culture but corporate memory, as represented by charters, remained intact. Authority came by grant of the Crown but a physically held charter provided a present, material authority of more immediacy than a distant monarch.

Corporate Development 1600-1660: Canterbury

Charters granted by early Stuart monarchs continued to reflect local development and the individuality of corporations.[43] Canterbury's most significant charter of this period is that granted by James I in 1608 which set out the authority and privileges governing Canterbury corporation for much of the seventeenth century.[44] It represented another step forward in the corporation's consolidation of power but was, in part, driven by

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[42] For more on the role of urban chronicles in civic memory see: Peter Clark, 'Visions of the Urban Community: Antiquarians and the English City before 1800', in *The Pursuit of Urban History*, ed. by Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (London, 1983), pp. 105-24, and Alexandra Walsham's, 'Chronicles, Memory and Autobiography in Reformation England' which revisits and promotes the importance of early modern chronicles, *Memory Studies*, 11 (2018), 31-60.

[43] See J. H. Sacret, 'The Restoration Government and Municipal Corporations', *EHR*, 45 (1930), 232-59, which, though dated, has a useful outline of pre- and post-Restoration political influences on charter renewals.

[44] AA/55-59. Martin Weinbaum points to a Patent Roll entry, TNA C66/2571, which suggests a further reconfirmation charter may have been granted by Charles I in 1632. Weinbaum, *Borough Charters*, p. 58 lists it as a reincorporation charter dated 6 February 1632. Whilst this would fit with Canterbury's regular practice of obtaining at least a confirmation charter with each successive monarch no charter of this date exists in the city collection and the details do not appear to match the known characteristics of Canterbury's corporation so there is, perhaps, an error in its attribution to Canterbury. There is no obvious recorded corporate activity relating to a charter petition. A Citizen [C. R. Bunce], *Translation,* includes a full English translation of the James I and other significant city charters, pp. 153-191. Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 12 vols, 2nd edn (Canterbury, 1797-1801), XI, pp. 19-24 provides a summary.

local forces and provides an example of how local events and practices shaped unique corporate memories.

The charter renewal process probably began early in James I's reign when the city paid freeman, lawyer, and later recorder, Matthew Hadde 'for his advise and counsel upon our Charter'.[45] Born near Sittingbourne in Kent, Hadde was an experienced lawyer and represented the city in King James's first parliament alongside the city's first official recorder, Sir John Boys.[46] His choice as the first port of call to begin 'frequently both complicated and protracted' preparations concerning the charter was an obvious one for the city elite, and the city's accounts reveal a series of meetings over the next few years.[47] By the end of May 1608, the nine-stage governmental process of charter renewal, precipitated by petition, was well under way, and a letter from Sir Thomas Lake, close associate and shortly to be Latin Secretary of James I and under the patronage of the earl of Salisbury, to the Attorney General, Henry Hobart, shows that the full charter text was about to be drafted.[48] Archbishop Bancroft had been consulted and confirmed no conflict with his interests in the city, but suddenly, at this late stage, and reflecting the extreme difficulty they found themselves in, Canterbury corporation submitted a revised petition with two new clauses.

The second petition, to be found in the papers of Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, contains eleven points, including: obvious requests for reincorporation and confirmation of previous rights; greater powers of tax collection; further land purchase rights; a second, lesser seal to be held by the town clerk; and for a ceremonial sword to be carried before the mayor 'for the more countenance and credit' of the king within the city.[49] The petition therefore sought to increase corporate authority in practical, spatial, material and symbolic ways. Two newly-inserted requests concerned the right of the aldermen to sit as JPs based on oaths taken at the time of swearing in, and exemptions

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[45] FA21, fol. 120^{v}.

[46] Andrew Thrush, 'Hadde, Matthew of St Alphege, Canterbury', in *HoP*. He also provided legal support to the nearby towns of Hythe, Lydd, Sandwich, Faversham and Dover.

[47] See clearly relevant entries: FA21, fols 121^{v}, 197^{v}, 198^{v}, 240^{v}, 241^{r}. Shelagh Bond and Norman Evans, 'The Process of Granting Charters to English Boroughs, 1547-1649', *EHR*, 91 (1976), 102-20 (p. 103).

[48] *The Egerton Papers*, ed. by J. P. Collier, Camden Society, old series, 12 (London, 1840), p. 427. Cecil had just been appointed Lord Treasurer (4 May 1608), taking on a large workload, following the death of Thomas Sackville in April. Roger Lockyer, 'Lake, Sir Thomas', *ODNB*.

[49] Collier, pp. 424-7. Additionally, there are requests to ensure that 'no forreyner shall keepe anie shoppe or trade' except at fairs and markets and to allow the appointment of a 'verie sufficient man' to be alderman even though he had been born in Antwerp: the first is allowed, the second is not.

from appearing in London courts, both directly related to a case brought in Star Chamber against the city magistrates by a local lawyer, John Denne.[50] The corporation's frustration at delays in the charter renewal process caused by John Denne is embodied by an entry in the chamberlains' accounts where it is recorded that 'they were the second tyme crossed in the renewyng of their Charters'.[51]

The case, heard in June 1608, less than three months prior to the sealing of the city's charter (8 September), had its roots in a controversial murder trial in Canterbury involving Denne's servant Thomas Huck. The details of the case are not relevant here, only that Denne claimed at Huck's trial the corporation was 'sensitive of its privileges [and] had prevented local men from serving on a Westminster jury'.[52] The dispute embroiled the corporation in attendance on the earl of Salisbury, the 'Late Lord Chief Justice of Ingland', late night discussions with lawyers Hadde and John Finch, delivery of affidavits, depositions, the 'examynacons taken uppon viewe of the body of Jacob murdered by Huckes' and numerous trips to London 'about Hucke his busynes'.[53] Peter Clark states that John Denne, whom he describes as a 'civic antagonist', had 'strong Puritan affiliations' apparently based on his use of language of an 'anti-government' nature, though religious differences were not necessarily the only factor in his complaints.[54] John's brother Thomas, variously described at different times as a 'puritan', 'republican' and a 'committed city administrator' was Canterbury MP in 1624, and despite the corporation's issues with his brother, city recorder from 1643-55.[55]

Denne directed his case against the mayor, Thomas Paramore, who had been involved in Huck's trial, and his fellow aldermen whom he also charged with committing 'many great extortions [and] oppressions' against the inhabitants of the city including extorting money from the city's stranger population by charging twelve pence 'for every loom they occupy', irregularities regarding recognizances, and falsely giving

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[50] Andrew Thrush, 'Canterbury, 1604-29', *HoP*. Clark, *Provincial Society,* pp. 277, 312.

[51] FA21, fol. 240^{v}.

[52] Thrush, 'Canterbury, 1604-29', *HoP.* Huck had murdered the betrothed of Denne's maid after she 'spoke certain slanderous words of him [Huck]', *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, ed. by M. S. Guiseppi (London, 1940), 18/300/565.

[53] FA21, fols 197^{v}, 198^{v}. 241^{r}.

[54] Clark, *Provincial Society*, pp. 292, 312.

[55] Andrew Thrush, 'Denne, Thomas (1577-1656)', *HoP*; Peter Clark, 'Thomas Scott and the Growth of Urban Opposition to the Early Stuart Regime', *Hist. J.*, 21 (1978), 1-26 (p. 12); Everitt, *Community*, p. 226, n. 2; Eales, 'Clergy and Allegiance', p. 93.

licence to a city butcher (two in the mayoralty of Thomas Paramore) to kill and sell flesh in Lent.[56] Having gone to the trouble of a court case, Denne took the opportunity to compile a lengthy list of aggrievances and challenge what he saw as widespread corporate failings. Paramore, beginning his mayoralty in September 1607, was in place to progress the city's new charter, but also in the most obvious and vulnerable spot to become the focus of Denne's ire.

Denne's legal challenge forced the city to resubmit their charter petition with 'an addicon of diverse newe liberties both of weight & value', even though their original petition had already been granted by the king.[57] The alteration was accepted, and the final text of the charter explicitly confirms the right of the mayor, and aldermen having served as mayor, to serve as Justices, exempting them from appearing in the King's Bench or any other court outside the city except on charges of treason. Thomas Paramore was able to step aside as mayor three weeks after the charter was granted with the matter resolved. The corporation's authority to act as it had regarding Denne's claims was vindicated by royal approval, the power of the city corporation was strengthened, and by dint of a winning hand in what was no doubt a publicly discussed case, it had exhibited to the city's inhabitants the power which stood behind it. Thus, the charter was shaped by very specific circumstances, and the internal understanding of how two clauses came about contributed to a unique corporate history. Episodes such as this were repeated across England's towns, and though exact circumstances and details vary, they demonstrate how local events were significant drivers for individual corporate development.

Before turning to consider Maidstone's charters, a point should be made about Thomas Egerton's involvement in procuring Canterbury's 1608 charter. Across England, civic corporations had a need to 'cultivate the favour of the powerful' in some form of patronage relationship when attempting to boost their standing and towns sought support from both local elite and players on the national stage. From the end of the sixteenth century, high stewardships became increasingly linked with civic activities and Egerton has been identified by Catherine Patterson as acting in the capacity of high

[56] TNA STAC/8/115/14. Bartholomew Brome is the only alderman not named in the case papers but since no date of death has been established for him it is likely that he died before the case came to court. See J. E. M., 'Brome (Brown, Browne), Bartholomew, of Canterbury, Kent', *HoP*.
[57] FA21, fol. 240^{v}.

steward for Canterbury.[58] High stewards were usually men of Court who helped provincial corporations, each expected to be 'a friend of the borough at court and in the country: to advocate its interests at Westminster and in the shire, and to exercise his 'good lordship' wherever he could'.[59] Clearly, the powerful connections of well-placed men put them in a strong position to assist in the granting of new charters and they were often pursued by urban governors for high stewardships.

Egerton, Lord Chancellor in 1608, was frequently courted in this respect and stood as high steward for at least five other towns including Oxford and Cambridge.[60] The city's missing minute book thwarts attempts to gauge the extent to which Egerton may have supported Canterbury's charter endeavours but it is noteworthy that there are no references to direct financial payments or gift purchases for him in the city's accounts, a practice 'invariably' used to signify such a 'mutually beneficial relationship'.[61] Canterbury corporation did court patrons with gifts but, as Chapter Six demonstrates, these were often restricted to urban visitors or men in local county networks. There does not appear to have been the formal courting conducted by Barnstaple corporation who sent their high steward, Thomas Sackville, the earl of Dorset, a patent of office and a gift of plate, or Winchester's Elizabethan corporation who provided an annuity of £6 13s. 4d. to their steward Sir Francis Walsingham.[62] Canterbury already had the support of eminent lawyers such as Sir Henry Finch and their recorder, Sir John Boys, as well as the opportunity to call on the Archbishop of Canterbury, so it may be that their support from Egerton was more limited than elsewhere. If gifts were given, they must have been privately funded by the mayor and aldermen. Nevertheless, the existence of the city's second petition in Egerton's personal papers, along with other documents relevant to the process, does indicate, at least in the second attempt, a deeper involvement in the charter process. The 'mediacon of diverse

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[58] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, pp. 7, 10, 32, 245.

[59] Tittler, *Reformation*, p. 230.

[60] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 32. J. H. Baker, 'Egerton, Thomas, first Viscount Brackley', *ODNB*.

[61] See 'Foreign Expenses' in FA21 for the years 1603-4 to 1607-8 and especially fols 246-60 which are a separate set of accounts relating to expenses for the charter. It should be noted that Egerton was a participant in activities surrounding a court case between lawyer Henry Finch and his brother Sir Moyle Finch which drew in the city corporation in 1602. It also involved Archbishop Whitgift and lawyers John Denne, Matthew Hadde, and Bartholomew Man. Future mayor Thomas Fetherstone – not yet a corporation member but a freeman from 1597 – stood in place of Henry Finch. For case records and further detail See Knafla, II, pp. xxiv, 60-70.

[62] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, pp. 14-5, 37. Tom Atkinson, *Elizabethan Winchester* (London, 1963), p. 92; he also notes that Plymouth paid their steward ten pounds, Nottingham four pounds and Salisbury £6 13s. 4d. as at Winchester, p. 94.

lordes of his pryvy Counsell' required to gain the king's approval for Canterbury corporation's charter petition may well have involved Egerton, as well as Archbishop Bancroft.[63] Canterbury may not have forged the deep links seen at Barnstaple, but they still needed well-connected patrons, like Egerton, to support their cause.

Corporate Development 1600-1660: Maidstone

To return to Maidstone's development, the town received two early Stuart charters before 1660, both granted by James I (1604, 1619).[64] Both charters clarified local practice and strengthened the corporation's legal position. The first charter was deemed necessary because of unclear text in the previous charters of Edward VI (1549) and Elizabeth I (1559), a problem common to many borough corporations. Questions over 'the validity and efficacy in law of the incorporation [and] concerning the true name of the same' led to confirmation of the town as free, and a new corporate name: 'the mayor, jurats and commonalty of the King's Town and Parish of Maidstone'.[65] This reflected the town's direct link to the monarchy, and the now chartered, though already practically established, right of the town's governors to control All Saints Church, the 'parish church of Maidstone', a fact which led to disagreements in the 1630s with the minister, Robert Barrell.[66] This was not a unique problem. Stratford-upon-Avon was a similarly complicated jurisdictional landscape, being 'at one and the same time a borough, a manor and a parish'.[67]

As Halliday has suggested for corporations, 'The name was crucial since it conferred personality'.[68] For Salisbury corporation, their incorporated name formed part of a dispute concerning their authority against that of the bishop; after recourse to King Charles I, the phrase 'Bishop and his successors, the Dean and Chapter and their successors' was set ahead of 'the mayor and commonalty and their successors', confirming the greater authority of the bishop in the town.[69] The renaming of

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[63] FA21, fol. 240^{v}.

[64] Russell, p. 197. KHLC Md/IC3-5. The subsequent charter was that of Charles II (1682), issued as part of his move against English towns to secure greater local control after the enforced surrender of the 1619 charter.

[65] The previous name had been the simpler form: The Mayor, Jurats and Commonalty of the town of Maidstone, see Maidstone Council, *Records*, p. 8.

[66] Russell, p. 191.

[67] Ann Hughes, 'Religion and Society in Stratford upon Avon, 1619-1638', *Midland History*, 19 (1994), 58-84 (p. 60).

[68] Halliday, p. 34.

[69] Patterson, 'Whose City?', p. 503.

Maidstone's corporation also, perhaps, underlines the point above regarding its relative immaturity and position as a corporation unsure of its own name, seeking further royal approval definitively to establish this aspect of corporate identity.

Importantly, the 1604 charter stated that jurats had to be freemen, with the expectation of corporate service reinforced by the not uncommon imposition of a fine for abdication of this responsibility.[70] Almost immediately, a common council, to be chosen by the mayor, and six each of jurats and freemen, was also carved out of the 'commonalty', which, with other measures, Clark and Murfin identify as a 'concerted effort to consolidate the authority of the urban elite'.[71] It also evidences the unrefined nature of Maidstone's corporate structure and functioning at this point, and when set alongside evidence from Canterbury, the different pace of administrative development across English towns.

Maidstone's second charter, granted sixteen years later on 12 July 1619, cost the town over £160; it reaffirmed and refined the earlier charters whilst extending authoritative powers. In an escalation of their local standing, the office of recorder, though already in place, was given legal sanction, and two jurats became entitled to function as JPs; the mayor, who had been granted this right by Elizabeth I, was bestowed the role of coroner. Further powers to raise local taxes and trading tolls supported the corporation's increasing autonomous power over local people.[72] This charter also permitted the 'liberty of keeping swans' on a section of the Medway river and the use of a unique swan mark, extending the visible material and symbolic expression of civic authority over the river and local wildlife. Such expressions were powerful visual presentations of local corporate power, connections with the monarchy, and important markers of corporate identity.

This narrative of the chartered development of Canterbury and Maidstone corporations emphasizes the individuality of circumstances which furthered each town's development within a common framework. Pre-incorporation situations differed, as did the circumstances of incorporation. Maidstone, achieving incorporation one hundred and one years later than Canterbury, rapidly began to acquire similar benefits to that town and others which had taken decades, if not centuries, to accrue privileges. Both

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[70] Maidstone Council, *Records*, p. 10.
[71] Clark and Murfin, p. 58.
[72] Maidstone Council, *Records*, pp. 10-11. Clark and Murfin, pp. 58-9. Russell, p. 189.

towns' seventeenth-century charters reinforced and extended a variety of legal, material and spatial rights and privileges, perhaps the most obvious expression of this being the right of Canterbury's mayors to have a civic sword borne before them. This raised the city's profile as one of only thirteen English towns with this honour, and importantly, though framed in the charter as a promotional royal object, it also enhanced the mayor's personal status. Both towns had recorders and members of their senior bench entitled to serve as JPs, delivering the means to administer justice and stand apart in different degrees from county administration. Canterbury's success in becoming a county of itself supplied greater standing in Kent, and aside from the city's still relatively small size and provincial nature, within the first few years of James I's reign, and with a push from John Denne, the city corporation had succeeded in setting themselves amongst the top tier of England's autonomous towns. However, Maidstone's elaboration of rights to include swan-marking shows the corporation there was readily pressing for ever broader boundaries of authority whilst confirming their royal affiliation and cultivating their own corporate identity and culture.

Eventually, post-Restoration legislation began to impose conformity on corporations, beginning with the Corporation Act of 1661 which restricted service to members of the Church of England. Over time, charters became increasingly formulaic.[73] At this point, as Weinbaum observed, 'borough charters … reached the true end of their historical career', as the freedom to petition the monarch for individual rights according to local need became subject to blanket statutes impressed from above, providing an altered impetus to post-1660 corporate cultural developments.[74] But in the period to 1660, the local milieu still played a major role in corporate development, and in the resulting sense of corporate identity, memory and culture.

Two other essential features of corporate institutional frameworks are civic record-keeping and financial standing, aspects considered in the following section.

1.2 Corporate Records and Finances

Corporate Records

This section provides a consideration of the materiality of Canterbury and Maidstone's town records which reflect the individuality of corporate communities. It has been noted

[73] Halliday, p. 39.
[74] Weinbaum, *Borough Charters*, p. xii.

how the initial appearance of borough records in medieval towns was 'an important stage in a community's progress towards corporateness', and represented the 'mind and memory of a community that was feeling its way toward corporate personality'.[75] The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a general rise in record-keeping often connected with incorporation.[76] Newly incorporated Boston (1546) 'From the very beginning […] employed a clerk for the keeping of records, and the minutes of the Assembly began to be recorded on a regular basis'.[77] Studying corporate towns is facilitated by their generally well-kept civic records as opposed to smaller, non-incorporated towns which often have surviving evidence of only a 'flimsy and difficult nature'.[78] The backbone of many council archives is formed from corporation charters, minute books, and accounts.

Corporation minutes are the record of decisions made at core council meetings. The motivation for producing them was one of self-need and they were intended as private documents, though this privacy might extend to use by a town's recorder or other legal counsel.[79] The contemporary audience for civic records was, subsequently, a very narrow one. Given their lack of exposure to public scrutiny, the main driver for their construction was to record decisions made at meetings and provide a level of accuracy allowing future reference to agreed orders.

Like minutes, chamberlains' accounts were also generated and kept within the confines of the corporate organisation. The practical nature of minute taking was one more akin to legal practice. Accounting on the other hand was a more widespread practice. Lemire indicates that corporate accounting was ostensibly a male practice, requiring similar numerical ability to that underpinning seventeenth-century trade developments.[80] This contrasts with individual household accounts of non-elites where accounting was located within 'predominantly female and customary practices', where

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[75] G. H. Martin, 'The English Borough in the Thirteenth Century', in *The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1200-1540,* ed. by Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser (London, 1990), pp. 29-48 (pp. 34, 48).
[76] Tittler, *Reformation*, p. 215.
[77] Tittler, *Architecture*, p. 121.
[78] Peter Clark, 'Small Towns in England 1550-1850: National and Regional Population Trends', in *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Peter Clark (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 90-120 (p. 91).
[79] For more on this subject see Paul Griffiths, 'Secrecy and Authority in Late Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century London', *Hist. J.*, 40 (1997), 925-951.
[80] Beverly Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life: Gender, Practice and Social Politics in England, c. 1600-1900* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 187-92.

it has been identified by Beverly Lemire that the development of widespread numeracy was a far slower process.[81] Produced on an annual basis, account entries for each year in Canterbury's and, to a lesser extent Maidstone's accounts, often appear broadly chronological, despite, presumably, relying on the maintenance of records of receipts and expenses for over a year before collation. For both towns, accounts include separate sections detailing the income and expenses of the town corporation.

Materially, minute and account books bear some reflection on the organisations they arise from. Both show how precedent played a large part in continuity of form, whilst the structuring of textual entries reveals variations in how the two corporate organisations in Canterbury and Maidstone practically worked. From the mid-sixteenth century, Canterbury corporation invested periodically in a single, large paper book to contain their neatly written orders. The three books CCA-CC/A/C/3-5, covering twenty-four, twenty-eight, and fourteen years, respectively, are easily confirmed as having been purchased as single books by the presence of consistent watermarks throughout. The earlier book, AC3, was gifted by an incumbent sheriff, Robert Browne, in 1542, and being an appropriate form in which to record meetings, more books followed.[82] That purchased in 1658 (AC5) includes a decorative introduction to the mayoralty of Thomas Ockman and cost the corporation £1 1s., but there is no record of payment for the missing book (1603-30) or the subsequent one (AC4) so these were probably also gifts.[83] In Exeter, a new minute book was purchased for the corporation there in 1617 on the orders of new mayor, Ignatius Jurdain, a 'huge weighty volume' which Mark Stoyle suggests 'stands as an impressive monument to the determination with which Jurdain attempted to achieve his "Godly Reformation".[84]

Canterbury's minute books are generally well-organised, structured and regular, with few changes of hand. Gradual, or later, introduction of marginal text reflects an increased need to find information. By 1600, entries are given in English with the exception of meeting preambles and elements of the record of mayoral election. Minutes are entered continuously, usually with no separation for the change of year or change of mayor. This is indicative of the constant two-weekly nature of meetings.

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[81] Lemire, pp. 192-5.
[82] Palmer, p. 127.
[83] FA26, fol. 434^{v}.
[84] Stoyle, *From Deliverance*, p. 22.

Maidstone's minutes are similarly contained in books. Each new meeting, however, begins at the top of a new page, imitating the lesser continuity between meetings as will be explored in Chapter Four. Maidstone's earliest minutes, entered following their sixteenth-century incorporation, preface court business with the phrase 'Constitutions made at Borowmowth Court', but by the seventeenth century this has been dropped, presumably no longer seeming necessary to record it.[85] This is typical of the habitualisation of behaviour theorised by Jenkins, whereby it is institutionalised to the point at which it becomes a 'taken-for-granted feature of the human world'.[86]

In contrast to minute books which cover a range of years, both Canterbury and Maidstone purchased new account books each year from corporate funds, a practice reflecting the annual nature of accounting and the perceived importance to corporate function. Despite the appearance of published works on bookkeeping in the mid-sixteenth century which promoted the double-entry method developed in medieval Italy, the major sections of Canterbury and Maidstone's accounts remained simple list entries of receipts and disbursements.[87] They work on a widespread 'charge-discharge' basis which practically relates income and expense to the responsibility of the chamberlain.[88] Accounts, though produced and held by the chamberlain, were one of the few documents to which a number of corporation members put their name, signing as auditors and the importance of the annual auditing as a feature of organisational culture is examined in Chapter Six.

Not only were the earliest of Canterbury's chamberlains' accounts 'kept […] in a form the general plan of which seems to have been handed down from times earlier', the *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report* notes they were produced 'upon a plan so nearly uniform that one example may stand for all'.[89] There is a low level of structural variation, probably attributable to individual chamberlains, but the extreme nature of structural continuity is exemplified by the inclusion of a section throughout the period 1600-1660 for 'Receipts of fyynes for Bulles' which netted twelve pence in 1600-01

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[85] See for example, Maidstone Council, *Records*, pp. 20-1.
[86] Jenkins, p. 161.
[87] Michael Chatfield, *A History of Accounting Thought*, 2nd edn (New York, 1977), pp. 32, 56.
[88] Rowan H. Jones, 'Accounting in English Local Government from the Middle Ages to c.1835', in *Accounting and Business Research*, 59 (1985), pp. 197-209 (p. 210).
[89] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Ninth Report*, 2 vols (London, 1883), I, p. 131, uses 1480-1 as an example.

followed by fifty-nine years of zero income.[90] The general consistency of form provides a useful stability to the source in relation to observing subtle differences and changes in practice.

Maidstone's accounts, though including similar categories of payments and expenses, contain fewer entries, consistent with a smaller level of income and expenditure. They also show more variability in the presentation of the accounts, principally in the 1620s when there is a tendency to separate out expenses by event, especially with respect to holding the assizes.

Maidstone's accounts are also materially different to those of Canterbury. Maidstone's records in this period cover five to fifteen pages of tall, slim account books, the 'paper and writtinge' of which cost twelve pence in 1606.[91] Canterbury's much fuller (and, it must be acknowledged, more spread out) accounts, fill approximately forty large pages.[92] One of the last expense items listed each year was 'for the making Cover and paper for this booke of account and wast booke thereof as formerly allowed' at a total cost of about seven shillings.[93] There is some variation over the civil war period with the booklets reducing in physical size.

Two sets of Maidstone's accounts have a cover formed from the same paper as the internal sheets, whereas other years show a distinction between cover and contents; later accounts have been rebound with modern blue card covers. Three years' covers are notable and provide evidence of a particular approach to records in Maidstone (Figure 4). The covers are relatively rare ephemeral items, ream wrappers, which would have been used to cover paper, books, or perhaps bundles of proclamations arriving from London. The cover for the year 1620-21 carries a red stamped royal coat of arms with an 'R I' inscription in a repeat pattern contained within a box.[94] That for 1623-4 includes a similar colour pattern, though it is found on the inside of the booklet, indicating that the pattern itself was not of interest, rather that the paper was being (re)used as a convenient outer protection.[95] This pattern contains a central 'A' in a small

[90] FA20, fol. 422^{v}. See also Durkin pp. 180-1 for a list of late sixteenth-century accounts sections.
[91] FCa1/1606, fol. 4^{r}.
[92] For the year 1600-1 the written accounts cover fols 399^{r} - 438^{v} and most years are of a similar length, FA21.
[93] FA24, fol. 383^{r}.
[94] FCa1/1621.
[95] FCa1/1624.



Figure 4: Maidstone account book covers, 1620-1 (left), 1623-4 (middle), and 1640-1 (right), (Source: Md/1621, Md/1624, Md/1641, images reproduced by permission of Kent Archives and Local History service).

shield on the breast of a bird with outstretched wings sitting over another shield containing possibly an image of a boat. The third cover from the early 1640s carries a black stamped pattern of a form of royal arms containing the inscription 'C R'.[96] The presence of three such covers within a small set of existing documents suggests a relatively common practice in the town. It also speaks of a desire to protect the account books and be thrifty with the paper wrappers.

The elements of difference described here show the variant approaches to material decisions and textual recording made within Canterbury and Maidstone corporations. Document forms, both in terms of physical size and shape, and in terms of textual layout, are generally consistent over time in each corporation, reflecting institutionalised practices. Canterbury's records are more complex, and more formulaic, than those of Maidstone, though both have common characteristics in terms of setting out meeting minutes with headings and some form of attendance lists, and also separating income and expenditure for accounting purposes. Canterbury's accounts are more descriptive, especially with regard to rental payments, which usually describe the property as well as the tenant whilst Maidstone's accounts are more likely to carry just a name and rental payment amount, though their portfolio was smaller and more manageable on this basis. Although neither Canterbury nor Maidstone's civic records were likely to be widely available to all corporation members they nevertheless represent specific ways of doing things within each organisation.

Corporate Finances

Civic finances were both a burden and an opportunity: they required assiduous management but enabled the business and cultural life of a corporation. Without money, corporations could not maintain and develop the town hall, pay for officers and provide livery, eat and drink together, or even generate corporate documentation. Pollock and Maitland indicate that a separate corporate income was critical to civic development: 'the town's personality only begins to stand out clearly when 'the town' has a revenue which is not going to be divided among the townsfolk'.[97] Income was a limited resource and spending choices were important. In places like Stratford, corporations fought for ownership of all their income, to be able to spend it 'as they wished'.[98] There, a serious

[96] FCa1/1642/2.
[97] F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the time of Edward I* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 656.
[98] Hughes, 'Religion', p. 74.

dispute with the corporation included the claim by the town's 'zealous Puritan' minister, Thomas Wilson, that tithe money was spent on 'their owne vaine affectations', which Ann Hughes pinpoints as spending 'essential to their corporate identity'.[99] Spending on gifts for patrons, celebratory feasts, even insignia, may have appeared frivolous but the use of limited financial resources in this way reveals how important these elements were in maintaining patronage, social networks and communal identity. A corporation's overall financial situation, therefore, had a bearing on the range of activities which might be possible. This section sets out income and expenditure levels for Canterbury and Maidstone corporations to provide context for later chapters, especially Chapter Six, which examines cultural practices in terms of spending choices and the relationship with corporate expressions of identity and authority.

Control of finances was usually entrusted to one or more appointed chamberlains. Tittler notes towns 'usually' had two as in Maidstone, Dover and Rochester, but other towns including Canterbury and Exeter only had one and York had 'six or eight'.[100] Collectively, and individually, England's chamberlains' detailed collation of every item of income or expense in accounting records is a testament to the importance of financial control. Canterbury's more substantial level and range of income and spending required greater accounting skills and management from their single chamberlain, with individual need and local practice impacting material decisions, a point returned to in Chapters Five and Six.

Corporations rarely balanced the books exactly though annual expenditure broadly matched income. At the end of each accounting year a surplus or deficit was commonly handed on to the next incumbent and so books were balanced by 'disguised loans', though the system could occasionally get out of hand: Gloucester developed an almost £700 deficit by 1640.[101] Fraud was another potential issue, as evidenced by Rochester Collector, George Cobham, who was discharged from office in 1631 for withholding collected money, which resulted in a clamp down on recording of market

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[99] Hughes, 'Religion', pp. 73, 78.

[100] Tittler, *Townspeople*, p. 25. G. C. F. Forster, 'York in the 17th Century' in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: The City of York*, ed. by P. M. Tillot (London, 1961), pp. 16-206, (p. 181). The names of Canterbury's chamberlains for 1600-1660 may be traced through the burghmote membership lists in Appendix D.

[101] MacCaffrey, p. 63. Peter Clark, '"The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good": Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester 1540-1640', in *The English Commonwealth 1547-1640,* ed. by Peter Clark, Alan G. R. Smith, and Nicholas Tyacke (Leicester, 1979), pp. 167-88 (p. 185).

income at every civic meeting.[102] Notwithstanding such challenges, in most towns, financial management systems worked well enough, and without central financial support, towns balanced their own books as best they could.

Analysis of town accounts is not without its problems. Annual variation and exceptional spending along with different accounting practices can affect income and expenditure values. Nevertheless, there is a benefit to understanding something of a corporation's financial situation given its direct impact on spending capacity.[103] Canterbury corporation's late sixteenth- and eighteenth-century finances have previously been established, but the seventeenth-century situation has not been considered.[104] Maidstone's finances are similarly understudied, and limited as outlined in the Introduction.[105] Sufficient years are available, nonetheless, to obtain a cautious sense of the town's position and make some comparison with Canterbury.

Income

MacCaffrey neatly likened Exeter's threefold income sources, common to borough towns, to those of the Crown: property rents, town customs, and 'a large but fluctuating income from various "extraordinary' sources'.[106] Ports like Exeter or Dover had active harbour trade, whether domestic or international, to boost income, whilst inland towns like Canterbury and Maidstone were more reliant on tolls from corn, fish, and flesh markets.[107] Added to this might be administration of gift and charity money, like the £200 left by a local wealthy widow for poor relief administered by Newcastle corporation, or the 'magnanimous schemes' of Merchant Taylor, Sir Thomas White, which included money gifted to Canterbury.[108] There was also the requirement for managing short-term loans from corporation members or local gentry, and a chamberlain could be 'the centre of a credit network' as well as personally financially

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[102] Smith, *Rochester*, p. 146.

[103] MacCaffrey's third chapter details a range of common issues impacting corporate income and expenditure and creating annual variability.

[104] Durkin, pp. 182-6; Panton, pp. 26-7. Palmer provides detail of several categories of sixteenth-century income and expenditure affected by Reformation changes, *passim*.

[105] See Appendix B2 for existing years.

[106] MacCaffrey, p. 58.

[107] An analysis of England's early modern seaport system and the value of harbour trade is provided by David Harris Sacks and Michael Lynch, 'Ports 1540-1700', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, *Volume 2: 1540-1840*', ed. by Peter Clark (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 377-424.

[108] Howell, *Newcastle*, p. 316. Tittler, *Townspeople*, p. 105. The latter work dedicates a chapter to the life and works of Sir Thomas White including his extensive benefaction to twenty-four cloth-trade towns including Canterbury, York, Norwich, Reading, Chester, and Newcastle.

responsible for civic debts.[109] Senior officers in Canterbury and Maidstone, as elsewhere, could be required to supplement corporate expenses from their own pocket. The expectation in Bristol was that members would be 'wealthy enough to serve', Sacks suggesting that here members were chosen 'primarily because their personal fortunes could bear the costs of service'.[110] Fines for refusal were set correspondingly high – £200 for Bristol grocer, Luke Hodges – though with sufficient wealth this was not necessarily a problem.[111] Clark's comment that 'The growing cost of office-holding made this step-ladder to power [freeman-assembly-alderman-mayor], always awkward to climb, appear downright dangerous' perhaps exaggerates the likely reality for many members who understood that wealth set opportunity alongside a level of responsibility.[112]

Decade	Average income	Average expenditure
1560-70	£159	£142
1570-80	£190	£184
1580-90	£261	£248
1590-1600	£286	£264
1600-10	£299	£350
1610-20	£301	£250
1620-30	£302	£286
1630-40	£279	£243
1640-50	£279	£281
1650-60	£467	£301
[1701-2	£357	£379]

Table 1: Decadal average income and expenditure (mayoral year basis), Canterbury, 1560-1600 (Source: figures for 1560-1600 derived from Table 7.2 in Durkin, p. 183; figures for 1600-1660 from CC-F/A/20-26; figure for 1701/2, included for comparison, taken from Panton, p. 26.)

Analysis of Canterbury's annual income for the period 1600-1660, as evidenced by summary income values in the city's accounts, and derived decadal averages, when set alongside existing sixteenth-century data, show that it was substantially stable from the latter decades of Elizabeth's reign until the 1650s, indicating no obvious drive, or ability, to grow income (Table 1, annual values are provided in Appendix B1, graphic

[109] Mary Dixon, 'Economy and Society in Dover, 1509-1640' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 2016), p. 54.
[110] Sacks, *Widening Gate,* pp. 163, 167. Clark, *Provincial Society*, pp. 251-5. An assessment of the wealth of businessmen for this period is provided by Richard Grassby, 'The Personal Wealth of the Business Community in Seventeenth-Century England', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 23 (1970), 220-34.
[111] Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 163.
[112] Clark, 'Ramoth-Gilead', p. 177.

representation in Appendix B3a).[113] Increasing annual income figures from 1652-3 onwards generate a higher average of £467 for the 1650s, consistent with a general rise in income over time. Whilst a single value for 1701-2 is £357, the early eighteenth century saw levels which 'fluctuated around £500 a year'.[114] Nearby Dover corporation's regular income for 1599-1628 was around £430-503, on a par with late 1650s Canterbury, whilst the larger town of Exeter's income was already ahead of Canterbury in the mid-sixteenth century (£265, 1540-50), which reached a similar level in the 1580s.[115] By the 1630s, however, Exeter's civic governors were managing to raise an average £1,126 per annum, a dramatic increase, and not one reflected in Canterbury's fortunes where it took until the end of the eighteenth century to achieve a similar level.[116] This is, perhaps, an unfair direct comparison given their different urban contexts but it highlights the potential impact of local demographic differences in combination with individual financial approaches. It also confirms the ongoing small provincial town nature of Canterbury and a relative lack of desire to actively increase the level of financial income.

Decade	Average income (no. of years)	Average expenditure (no. of years)
1600-10	£82 (8)	£90 (8)
1610-20	£95 (4)	£85 (4)
1620-30	£106 (5)	£117 (5)
1630-40	-	-
1640-50	£136 (4)	£112 (4)
1650-60	£177 (3)	£183 (3)

Table 2: Decadal average income and expenditure (mayoral year basis), Maidstone, 1600-1660 (Source: Md/FCa1/1600-1660)

The financial opportunities open to Maidstone's corporation were less than those of Canterbury given their probable relative level of a quarter to a half the income of the larger city during the pre-1660 period (Table 2, annual values are provided in Appendix

[113] FA20-26.

[114] Panton, p. 26.

[115] Dixon, p. 24, see also pp. 25, 26-9 for an overview discussion of Dover's finances. MacCaffrey, p. 58.

[116] MacCaffrey, p. 58; He details income for London (£98,000 in 1633), Leicester (c. £180 post 1589) and Newcastle (c. £5,200 in the 1640s). Canterbury's income finally reached c.£1,000 in 1799-1800, Panton, p. 27.

B2, graphic representation in Appendix B3b). Tentative decadal averages calculated using the few values available suggest there may have been a slow increase in income each decade from an average £82 per annum in the 1600s to £136 in the 1640s, the latter approaching Canterbury's mid-sixteenth-century income.[117] The three available income figures for the 1650s average £177 and though these values are the highest seen across the period, variability and the paucity of data mean this apparent increase should be cautiously acknowledged. There is the speculative possibility, then, that Maidstone doubled its income over the first half of the seventeenth century, consistent with its rise towards a Georgian 'heyday', and perhaps giving the corporation increased choice in spending decisions in the post-civil war period, whilst not forgetting that costs also increased over time.[118]

Expenditure

Expenditure was driven by need, for example, in support of repairs to the fabric of property, paying stipends or supporting legal challenges. Finances for local institutions, such as the orphanage at the Poor Priests Hospital in Canterbury, were not accounted for by the city chamberlains in the main accounts, though were subject to corporate oversight. Exceptional spending – the purchase of a new charter, the development of an urban project such a building a new town hall, or heavy tax demands – created a distinct need and money was often raised outside the everyday corporate financial system through local taxes or loans, though a separate account book might occasionally be placed within the city accounts as for Canterbury's 1608 charter expenses.[119] Chamberlains probably had a fair sense of what to expect in terms of regular expenses, and the knowledge that any extraordinary spending would be provided for by a different mechanism.

The extent to which early modern corporations sought to control expenditure from the city coffers may be seen by the arrangement in Rochester where two chamberlains and a separate treasurer were appointed each year. They were expressly ordered to be 'diligent' and money was not to be released by the treasurer without a 'warrant under the Mayor's hand and two more of his brethren'.[120] Canterbury and Maidstone's chamberlains possibly had more autonomy in their use of corporation money, but

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[117] FCa1/1600-1660.
[118] Clark and Murfin, p. 3.
[119] FA21, fols 246-60 are a separate book of charter accounts inserted between annual accounts.
[120] Smith, *Rochester*, p. 145.

spending was carefully monitored, even to the extent of Canterbury's recording a penny paid for 'removinge the [gun]powder into the backe Chamber'.[121] In Canterbury, regular categories of expenditure included staff wages, liveries, a variety of fees, and the catch-all category of 'foreign expenses'. Maidstone's accounts include similar categories of expenditure though differently arranged. Amongst other things, Canterbury's foreign expenses pot paid for new butchers' blocks and market weights, aided the poor, and the sick in times of plague, and was used for all manner of urban maintenance. This is also where evidence of expenditure on gifts and corporate dining (examined in Chapter Six) is to be found, a competing expense with other necessities of urban rule.

Decadal averages for expenditure in Canterbury, in the range £243-£350 (1600-60), reveal the relatively close relation between income and expenditure until the 1650s, with decadal differences of £2-£51 until 1650 (Table 1, Appendices B1, B3a). The decade 1650-60 demonstrates a £166 average excess of income over expenditure derived from a significant value of arrears payments and rental increases, the former a pertinent reminder of the caution with which absolute data for individual years should be treated. Maidstone's decadal average expenditure, in the range £85-£183, also demonstrates a broad consistency with income (Table 2, Appendices B2, B3b). Exeter quadrupled its expenditure over the period 1540-1640, attributed to a 'steady rise of prices', including corporate wages, and expensive city projects including a new canal, guildhall and gaol.[122] The two Kent towns' accounts were similarly subject to inflationary forces, and the costs of urban development, and some elements of their much more limited increase in expenditure may equally be ascribed here.

Exceptional expenditure could dramatically affect expense accounts, and war and corporate development – in the form of new charters or town halls, for example – increased urban spending. In Canterbury, regular mustering required the payment of men 'to carry bordes and tressells chayers stoles and cushyns to babes hill for the comyssioners sattying ther' when soldiers gathered for training with muster masters, Sir Edward Masters, Captain Nutt and others.[123] In 1642-3, £4 14s. 6d. was spent on the services of drummers Potter, Tailor, Ward and Cox at the necessary musters, extra

[121] FA21, fol. 288^{v}.

[122] MacCaffrey, pp. 54-7.

[123] FA21, fol. 103^{r}. Details of the complexity and problems of organisation and funding of county militia can be found in A. Hassell Smith's 'Militia Rates and Militia Statutes 1558-1663' in *English Commonwealth,* ed. by Clark, Smith and Tyacke, pp. 93-110. Also see Anthony Fletcher's chapter on the role of provincial militia in *Reform in the Provinces*.

gunpowder was also required and weapons needed cleaning.[124] Business opportunities were also a potential drain on finances as towns tried to develop local industries for economic benefit.[125] After a general economic urban decline in the mid-sixteenth century, part of Clark and Slack's 'crisis', in the 1580s, Canterbury corporation sought to advance the city's economic fortunes through extension of trade.[126] This included attempts to control the local cloth trade and an ambitious, but ultimately unsuccessful, river project designed to allow waterborne cargoes direct access to the heart of the city. The latter 'expensive gamble' required additional financial commitment from local gentry and the city elite.

Elsewhere, new towns halls were financed by local credit and the cost of obtaining charters required a substantial outlay.[127] In order to raise money for James I's charter, Canterbury borrowed money from corporation members and supportive wealthy locals but also took the extra step of instituting a charter tax; Maidstone had to find £160 from local sources for their 1619 charter.[128] Canterbury's quoted charter cost of £369 7s. 8d. is equivalent to well over a year's income and covered legal and process fees, numerous visits to London with spending on horse and boat hire, accommodation, and food.[129] However, the actual cost is far greater once indirect payments detailed under 'foreign expenses' are included: Denne's court cases cost the city at least a further £165 13s. 16d.[130] Nevertheless, within two years, the city's coffers were back on a 'normal' footing showing the resilience of the town's financial system and the ability of town governors to find financial support and/or bear personal financial responsibility.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to consider the question of the extent of differences between corporations as evidenced by corporate development, corporate records, and financial standing, aspects of the basic frameworks of incorporation. What has been demonstrated

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[124] FA25, fols 136^{r}-140^{r}.

[125] Withington, *Politics*, pp. 28-9.

[126] Several unsuccessful attempts were made to develop river trade in Canterbury; Palmer, pp. 54; Durkin, p. 111.

[127] Withington, *Politics*, p. 34.

[128] Russell, p. 189.

[129] FA21, fols 241^{v}, 242^{r}. For example, Hasted, XI, p. 23. This does not include the cost of the sword. The obvious impact of this expense is observed in the graph presented in Appendix B3.

[130] FA21, fol. 240^{v}. In order to meet the direct costs, the city, under new mayor, William Watmer, ordered the levying of a charter tax in November 1608. Over 400 individuals were assessed but ultimately, only about one quarter of the money was raised, CCA-CC/B/A/C/1-4. A. Citizen [Bunce], *Translation*, p. 322 provides a summary of the sums raised.

is the expected diversity of towns where degrees of difference existed despite their common features. Individuality of corporate development, practice and financial status, however, lent a different slant to daily corporate life in each town and determined how corporation members understood their own corporate community. It has also been shown, that with respect to each community, certain cultural elements were established by incorporation, including corporate history, material culture, and forms of control over the urban environment.

The picture of Canterbury and Maidstone's financial standing shows two early modern towns with what might be considered typical urban responsibilities for outgoings and the ability to access different forms of income. Comparison with each other, and other towns, reveals the extent to which corporate finances could differ. The close links between income and expenditure in each town suggest attempts to be fiscally responsible and maintain a general balance. Given regular changes of chamberlains in most towns it is likely that precedents set in relation to what constituted 'normal' expenditure on regular outgoings were followed by those new to the office, resulting in a continuity of habit, serving to maintain this aspect of organisational culture.

The data presented fill a seventeenth-century gap in our understanding of Canterbury's administrative profile, and demonstrate a continuity from the sixteenth-century, and no obvious serious impact of the civil war on finance levels, with little observed change until the late 1650s. Hitherto unseen insights into the broad financial situation of Maidstone corporation in this period indicates some possible evidence of a gradual rise in income as the period progresses. These findings will allow the extent of spending on cultural activities, shown in subsequent chapters, to be understood in the context of overall income and expenditure.

A noted diversity of towns, is perhaps, so expected that it can be argued there has been little impetus to dig deeper into the scale and significance of internal differences between seventeenth-century corporations. MacCaffrey felt that, 'By the end of the sixteenth century the Chamber of Exeter was an effective legislative and executive body, handling a wide range of different kinds of business with expedition and skill'.[131] Clark saw the seventeenth century as a time when 'town government assumed its own institutional momentum', with increasingly decentralized and bureaucratic

[131] MacCaffrey, p. 42.

administration and a separating out of roles.[132] Both are correct, but every institution went at its own pace and developed in its own way, with implications for the cultural identity of each corporate, and civic community.

The next chapter considers the corporate structures of Canterbury and Maidstone's institutional corporations. It examines aspects of the freemen body and the urban 'group of leading actors' who constituted the corporate community in each town, their demographics providing an important context to corporate individuality and culture.[133]

[132] Peter Clark, 'Introduction', in *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800*, ed. by Peter Clark (London, 1984), pp. 13-61 (pp. 36-9).
[133] MacCaffrey, p. 246.

Chapter Two: Corporate Structure and Character

In England's borough towns the body of freemen were a 'privileged group', a sub-set of urban inhabitants enjoying advantages of rights of trade and franchise; qualification for freedom relied upon occupation, kinship, financial standing or goodwill.[1] Power over admission was held by the corporation. Despite the important privilege of voting in town matters and parliamentary elections, it has been argued that 'the holding of the parliamentary franchise was not regarded as the pre-eminent criterion of citizenship'; rather it was participation in *governance* through officeholding which characterised a republican form of citizenship in this period.[2] The emphasis of Goldie's argument is on the parish but Withington similarly defines urban burgesses and citizens as having 'additional public powers and responsibilities within the body politic' beyond simple freedom and franchise.[3] Together urban citizens formed 'incorporated communities' comprising three elements: the structural civic institution, associated arenas of urban space, and the 'enfranchised households' living there, akin to Aristotle's concept of a 'polis', and providing a broader concept of the incorporated community than the small number of formal corporation members studied here.[4]

It is within the environment of these 'city commonwealths' that characteristics of 'civility, governance, and commerce' were shared by the incorporated civic community.[5] Exposure to community experiences and associations within the freemen body influenced and bound together corporation members prior to their institutional election and the associative forms of kinship, spatial habitation patterns, and religion, are further considered in Chapter Three. In this chapter, the focus is on the demographic characteristics of the group of freemen and institutional corporation members. The emphasis of analysis in this chapter is weighted towards Canterbury which has a more comprehensive and complete set of records in relation to admissions to urban freedom.

The importance of freemen to urban life, and their distinguishable existence as a group with economic and political influence, has formed the basis of historians' interest

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[1] MacCaffrey, p. 52.
[2] Mark Goldie, 'The Unacknowledged Republic: Officeholding in Early Modern England', in *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850,* ed. by Tim Harris (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 153-94 (p. 153).
[3] Withington, *Politics*, p. 12.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

in their demographic constitution, with admission and occupational evidence included in a range of town studies. The individual character of each freeman body, determined by local issues of population, trade and economics and the 'intimate relations' of town and surrounding rural locality, was unique.[6] In part, as with Chapter One, the purpose here is to expose differences between Canterbury and Maidstone and a consideration of freemen's admission practices in the first section shows variations in approach. As freedom was a prerequisite for entry into civic office, a second aim is to understand the characteristics of freemen against elite corporation members, and the second section of this chapter demonstrates how the latter could form a discrete community within the wider freeman body. These aspects of 'corporate character' were important in the everyday local internal culture of each corporation. For each individual borough town in England they formed a unique base to communal self-identity, contributing to local institutional cultures.

2.1 The Freemen

From the sixteenth century onwards, freemen groups were increasingly orientated towards merchants of all sorts as local economies responded to increased trading opportunities and consumerist practices. In response to local pressures from agricultural advances and migratory rural poor, towns developed 'elaborate and restrictive controls' on urban trade to protect economic privileges.[7] Towns like Canterbury and Maidstone were prepared to fine and arrest trading non-freemen, whilst freedom could offer additional practical benefits like lower charges if in prison, as in Maidstone, making freedom a desirable goal for working men but generally excluding working women.[8] Given that, broadly, the average number of freemen might be 'between a half and a third of the adult male population', local decisions on access affected a significant proportion of working people.[9] In Exeter, MacCaffrey saw a 'predominance of the merchant' in the freemen there, emphasising economic advantages of freedom over political strength, to the extent that 'most of the economic regulation of the city's life was designed for their benefit'.[10] In Bristol, with over eighty per cent of council members 'among the city's leading entrepreneurs' and almost sixty per cent associated

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[6] MacCaffrey, p. 164.
[7] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition*, p. 108.
[8] FA22/1, fol. 341^{r}. Maidstone Council, *Records*, p. 22.
[9] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition*, pp. 102, 107, 115.
[10] MacCaffrey, p. 162, pp. 51-3.

with the Society of Merchant Venturers (1605-42), the city was well placed to make the most of a 'newly emerging economic order', the 'free market' founded on trans-Atlantic trade beyond the urban boundary.[11] In the period 1600-1660, twenty-eight of fifty-six individual Bristol mayors are identified as merchants with a further thirteen in other distributive trades.[12] However, even without the benefit of sea trade, inland market towns like Canterbury and Maidstone had a relatively high number of merchant freemen.

Freemen's records are found in both corporation minutes and accounts; Maidstone's early borough records have been noted as 'almost entirely' containing freemen's admissions.[13] For the seventeenth century, however, records appear less than complete. Canterbury's records are consistently and clearly presented with lists of freemen's admissions forming a discrete section in the annual accounts, and there are regular entries for orders admitting freemen in the burghmote minutes. Even here, however, the records are not entirely comprehensive; accounts have been identified as a more reliable record than minutes, being based on payment rather than intention, and for this reason, freemen's lists in the accounts have been used in the following analyses for Canterbury.[14] This section, considering the freemen body, is split into three parts. In the first part, an assessment of the size of the freemen body in Canterbury evidences a rise in numbers of freemen in the period to 1640. In the second section, the admission practices of Canterbury and Maidstone are examined. For Canterbury, an analysis of admission routes to freedom is then presented, with an extended consideration of changes in parliamentary election practices, including evidence of the manipulation of admission 'rules' by the corporation in seeking to further their own political ends. In the third section, an analysis of occupational demographics for Canterbury freemen suggests an overall continuity of the proportions of each trade category from the sixteenth century.

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[11] Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 349.

[12] *The Annals of Bristol*, ed. by J. Latimer, 3 vols (Bristol, 1970), I, pp. 497-8. See also the list of masters of the Merchant Venturers' Company showing practically all masters served as a corporation member, p. 500.

[13] Russell, p. 188.

[14] Durkin sampled a twenty-year period comparing minute and account book entries concluding the latter represent a truer picture of admissions, largely for this reason, p. 63.

Size

The size of a town had a significant bearing on the size of the freeman body, London's outstanding size and extensive guilds in the seventeenth century set it far ahead of provincial towns. Pearl estimated guild freeman numbers in seventeenth-century London to be in the region of 30,000 men, representing 'roughly three-quarters of the adult male householders in the City', and by the 1670s about 1700 new freemen were enrolled each year.[15] At this point, London's annual influx was similar to Norwich's total freeman body of 1500-1900 men in the period to 1600-60.[16] Sacks estimated in Bristol 'perhaps as many as a sixth or even a fifth were free burgesses'.[17] Other towns were smaller still. Gloucester's freeman body was about 500 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, representing 30-40 per cent of the adult male population, from which was drawn a '40-strong common council'.[18] Colchester's freeman body in 1619 was similar at 450.[19] In Kent, Dover, with a population of 2-4,000 possibly had about 115 freemen in the mid-1560s, mid-1570s and 1601 with slightly lower levels in-between.[20] Being a freeman always set a man (or occasionally a woman), within a subset of the urban population but they could be one individual of thirty thousand or one of a hundred, with an allied sense of the extent of their own agency and social network within that group. The size of a freemen body therefore represents another aspect of the everyday cultural environment experienced by corporation members.

Corporations had significant reasons for restricting, or enlarging, the size of the freeman body giving a level of economic and political control and Canterbury's chamberlains' accounts record a variation in the number of admissions each year (Figure 5, individual data in Appendix C1).[21] A relatively regular rise and fall possibly suggests some attempts to maintain a certain level of numbers of freemen by adjusting each year's admission numbers. The data reveal no general impact on corporate

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[15] Valerie Pearl, 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London', in *Tudor and Stuart Town*, ed. by Barry, pp. 139-65 (pp. 149-50).

[16] Evans used two different methods to determine the freemen electorate of Norwich over the period 1620-90: one based on Wrigley's method using survival rates (c. 29 years pre-1640 and c.27 years post-1640), the other on life expectancy; the two estimates vary by about 100 individuals. Evans, *Norwich,* pp. 9-11.

[17] Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 161.

[18] Clark, 'Ramoth-Gilead', p. 177.

[19] Richard Dean Smith, *The Middling Sort and the Politics of Social Reformation: Colchester, 1570-1640* (New York, 2004), p. 62.

[20] Bower, p. 146. Dixon, p. 365.

[21] The table in Appendix C1 also presents annual numbers of apprentices recorded but they do not form part of the discussion of this thesis.

functionality in terms of the continuation of freemen's admissions over the civil war period with the exception of a sharp drop in admissions in the immediate aftermath of Canterbury's Christmas Day riots in 1647.

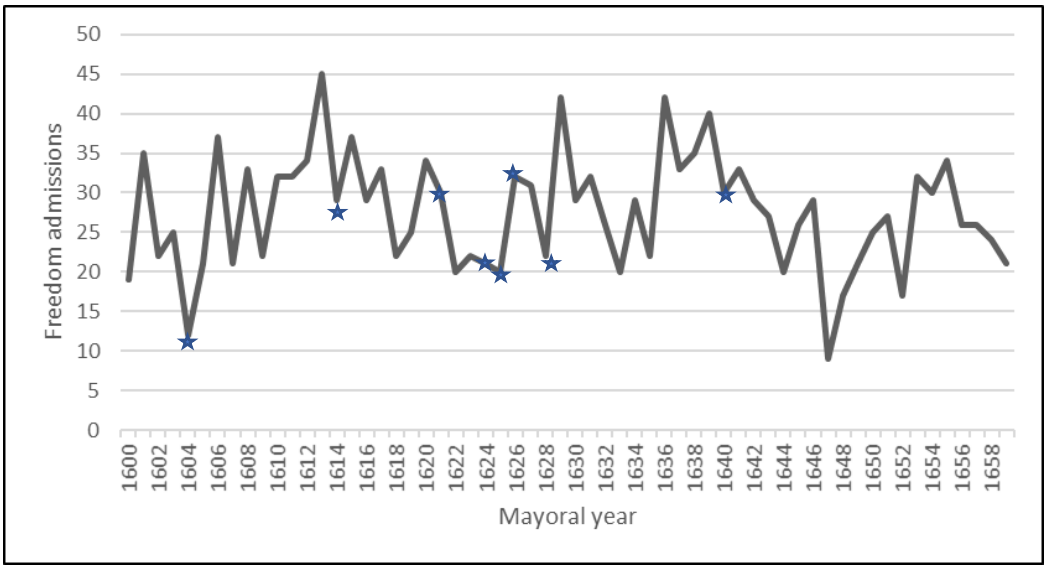


Figure 5: Annual number of admissions to freedom in Canterbury, 1600-1660 with annotation (*) of pre-civil war parliamentary election years (Source: CC-F/A/20-26).

By the first half of the eighteenth century, Canterbury's freemen admission levels have been noted as demonstrating peaks directly linked with dates of parliamentary elections.[22] Correlation here, in the form of annotations on Figure 5 of the years of pre-1640 parliamentary elections, provides inconclusive evidence of this as a regular mechanism for political manipulation in the early seventeenth century. There is, however, a significant peak in the year before the 1614 election and a possible period of some restriction in 1622-5, around the time of difficult parliamentary elections explored in the next section, but simple annual variation is an equally plausible explanation.

These new seventeenth-century admissions figures have been combined with existing sixteenth-century values to estimate the size of Canterbury's total freeman population, extending our knowledge of the size of Canterbury's freemen body into the seventeenth century.[23] Annual admissions data for 1600-1660 translate into values of

[22] Stella Corpe, 'Canterbury Freemen 1700-1750' (unpublished diploma dissertation, University of Kent, 1982), pp. 6-7.
[23] Elizabethan data used here are taken from Durkin, pp. 59-71. Earlier freeman admission numbers (1500-60) are detailed in Palmer, pp. 269-74.

241-318 admissions per decade for this period, very approximately about half that of Norwich (Table 3, see also Appendix C1). A derived overall average annual admissions figure of twenty-seven is higher than Canterbury's Elizabethan value of seventeen (1560-1600), similar to Exeter's twenty-eight (1620-40), but far less than Norwich's sixty-one (1600-60).[24]

Under Elizabeth I, Canterbury freemen were an estimated group of 536 men in 1560-61, falling to 451 by 1591 (circa fifteen falling to nine per cent of the city population).[25] Utilising, for consistency, Durkin's calculated figure for sixteenth-century admission to death survival rates of circa twenty-seven years and admissions data for the period 1573-4 to 1659-60, calculated values for the overall size of the freeman body suggest a gradual but substantial increase from circa 505 in 1600 to 802 in 1640, followed by a shallow decline over the next twenty years, such that the group is similar in size at 1660 as it is in 1620-30 (Figure 6).[26] Assuming a city population of about 6,000 in 1600 and 6,500 in 1640, the freemen population rises from circa eight per cent of the population to circa twelve per cent at these dates, suggesting a reversal of the Elizabethan pattern.[27] Canterbury's 1688 parliamentary election involved over 700 freemen voters, a value consistent with these findings but Clark's implied 420-540 at around the time of the 1624/5 parliamentary elections is perhaps an underestimate. Thus, candidate Thomas Scott may have polled only one fifth to one quarter rather than one third of the electorate in this election.[28]

Decade	**Canterbury**	**Norwich**
1600-1609	247	456
1610-1619	318	630
1620-1629	274	672
1630-1639	308	654
1640-1649	241	620
1650-1659	262	642
Total	*1650*	*3674*

Table 3: Decadal admissions to freedom for Canterbury vs Norwich, 1600-1660 (Source: For Canterbury, FA20-26; for Norwich, taken from: Evans, *Norwich,* p. 9).

[24] Figure calculated from Table 4.2, Durkin, p. 66. MacCaffrey, pp. 162-4.

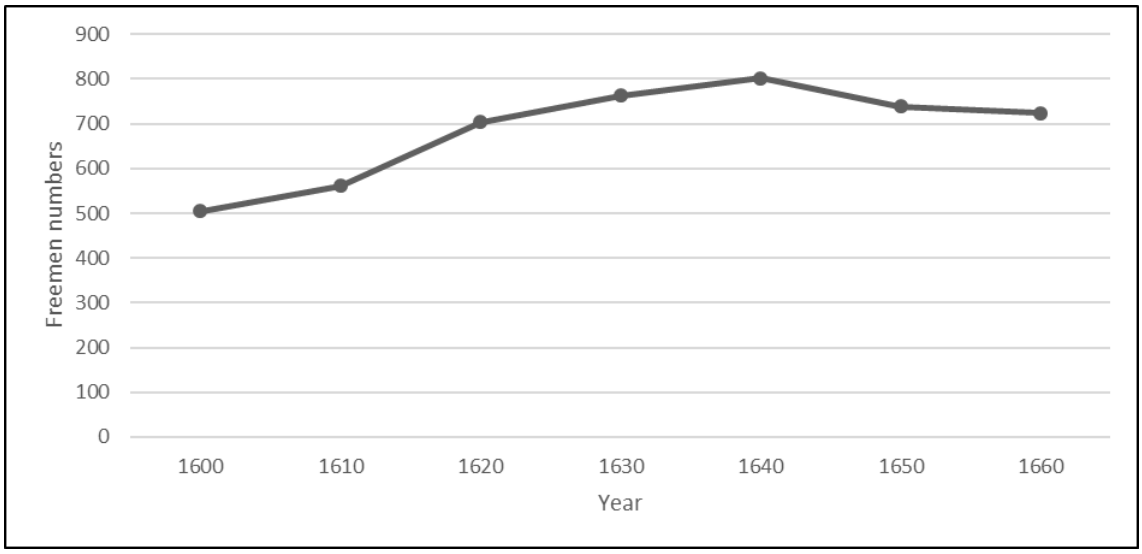
[25] Durkin, pp. 64-5 based on population estimates of 3,500 in 1560 and 5,000 in 1590. Durkin noted this was possibly fifty falling to twenty-six per cent of adult males. He calculated a freeman population of 508 in 1601, p. 64, n. 191.

[26] In calculating this survival rate Durkin followed Palliser's method, p. 64.

[27] Figures from Bower, p. 160.

[28] Basil Duke Henning, 'Canterbury, 1660-1690', *HoP.* Clark suggests Scott's 140-180 votes were 'perhaps a third' of the total freemen electorate, 'Scott', p. 14.

Evans found a similar rise in the overall size of the freemen electorate in Norwich in 1620-40, followed by a twenty-year slowing or possible decline, rising again after 1660 to a peak in 1680.[29] He ascribes the 1640-60 'dip' in Norwich to a number of factors: 'plague in the mid-1620s, a decline in the cloth industry, emigration produced by religious persecution, and economic dislocation arising from the Civil War', issues which similarly affected Canterbury.[30] It would appear, therefore, that the experience of being a freeman in Canterbury from 1600 onwards would likely have been understood as being one of a growing civic community within the city.



Plotted values: 505 (1600), 561 (1610), 704 (1620), 763 (1630), 802 (1640), 739 (1650), 724 (1660)

Figure 6: Estimated total freeman population for Canterbury, 1600-1660 (Source: FA20-26, data from Durkin, pp. 59-71).

Maidstone's freemen population statistics are harder to come by. It is notable that only thirty-two out of ninety-seven jurat freedoms are to be found for the period 1549-1660 indicating a significant level of omission from surviving records and making it

[29] Evans, *Norwich*, pp.10-1. Evans used two methods: calculations based on survival rates shows a slowing, those based on life expectancy a decline.

[30] Evans, *Norwich*, pp. 10-1. The city also 'had a population pause' in the post-1620-1660 period: about 10,000 in the 1570s, over 20,000 in the 1620s, after 1660 it rose again to about 30,000 by 1700. Penelope Corfield, 'Urban Development in England and Wales in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1530-1688,* ed. by Jonathan Barry (London, 1990), pp. 35-62 (p.44).

impossible to assess numbers accurately.[31] In the mid-sixteenth century, however, the period from incorporation in 1549 to the end of Edward VI's reign in 1553 has been noted as seeing at least one hundred and forty-four individuals newly admitted to freedom.[32] By 1681, the parliamentary electorate was over 400.[33] Early seventeenth-century numbers probably sat within these boundaries at c.250-350. Consistent with a smaller town, it also meant that the civic community was a much smaller one in Maidstone than in Canterbury, probably fostering closer connections between its members.

Admission

Admissions to freedom in Canterbury and Maidstone, in common with other early modern towns, were by birth, marriage, apprenticeship, redemption or gift and largely initiated by petition to the corporation.[34] A fuller discussion of the details of each method is provided below.

For Canterbury, freedom entry records in the city's chamberlains' accounts for the period 1600-1660 have been used to provide a five-year summary of numbers of admissions to freedom by each entry method where specified (Table 4). The analysis of the proportion of each method of admission for Canterbury for the period 1600-1660 indicates that the seventeenth-century freeman body developed into a less diverse group by favouring admission methods based on kinship or trade connections. Aside from inevitable annual variation, levels of admission by each route indicate a relative stability in the seventeenth century. They are, however, in different proportions to the sixteenth century. Overall levels of admission by patrimony and apprenticeship are higher than for the Elizabethan town (22% vs 14% and 26% vs 11% respectively) with a lower level of admission by redemption (32% vs 58%) even though this continued to represent the major route to freedom of the city.[35] Access to freedom based on personal networks – birth, marriage, apprenticeship – appears to have been reinforced and those admissions over which the corporation had greater control – admission by gift or redemption

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[31] Judy Buckley, *For the Good of this Town: Jurats of Maidstone, 1549 to 1660* (Bearsted, 2009), p. 33. Though lists of Maidstone's freemen exist for 1551 onwards they are not comprehensive until the eighteenth century.

[32] Russell, pp. 185, 188.

[33] Basil Duke Henning, 'Maidstone, 1660-1690', *HoP*.

[34] Many such petitions survive in the archives of Canterbury City Council, CCA-CC/A/P/B.

[35] Durkin, p. 65.

	Apprenticeship	Gift	Marriage	Patrimony	Redemption	Total
1600-1604	21 (18.6%)	8 (7.1%)	16 (14.2%)	24 (21.2%)	44 (38.9%)	113
1605-1609	31 (23.1%)	17 (12.7%)	15 (11.2%)	24 (17.9%)	47 (35.1%)	134
1610-1614	40 (23.3%)	10 (5.8%)	21 (12.2%)	36 (20.9%)	65 (37.8%)	172
1615-1619	39 (26.7%)	12 (8.2%)	19 (13.0%)	33 (22.6%)	43 (29.5%)	146
1620-1624	48 (37.8%)	8 (6.3%)	13 (10.2%)	24 (18.9%)	34 (26.8%)	127
1625-1629	38 (25.9%)	8 (5.4%)	24 (16.3%)	34 (23.1%)	43 (29.3%)	147
1630-1634	39 (28.7%)	8 (5.9%)	17 (12.5%)	36 (26.5%)	36 (26.5%)	136
1635-1639	37 (21.5%)	13 (7.6%)	28 (16.3%)	39 (22.7%)	55 (32.0%)	172
1640-1644	43 (31.0%)	4 (2.9%)	19 (13.7%)	34 (24.5%)	39 (28.1%)	139
1645-1649	24 (23.5%)	6 (5.9%)	16 (15.7%)	32 (31.4%)	24 (23.5%)	102
1650-1654	34 (26.0%)	7 (5.3%)	13 (9.9%)	26 (19.9%)	51 (38.9%)	131
1655-1659	40 (30.5%)	8 (6.1%)	14 (10.7%)	23 (17.6%)	46 (35.1%)	131
Total	*434 (26.3%)*	*103 (6.6%)*	*215 (13.0%)*	*365 (22.1%)*	*527 (31.9%)*	*1650*

Note: division is by mayoral year, for example, 1600-04 represents 1600-01 to 1604-5.

Table 4: Known five-yearly admissions to freedom by admission method (numbers and percentages), Canterbury, 1600-1660 (Source: CCA-CC/F/A/20-26).

were restricted. The relative proportions of men admitted by each route could influence the internal sense of culture in a freeman body, setting self-made men against privileged locals. All were free, but each achieved their freedom under different circumstances and understood the reason for freedom, including, as outlined below, how they paid for it, in different terms.

Freedom by birth required written proof of a parent's own free status at the time of the child's birth: John Barton's 'fathers Coppie' was examined by Canterbury's chamberlain in 1630 to determine whether 'he have right to be made free'.[36] The privilege was inherited by both sons and daughters of freemen though, in practice, sons claimed their right directly whilst a daughter's right was invariably used by extension through marriage to allow her husband to claim freedom. Women were occasionally granted free status in their own right. In Maidstone, Ann Halsnod, as a freeman's eldest daughter, paid 40 shillings in 1645 for freedom since she had 'no brother to be made free' and another woman, Alice Cross, was granted freedom in September 1649.[37] Underdown argues that an examination of court records from before 1640 points towards 'an intense preoccupation with women who are a visible threat to the patriarchal system' in early modern society.[38] These entries suggest an apparent level of open-mindedness in Maidstone's corporation, at least during the civil war period. Whether freedom by birth was obtained directly or by marriage, both pathways reinforced familial links within a freemen body potentially contributing to a level of oligarchic development.

Freedom by apprenticeship also cultivated social connections since apprentices might serve with their father, wider family member or family friend. In Maidstone, four of nine new freemen made at the meeting following Ann Halsnod's admission had served apprenticeships with their father.[39] In the early seventeenth century, increasing numbers of young men (almost exclusively) from urban 'middling sort' and higher status families were 'launched towards a potential livelihood' by an apprenticeship which offered economic opportunity by being the 'engine and point of access into civic

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[36] AC4, fol. 4^{v}.

[37] KHLC Md/ACm/1/3 (hereafter ACm), fols. 25^{r}, 104^{v}. For limited evidence of women's freedom in London see Rappaport, pp. 36-42.

[38] D. E. Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold: The Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England', in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, ed. by Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 116-36 (p. 119).

[39] ACm/1/3, fols 10^{r}-11^{r}.

economies'.[40] In London (1530-1609), an estimated almost ninety per cent of citizens had served as apprentices.[41] Sack's analysis of the relationship between apprenticeship and freedom separated this category out as the only one which 'permitted an individual truly to earn his place', though especially in connection with urban trade guilds, this could be a restricted opportunity with numbers per master often limited.[42] Apprenticeship also served a wider purpose by exposing youths to 'an indoctrination about standards of behaviour' through working, and often living, with the Master's family.[43] Canterbury's future mayor Walter Southwell's apprenticeship with serving councilman, Christopher Bridge undoubtedly presented an opportunity for Bridge to influence and mould Southwell's behaviour.[44] As a 'tool of social policy' apprenticeship 'positioned a youth within household, company, and city commonwealth, reinforcing a sense of *communitas* and freedom'.[45] Apprenticeships had practical, social, economic and communal benefits.

It was admission by redemption which had the potential to provide open access to the freemen body, especially for economic migrants from the urban hinterland and beyond. Payment for freedom increased corporate income – over £14 of the total £16 4s. 2d. freemen's fines in Canterbury in 1600-1 came from redemptive payments – but given the political and economic privileges freedom brought with it, numbers could be restricted and were always controlled. Access decisions were often based upon a town's need, a point petitioner Nicholas Justice, a migrant plumber from Rochester, understood well. His petition to Canterbury's governors in 1622 illustrates an acute awareness of the town's situation: 'he is given to understand that this your Citty is much destituted & stands in greate want of a good & sufficient plumer'.[46] He was, perhaps, also aware that the city had a large new water conduit gifted by Archbishop Abbot in 1620.[47] Freedom was granted, and Justice worked on the conduit, water pipes and gutters until the early

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[40] Christopher Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550-1800', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, ed. by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (London, 1994), pp. 52-83 (p. 53). Withington, *Politics*, p. 29.

[41] Rappaport, pp. 47, 293.

[42] Sacks, *Widening Gate*, pp. 122-3. Illana Krausman Ben-Amos, 'Failure to Become a Freeman: Urban Apprentices in Early Modern England', *Social History*, 16 (1991), 155-72 (p. 168).

[43] Brooks, pp. 76, 77.

[44] FA20, fol. 409^{r}.

[45] Withington, *Politics*, p. 30.

[46] CC/A/P/P/1.

[47] Anne Le Baigue and Avril Leach, '"Where Streams of (Living) Water Flow": The Religious and Civic Significance of Archbishop Abbot's Conduit in St Andrew's Canterbury, 1603-1625', *Arch. Cant.*, 139 (2018), 111-34 (p. 111).

1650s, taking on two apprentices, Matthew Evands in 1630, and future common councilman, Kendrick Lake, in 1644. Very specific urban requirements and choices made by individual corporations could therefore shape the profile of each town's freemen body.

The most socially and occupationally diverse group was those admitted by gift. Here, freedom required no prerequisite status or payment, though practically it was often bestowed in respect of past or future usefulness to the corporation. Julius Freake, the gentleman of London who facilitated Canterbury's James I charter, was gifted freedom on 13 September 1608 in recognition of his support, five days after the final grant of the charter.[48] On a more everyday level, Samuel Charlcome's freedom in 1616-17 came with the proviso that he undertook 'to serve as cook at every Mayor's Michaelmas feast' whilst he remained an inhabitant.[49] Such evidence serves as a reminder of the social and cultural diversity within freemen communities.

Gift admissions could also be politically driven, and Canterbury corporation twice manipulated the system for their own purposes in relation to the Parliamentary elections of 1621 and 1625, both documented examples of early 'contested elections' with more than two candidates standing.[50] In the run up to the 1621 parliament, John Latham, secretary to Ludovic Stuart, duke of Lennox who had recently been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Kent, was controversially admitted to the freedom of the city to allow him to stand. The determined intent of 'the Sheriffe, & three or foure Aldermen' to admit Latham is obvious given that the chamberlain, John Peerse, was given city money to travel to London and administer the oath out of the city to a man who was non-resident, this usually precluding admittance.[51] Other towns dealt with similar issues in different ways. In Hereford, a desire for resident MPs was reinforced by aldermanic oath, whilst Leicester corporation had a similar dilemma to Canterbury, administering an oath in

[48] FA21, fol. 212^{r}.

[49] FA22/1, fol. 259^{v}.

[50] The detail of the elections has been ably set out by Andrew Thrush, 'Canterbury 1604-29', and Peter Clark in his article about diarist, Thomas Scott, 'Scott'. On the subject of Scott, see also Cesare Cuttica, 'Thomas Scott of Canterbury (1566-1635): Patriot, Civic Radical, Puritan', *History of European Ideas*, 34 (2008), 475-89, and Cogswell, 'Canterbury Election'.

[51] CCA-U66/1, fol. 4^{r}. Withington demonstrates the significant difference in the 1640 parliamentary elections between incorporated and non-incorporated boroughs whereby the former were overwhelmingly more likely to choose local inhabitants as MPs, *Politics*, pp. 41-2.

London ‘by proxy’ to a candidate promoted by the earl of Huntingdon for the fourth session of James I’s Blessed Parliament.[52] Nevertheless, these were unusual moves.

Further detail of Canterbury’s 1620s election practices serves to show the impact a determined faction could have on corporate behaviour and decision-making. With regard to the corporation’s scheming, local Puritan, Thomas Scott, was justified in his irate diary entries expressing outrage at the election proceedings, drawing attention to the behaviour of ‘A folish faction of oppressing Aldermen’ who made ‘theire treacherous attempt’ for ‘their owne unhonest endes’, Scott drawing on popish rhetoric to characterise Latham as a Catholic sympathiser.[53] Despite the corporation’s reprehensible attempt to manipulate the system, Latham was not returned: the freemen chose John Finch, recently dismissed and reinstated as city recorder, for the city’s second parliamentary seat, alongside George Newman, nephew of Archbishop Bancroft and Archbishop Abbot’s Commissary-General.[54] This indicates a significant division existed between the ruling body and wider body of freemen, again, not unheard of – a similar situation occurred in Exeter in 1628.[55] However, the election result likely publicly undermined the mayor and aldermen’s sense of authority and, reminded them of how the bounds of local rule did not extend comprehensively to the political minds and will of the larger group. A freemen franchise meant that parliamentary elections were set ‘firmly within the city commonwealth’ system, and whilst choices could reflect the ‘expression of the freemen’s fictional personality’, it was not always in accordance with the subset of the civic elite.[56]

The following four elections in Canterbury (1624, 1625, 1626 and 1628) were all contested, variously pitching candidates supported by the archbishop, two consecutive Lord Lieutenants, local puritans, and courtiers against each other with the eventual ‘coming together of radicals, moderates and even disaffected oligarchs’, which Peter Clark argues was ‘the key to the growth of urban opposition to the Crown from the late 1620s’.[57] The 1624 parliamentary election in Canterbury was little calmer than that of

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[52] Kishlansky, *Parliamentary Selection*, p. 32. Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 212. The borough’s standing MP had died early that year prompting a by-election.
[53] U66/1, fol. 3[r]. Thrush, ‘Canterbury, 1604-29’.
[54] Andrew Thrush, ‘Newman, George (c.1562-1627), of St. Margaret's, Canterbury, Kent and Doctors' Commons, London’, *HoP*.
[55] Kishlansky, p. 34.
[56] Withington, *Politics*, p. 40.
[57] Clark, ‘Thomas Scott’, p. 26.

1621, and the corporation, 'vaine & vile men', again 'puffed, & sweatt, and swaggered, & even stunke' in their election efforts.[58] The soon-to-follow first parliament of Charles I saw another abuse of the freedom system when Sir Thomas Wilsford, son-in-law to Sir Edwin Sandys and another non-resident, took the second seat alongside the city's muster master, John Fisher, having sworn a freeman's oath after the writ of the parliamentary summons was issued in April 1625.[59] This time, 'not onely the Sheriffe, Mayor & Aldermen, not one excepted…but all the Common Councellors' were involved as the whole corporation, likely still driven by a determined faction, pushed beyond the limits of their own rules to achieve their own ends.[60]

It is unlikely that these moves could have occurred without the endorsement of the mayor on each occasion, but Thomas Scott picks out the sheriff at the time of the 1625 elections, William Whiting, a councilman since 1615-16, as a ringleader. According to Scott, Whiting was the subject of a 'Proverb now rife in Canterburie' implying that the corporation, or at least some of them were following his lead: '*Lett us walke wisely quoth William Whiting*'.[61] Scott specifically identifies William Watmer, John Peerse, John Hunt 'above others', the mayor, and the town clerk as 'Wisemen'.[62] It is telling that the next year's mayor, chosen from two men appointed by the outgoing mayor and aldermen, was William Whiting, confirming the strength of his 'wise' following and the potentially compelling influence of an individual within the corporate system.

There is also a less considered angle to take from these contested electoral events in Canterbury: the possible alteration in corporate self-understanding of the remit and extent of their power and role in the political system. Clark argued that 'the established avenue' of communication between Kent's county leaders and the Court became increasingly difficult around the turn of the seventeenth century and that Kent's governors turned to parliament as an alternative route for representation.[63] Until the late sixteenth century, in Canterbury, it was quite usual for a mayor to also represent the borough in parliament; York was similar with twenty-four of the city's twenty-eight

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[58] U66/1, fol. 3^{v}.
[59] Andrew Thrush: 'Wilsford, Sir Thomas (c.1585-1646), of Ilding, Kingston, Kent', and 'Fisher, John (fl.1613-1642)', *HoP*.
[60] U66/1, fol. 4^{r}.
[61] U66/1, fols 13^{v}, 14^{r}.
[62] U66/1, fol. 13^{v}.
[63] Clark, *Provincial Society*, p. 268.

sixteenth-century MPs serving as alderman and/or mayor.[64] Phythian-Adams noted that, in late medieval Coventry, it was 'more than usual' for ex-mayors to serve as an MP, and in York and Dover, aldermen continued to stand as city MPs in the period to 1660.[65] By the 1600s, however, in Canterbury, the city's MPs were usually corporate associates rather than mayors. Corporate associates were the type of men often chosen by boroughs for at least one seat; in Canterbury, they included the recorder, future recorder, and Archbishop's commissary.[66] As will be detailed further in Chapter Six, the corporation's relationship with the recorder also altered in the late 1610s, shortly before these difficult parliamentary elections and changing relationships may have played a part in election issues. It is possible that a lesser social standing of post-1600 mayors is reflected by the separation of the roles of MP and mayor in Canterbury, the change marking a potential alteration in the corporation's sense of their own influence in national politics.

Canterbury was not alone in experiencing changes in parliamentary representation. In the Cinque Ports, right of appointment for one parliamentary candidate in each town by the Lord Warden had been claimed away from local governors from the mid-1500s.[67] However, in 1614, Sandwich corporation tried to resist the Lord Warden's interference with consequent political tensions surrounding appointments and elections.[68] The point has been made for Sandwich that by the 1640s 'The character of the [parliamentary] representatives altered; the townsman now co-operated with, was even replaced by, the neighbouring country squire'.[69] Peter Clark makes a more general point that 'Outsiders tightened their grip on the election of parliamentary burgesses and by 1614 hardly one borough seat in Kent was occupied by a genuine townsman'.[70] There was also a broader alteration in the nature of political elections as propounded by Kishlansky and described by Cust: a 'transition whereby the

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[64] Not necessarily at the same time, though this did occasionally occur. See Appendix AIV in Palmer, pp. 355-7 and entries for Canterbury in the *History of Parliament*. A. G. Dickens, 'Tudor York', in *VCH York*, pp. 117-59 (p. 139).

[65] Phythian-Adams, *Desolation*, p.140, n. 17. Forster, *VCH York*, pp. 186, 191. In Dover, John Pringle, mayor in 1626 served as MP at the same time; John Bavington Jones, *Annals of Dover*, 2nd edn (Dover: [n. pub.], 1938), p. 328.

[66] Kishlansky, p. 32.

[67] Dorothy Gardiner, *Historic Haven: The Story of Sandwich* (Derby, 1954), pp. 224-6.

[68] Gardiner, *Historic Haven*, pp. 226-32. Peter Levefre and Andrew Thrush, 'Sandwich, 1604-29', *HoP*.

[69] Gardiner, *Historic Haven*, p. 224.

[70] Clark, *Provincial Society*, pp. 312, 319.

"social" and the "political" become separated, and "politics" emerged as a sphere apart in public life'.[71] These moves were strengthened by an emerging 'Puritan emphasis on "active citizenship"' which encouraged voting by 'individual conscience' rather than conforming with previously expected ways of doing things.[72]

As county-parliament connections grew in importance, over and above those of the Court, parliamentary representation within corporate boroughs also expanded, and it has been suggested that, by 1640, 'citizens and burgesses held the key to parliamentary access' in most of England.[73] Withington demonstrates a rise in the number of incorporated borough MPs in Parliament in the thirty-six years to 1640 from 37 per cent to 63 per cent, asserting: 'In a very real sense, therefore, it was English citizens who were responsible for selecting the 'Long Parliament'.[74] In conjunction with this, as noted above, Cogswell identifies the 1610s and 1620s as a period of borough change with increasing numbers of contested borough elections and subtle changes in local parliamentary practices.[75] With ever more obvious moves of MPs towards those 'who did the bidding of "the Court"' or were 'spokesmen for "the Country"' in the period to 1640, in provincial towns like Canterbury these distinctions must also have been acutely felt by corporations.[76]

In Canterbury, with the roles of MP and mayor now seemingly separated and a distancing of the recorder/corporation relationship, it is possible that some of the tensions surrounding the contested elections in Canterbury relate to attempts to redefine corporate identity in terms of their role in a changing political and administrative system. The perceived loss of authority in the realm of direct parliamentary influence perhaps led Canterbury corporation to seek to retain some form of political control – the choice of parliamentary candidates – within their own urban sphere of influence and by any means possible, leading to their manipulation of their own admissions system.

This extended foray into Canterbury's parliamentary elections and political changes highlights several points: the local impact of factionalism; the potential for

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[71] Richard Cust, 'Politics and the Electorate in the 1620s', in *Conflict*, ed. by Cust and Hughes, pp. 134-167 (p. 136).
[72] Cust, 'Politics', quoting Peter Lake, p. 161.
[73] Withington, *Politics*, pp. 38-41.
[74] Withington, 'Urban Citizens', p. 316.
[75] Cogswell, 'Canterbury Election', pp. 22-3.
[76] Cust, 'Politics', p. 154.

separate opinions between corporation and freemen; and the changing political environment of the 1600-1640 period. At the core of these was the corporate community, and their involvement in changing political processes underscores the need to fully appreciate influences on individual and group behaviour.

Returning to the examination of local admissions practices, in Maidstone, freemen were also admitted by 'birth, purchase, apprenticeship […and] gift', forms consistent with Canterbury and other towns.[77] The freedom entries in Maidstone's accounts, however, reflect a different way of administering freedoms, in terms of payments. In Maidstone, account entries reveal a range of ways of paying for freedom. There are those who pay in full; those who pay in part; payments for whole years, half years and two years; payments for freedom, continuance of freedom and for foreigner's fines. Payments range from one shilling to several pounds where higher values, such as George Parkes' £4 paid in 1605-6, are unsurprisingly associated with full single payments for freedom.[78] The practice here appears to be one of greater flexibility than that in Canterbury with more open opportunities for urban trading.

Many entries relate to those paying an annual fee for 'foreigners fines', a temporary measure to allow non-freemen to trade, or for 'continuances of freedom' though it should be noted that the numbers recorded in the accounts are small and variable.[79] By considering the most consistent run of records for the period 1603-1624 it is, nevertheless, possible to identify some common characteristics. Until 1620-21 freedoms are found in a single accounts section; after this they are more likely to be separated into sections called Freedoms, Continuances of Freedoms and Foreigner's fines. The distinction between the two former categories is seen clearly when the appearance of individuals within the lists each year are tracked. Each entry in a 'Freedom' list is a novel inclusion whereas those in 'Continuance' sections have appeared at least once before. Of the five individuals in the Continuance of Freedom section in 1623-4, it is Gabriel Couchman's second entry, John Heap/Hoop's third entry, John Wood and Thomas Gosling's fourth entries and Thomas Tyndall's seventh. Tyndall's first entry is in 1610-11 when he is identified as 'of Sutton', and since he is

[77] Russell, p. 185.
[78] FCa1/1606, fol. 2^{r}.
[79] Until 1596 Canterbury had a similar system of allowance for 'intrantes', see Durkin, pp. 128-38, for further detail of the system, intrante demographics, and decision to end it based on economic restriction.

noted here as paying for a continuance, he must have made earlier payments though none are recorded in the available accounts. Each of his eight recorded payments in the period 1610-11 to 1625-6 is for two shillings.[80] The accounts for Maidstone contrast with those of Canterbury which show tightly controlled entry requirements and payments for freedom, and a consistency of process less apparent in the accounts of Maidstone. The latter represents an ongoing and, perhaps, less secure sense of freedom, whilst in Canterbury there was a greater sense of liminality with individuals being either free, or not. This suggests a level of difference in the understanding of what it meant to be free in Maidstone and Canterbury.

Demographics

The occupational profile of a community of freemen adds another layer to the cultural individuality of the civic community from which corporation members were drawn. Profiles may reflect local trades and industries, though often, and unsurprisingly given that everyone had to eat, drink and clothe themselves, it has been observed that 'bakers, butchers, brewers, shoemakers and tailors […] appear time and again amongst the leading trades of provincial towns'.[81] Nevertheless, Exeter's admissions for 1620-40 show 'wholesalers', including merchants and grocers, to have formed thirty-one per cent of new members with 'textile processing' at half this level (sixteen per cent) such that, as MacCaffrey states, 'industry took second place to commerce' but both were greater than what might be termed 'daily living' occupations.[82] The pattern in Norwich for the same period was the reverse with about thirty-three per cent textile admissions and fifteen per cent 'distributive', reflecting the impact of the rapidly growing cloth manufacturing industry.[83] Such findings reinforce the importance of local differences in generating a different mix of occupations within each town.

Categorisation of occupational data has been the subject of much discussion by urban historians and exact comparison between towns is difficult given individual historians' choices in relation to categorisation.[84] The impact of category choice –

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[80] FCa1/1624, fol. 2^{r}; FCa1/1611, fol. 1^{v}.

[81] Goose, p. 65.

[82] MacCaffrey, p. 163.

[83] These values are derived from Evans, *Norwich*, Table 4, pp. 20-1. See p. 19 in relation to the growth of cloth manufacture over the period 1590-1670.

[84] The path of categorisation methodology starts with W. G. Hoskins' work on urban occupations in sixteenth-century Leicester: 'An Elizabethan Town: Leicester' in *Provincial England: Essays in Social and Economic History*, by W. G. Hoskins (London, 1963) pp. 86-114. A useful discussion of some of the issues may be found in: J. F. Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich, 1525-1575', in

moving Pound's Tudor Norwich shoemakers and cordwainers from Leather to Clothing approximately halves/doubles the size of each category – might suggest some scope for consistent comparative analysis across towns.[85] However, as Hoskins identified, locality is key, and his own decision to place shoemakers outside of the clothing category for Leicester but in for Coventry was based on an understanding of the destination of goods to local or external markets.[86] The decision taken here is to follow Durkin's categorisation established for Elizabethan Canterbury thus allowing direct comparison and continuity of data.[87]

The 1600-1660 profile finds food and drink occupations (266) representing the largest group, though distributive trades (251) are essentially equivalent in size (Table 5, see Appendix C2 for individual trade data). Leather trade workers, reflecting the size of the local tanning industry, are a slightly smaller group (229) and, perhaps surprisingly, given Canterbury's association with silk weavers, textile workers (114) are less common than building workers (154) and similar in number to metalworkers (108). Many silkweavers, however, were Huguenots and Walloons and therefore not entitled to freedom of the city in this period. The number of gentry average just over one admission each year (1.3). The most prevalent individual trade over the period is that of tailor with 186 admissions, cordwainers come second with 111 though there are an additional 47 shoemakers. Grocers rather than mercers predominate (70 vs 30) and a total of 61 individuals over the period are identified as 'gentleman'. Thirty-five are vintners and the same number woollendrapers. The latter, together as a company with the tailors, are shown in Chapter Three to be a significant group with connections to Canterbury's corporate community.

Comparison with the sixteenth century indicates a high level of continuity in the proportions of trades. The major differences are: a greater number of building trades in

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Early Modern Town, ed. by Clark, pp. 129-47. See also: Penelope Corfield's categorisation in 'A Provincial Capital in the Late Seventeenth Century: The Case of Norwich' in *Crisis and Order*, ed. by Clark and Slack , pp. 263-311 (pp. 277-9); Phythian-Adams, *Desolation,* pp. 242, 311; D. M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 90, 154, 160.

[85] Pound, p. 142.

[86] W. G. Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 6 (1956), 1-19 (pp. 12-5).

[87] See Durkin, pp. 115-125. A published figure covering the period 1550-1640 indicates seven per cent of admitted freemen were textile workers and a tiny majority (fifty-one per cent) involved in the provision of clothing, footwear, food and drink, Bower, p. 167.

Occupational Group	1600-01 to 1609-10	1610-11 to 1619-20	1620-21 to 1629-30	1630-31 to 1639-40	1640-41 to 1649-50	1650-51 to 1659-60	Total
Building & allied	14	24	15	40	28	33	154 (9.3%)
Clothing trades	35	43	43	38	16	21	196 (11.9%)
Distributive	37	51	43	49	40	31	251 (15.2%)
Food & drink	29	53	48	46	48	42	266 (16.1%)
Gentry	7	19	11	20	11	13	81 (4.9%)
Leather & allied	32	38	38	38	46	37	229 (13.9%)
Metalworking	21	20	19	17	11	20	108 (6.5%)
Miscellaneous	5	6	2	10	8	20	51 (3.1%)
Professional	7	5	7	12	4	6	41 (2.5%)
Textiles	16	21	23	18	20	16	114 (6.9%)
Transport	8	2	0	0	1	4	15 (0.9%)
Woodworking	4	4	8	6	6	13	41 (2.5%)
Yeoman	14	17	15	10	2	2	60 (3.6%)
Unknown	18	15	2	4	0	4	43 (2.6%)
Total	**247**	**318**	**274**	**308**	**241**	**262**	**1650 (100.0%)**

Table 5: Admissions to freedom by occupational group, Canterbury, 1600-1660 (Source: FA20-26).

the seventeenth century (9.3% vs 6.0%) suggesting a small rise in urban maintenance and construction; a lower incidence of clothing workers (11.9% vs 17.5%) indicative of less local manufacture and more retail of finished goods; and a fractionally higher number of gentry (4.9% vs 3.5%).[88] A higher number of miscellaneous trades in the seventeenth-century figures (3.1% vs 0.5%) reflects, to an extent, diversification of trade descriptions over time. Overall, however, there is little to suggest that the occupational character of Canterbury's freemen body dramatically changed during the early part of the seventeenth century.

Maidstone's limited published early Stuart data using available evidence (1600-1617) indicates that the major freemen occupations were 'clothing and textiles' (20.9%), distributive trades (19.6%), and food and drink trades (12.4%).[89] Set against Canterbury's 1600-20 data this suggests close similarity in each of these groups, though given the earlier point concerning categorisation, this comparison should be approached cautiously.

Freedom in Canterbury and Maidstone was thus achieved by similar means but according to individual practice. Canterbury's freeman body was almost certainly significantly larger than Maidstone's, and the former appears to have increasingly restricted recruitment over the period to favour those with familial or occupational connections. From these wider community groups of freemen, the civic elite were chosen to serve as corporation members and, as the following section demonstrates, at least in Canterbury, they formed a distinct demographic community within the wider freemen body.

2.2 The Corporation

Within urban city commonwealths, 'The institutional expression' of a community of citizens was represented by – most often – a mayor and two formal councils, forming the corporation.[90] In Canterbury, members of the corporation at any one time in the period 1600-1660 were in the region of a mere half per cent of the city population, and five to seven per cent of the pool of freemen as calculated in the previous section. In Maidstone, the corporation formed a greater proportion given the smaller overall town

[88] Comparison with data in Table 5.2, Durkin, p. 122.
[89] Clark and Murfin, p. 47. The total number analysed is one hundred and fifty-three there being a further thirty-two freemen with unspecified occupations.
[90] Withington, 'Urban Citizens', p. 315.

population and freeman body size, though still represented a small elite group. By assessing the demographics of the corporate group in Canterbury, this section shows them to be of a different character to the wider group of freemen. The following three sections set out the structural characteristics of the corporations of Canterbury and Maidstone, the method of reconstruction of Canterbury's burghmote membership, and their demographic characteristics.

Structure

Corporate structures varied across England's towns but were often established with a mayor, two council bodies and support from a range of other offices. In Kent, most incorporated towns had a mayor, a senior council bench of ten to twelve men and a lower council of twenty-four men, the main exception being the small town of Queenborough with just a mayor and four jurats.[91] Canterbury's supporting offices included a recorder, sword-bearer, four sergeants-at-mace, a town and other clerks, a town sergeant, scavengers, a beadle, and a crier. In Maidstone, corporate officers were more limited than in Canterbury but included a chief and second sergeant, searchers and sealers for clothes and stuffs and also for leather all named by the mayor, a recorder, and two chamberlains.

Mayor-making was a high point in the civic year but occurred at different times in different places, providing a unique sense of a local 'corporate year'. Differences were often entrenched in medieval origins as surviving Cinque Port custumals record: Dover's election was the Nativity of the Virgin (8 September), Faversham's the Monday after Michaelmas (29 September), and at Fordwich and Sandwich the Monday after the feast of St. Andrew (30 November).[92] In Canterbury, election took place on Holy Cross day, 14 September, with the mayor elected by the freemen from two candidates chosen by the outgoing mayor and the aldermen. Ceremonial accession occurred at Michaelmas, 29 September, and was marked by a procession, sermons and formal oath-taking. As aldermanic vacancies arose, replacements were chosen by the mayor and existing aldermen with the 'consent and assent of the Comoners'; new common councilmen were chosen from the wider freeman body by the existing members so that control of corporate membership was firmly kept within the corporate

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[91] *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Corporate Towns of England and Wales,* ed. by Llewellyn Frederick Jewitt and W. H. St. John Hope, 2 vols (London, 1895), I, p. 350.
[92] Justin Croft, 'The Custumals of the Cinque Ports, c.1290-c.1500: Studies in the Cultural Production of the Urban Record' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1997) p. 23, n. 5.

body.[93] Senior officers were appointed annually, the chamberlain at one of the new mayor's first meetings, though outgoing responsibility did not end until accounts were audited in December. The sheriff, usually a member of the common council, was the mayor's appointee.[94]

It is worth noting that for aldermen and councilmen elections were not always unanimous, suggesting attention to the language of entries in civic records might be a valuable source for uncovering internal political cultures. In Canterbury, baker Thomas Gilbert's election to the common council in August 1640, was by 'the Sheriff & ye Maior part of ye Common Council'; sheriff John Pollen's appointment to alderman in August 1641 was by the mayor and greater part of the aldermen, indicating a form of internal voting system or, possibly, decisions taken in the absence of the full corporate complement, a point of relevance in Chapter Four.[95]

Those chosen to be councilmen in their absence, like Michael Page in July 1641, might be given 'warning' to attend the next meeting; when appearing in August, he refused to take his oath receiving a £5 fine, but was subsequently elected in July 1643 and went on to become mayor in September 1648.[96] Sergeants-at-mace were re-appointed directly after the new mayor's swearing-in, reflecting the close association of these roles, and within weeks the chamberlain, masters of the hospitals and watch, and scavengers were in place. These patterns of practice were not unusual but did differ between towns, and local practice presented different experiences of who was eligible to vote, and therefore, which groups had influence over internal elections and how internal politics might be understood.

In Maidstone, the mayor, twelve jurats and common council appear much more closely linked with the wider 'commonalty' of freemen. Mayoral election in Maidstone took place on 2 November though the original charter of incorporation set the date at Michaelmas as at Canterbury.[97] Canterbury was also cited as the pattern for Maidstone's mayoral oath, and in the grant of a sergeant at mace by the incorporation charter of Edward VI, it was allowed that he might 'execute proclamations, processes, arrests and

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[93] Durkin, p. 42. Aldermen and common council members might be elected and sworn in at the same meeting but were often separated by several weeks.
[94] This practice dated back to at least 1529, Palmer, p. 139.
[95] AC4, fols 154^{r}, 162^{v}.
[96] AC4, fols 161^{v}, 162^{r}, 268^{v}.
[97] Maidstone Council, *Records*, pp. 8-9.

executions "in like manner and form as any sergeant at mace in our said city of Canterbury doth and executes"'.[98] This provides potential evidence of a form of cross-fertilisation of corporate culture, an interesting point in relation to the way in which newly incorporated towns established themselves and practically approached their first steps towards urban governance.

The language of Maidstone's minute book entries, however, indicates a different approach to the balance of power than in Canterbury, with a greater input by members of the common council. Though there is mention of a twenty-four man common council before 1605, it seems many freemen, though with a restriction on free freeholders, chose to appear at burghmote meetings.[99] On 5 August 1605, however, 'for the better government of the Town', an order was passed that twenty-four, and no more than forty, men 'of the better sorte of the Commoners' were to make a more formal common council, 'for avoiding of confusion and disorder at burghmotes in regard of the multitude of that assemblie not altogether of the sufficentest for that service but many tymes of the meanest and unfittest'.[100] This presents a, perhaps biased, insight into the social mix of the freemen in Maidstone, but by taking this step, Maidstone's corporation restricted numbers and power to a more socially elitist group. They themselves understood and selected out the 'better sort' from the freemen to form the council and the names of the first twenty-four are listed in the minutes of that day.[101]

The more formal common council appears to have retained a significant level of control in relation to corporate decisions, with the text of many orders indicating that they were made 'At the desire of the Common Council'. In September 1616, there appears no shame or concern of appearing disloyal or divided when it is recorded that 'they thought it not fitt' to agree to Mayor Gabriel Greene's request to secure the reversion of a stewardship for James Francklyn, going so far as to agree that 'no such grant be made during the life of the present steward', in case the mayor be offended should a similar request be granted to another at a later date.[102] Furthermore, when fifteen-year old Mildmay Fane, future earl of Westmoreland and son of the first earl, Francis Fane, was admitted to freedom in October 1617, it was at the 'desire' of the

[98] Ibid., p. 8.
[99] Ibid., p. 23.
[100] ACm1/2, fol. 6^{r}.
[101] ACm1/2, fols 8^{r-v}.
[102] ACm1/2, fol. 35^{r}.

common council to which the mayor and jurats 'dyd willingly condescend'.[103] This was, perhaps, a more egalitarian form of local governance than seen at Canterbury, with an impact on local organisational culture.

Membership

It is difficult to study the internal environment of a corporation without some awareness of serving members, and an early focus of research for this thesis was concerned with reconstruction of the membership of the institutional component of Canterbury corporation who met together as a burghmote court (Appendix D). Published lists exist for Canterbury mayors – and for Maidstone's mayors (1549-1881), town clerks (1560-1874), and jurats (1549-1660) – whilst unpublished lists of Canterbury's burghmote membership are available for the earlier period of 1520 to 1603.[104] Similar data have proved useful for other towns: Sacks' reconstructed lists of common councilmen in Bristol facilitated his occupational analysis of the group, but his method of reconstruction relied on records of service as sheriff and the strict implementation of a *cursus honorem*.[105]

Many corporate towns exhibited a *cursus honorem*, a set path through corporate offices of the sort described by Tittler.[106] In Maidstone, 'Acting as the freemen's chamberlain was important but not obligatory training for a jurat', whilst in Dover, 'very few mayors had not acted as chamberlain' (1509-1640).[107] In Gloucester, men served two years as steward then twice as sheriff; in Bristol, as noted, service as sheriff was consistent enough to allow reconstruction of the membership of the corporation.[108] Other towns, like Sandwich, had 'no rigid *cursus honorem*'.[109] These different approaches present another layer of individuality and resulting community culture, a varied expectation of what service might mean, or even how it might be attained, in each corporation.

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[103] ACm1/2, fol. 38^{v}.

[104] Russell, pp. 410-2. Buckley, p. 62. Palmer covers c.1529-1562, Appendix V, pp. 358-73. Durkin covers 1544-1602, Appendix 3, pp. 247-306.

[105] Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 163.

[106] Tittler, *Reformation*, pp. 141-2.

[107] Buckley, pp. 3, 33-4. In 1549-1660 seventy-six of ninety-seven jurats served as mayor. Dixon, p. 32.

[108] Clark, 'Ramoth-Gilead', p. 177. Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 163. Clark, 'Civic Leaders', pp. 317-8.

[109] Zoe Ollerenshaw, 'The Civic Elite of Sandwich, Kent 1568-1640' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1990), p.163.

Despite Canterbury's formal and long-established form, no real evidence for a *cursus honorem* has been found, although there is a fine line of definition between a general pattern and a specific pathway.[110] In Canterbury, service as sheriff did often precede election to the upper council and chamberlains regularly served a two-year term of office during the latter half of the sixteenth century.[111] This latter pattern altered in the period 1600-1660, beginning with the appointment of new alderman, Avery Sabine, in 1615. He undertook a three-year stint, followed by a four-year break, and a further six years as chamberlain. In the 1630s, John Furser and William Whiting served three years each, followed by John Lade, appointed in 1639, for four. The following thirteen years (1643-1656) saw only two chamberlains: Daniel Masterson and Michael Page, serving seven and six years respectively. Michael Page served a further year in 1657-8 and Zachary Lee the last two to 1660.

There may be several reasons for these changes. This period witnessed the beginning of a separation of governance roles.[112] It is possible, therefore, that Avery Sabine proved a competent chamberlain and changing attitudes put this above the importance of tradition. Aldermen Masterson and Page's domination of the civil war years, widely identified as a period of disordered urban and parish records, might reflect the greater need to have competent men in a position of financial responsibility during war years. It is also possible they were kept in post by a ruling faction. The burghmote minutes simply record the repeated appointments with no further explanation but it would appear that the seventeenth century saw a change in Canterbury's local working practice in this regard.

Existing unpublished lists for Canterbury's burghmote membership rely on appointment evidence from minute books, and attendance lists. This is impossible for the period 1603-30 as no minute book survives, thus necessitating a different approach. Several sources were used for the period to 1630, therefore, with a greater reliance on minute books for 1630-60. The starting point was an established 1602-3 membership list.[113] Receipts in the chamberlains' accounts for 'dinner fines', imposed on entry to the

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[110] No evidence was found for a sixteenth-century *cursus honorem*, Durkin, p. 81. Names of Canterbury mayors, sheriffs, and chamberlains for 1600-1660 may be traced through the burghmote membership lists in Appendix D.

[111] Durkin, pp. 247-303.

[112] Peter Clark, 'Introduction', in *Transformation*, ed. by Clark, pp. 13-61 (pp. 36-9).

[113] Durkin, p. 306.

lower council or promotion to the upper one, provide an approximate date of entry for some individuals. This dating method is inexact as comparison of fines and dates of entry post-1630 reveal some significant delays between appointment and payment. Future alderman Vespasian Harris was sworn into the council on 24 July 1638 but his dinner fine was not accounted for until 1639-40, probably around February, giving a possible eighteen-month gap.[114] Where available, probate/burial records help to confirm end of service, though sometimes members moved or left the council before their death. Annual accounts auditor lists can confirm an individual was alive and involved with the regular workings of the burghmote. Finally, analysis of the emerging lists sometimes enabled reasonable assumptions to be made, for example, concerning gaps between definitive evidence of service. Overall, given the less sure nature of the sources for the earlier period, these lists should be considered as more tentative than those for the post-1630 period.

A note should also be made of corporate turnover. In both Canterbury and Maidstone, the average rate was about one jurat or alderman per year.[115] The average rate, however, belies the reality of runs of stable membership and large influxes of new members. In Canterbury, on several occasions, three new aldermen were appointed in one year, and in 1624-5 no less than eight new councilmen were elected. As diverging religious or political beliefs became increasingly important factors in the development of factions within corporations, large-scale appointments could potentially be manipulated to strengthen or moderate the elite community.

In combination with existing data, the reconstruction of Canterbury's burghmote membership extends our current knowledge to complete a continuous run of known members from circa 1529 to 1660. The new lists for 1600-1660 have been used in the following section to analyse the demographics of Canterbury's corporate community.

Demographics

The section above in relation to the freemen established demographic profiles for admission methods and occupation for those admitted in Canterbury over the period 1600-1660. Working with Canterbury's newly compiled membership lists, as presented in Appendix D, this section provides parallel data for the smaller, corporate group to

[114] AC4, fol. 137^{v}; FA24, fol. 474^{r}.
[115] Durkin, p.74. Buckley, p. 7.

draw out similarities and differences between this group and the general body of freemen. It further assesses the financial standing of members of Canterbury corporation by using membership lists in conjunction with the recently transcribed 1641 poll tax for Canterbury. This provides a sense of how the corporate community were set apart from the civic community by these markers.

This section again focuses on Canterbury, but there is some limited data available relating to Maidstone's jurats. In terms of wealth, a number have been noted as 'at least as wealthy as local gentry' with bequest evidence for ten jurats (1600-20) providing a tentative average worth of £670.[116] This is in line with Canterbury, as will be shown below, and for example, Gloucester's aldermen with an 'average estate' of under £1,000, though Clark indicated that 'a few were mini-tycoons with over £3,000 in real and personal possessions'.[117] In terms of occupation, Maidstone's jurats probably fit with Clark's view of Kent's urban 'oligarchies' as 'coalitions of craftsmen and traders […] with a leavening of professional men, lawyers and the like'.[118] Detailed evidence is limited but it has been identified that 'Between 1590 and 1630 the town elected 7 jurats from the cloth trade (4 mercers, 3 drapers), one merchant, a brewer, a baker, a tanner' and a lawyer.[119] For the later period of 1630-60, 'new jurats included two drapers, two in the beer trade (a brewer and a maltster), a cutler, two pewterers and another lawyer'.[120] It is difficult to draw conclusions from such small numbers but this does evidence a broad range of occupations amongst a relatively wealthy group of jurats.

For Canterbury, examination of the methods of admission to freedom for corporation members serving in the period 1600-1660, where identifiable, presents a different picture to the overall freemen body (Table 6). It should be noted that, in contrast to the freemen's 1600-1660 data, these figures reach back into the sixteenth century for members serving in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Apprenticeship as a route to freedom is essentially found to be in the same proportion as for the wider freemen group, however, this bare value does not take account of actual apprentice and master connections. It is probable that future corporation members were

[116] Buckley, p. 19.
[117] Clark, 'Ramoth-Gilead', p. 177.
[118] Clark, *Provincial Society*, p. 140. Buckley, pp. 11-13.
[119] Buckley, p. 11.
[120] Ibid.

more likely to serve an apprenticeship with serving members than other freemen, a point returned to in Chapter Three. Other categories here are suggestive of differences between the freemen and the corporation. The most significant features are higher levels of admission by gift (11.0% vs 6.6%) and patrimony (31.8% vs 22.1%) balanced by lower levels of admission by marriage (3.2% vs. 13.0%) and redemption (24.0% vs 31.9%). These findings appear consistent with a continuity of family service within a corporation as, for example, fathers and sons like Joseph Colfe senior and Joseph Colfe junior. The proportion of patrimonial entries points towards the existence of a sense of 'corporate inheritance', whilst opportunities for social progression, which freedom by redemption might provide, were somewhat stifled by more oligarchic practices.

Admission Method	Aldermen	Common Councilmen	Total	Percentage
Apprenticeship	21	25	46	29.9%
Gift	3	14	17	11.0%
Marriage	3	2	5	3.2%
Patrimony	23	26	49	31.8%
Redemption	16	21	37	24.0%
Total	*66*	*88*	*154*	

Table 6: Known freeman admission methods for Canterbury aldermen and common councilmen serving 1600-1660 (Sources: FA20-26; Joseph Meadows Cowper, *The Roll of the Freemen of the City of Canterbury AD 1392 to 1800* (Canterbury, 1903); Stella Corpe and Anne M. Oakley, *Canterbury Freemen: A List compiled from Original Sources in the Canterbury City Archives*, 5 vols (Canterbury, 1982), I, II).

The relatively higher level of serving members made free by gift is likely connected with a greater number of men identified as 'gentlemen' in an occupational analysis of corporation members using the same categorisation as above (Table 7). Amongst the freemen (1600-1660), 4.9% were denoted by the term 'gentleman' but represent 14.7% of those corporation members whose occupations are identifiable. Two other points of significance arise from the comparative occupational data: the distinct lack of leather trades represented in corporate membership (0.5% vs. 13.9%) and the high level of distributive trades amongst the city governors (38.6% vs. 15.2%). The latter reflects the pattern seen across English provincial towns as described evidence from Bristol and Exeter has already shown. Bristol had a heavy weighting in this direction with over eighty per cent of sheriffs being 'overseas merchants or major

retailers'.[121] Though not as extensive as this, Canterbury's figures do demonstrate a marked concentration of distribution merchants in the city corporation.

Category	Aldermen	Common Councilmen	Total	Percentage of Total
Building and allied	1	2	3	6.3%
Clothing	4	13	17	9.2%
Distributive	39	32	71	38.6%
Food and drink	13	7	20	10.9%
Gentry	11	16	27	14.7%
Leather and allied	0	1	1	0.5%
Metalwork	0	6	6	3.3%
Professional	0	3	3	1.6%
Textiles	1	7	8	4.3%
Unknown	3	21	24	13.0%
Yeomen	0	4	4	2.2%
Total	*72*	*112*	*184*	

Table 7: Known freeman admissions by occupation for serving members of Canterbury corporation, 1600-1660 (Source: FA20-26; Cowper, *Freemen*; Corpe, *Freemen*).

Given the apparently higher concentration of gentlemen and merchants in the corporation it is useful to gain a sense of the wealth of Canterbury's urban governors. Surviving wills and inventories for aldermen are indicative of the higher wealth of at least some of the urban elite. Alderman Ralph Bawden's will of 1611 includes a series of bequests to the poor, his servants, and to family and friends including fellow councilmen Thomas Long and Ralph Grove. He passes on prime city rentals to Ralph Hawkins and John Hunt, his sons-in-law, fellow corporation members, and executors, and to his daughter, Sara, wife of the latter, his 'Mansion house wherein I nowe dwell'.[122] Gentleman Thomas Hovenden's estate, valued at £329 18s. 4d. in 1621, and Richard Lockley's from 1631, at a little over £800, represent typical levels of wealth for the civic elite but both are eclipsed by apothecary, Joseph Colfe, whose estate was valued at £2,892 3s. 2d. in 1620.[123] Colfe is representative of the lucrative opportunities of trading in the early seventeenth century.

[121] Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 164, see also pp. 165-7.
[122] PRC17/55/183.
[123] PRC28/11/254; PRC28/17/367; PRC28/11/106.

An opportunity to assess the relative wealth of common councilmen is provided by the availability of transcribed data for the 1641 poll tax for Canterbury.[124] In June 1641, the Long Parliament settled the terms of the tax, the purpose of which was 'for the speedy provision of money for disbanding the armies and settling the peace of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland', and on 10 November 1641, an indenture was signed for Canterbury by recently installed mayor, Clive Carter.[125] Assessments for the tax were based on wealth.

The tax records identify eleven men as aldermen, including the mayor, apparently misplacing two aldermen. One is John Pollen, who was sworn as an alderman on 14 September, replacing John Furser who had died early that year and Pollen is separately identified as sheriff.[126] The second would appear to be George Knott. Knott had taken an alderman's oath on 21 July 1640 and served for about eight years, so it is surprising that he is not identified as an alderman in the poll tax register. As an alderman, Knott must have been a Canterbury resident, and under the terms of the tax aldermanic status determined a set £5 levy. A George Knott is entered on the roll paying an ordinary one shilling levy, but it is unclear as to whether this entry relates to Knott himself or a son. In either case, the standard alderman's levy means the tax roll has little value for assessing aldermanic wealth, but it provides compelling evidence of the financial status of common councillors.

The common councilmen are not identified as such in the return. Here, the reconstructed membership lists are of use in identifying councilmen in the record. Due to some uncertainty where two inhabitants have the same name, it is only possible to have a reasonable level of surety for nineteen of the common councilmen serving at the time of the tax. For the purposes of this analysis, since he did not pay the statutory alderman's contribution, John Pollen is included with the councilmen. Approximately two-thirds (63%) of this group of nineteen are rated at £20 (twelve men) whilst the remaining seven men are rated at the higher £50 income (37%). This is in a stark contrast to the wider assessed population where only 14% of all households are rated for

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[124] The surviving poll tax record has been transcribed by Canterbury Christ Church University and made publicly available at <www.canterbury.ac.uk/arts-and-humanities/school-of-humanities/history/research/1641-poll-tax>.

[125] The indenture was formally between King Charles I and the mayor, sheriff John Pollen, recorder Francis Lovelace, and commissioners of the city and county of Canterbury, William Mann, Thomas Courthop, Avery Sabine and James Master, the latter two, long-serving aldermen. SP16/481/136.

[126] AC4, fols 153^{v}, 154^{r}. PRC/31/114 F/3.

a £20 income and just 4% at a £50 income level; seventeen residents are rated at £100 (1%).[127] These findings clearly demonstrate a correlation between wealth and officeholding and the elite nature of civic corporate rule.

It is also possible to examine later appointments to the common council – the group of men who were living in the city in 1641 and appointed to the common council over the period 1642-60; here a slightly different pattern emerges. Over this period, sixty-one men were elected as common councilmen. Of these, twenty-three (38%) do not appear in the 1641 poll tax listing, suggesting a significant proportion of incomers to the city were appointed to the corporation over the twenty-eight-year period, though some may have been too young to appear independently in the listings. Of the remaining thirty-eight men, twenty-nine are identifiable with a reasonable level of confidence. Two were rated at £50 and seventeen (59%) at £20. Nine men were rated at £10 probably reflecting their relative youth compared with those already serving on the council. This snapshot of men appointed over the twenty-eight-year period after the poll tax of 1641, demonstrates that, even before election, these men had an income profile suiting them to future corporate service.

The character of the corporate group in Canterbury, in terms of wealth, occupation, and to some extent, freedom entry method, can therefore be demonstrated to differ from the wider freemen body. The analyses presented here demonstrate that, in Canterbury, the members of the institutional component of the civic community were set apart from the freemen, and from the wider urban community, even prior to officeholding.

Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on the structural, occupational, and wealth characteristics of the freemen and corporation of Canterbury, setting them alongside more limited available evidence from Maidstone, and other towns, to explore what has been termed here, ‘corporate character’. This chapter has also begun to expose variable working practices between Canterbury and Maidstone corporations, a theme continued in later chapters.

[127] One hundred and sixty-nine are assessed at £10 (13%) and eighty at £5 (6%). The remaining households are split between those listed as ‘artisans’ (strangers), those on set rates (esquires, knights etc.) and those on the lowest, base rate.

The demarcation of the boundaries of a community are often stated in terms of communal similarity and difference to the 'other', and as noted in the Introduction, a sense of similarity might be the basis on which members of a community select new entrants.[128] The evidence presented here points towards the greater similarity of Canterbury's corporation members in terms of the characteristics examined, when considered against the overall freemen body.

This is not to suggest that corporate community members had no individuality. Each man brought his own civic history to his role within the corporation: his method of admission to freedom and the relative appearance of his own trade amongst other members. Craig Muldrew cautions that 'community has come to be interpreted as something contrary or opposite to individualism, and the fact that communities were, and are, a set or state of *interpersonal relations* themselves has often been lost'.[129] A similar sentiment, but one which underlines the impact of individuality, is expressed by Withington in relation to urban civic communities: 'Despite the legal fiction on which they were predicated, incorporated communities were never homogeneous entities which acted according to a single will'.[130] This point is underlined by the evidence presented above in relation to the contested parliamentary elections in 1620s Canterbury; these were marked by factionalism within the corporate community as well as differences between the political desires of the corporation and the freemen. Internal individual interpersonal relations were thus further complicated by the divergence of opinion between small groupings within the city commonwealth context.

In this respect, character differences between Canterbury's seventeenth-century corporation and the city's freemen community are of relevance. Whilst the overall picture of freemen's occupational demographics shows a continuity with the sixteenth century city, separate analysis of the corporate community reveals how certain trades – leather workers – are almost completely absent and there are higher numbers of gentlemen and mercers within the ruling group. Methods of admission to freedom amongst the corporate community show a higher proportion of entries by patrimony or gift, and the newly reconstructed details of membership of Canterbury's burghmote for

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[128] Jenkins, p. 105.

[129] Craig Muldrew, 'From a "Light Cloak" to an "Iron Cage": Historical Changes in the Relation between Community and Individualism', in *Communities* in *Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric,* ed. by Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (Manchester, 2000), pp. 156-77 (p. 159).

[130] Withington, 'Urban Citizens', pp. 318-9.

1600-1660 used in conjunction with the 1641 poll tax, show how the financial standing of serving and future common councilmen set them apart from the wider urban community even before formal officeholding. The demonstration of a distinct corporate community in Canterbury in these terms indicates that though freemen may have been 'expected to hold civic office as and when required' freedom itself was not necessarily an open invitation to corporate service.[131]

The profile of corporate members suggests they were well placed to control finances, and to communicate with county governors, legal advisors, and the networks of government. As predominantly trading merchants of various sorts, they understood financial transactions. The higher number of gentlemen meant that there were serving members of sufficient social standing to connect easily with those above them in the social hierarchy and, in Maidstone, the upper bench purposefully selected out the 'better sorts' of freemen to populate the lower bench.

The corporate community, 'the embodiment and apotheosis of civic community'. was, nevertheless, an integral part of the larger whole.[132] The evidence of the distinctive characteristics of the corporate institution in Canterbury confirms to some extent a stereotypical view of a wealthy, mercantile, oligarchic ruling body. Whilst the corporation was in overall authoritative control of the city, however, the balance of power in the civic community was open to forms of political negotiation. Withington argues that early modern civic communities were 'variants of an indigenous republican tradition rather than straightforward bastions of oligarchic power', allowing a sense of agency for non-institutional members.[133] Such a moment is seen when the freemen of Canterbury voted against the civic elite to secure John Finch as their man for parliament, a point at which they were able to express their voice in the manner of republican citizens of a city commonwealth.

In Canterbury, the occurrence of contested parliamentary elections provides a specific opportunity to observe internal corporate political behaviour. However, there are other, more subtle ways of observing the nature of the internal civic community relationships. In Canterbury, the grant of freedom was generally a liminal one providing a distinct sense of status as one of a growing group of freemen in the early part of the

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[131] Withington, 'Urban Citizens', p. 315.
[132] Withington, 'Citizens, Community', p. 139.
[133] Withington, 'Citizens, Community', pp. 139-40.

seventeenth century. In Maidstone, practical administration of freedom suggests it was understood in a less formal way with the option of paying to 'continue' freedom. Furthermore, in Maidstone, the relationship between the jurats and other sections of the civic community is evidenced by the language used in recording decisions of the burghmote court, entries implying a more open approach of the jurats to the opinion of the 'commoners'. This is suggestive of Maidstone's civic community working practically and more regularly as something more akin to a commonwealth than in Canterbury.

The evidence presented in this chapter indicates that Canterbury and Maidstone do present as 'variant' forms of republican city commonwealths in terms of the features studied here. Such differences provided individual local understandings of how an early modern corporate institution worked, the ways in which practical governance was achieved, and the nature of the relationship of the corporate community with the wider civic community. Both towns' corporate communities were populated by elite townsmen in terms of wealth and standing as the 'better sort', but Canterbury's members were, perhaps, more 'oligarchic' in the way they retained local control within the civic community.

This emerging sense of 'corporate character' and the self-identity of corporate communities is important in relation to urban governance but also has wider implications such as for processes of state formation. Braddick suggests that, in the seventeenth century, 'People were forced to recognize the realities of their obligations to the state, and in one sense this represents a change in the self-identity of the brokers of state authority'.[134] In order to understand how self-identity may have changed over time, it is desirable to first have a sense of how community groups involved as brokers of state authority – like urban corporations – may have seen themselves.

This chapter and Chapter One have emphasised the individuality of corporate development and character in Canterbury and Maidstone's corporate institutions, despite a shared institutional framework of legal incorporation. The evidence presented in this chapter has used the distinct boundaries of elite officeholding to examine corporation members as separate to the freemen body. Evidence of election to office and the taking of an oath do provide a clear sense of the transition of members from outsider

[134] Michael Braddick, 'State Formation and Social Change in Early Modern England: A Problem Stated and Approaches Suggested', *Social History*, 16 (1991), 1-17 (pp. 8-9).

to insider, but in reality, this liminal moment was set within the context of an imprecise border of other shared associations. It is this indistinct overlap, marked by kinship and occupational networks, residency patterns, and shared beliefs, which forms the subject of the next chapter, completing the contextualisation of the corporations of Canterbury and Maidstone ahead of the study of functional and cultural practices which follow in Part II.

Chapter Three: Corporate Connections

Chapters One and Two set out the foundations of the corporate institutions in Canterbury and Maidstone, detailing their development, financial resources, and the demographic characteristics of members and the wider freeman group from which they were drawn. At the point a man took a councilman's oath he formally entered and became an insider of the corporate community. As shown in Chapter Two, for Canterbury, this had a distinct demographic. Elevation into a common council did not, however, represent a sudden alteration in an individual's occupation or wealth: they brought this with them. Their similarity, and acceptability, to the existing corporate community was often fostered before election, and even before gaining freedom, by various means. Serving, and future, members might be connected by kinship, occupational networks or residential proximity within the urban landscape. Ideological standpoints in terms of religion, or parish connections, might bring men together but, especially in this period, could also be divisive. This chapter examines these three areas of social association which were largely independent of – but could have an impact on – the way a corporation worked, and the experiences of members of the corporate community.

The existence of close links between members of civic elite groups in early modern English towns is well documented. MacCaffrey describes Exeter's urban governors as a group whose 'domination of community life [was] interlocked by personal and business ties'.[1] Clark and Slack similarly note 'marriage and family ties' and guild membership as factors in developing oligarchic urban elite groups, and for Gloucester's aldermen, 'Group identity was fostered by joint business enterprises and credit connections as well as by the ubiquitous ties of kinship'.[2] Evans writes of the 'domination of important civic offices by urban dynasties' in Norwich, men there linked by trade, economic status, and kinship, and these types of connections underpinned many corporation networks.[3] These ties were not a formal pre-requisite for urban office, but might be an important precursor to it, representing overlaps between personal and corporate life which facilitated membership and fostered a sense of cultural similarity.

[1] MacCaffrey, p. 246.
[2] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition*, p. 129; Clark, 'Ramoth-Gilead', p. 177.
[3] Evans, *Norwich*, p. 30.

The idea of the importance of communal similarity was noted above and is a point also made in organisational culture theory which suggests that 'To a large extent, when new organisational members are selected, those who are allowed to enter are the ones who are perceived to fit in with what is already there'.[4] Seventeenth-century corporations, as shown above, often constituted large numbers of merchants and craftsmen, men who might be described as the 'middle sort', albeit elite within the urban setting.[5] As Chapter Two demonstrated, corporations might include members of the gentry, and some merchants had the trappings, if not the pedigree, of the 'better sorts'. Members of a corporation, whilst not necessarily self-categorising as middle sort, would have recognised those who were most like them – other merchants, craftsmen and their own kin – and to some degree elected new members on this basis. In part, what they recognised would also be features identified by Barry as characteristic of middle sort associative behaviour, namely, values, practices, and rhetoric.[6] Such choices, made over time by an urban elite would tend further to consolidate similarities within a self-selecting community.

The urban environment offered a broad range of associative opportunities. Barry's engagement with the issue of '*collective* identity' amongst the middling sort revealed how parish or religious groups, occupational guilds, military and political groups, including the freeman body, served to link people together in a variety of ways.[7] In Gloucester, corporation members were involved in 'almost all the principal non-conciliar offices in the city', including trade guilds and charitable hospitals; here also, in contrast to Canterbury, 'two-thirds of the city's burgesses in Parliament 1601-40 were likewise aldermen'.[8] The opportunities of association outside the corporate institution both strengthened corporate connections and provided the chance for the corporation to influence other aspects of the life of the urban community.

In 1600, parish religion and officeholding remained a strong influence for most urban inhabitants but did not necessarily lead to unity of religious beliefs. From at least as far back as the beginning of the Reformation, the split of those embracing the

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[4] Paul Hill, *Culture and Organisation* (Harlow, 2007), p. 42.

[5] For a review of the problem of 'middling sort' see: Henry French, 'The Search for the "Middle Sort" of People in England, 1600-1800', *Hist. J.,* 43 (2000), 277-93.

[6] Jonathan Barry, 'Bourgeois Collectivism? Urban Association and the Middling Sort', in *Middling Sort*, ed. by Barry and Brooks, p. 102. French, *Middle Sort*, p. 23.

[7] Barry, 'Bourgeois Collectivism?', pp. 84-112 (pp. 84-5).

[8] Clark, 'Ramoth-Gilead', p. 177.

Protestant religion and those retaining a more conservative religious outlook meant that men of increasingly diverse beliefs served together in corporate institutions. Until the mid-seventeenth century, this rarely caused a significant problem but in many places may have served increasingly as a feature of recruitment choices, creating ruling puritan or royalist factions led by elected mayors of similar persuasion.[9] Religion could, therefore, be binding as well as divisive in the corporate setting.

This chapter examines three aspects of the 'blurred boundaries' of corporate communities: kinship networks, spatial associations, and shared beliefs. All potentially forged strong links between members whilst they were freemen so that, for many men, the transition into the corporation was one of natural progression in that the process of membership had effectively begun some time before. This chapter demonstrates the different influences which external connections between members might have on internal group culture. It begins by considering kinship networks including the role of apprenticeship, and trade guilds; it then compares evidence of patterns of habitation of corporation members in Canterbury and Maidstone, and finally considers the complexities of religion and the mixture of beliefs existing within Canterbury's mid-century corporation. Overall, it demonstrates a number of other influences which might contribute to local cultures.

3.1 Kinship Networks

Corporate connections based on personal relationships formed some of the strongest links between members, and the closest relationships were those of family: fathers and sons, brothers, in-laws, and cousins. Kinship within early modern corporations was a part of the mechanism of oligarchic-style control, though as MacCaffrey, with a focus on marital relationships, pointed out for Exeter, it is not an easy task to produce genealogical pedigrees to represent all such connections.[10] Marriage to sisters, daughters, or even mothers of serving or future governors established legal ties between men of all generations. In Canterbury, alderman Ralph Bawden was father-in-law to Ralph Hawkins and John Hunt who both joined the common council around 1613; they were promoted to the aldermanic bench within five years and served together until

[9] See for example, Stoyle, *From Deliverance*, pp. 52, 58.
[10] MacCaffrey, p. 254.

Hawkins' death in June 1626.[11] Further examples show the importance of marriage connections: in April 1638, alderman William Whiting's son, also William, married Susanna Sabine, daughter of Avery Sabine who had served as alderman with Whiting senior, the 'wiseman', since 1624.[12] Again, as MacCaffrey observed for Exeter, 'The list of marital alliances within the city oligarchy could be extended at length'.[13] In this respect, Canterbury and Maidstone were similar to other provincial towns.

Fathers and sons also served together with corporate officeholding sometimes continuing down through several generations. In Maidstone, six families – Maplesden, Green, Beale, Franklin, Banks and Swinnock – are identified as 'providing several long-serving jurats'.[14] A typical example from Canterbury is that of the Colfe family. Joseph Colfe, the son of a Huguenot refugee, Amandus Colfe, was brother to the two clergymen, Richard and Isaac Colfe.[15] From his appointment to the common council in 1593 until his death in June 1620, he served as sheriff, chamberlain, alderman from 1607, and mayor in 1611 and is represented in his aldermanic robes in an oil painting owned by Canterbury City Council; the painting is considered further in Chapter Five. His son, also Joseph, was admitted to the common council in about 1622 and appointed sheriff in 1629. Shortly afterwards, Joseph Colfe junior was appointed as an alderman but served for only two years before his death in 1632.[16] Sons sometimes served as common councilmen and fathers as aldermen until the death of the latter opened the way to civic progression for his son. The type of familial links seen in other urban corporations also, therefore, existed in Canterbury and Maidstone. Whilst reinforcing the oligarchic nature of the corporations, in the sense of retaining authority in the hands of a few, they also fostered a sense of corporate identity based on kinship, contributing to the communal sense of a close-knit 'family'.

Evidence from wills and inventories reveal other connections beyond formal kinship and corporation members regularly acted as executors, witnesses and overseers of inventories for each other. The will of Ralph Bawden, mentioned above, written a

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[11] FA/22/1, fols 96^{r}, 144^{v}, 229^{r}, 231^{v}, 328^{r}. Bawden was buried in January 1612 shortly before their elections to the council.
[12] CCA-U3/2/1/1, fol. 28^{v}.
[13] MacCaffrey, p. 255.
[14] Buckley, p. 10.
[15] William Hunt revised by Vivienne Larminie, 'Colfe, Abraham', *ODNB*; Stephen Wright, 'Colfe, Isaac', *ODNB*.
[16] PRC32/45/114.

few weeks before his death in early 1612, connects him with several other councilmen, including his sons-in-law as executors.[17] The inventory of alderman Henry Vanner's goods was taken in March 1630 by fellow alderman, Thomas Reader, and councilman, Thomas Marshall.[18] Not all wills evidence fellow corporation members, however; some men, like alderman Richard Lockley, who left the council and moved out of the city to nearby Hackington shortly before his death, sought out other individuals for this purpose.[19]

Family ties sat alongside those based on occupation and trade. In Bristol, as noted in Chapter Two, city council members were heavily connected with the Society of Merchant Venturers and 'the mercantile and industrial elite held the vast majority of the offices'.[20] Successful local industries could work as feeders for higher civic office as with Newcastle's coal-traders and Leicester's textile tradesmen who 'kept a tight rein on civic governance'.[21] In the smaller provincial towns of Canterbury and Maidstone, trade and civic office were connected by local craft fellowships though in different ways. Despite the waning of medieval guild influence after the Reformation, trade associations remained important and the foremost men in many towns had significant roles in trade organisations. This potentially established a crossover between personal and corporate business with economic relationships overlapping political ones.

Over the seventeenth century, the trade guilds or fellowships used by urban governors as part of the 'elaborate machinery of protectionism' became increasingly impotent in this respect as economic markets became more open.[22] They did, however, continue to play an important social role as a means of transmitting a 'broader set of urban values associated with the bringing up of the new generation'.[23] Canterbury's 'fellowships' included at least seven groups granted a re-incorporation by the city in 1602, each paying 6s. 8d. to the city corporation to seal their incorporation documents.[24] Seen in the light of a 'protectionist' move, corporate control ensured quality and

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[17] PRC17/55/183.
[18] PRC16/196 UV/4.
[19] PRC28/17/367.
[20] Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 167.
[21] Howell, *Newcastle*, pp. 39-40. Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 196.
[22] F. J. Fisher, 'Some Experiments in Company Organization in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 4 (1933), 177-94 (p. 177).
[23] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition*, p. 109. Brooks, 'Apprenticeship', p. 75.
[24] FA21/1, fol. 17^{v}. CCA-CC-WOODRUFF/54/4, 13, 19.

strengthened a 'commercial hold over artisan-manufacturers'.[25] Nearby Dover had incorporated fellowships of shoemakers, tailors, and mercers in 1582, and Exeter's pre-civil war guilds, though numerous and autonomous, were also entirely subordinate to the Chamber. [26] Towns thereby secured economic and administrative control but were also well-placed to influence appointments and values within the fellowships they oversaw or served in.

Drapers and tailors were particularly influential in Canterbury. A surviving memorandum book of the Drapers' and Tailors' Company bears witness to the long association between the city corporation and the company: the earliest entry, dated January 1545, lists the master as John Freeman, an alderman.[27] In 1600, and again in 1603, the master was the also the mayor, and in other years the position was held by aldermen. In the years after 1605, Company accounts were drawn up by Richard Scott, elected to the common council just before commencing this role.[28] Company fines were fed into the corporation: in the mid-1650s, alderman Richard May, then Master of the Company, paid £3 2s. 6d. into the city coffers representing fines for 'breach of the Orders and decrees' of the Fellowship.[29] The known roll-call of members during the first twenty-five years of the seventeenth century, whether master, clerk or auditor includes at least sixteen corporation office-holders, half of whom served as mayor at some point.[30] The most senior civic elite were highly dominant in the fellowship and the Company even had use of a locked chest in the town hall.[31] Within such a fellowship, future corporation members likely worked alongside serving members for some time before their election.

This tight association with the corporation is seen in other aspects of the Company's internal practice. They owned property in St George and St Alphege parishes and paid for St Andrew's clerk, John Chad, to ring the church bell before sermons delivered by a Company-paid preacher. St Andrew's was a parish intimately

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[25] They were: apothecaries et al., barbers and surgeons, mercers et al., shoemakers et al., woollen drapers and tailors, smiths, and weavers. See Durkin, p. 157.
[26] Dixon, p. 435. MacCaffrey, pp. 86-89.
[27] CCA-U12/A1, fol. 1^{r}.
[28] FA21, fol. 109^{v}.
[29] FA26, fol. 229^{r}.
[30] Ralph Bawden, Nicholas Colbrand, Warham Jemmet, Edward Kennard, John Lade, Henry Lightfoot, Thomas Long, James Master, John Peerse, James Robynson, Avery Sabine, Richard Scott, George Wanderton, John Watson, William Whiting, Robert Wyn.
[31] CCA-U12/A1, 1612.

linked with the corporation and will be considered further in the next section. The Drapers held an annual feast – their major expense – at the Red Lion, the corporation-owned inn situated next to the town hall. In 1617, forty-nine individuals sat down to dine accompanied by musicians, most likely the city waits.[32] This fellowship might almost be seen as an echo of the corporation.

However, the Company was not without internal dissent. In 1621, master and alderman Ralph Hawkins met with several associates the day after the Company's feast day and 'ill spent' 5s. 6d. This verged on personal use of Company money and sparked an order that on similar future occasions they would be stood a 'pottell of claret wyne…and no more'.[33] The account auditors reviewing spending that year were three aldermen, John Watson, Avery Sabine and James Master, and two future aldermen, William Whiting and John Lade.[34] Men of the Company and the corporation were often one and the same, giving additional strength to associative ties and extending connections of corporation members beyond the obvious boundaries of corporate membership.

Though little evidence survives for the other companies in Canterbury, the mayor and corporation were involved in their running and regulation. In 1644, the corporation paid 'Fowle the smith' to replace the shoemakers' company seal, and in the late 1650s dealt with petitions from both the shoemakers and the cordwainers concerning their ancient rights.[35] On 12 September 1643, Henry Martyn was ordered by Canterbury's burghmote court to submit himself to the master and Company of Cordwainers for 'contemptuous words' against them.[36] The Company refused to admit him, though it is unclear if this was the cause or result of his outburst. Whichever, it was the mayor, Daniel Masterson, who was to ensure that once he submitted, Martyn was allowed membership 'in reasonable tyme', which he apparently was, entering a petition to keep a shop in the city in 1644.[37] The local involvement of corporations with trade guilds, whether as members or as overseers, could present opportunities for developing close network associations within and without the corporate institution.

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[32] U12/A1, 1617.
[33] U12/A1, 1621.
[34] U12/A1, 1621.
[35] CC-A/P/B/1657/23 (cordwainers); /1657/77 (shoemakers); /1657/97 (shoemakers). FA25, fol. 188^{v}.
[36] AC4, fols 180$^{r, v}$.
[37] CC-A/P/B/1644/1.

Maidstone also established several trade companies, though they were unsuccessful in the longer term. In 1605, four new trade companies were formally recognized: Mercers, Drapers, Cordwainers, and Victuallers.[38] The right to create each company and appoint their wardens lay with the mayor, three jurats and six council members; they set out the rules of trade, received half of any 'forteitures', and took an annual account.[39] Despite support from the corporation, the companies did not survive beyond 1613 in any permanent form. Clark and Murfin conclude that they were 'probably never very effective', in part, because they 'lacked the social function of the ancient guilds'.[40] The elected wardens in 1605 were freemen, but not jurats, though it is likely that some trade links with council members existed. Nevertheless, if the community of Maidstone's corporation was not so closely aligned with the companies as in Canterbury, then this may have meant that they were not able, or did not desire, to maintain them when they struggled. The local organisational approach of corporations to economic frameworks could, therefore, have an impact on their function and success.

In both towns, established apprenticeship systems fed new apprentices into the free communities and companies of the town, and apprenticeships carried a greater potential value than just learning a trade, as indicated in Chapter Two. Existing family links could facilitate enrolment as with Maidstone's apprentices serving with their fathers; apprentices might also go on to marry the daughter of their master. Despite the value of local apprenticeship, opportunities did exist elsewhere. An analysis of apprenticeship disputes (1640-1710) in London identified that at least two thirds of apprentices' parents lived outside the capital.[41] At least fifty Canterbury apprentices enrolled to London masters between 1600 and 1660, just a small number of London's immigrant population significantly driven by the influx of apprentices.[42] Spread across at least four guilds – Draper, Clothworker, Mercer and Goldsmith – these apprentices included sons of corporation members and local gentry. Some apprenticeships, such as that of Edward Masters, son of local gentleman, Giles Masters, to draper, Richard Coguite, in 1627, required a £200 bond thus limiting the opportunity to those with

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[38] Clark and Murfin point out that 'general trade companies' had been present in Maidstone since 1551, p. 52.
[39] ACm1/2, fols 6^{r}-9^{r}.
[40] Clark and Murfin, p. 52.
[41] Margaret Pelling, 'Apprenticeship, Health and Social Cohesion in Early Modern London', *Hist. Work. J.*, 37 (1994), 33-56 (p. 40).
[42] Withington, *Politics*, p. 30.

greater financial means.[43] Walter Sabine, son of three-times mayor, Avery Sabine, was apprenticed into the Drapers' Company in April 1627 at the age of about seventeen.[44] Under unknown circumstances he left his first master, Thomas Adams, within two years, shortly afterwards enrolling with the merchant adventurer, Anthony Withers, a commissioner for the reformation of clothing under Charles I, though driven out of his role by the Company of Merchant Adventurers and needing intervention by the Privy Council to retain his position.[45] Thomas Adams quickly replaced Walter with Edward Claggett, son of another three-time mayor, George Claggett suggesting close links with the Canterbury corporation.[46] Maidstone also sent forty-one young men to London in this period, and other East Kent towns including Dover, Sandwich, and even tiny Fordwich, sent youths to apprenticeships in the capital, creating a limited but relatively constant flow of population movement from Kent to London.

As a downside for local communities, apprenticeship in London could draw younger generations away so that apprentices experienced a 'shift of family ties away from the biological family'.[47] New connections with London traders, however, could enhance trading links between the metropolis and provincial towns, and many apprentices would have retained entitlement to freedom in their home town by dint of birth. John Mayne, son of Canterbury grocer and alderman, Thomas Mayne, was apprenticed to London hosier, Gilbert Hopkin of Tower Street, and on completion of his eight-year Clothworker Company apprenticeship likely returned to claim freedom by patrimony in Canterbury in 1659-60.[48] For towns like Canterbury and Maidstone apprenticeships beyond the local area could serve to limit the number of those with potential for service within the corporation. Since it was usually the case that only one son followed into civic service, however, this was generally not likely to be a significant problem.

The ties of kinship, occupation and apprenticeship provided overlapping networks of association across civic communities. For corporations, often consisting of a relatively high proportion of merchants, they were important mechanisms for fostering

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[43] 'Edward Masters', in *Records of London's Livery Companies Online* (*ROLLCO*).
[44] CCA-U3/8/1/A/1; 'Walter Sabine', *ROLLCO.*
[45] SP16/407/169.
[46] 'Edward Clagget', *ROLLCO.*
[47] Pelling, 'Apprenticeship', p. 42.
[48] 'John Mayne', *ROLLCO.*

connections outside the corporate institution, but they might also serve to reinforce the sense of community between members.

The next section examines a different aspect of urban association. It considers how corporation members might be more, or less, connected in terms of their residential location within the urban landscape.

3.2 Spatial Association

The spatial environment is now considered by historians to be an important feature of the social, political, and cultural lives of urban inhabitants. In the Introduction, the ways in which urban space was used to negotiate power relationships between competing authorities in cathedral cities was identified. By considering the topographical landscape of seventeenth-century York, where 'different urban power groups were associated with different residential areas of the city', and analysing changing spatial connections alongside local and national political changes, Phil Withington also demonstrates how 'space structured and gave meaning to political relationships and actions'.[49] He identifies a pre-civil war '"civic" neighbourhood' in York concentrated around the city's Ouse Bridge.[50] Similar concentrated habitation patterns have been observed for other towns.

Sacks shows how Bristol's corporation members shifted from a 'rather evenly distributed' late fourteenth-century residential pattern to one which by the end of the sixteenth century saw 'Nearly all of them' living in three central parishes arranged around the guildhall.[51] In their translocation the town environment was altered and perceptions of urban space with it. A similar change is evident in Newcastle where merchants' houses are shown to have physically reshaped the town centre and 'the material environment contributed to people's awareness of their [merchants'] position in Newcastle's social and political hierarchy'.[52] The impact of domestic residences imparting 'character and repute' to surrounding urban space sometimes meant that 'neighborhood solidarity could effectively exclude other groups or individuals from

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[49] Phil Withington, 'Views from the Bridge: Revolution and Restoration in Seventeenth-Century York', *P&P*, 170 (2001), 121-51 (pp. 125-6).
[50] Ibid., p. 131.
[51] Sacks, *The Widening Gate*, pp. 147, 149.
[52] C. Pamela Graves, 'Civic ritual, townscape, and social identity in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Newcastle' in *Archaeologies of the British: Explorations of Identity in Great Britain and its Colonies, 1600-1945*, ed. by Susan Lawrence (London, 2003), pp. 31-54 (p. 31).

using streets or lanes, even without any direct usurpation of the public street as private space'.[53] Such a restrictive outcome was not always desirable, especially for urban merchants. Griffiths demonstrates how buildings in London's Cheapside reflected the character of the goldsmiths who inhabited them and provided an intentionally appealing space to draw in customers.[54] Whether attractive or repellant, urban public space 'derived some of its character—architectural and social—from the private units around it' and could reflect the identity of inhabitant groups.[55] Peter Clark's more general point that 'Elite solidarity was strengthened by residential propinquity' provides another angle and suggests that habitation patterns could have implications for the shared identity of corporate communities.[56] With this in mind, this section examines evidence for the residency of members of Canterbury and Maidstone corporations.

With rare exception, habitation within the city liberty was one of the tenets of corporate membership in Canterbury. Within the city, the central parish of St Andrew's formed a focal point for co-location of corporate members, establishing a strong association of the corporate community with the heart of the urban environment. Here, service as a churchwarden in the parish had provided a form of pre-corporate service since at least the late fifteenth century, and continuing into the seventeenth century, with many corporation members serving in this capacity.[57]

Domestic residency can be evidenced by subsidy, plague relief, or other similar tax rolls but few records exist for seventeenth-century Canterbury, and available documents are often organised by ward so that parish detail is lost. One useful survivor is a plague assessment from 1605 covering all fourteen city parishes.[58] Used in conjunction with the reconstructed burghmote membership lists, it reveals that St Andrew's was the parish most likely to be the residence of current and future corporation members, and, at this time, was also home to Samuel Ferryer, one of the sergeants-at-mace.

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[53] Vanessa Harding, 'Space, Property, and Propriety in Urban England', *J. Int. Hist.*, 32 (2002), 549-69 (p. 562).
[54] Paul Griffiths, 'Politics made Visible: Order, Residence and Uniformity in Cheapside, 1600-45', in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (Manchester, 2000), pp. 176-96 (p. 177).
[55] Harding, p. 562; Graves, p. 31.
[56] Clark, 'Civic Leaders', p. 319.
[57] Le Baigue and Leach, p. 120; Palmer, pp. 374-6.
[58] CCA-CC-B/A/Q/1.

The surviving 1641 poll tax for Canterbury allows definition of habitation patterns for a later date. In the 1640s, some royalists, like the local King's School scholar, curiosity collector, and later canon of Canterbury cathedral, John Bargrave, fled the city for the relative safety of the continent, though others, antiquarian William Somner being a notable example, remained steadfast.[59] The poll tax was collated at a time before any serious civil war dislocation is likely to have occurred. In conjunction with the reconstructed membership lists, analysis reveals that members are concentrated within the central parishes of the city and exhibit a prominent association with St Andrew's.

The parish was relatively small in physical size but included 139 taxed households, by this rating the third wealthiest parish after St Mary Northgate (174 households) and St Alphege (158 households).[60] Of eleven aldermen, including the mayor, as set out above, four lived in St Andrew's, two each in St Mary Magdalen and St Alphege and one each in St Mary Breadman, St Margaret's and St Mildred's. The pattern of residence for the identifiable nineteen common councilmen is akin to the aldermen, with ten men (53%) residing in St Andrew's parish. Three are in neighbouring St George's parish, two in St Mary Magdalen, and one each in St Margaret's, St Alphege, St Mary Bredin and All Saints. For the twenty-nine men identified in Chapter Two as those going on to serve in the corporation later (1642-60), a slightly different pattern emerges. Approximately one third of this group, ten men, resided in St Andrew's parish, the remaining nineteen are split across nine other parishes. This is a less concentrated pattern than for serving members, but still a significant proportion are to be found in St Andrew's parish, and this finding reinforces the importance of parish connections outside of corporate officeholding.

Many corporation members owned property in the city or surrounding county, a situation similar to other towns, including Norwich.[61] Mark Berry, Canterbury mayor three times between 1592-1616, held an extensive property portfolio and was an important figure in the local rentier market.[62] In order to live in the central parish of St Andrew, however, the civic elite sometimes rented property from the dean and chapter

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[59] Michael G. Brennan, 'The Exile of Two Kentish Royalists during the English Civil War', *Arch. Cant.*, 120 (2000), 77-106 (p. 77).
[60] 1641 poll tax data at <www.canterbury.ac.uk>.
[61] Evans, *Norwich*, p. 24.
[62] Durkin, Ch. 9, 'Mark Berry – An Early Modern Oligarch', pp. 215-27.

of Canterbury Cathedral, who owned many of the houses in this area.[63] Despite this, corporation members exhibited a continued tendency to congregate here, representing a spatially-aligned community who literally formed the heart of the city. This residency pattern, and the siting of the city's main marketplaces within the parish, provided a dominant corporate identity to the parish of St Andrew's and central city space.

The residency pattern for Maidstone might be seen as both compact and diffuse. The town was of a smaller physical size, and without the many parishes of Canterbury, so that all inhabitants, including the civic elite, already lived within a single parish which covered the whole area of the town. In this sense, residency was compact, with Maidstone's jurats all sharing the same parish association. In Canterbury, the parishes were also overlapped by six long-established civic ward boundaries; Somner states that 'Of the first division made of the City into Wards, neither written Record, nor unwritten Tradition makes any mention. But I conceive it very ancient'.[64] Two aldermen were elected to be responsible for each ward. Maidstone, by contrast, introduced a new system of ward administration in 1593, a system which was linked directly to the residential location of the town's jurats.

The system identified thirteen unnamed wards, with at least eight identifiably, though probably all, organised around the houses of jurats. Ward nine, for example, was given 'To Mr. George Maplesden that side of Myll Lane next his house and up behind the Middell rowe unto Mr. John Grens house', and ward ten was allocated 'To Mr. John Grene, from his house to the signe of the Chequer and so downe to the Litell Bridge and Padsole lane and Gabryells hill on both sides to the Bell'.[65] The descriptive list of wards was accompanied by an order that any change in residence of a jurat could be followed by a change in the ward boundaries 'accordinge to the discretion of the Mayor and Jurattes'.[66] Carving up the townscape in this way indicates some spread of jurats' houses around the town, and by linking the new wards to their homes the corporation established a sense of spatial division amongst them. This system continued for over forty years but eventually, in September 1637, whether on account of too much movement of jurats, or administrative inadequacy, the ward system was reviewed. It

[63] Parliamentary Survey (1650), CCA-DCc/Survey/22.
[64] Somner, p. 52.
[65] Maidstone Council, *Records*, p. 31.
[66] Ibid.

was re-established as four named and geographically fixed wards with several jurats responsible for each, disconnecting wards from residency.[67]

This evidence demonstrates two points in relation to differences between Canterbury and Maidstone, each of which had an impact on local community cultures. First, the gradual and later development of working practices in Maidstone is seen in the setting up of their ward system, a long-term stable feature of urban governance in Canterbury. In the seventeenth-century, Canterbury's governors required no thought of how to organise civic administration whilst for Maidstone, elements of practical governance still required working out. Canterbury's working culture was a well-established one whilst Maidstone's corporation were having to deal with problems of how best to run the town.

Second, the spread of Maidstone's jurats around the smaller town landscape contrasts with the clustering of Canterbury's aldermen and common councilmen within a central parish in the larger urban setting. If we take Clark's point in relation to 'elite solidarity', and the ideas of close habitation patterns denoting 'civic' areas of towns, then it suggests a more diffuse sense of the corporate community for members – and inhabitants – in Maidstone when compared with Canterbury. Furthermore, the idea that wards in Maidstone were directly linked to jurat residency, rather than having fixed boundaries as in Canterbury, set up a different connection between urban space and members of the corporate community while this system continued.

This section has considered the impact of different spatial associations between corporation members. The choice of where to reside within a town was not dictated by corporate membership (beyond the requirement to be an inhabitant), but it was of relevance to the sense of spatial connection which existed between members of each corporate community. The next section considers a third form of association between corporation members which was independent of corporate membership but relevant to corporate life: shared, or opposing, religious beliefs.

3.3 Shared Beliefs

It is hard to summarise the complexities of urban religion in the seventeenth century, by which time, the relative singularity of pre-Reformation religion had developed into a mosaic of beliefs – beliefs, moreover, which could be subject to change over a

[67] ACm1/2, fol. 166^{r}.

lifetime.[68] This section looks solely at evidence from Canterbury to consider the variety of religious beliefs which might found in a seventeenth-century urban environment and the mixtures of viewpoints which could exist within a corporate institution. It does not aim to engage with arguments about the role of religion or provide a narrative of politico-religious tendencies in Canterbury's corporation, though it does present a snapshot of members' religious persuasions in 1641-2.[69] Rather, the aim is to add a further contextual layer in terms of associative connections between members of corporate communities which were not directly produced by working together as an institution, but which might have a bearing on corporate culture.

Reynolds identifies for the urban setting of Norwich, that where parishes were densely populated and set adjacent to each other, 'the constraint of worshipping together at close quarters in the same parish' meant that the juxtaposition of different beliefs was justifiably 'more pronounced'.[70] Canterbury, with fourteen parishes, likely presented a similar environment to Norwich, whilst Maidstone, where the town was also the one parish, perhaps had a different sense of parish religion given that all inhabitants were in a single pot.

Canterbury's religious environment, with many city parishes, a Huguenot and Walloon population, a regular influx of rural inhabitants to markets, passing travellers to and from the continent, and complicated by the presence of the cathedral, was a mixed one. It is possible to identify Catholic, Puritan, and Independent tendencies within the city, and for 1640-60, it is claimed 'it is possible to find every shade of Protestant religious dissent in Kent'.[71] Despite John Finch's observation in 1639 that in the county there was 'a sad lack of religion among the people', there was ample opportunity for exposure of civic governors to a wide range of beliefs.[72]

As the seat of the Archbishops of Canterbury, the cathedral outlook very broadly followed their lead: under George Abbot it reflected a place of protestant preaching; under Laud it was re-formed physically and spiritually with an Arminian slant; after

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[68] Reynolds, p. 15.

[69] As previously noted, for the latter, detail of corporate purges across Kent's parliamentary boroughs exists in unpublished form in Jones, 'Political History'.

[70] Reynolds, p. 15.

[71] Jacqueline Eales, '"So many Sects and Schisms": Religious Diversity in Revolutionary Kent, 1640-60', in *Religion in Revolutionary England,* ed. by Christopher Durston and Judith Maltby (Manchester, 2006), pp. 226-48 (p. 226).

[72] Henry F. Abell, *Kent and the Great Civil War* (Ashford, 1901), p. 15.

Laud's death and the abolition of bishops it became home to an Independent congregation.[73] It is worth noting that the cathedral remained a 'centre of royalist preaching and sentiment' at the outset of the 1640s.[74] The cathedral's Six Preachers, roles established in the 1540s which continued after the abolition of episcopal control under the Westminster Assembly, experienced a parallel shift from the probably 'rather dull men of Calvinist […] leanings' in the 1600s, to include the Puritan radical, Richard Culmer, in 1644, and Independents, John Durant and John Player, in the 1650s.[75] This is not to say that the cathedral environment was internally consistent in terms of individual beliefs.

By way of example, in 1613, the Chapter suffered the public defection of 'anti-Calvinist' canon and royal chaplain, Benjamin Carrier to Catholicism.[76] Carrier was symptomatic of the continued presence of Catholics in the city and surrounding area; another high-profile declaration came in 1624 from formerly closet Catholic, Lord Edward Wootton, member of the Privy Council, and as will be seen in Chapter Six, a significant patron in terms of gifting venison to both Canterbury and Maidstone corporations.[77] And there was a broader manifestation: Catholics gathered in the city in 1623 and 1625, at which time they desecrated the cathedral bible.[78] Local Catholicism – Dover, by 1630, was a 'Catholic stronghold' – justifiably induced fear in Puritan diarist Thomas Scott; his religious seething depicts a common stance whereby 'Popery was…an anti-religion' a perfect balance to Protestant godliness.[79] Neither was he alone: local men like Sir Dudley Digges, Kent MP and member of Kent's recusancy commission in 1627, held similar views, and anti-Catholic rhetoric was a feature of Kentish petitions of this time.[80] Catholicism was a very real presence in towns of Kent.

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[73] Patrick Collinson, 'The Protestant Cathedral, 1541-1660', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. by Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks (Oxford, 1995; repr. 2000), pp. 155-203 provides detail of material, spiritual and personnel changes over this period.

[74] Eales, 'Clergy and Allegiance', p. 92.

[75] Derek Ingram Hill, *The Six Preachers of Canterbury Cathedral 1541-1982: Clerical Lives from Tudor Times to the Present Day* (Ramsgate, 1982), pp. 40, 43-58.

[76] Collinson, p. 183.

[77] A. J. Loomie, 'Wotton, Edward, first Baron Wotton', *ODNB.*

[78] Clark, 'Scott', p. 12.

[79] Cust, 'Politics', p. 152. Peter Lake, 'Anti-popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', in *Conflict*, ed. by Cust and Hughes, pp. 72-106 (p. 75). Clark, *Provincial Society*, p. 364.

[80] Sean Kelsey, 'Digges, Sir Dudley', *ODNB*. Eales, 'Religious Diversity', p. 232.

The city was also home to at least four conventicle groups by 1633 and inhabitant, Anne Stevens, was one of the first Baptists in Kent in the early 1640s.[81] Two strong Independent religious communities flourished in the city under Puritan divine pastors John Player and John Durant, though, they too, were not without internal disagreements on the grounds of individual beliefs. Durant leant towards millenarianism and clashed with church member and sometime city sword-bearer, William Buckhurst, a vocal supporter of Presbyterianism.[82] Congregational Church records show Durant's church had a membership of at least twenty-three in 1645 rising to one hundred and twenty-two by 1658.[83] The membership included the mayor of 1657-8, Zachary Lee, who was dismissed by King Charles II in January 1661, alderman William Beane and a sergeant-at-mace, George Simpson, appointed in 1649.[84] Independents were a definite feature of Canterbury's post-civil war corporation.

Individual beliefs could be strongly held but the difficulties of establishing individual religious persuasions are exemplified by considering the case of Canterbury minister, Edward Aldey, regular preacher to the city corporation. Aldey, ordained in 1619, came to St Andrew's parish in 1624 as a young man of twenty-five, remaining until his death in 1673.[85] Appointed by Archbishop Abbot, he succeeded William Swift, who, as a 'committed preacher' had offered 'strong Protestant leadership' to St Andrew's, the parish shown in Chapter Two and the previous section to have substantial links to the city corporation.[86] In the late 1620s, Aldey was closely linked with alderman Avery Sabine – a man described as 'Anti-Puritan' at this time, and who requested that Aldey preach at his funeral.[87] Peter Clark, however, identifies Aldey as one of several 'puritan clergy' to support diarist, Thomas Scott, in the 1620s.[88] In December 1641, Sir James Oxinden described Aldey as a 'puritan' divine in a letter which Eales cites to suggest Aldey was 'probably the only long-term incumbent in the

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[81] Robert J. Acheson, *The Development of Religious Separatism in the Diocese of Canterbury 1590-1660* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1983), pp. 13, 171.
[82] Acheson, p. 166.
[83] Acheson, p. 160. For more on John Durant see: Madeline V. Jones, 'The Divine Durant: A Seventeenth-Century Independent', *Arch. Cant.*, 83 (1968), 193-204.
[84] Jones, 'Political History', pp. 129, 135. AC5, fols 33^{v}-34^{r}. In 1679, Lee leaves property to the church in his will, PRC17/74/377.
[85] 'Edward Aldey', ID 2023, *CCEd*.
[86] Le Baigue and Leach, p. 120.
[87] Thrush, 'Canterbury 1604-1629'. Note also that Peter Clark in 'Scott' identifies Sabine as 'The leader of the more conservative wing of the magistracy', p. 20. PRC17/70/715.
[88] Clark, 'Scott', p. 14.

city to be regarded as a puritan at the time'.[89] It is the case that he was the only Canterbury minister to sign Blount's Kent petition of 1642 in support of Parliamentary moves towards church reform.[90] He also put his signature, along with Thomas Ventris, John Player, and many of the city corporation, to a letter in August 1642 supporting Puritan iconoclast Richard Culmer as 'a man of exemplary Life and Conversation, and an able and diligent Preacher of God's Word'.[91]

Jeremy Gregory, however, questions a post-1660 characterisation of him as 'a soft man, of weak resolutions, and heretofore a little inclining to Presbytr…', noting in Aldey's defence his sermon of December 1647 in which he supported the continuation of Christmas Day services, an issue which sparked riots in Canterbury.[92] Preaching at St Andrew's on 25 December, Aldey endured noise and heckling from outside the church to preach 'a Sermon answerable to the day'.[93] This event resulted in his removal from the long-term privilege of preaching to the corporation on the occasion of the annual mayoral election.[94] His reinstatement by order of the burghmote court in the week after the first mayoral election following the Restoration, perhaps points to a less than strong puritan stance at this time, as does his appointment as a cathedral prebend in 1660.[95] Two additional pieces of evidence confuse matters further. First, Aldey gifted at least three books to Royalist, William Somner, including works of Isaac Casaubon and Richard Montagu, one gifted in the Interregnum period in 1653.[96] Second, Aldey inscribed a manuscript note in St Andrew's parish register in 1660, in relation to Cromwell's Act of 1653 which imposed civil marriage, established the office of Parish-

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[89] Eales, 'Clergy and Allegiance', p. 99.

[90] Jacqueline Eales, 'Alan Everitt and *The Community of Kent* revisited', in *The County Community in Seventeenth-century England and Wales,* ed. by Jacqueline Eales and Andrew Hopper (Hatfield, 2012), pp. 15-38 (pp. 32-3).

[91] Richard Culmer, *A Parish Looking-glasse for Persecutors of Ministers* (1657), pp. 7-8.

[92] Jeremy Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828: Archbishops of Canterbury and their Diocese* (Oxford, 2000), p. 190.

[93] Matthew Carter, *A Most True and Exact Relation of that as Honourable as Unfortunate Expedition of Kent, Essex, and Colchester* (1650), p. 1.

[94] FA25, fol. 379^{r}. From 1647 Thomas Ventris / John Durant / Mr Tailer preached.

[95] AC5, fols 43^{v}, 86^{r}. Jeremy Gregory, 'Canterbury and the Ancien Regime: The Dean and Chapter, 1660-1828', in *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. by Collinson, Ramsay, and Sparks, pp. 204-55 (p. 205).

[96] Personal communication from Dr David Shaw, see also <ccl-history.referata.com>.

Register, and ordered the use of a separate register book to record births rather than baptisms.[97] He writes:

> The following years until 60 are heere omitted [...] when I had nothing to doe with the booke and an order was made by the rebells to have the names set down by a register chosen and sworne by them in a new and most absurd way.[98]

It is unclear whether Aldey altered his religious stance over time, or his political persuasion sometimes took precedent, or whether sources characterise him with a different bias. Perhaps the reported observation of him noted above as a 'soft man, of weak resolutions' provides the best explanation of the conflicting evidence. Aldey may have altered his stance in the way that other individuals altered their beliefs over time; even high-profile men like the Bishop of Winchester, Lancelot Andrewes, can be difficult to define at times.[99] Some were more resolute in their religious beliefs but isolated surviving sources across this period need to be treated with some caution.

Despite such cautionary tales, some assessment of the mixture of religious beliefs within Canterbury corporation can be attempted, though it is important to note that corporate membership was always in flux. The last Elizabethan alderman, Thomas Hovenden, died in 1619, marking a complete refresh of the upper council. Of the aldermen in 1619 only one, Avery Sabine, was still an alderman by the end of 1640 providing plenty of scope for the appointment of new aldermen with varied religious beliefs. A particularly large contingent of eight new common councilmen, appointed during the mayoralty of James Masters (1624-5), included William Bridge, the Puritan mayor in post during the Christmas Day riots. This influx, which included three other future mayors of the late 1630s and early 1640s, Walter Southwell, Clive Carter, and John Stanley, could have marked a significant alteration in the religious composition of the city's burghmote members.

It does not appear that the corporate community ever directly paid for city lectureships, as in other cities: in Bristol, preacher Edward Chetwynd received a stipend

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[97] *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. by C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, 3 vols (London, 1911; 1972 repr.), II, pp. 715-18.
[98] CCA-U3/5/1.
[99] P. E. MacCulloch, 'Andrewes, Lancelot', *ODNB*. See also, Nicholas Tyacke, 'Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism', in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660*, ed. by Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 5-33.

of £52 from the city governors.[100] As seen above, however, the Drapers' and Tailors' Company with close connections to Canterbury's corporation did fund a local preacher, and the cathedral's sermons and preachers provided an alternative to parish religion on the doorstep. The cathedral environment, however, especially when promoted by Archbishop William Laud's Arminian beliefs as a place of increasing ceremony and beauty during the 1630s, was also a place of religious controversy. Puritan, Richard Culmer, though clearly keen to make a point, records how congregations of the 'wel-affected Citizens of Canterburie […] cryed out aloud in the time of the Cathedral Service, many Sabbath days; Leave your idolatry'.[101] Culmer also records how these sentiments were a feature of the city's 1640 parliamentary elections during which the Archbishop's secretary, as a standing candidate, made an election speech in the town hall. Pointing to a portrait of city benefactor, Sir Thomas White, those present called out 'no pictures, no Images, no Papists, no Arch-Bishops Secretary, we have too many Images and pictures in the Cathedrall already'.[102] By the 1640s, the religious environment of the city was clearly becoming a heated and divisive one.

In terms of the beliefs of members of Canterbury's corporation, there are several politically and religiously motivated petitions of the post-1640 period which point towards religious allegiances at this time. Four produced within a three-month period between May and August 1642 are considered here, alongside two from 1650. To have signed a petition indicates some level of religious or political engagement, though it is impossible to know what pressure may have been brought to bear on men to sign. Chapter Two has already shown how persuasive William Whiting was in connection with the 1620s parliamentary elections. Furthermore, as cautioned by Jacqueline Eales, who has studied a series of Kent-based petitions to demonstrate the 'penetration of political debates' into parishes and urban governance through the actions and commitments of local clergy and those below the social status of county gentry, 'Civil-war allegiances were extremely fluid'.[103] The petitions, however, provide a snapshot of the Canterbury Burghmote in 1642 and the petitioning they were prepared to undertake in defence of their beliefs.

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[100] Latimer, p. 23.
[101] Richard Culmer, *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury* (1644).
[102] Ibid.
[103] Eales, 'Alan Everitt', p. 29, see also 'Clergy and Allegiance'.

On 5 May 1642, west Kent JP, county committeeman, and pro-Parliamentarian, Thomas Blount, who 'assiduously attended assizes', presented a petition to Parliament.[104] Supporting Church reform by the Assembly of Divines, it represented a counter to a March petition orchestrated by the 'Kentish Cavaliers', which put forward the 'general religious and political convictions' of Everitt's propounded 'Community of Kent'.[105] Eleven Canterbury aldermen and a majority of councilmen (fifteen) signed it under Mayor Clive Carter, indicating an overall pro-Parliamentary stance but a split lower council (Table 8).[106]

In June and July 1642, two local petitions were submitted to the House of Lords, one in support of, and one against, John Marston, controversial minister of the central parish church of St Mary Magdalen, who spoke out against Parliament and delivered 'unauthorised' readings of 'royalist manifestoes'.[107] There are few signatories amongst the corporation since the petition was prepared by parishioners only, but those against Marston included 'wiseman' Whiting and his son, and William Bridge, the Puritan mayor during the year of the city's Christmas Day riots. They also include future corporation members, Thomas Bridge, Richard Forstall, John Fry, Richard Harrison and William Reeve.[108] A single corporate petitioner, Leonard Lovelace, signalled support of Marston in the July petition, but he was joined by Mathew Burneley, the town sergeant from October 1643, Thomas Hilderson, a locksmith regularly employed by the corporation, and Nicholas Justice, the migrant Rochester plumber.[109] Thus, the corporation, at council level and below, included men on both sides of the parochial disagreement.

The fourth petition is in the form of a letter dated August 1642 and published in *A Parish Looking-glasse* (1657) by the son of iconoclast, Richard Culmer, in support of his father. It carries sixty-five signatures. The letter, dated four months before Culmer's

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[104] Anita McConnell and Tim Wales, 'Blount, Thomas', *ODNB*.

[105] Everitt, *Community*, pp. 31, 96, 102-5. Eales, 'Clergy and Allegiance', p. 90.

[106] Eales, 'Alan Everitt', image of Canterbury signatories to the petition, p. 33. James Nicholson did not sign, he was dismissed from the Burghmote on 10 May 1642 being blind, lame and aged, AC4, fol. 168^{v}.

[107] Eales, 'Clergy and Allegiance', pp. 84, 91.

[108] Named in Appendix 2, Eales, 'Clergy and Allegiance', p. 103.

[109] Named in Appendix 3, Eales, 'Clergy and Allegiance', p. 104.

Name[110] *Aldermen / Common Council of 1641-2*	**Blount** *5 May 1642*	**Against Marston** *27 Jun 1642*	**For Marston** *28 Jul 1642*	**For Culmer** *9 Aug 1642*
Avery Sabine	X			X
James Master	X			X
William Whiting I	X	X		X
John Standley	X			X
(James Nicholson)	-	-	-	-
John Lade / Chamberlain	X			X
John Terry	X			X
William Bridge	X	X		X
Daniel Masterson	X			X
Clive Carter / Mayor	X			X
John Watson II	X			X
George Knott	X			X
John Pollon	X			X
Paul Petit[111]				
Thomas Marshall	X			
Peter Piard	X			X
George Young	X			X
Thomas Fidge				
Roger Simpson				X
[James Glover]				
George Milles	X			X
John Lee I	X			X
Joseph Bulkley				
Thomas Kyngsford	X			X
Francis Maplisden				X
William Taylor	X	X		
Richard Juxon / Town clerk	X			X
Thomas Tressor	X			X
Francis Lovelace / Recorder				
Vespasian Harris / Sheriff	X			X
Leonard Lovelace			X	
Edward Norden	X			X
Robert Turner				
Thomas Gilbert	X			
Richard Chandler	X			
William Reeve		X		
Thomas Staples				
Walter Mond	X			X

Table 8: Canterbury burghmote of 1641-2, signatories to petitions (Source: CC-A/C/4, Eales, 'Clergy and Allegiance pp. 103-4, Eales, 'Alan Everitt', p. 33, Culmer, *Parish Looking-glasse*, pp. 7-8).

[110] This list is taken from Appendix D.

[111] Chosen and sworn 2 Aug 1642, AC4, fol. 170[r].

destructive attack on Canterbury Cathedral's stained-glass windows, declares Culmer's 'exemplary Life' and diligent preaching.[112] Signatories include the mayor and the eleven serving aldermen, twelve common councillors, Edward Aldey, and Thomas Ventris, minister of St Margaret's, again suggesting a more divided common council.

Finally, two undated petitions submitted to the Canterbury burghmote court, probably in 1650, are signed by a number of 'well affected Freemen'.[113] The first, with twenty-nine signatories, includes two founding members of the city's congregational church, John Bissett, and the city sword-bearer, William Buckhurst, as well as four further identifiable church members. It is also signed by three serving, or future, corporation members: Joseph Colfe, Richard Hardes (a member of the congregational church) and Thomas Gorham. The second petition has forty-three signatories including two congregational church members, Josias Nichols and John Hampton, alongside members of the city corporation, Nathaniel Lade – son of alderman John Lade – and Thomas Harrison.[114]

The purpose of these petitions was to register a complaint about the political allegiance of serving corporation members. It seems there had been a previous submission 'against divers members of this Courte for that they haveinge beene in Armes against this present Parliament continue and act as Aldermen and Common Councellers of this City contrary to an Order of Parliament'.[115] The complainants are accusatory of the corporation's delay to 'honour the Parliament Soe farr as to Cast out … such as have openly acted against them'.[116] The second surviving petition evidences a continued lack of action by the corporation in this respect, and further, that 'some Chosen of late […] were actually in armes against the Parliament in the yeere 1648', the year of the Kentish Uprising.[117] The petitioners push for a 'speedy course' in renewing the city's charter, threatening that 'if this Court by the Malingnancie of some that are members of the same cannot purge themselves', they will seek to petition the Council of

[112] Culmer, *Parish Looking-glasse*, pp. 7-8.
[113] CC/A/P/P/1/22.
[114] Colfe joined the council in September 1657. Hardes, Harrison and Gorham were three of six new councilmen sworn in in the year 1650-1. Lade, son of John Lade, mayor in 1643-4 joined in 1653-4, one of five new councilmen that year including Randolph Ludd.
[115] CC/A/P/P/1/22.
[116] Ibid.
[117] CC/A/P/P/1/29.

State 'for their speedy redressing of this great grivance'.[118] The petitions resulted in the investigation of two members: councilmen Richard Chandler and John Simpson, who were both granted time by the burghmote court to defend themselves, even in the face of evidence against them. This action, together with the text of the last petition, suggests that despite a split in political civil war allegiances in the city corporation, there was a strong reluctance to dismiss members. This is a point returned to in Chapter Four, but underlines that divided personal loyalties within the corporate community did not immediately result in any form of purging at this point in time, even when pushed by the city's 'well affected' inhabitants.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined some of the associative connections which existed between members of corporate communities. Kinship, trade, and apprenticeships stretched corporate ties beyond the institutional boundary; shared beliefs, though increasingly divisive in the seventeenth century, were nevertheless pitched against a background of corporate togetherness which could include close neighbourhood residency as well as the similar social characteristics examined in Chapter Two, the shared sense of corporate memory as detailed in Chapter One, and other aspects of function and local corporate practice to be considered in later chapters.

David Underdown's study of Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire and Mark Stoyle's investigation of Devon helped to raise the idea that the individuality of local communities within counties could impart a sense of identity which might influence religious belief and political allegiance in the seventeenth century.[119] In towns, as for example in Stratford-upon-Avon, religious differences in corporations meant that they might, 'as a collectivity', at different times experience an overall Protestant, or otherwise, outlook.[120] Stoyle's detailed study of Exeter, shows how, in the mid-seventeenth century, the tone of governance there switched from 'puritan influence' to royalist sympathy, back to puritan control followed by 'defiance' against the Commonwealth then 'puritan pragmatism' until the 'vigorous reformation' of the 1650s replaced 'truculent inertia', and demonstrates how prevalent local religious sentiments

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[118] Ibid.

[119] Everitt, *Community*; David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985); Mark Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter, 1994).

[120] Hughes, 'Religion', p. 77.

could impact a whole town's inhabitants.[121] These examples underline the reality of individuality of belief within the bounds of each corporate body, producing a sense of diversity within a single corporate community.

There are clearly deeper religious, political, local, regional and national contexts to each of the petitions examined above, but they serve to underline the ways in which religion, though not a requirement or result of institutional membership, could be a strong associative link between members holding the same beliefs. At the same time, though religion in this period might also become a marker of separation, differences of this nature did not necessarily call for immediate dismissal. This is a reminder that religion, and political allegiance in national matters, whilst important, were not the only factors in the relationships which existed between corporation members or even members of the wider civic and urban communities.

In Gloucester, however, it was Puritan ideology which Clark claimed 'served to consolidate oligarchic authority and to unite the ruling elite during a period of sustained communal stress'.[122] A sole focus on the strength of religious ideology, however, underplays the importance of other associations between serving members of a corporation. This chapter shows how members of a corporation might also be connected by trade fellowships, and how some members lived in close proximity to each other, as with Canterbury's central St Andrew's parish, creating a sense of a 'civic parish'. Furthermore, family connections, and even relationships forged as master and apprentice did not suddenly disappear when religious differences arose.

Other institutions – aside from ecclesiastical establishments – also experienced internal religious differences in this period but could be subject to subjugation of certain religious viewpoints. In his study of civic portraiture, Robert Tittler includes universities in his definition of civic 'institutions'.[123] As largely Calvinist bastions in the early 1600s, they exhibited rising Arminian tendencies to the point at which there was a 'muzzling' of Calvinism in Cambridge in 1626.[124] Furthermore, by 1628 there was a

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[121] Bernard Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its Enemies in the Interregnum 1649-1660* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 240-56. See also Stoyle, *From Deliverance* for a detailed examination of events and issues in Exeter over the civil war period.
[122] Clark, 'Ramoth-Gilead', p. 184.
[123] Tittler, *Face of the City,* pp. 1, 37-68.
[124] Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987), p. 49.

ban on both universities disputing points of issue between Calvinists and Arminians.[125] It may be that in corporate institutions there were internal agreements not to discuss religious matters but evidence here is hard to come by. Notwithstanding Clark's stance on Gloucester, the strength of religious ideological forces in separating men serving together should not be underestimated, especially in the post-1640 period, but despite differences of opinion, most of the time, this did not appear to interrupt the mechanisms of local governance and the maintenance of urban order. Certain viewpoints may have influenced local decisions, and the direction of social or political action, but rarely undermined administrative function to the point where it did not work at all.

Corporate institutions had, in any case, long been able to cope with internal religious difference. MacCaffrey shows that in sixteenth-century Exeter the corporation were 'united in most of their sentiments' but 'assumed widely divergent positions on the religious issue' but crucially that 'these divergences of opinion did not impair the working unity of the community in other matters'.[126] Corporate systems generally appeared able to function, despite internal division – an important point explored in greater depth in the next chapter.

The three chapters which form the first part of this thesis have examined a range of fundamental aspects of the corporate communities of Canterbury and Maidstone, aspects which have contextual relevance to the three chapters which follow, and which form the second part of the thesis. Corporations were communities with an institutional history and established identity, whether that meant a well-established group sure of their own name and traditions, as in Canterbury, or a group still refining their working practices and the extent of their authority and identity as in Maidstone. They had a pre-history, a moment of inception, and a timeline of corporate life which had moulded and shaped the institution over time. Each town had chamberlains overseeing a locally distinct, but relatively consistent level of income and expenditure for the period 1600-1660. Both towns recorded financial transactions and the minutes of burghmote court meetings in civic records.

The structure of the two corporate institutions was similar, with a mayor and two councils, though Maidstone's lower council only became more practically formalised in the early years of the seventeenth century. Urban governors in both towns oversaw

[125] Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 77.
[126] MacCaffrey, p. 190.

systems of freedom though their alternative functional approaches produced variation in the experience of freedom. In Canterbury, the civic elite are seen to be characteristically distinct from the wider group of freemen. This chapter has also shown how members of corporate communities were connected by a range of urban associations which were not a requirement or function of corporate service, but which could strengthen, or possibly divide the community. Each of these features had implications for local experiences of officeholding within a corporate body and provide a contextual layer for what follows in Part Two.

Having gained a sense of the foundations upon which corporate communities were built, and the potentially nurturing environment of the city commonwealth in preparing men for corporate service, the following chapters consider features of the internal group culture of each community arising from the basic principle that they were brought together, and worked together, as a singular legal body. The next chapter begins Part Two by examining Canterbury and Maidstone's systems of meeting together as a burghmote court and the ways in which members approached their duty as officeholders in terms of attendance.

Part II: Organisational Culture

Chapter Four: Corporate Meetings

The early modern corporation was an institution, and a fundamental aspect of local governance was the gathering of corporate members to make decisions in relation to administrative matters. Goldgar and Frost identify a need to examine the internal everyday cultural practices of institutions and how they 'actually *did* function' against how they 'were *supposed* to function', suggesting that the latter approach carries significant potential for a resulting distortion in how such institutions might be viewed.[1] This concern is particularly relevant to civic corporations which are frequently identified as one body in relation to urban life, civic culture, and political action. Even detailed studies of function, such as Patterson's examination of the workings of urban patronage, carry some danger of presenting an askew picture of all members of a corporation only as a single entity.

By looking broadly at consensual corporate activity, it is all too easy to assume a constancy of people and practices across England's towns. At least one new theory of relevance to early modern corporations, that of the origins and development of late seventeenth-century partisan politics, currently stands on the examination of the internal behaviour and activity of borough corporations from 1650 onwards, and understanding the detail of real corporate function in towns like Maidstone and Canterbury is relevant to such work.[2] Case studies, as presented here, can provide depth and nuance to the general picture by identifying aspects of how corporations actually did function as well as assessing their relevance to local organisational cultures.

Victor Morgan's new approach to institutional history, as noted in the Introduction, emphasises that institutions are not simply a collection of 'disembodied procedures' but the result of behavioural interactions of people who brought real-life beliefs and experiences to their institutional roles.[3] Given also the notion of urbanisation

[1] Goldgar and Frost, p. xii.
[2] Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic*.
[3] Morgan, 'Ceremonious Society', pp. 140-1.

as a cultural and institutional process, in which alterations over time are of relevance, then studies in relation to the reality of corporate institutional practices are able to provide a better understanding of the nature of urban governance and institutional change.[4]

Though urban historians make general comment on meeting regularity and attendance levels in corporations, as will be detailed below, no real investigation of this subject or the implications of it have been conducted, despite the widespread existence of an underutilised source found in many corporate minute books: attendance lists for the 'premier court of the town'.[5] For Canterbury and Maidstone, this was the meeting of the burghmote court. In Canterbury, this was a regular two-weekly meeting, in Maidstone, the corporation usually gathered only a few times each year.

The lists for corporate meetings, where everyday business included admission of freemen, enrolment of apprentices, and decisions on local by-laws, taxes and property leases, provide direct evidence of real practice in relation to corporate function. Indeed, the simple record of meeting dates, when examined, as below, presents obvious evidence of different working practices within Canterbury and Maidstone corporations, and are features of local organisational cultures.

One objective of this chapter is to look at this evidence to understand how different systems worked, and to observe continuity and change in working practices over the period 1600-1660. This enables insight into any potential impact of division and disruption – features of the civil war and interregnum period – on working practices and behaviours. As detailed in Chapter Three, religious diversity amongst working members was a feature of the seventeenth century, but not a new problem for early modern corporations. The Reformation and evolving religious sentiments of the sixteenth century led to individuals with differing views serving together. In Elizabethan London, the corporation included a puritan element but remained stable because of a relative lack of internal opposition to 'differences in religious outlook'.[6] In European cities, however, Archer suggests that disorder and 'the most explosive outbreaks' followed 'where the elite divided over the issue of religion'.[7] In England, it

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[4] Withington, *Politics*, p. 7.

[5] However, see below for data presented by Stoyle, Halliday, and Evans, and Hughes and Fletcher's similar analyses of JP's attendance at quarter sessions in Warwickshire and Sussex. Knafla, p. xxiii.

[6] Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 45.

[7] Ibid.

was internal, local politics, as well as the increasingly serious divisions on a national scale between King Charles I and Parliament, which, in the seventeenth century, created local and national tensions.

In the period 1600-1660, changes at national, county, and local level delivered new challenges for corporations to manage. Most broadly, at the point King Charles I was executed in 1649 the authority underpinning incorporation was abruptly removed. Within weeks, the historic source of corporate power, the 'Kingly Office', was abolished, on the basis that, power 'in any single person, is unnecessary, burthensom and dangerous to the liberty, safety and publique interest of the people'.[8] Such rhetoric must have caused at least some of those who stood in similar, albeit lesser, leadership roles, like mayors, to consider their own position. Such navel-gazing was not without substance. Some county magistrates and officials 'regarded their commissions as invalid', and the Rump Parliament's response, the Oath of Engagement of autumn 1649, saw mayors in several English towns removed from office for refusing to swear loyalty to the new Commonwealth.[9] In Exeter, men refused to serve and from September 1649 the city survived for a period without even a mayor.[10]

The sense of corporate history as outlined in Chapter One was predicated on the connection between king and corporation, and for the first time in that history, corporations were cut loose. That is not to say that they were suddenly given complete autonomy or free rein, as Parliament stepped into the vacant role, though questions over the validity of chartered rule did become an issue in the 1650s.[11] By September 1652, the Rump made a move to call in borough charters, though some places, like York, 'escaped the attentions' of the Committee for Corporations.[12] These moves by Parliament presented corporations with challenges in terms of obtaining new charters or continued uncertainty of the legal basis of their authority. One aspect of this, relating to the use and meaning of civic insignia is explored further in Chapter Five.

During this time, as in the period prior to the civil war, regular social issues did not go away. Urban governors continued to deal with plague, regulation of trade, urban maintenance and urban poor, but during the 1640s and 1650s they also had to contend

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[8] Firth and Rait, p. 19.
[9] David Underdown, *Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 299, 303-5.
[10] Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, p. 319.
[11] See especially Halliday, Ch. 3.
[12] Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, pp. 305-6. Forster, *VCH York*, p. 174.

with the practicalities of war – mustering, billeting and dealing with returning soldiers – the potential for civic disturbance, and the payment of taxes and provision of arms. An increasing range of forms of news distribution between London and the provinces rapidly brought news of national events into the local environment and were an unsettling reminder of turmoil beyond urban boundaries.[13] Underdown commented that, with regard to borough responses to new national and county regimes of the 1650s, 'urban oligarchies were composed of men of limited horizons', suggesting they were concerned largely with local issues and 'often nothing much happened', despite growing pressures to purge members on the basis of political and religious beliefs.[14] For these men, however, whilst not isolated from national events, it was the local issues which constituted the most important happenings in their everyday lives.

One fallout of the national struggle for power was in the administrative system within which corporations worked. As Parliament asserted control over county administration, the lines of regular communication were altered. The 1640s saw the introduction of County Committees, that for Kent under the direction of the 'personally detestable' Sir Anthony Weldon based in Maidstone, and Canterbury, as a county, having its own committee under Sir William Mann and Sir John Roberts.[15] In the autumn of 1655, Cromwell's major-generals arrived in the counties to strengthen the Cromwellian regime and address 'endemic irreligion and ungodliness', assisted by local commissions.[16] In Kent, this included 'conspicuous religious and political radicals' Augustine Garland, Sir Michael Livesey and Maidstone corporation member, Andrew Broughton, and further established a different dynamic in town and county relationships.[17] By the late 1650s, some anticipation of the possible return of the monarchy threw things up in the air once again, and though authority and county administration in some respects returned a pre-war framework, corporations, to some extent, navigated their own way through the changes of the 1640s and 1650s.

What might have been a real opportunity for towns to increase their powers and sense of independent identity was hampered by disruption at the local level as religious

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[13] Richard Cust 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *P&P*, 112 (1986), 60-90 (pp. 69-71).
[14] Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, pp. 318-9.
[15] Everitt, *Community*, pp. 15, 137.
[16] Christopher Durston, *Cromwell's Major-generals: Godly Government during the English Revolution* (Manchester, 2001), p. 154.
[17] Durston, p. 61.

and political sentiments became an increasingly important feature of the realities of working together. The most obvious feature of this was the purges of newly-defined 'unsuitable' men from corporations across the country. It is within these disputed, confrontational, testing contexts that corporation members met to maintain urban order and the daily life of a working institution.

Given the unstable atmosphere of this period, it is unsurprising that records can be unreliable. Nevertheless, they offer direct evidence of how civil upheaval impacted regular everyday practices, and in the context of the detail of usual practice, disruption or change can be plain to see. By way of example, Canterbury's first burghmote court meeting after the Christmas Day riots of 1647 sees the usual practice of recording those absent altered to record those few members present. Thus, 'defalters' is struck through and replaced by 'comparentes', reflecting the mood of the meeting.[18] The impact of national events may, on occasion, be similarly observed. At the first meeting following the execution of Charles I, the meeting date, always recorded as a regnal year, abruptly becomes a plain one: 'sexto die ffebruarij: Anno domini 1648', and it is followed by a lengthy but mundane order to provide city scavengers to transform the 'very fowle and full of dirt' streets into 'sweete and clean' ones.[19] This is a reminder that Underdown's 'nothing much happened' local issues were those uppermost in everyday reality for members of provincial corporations, and that observation of tiny changes to established and recorded civic practices enable study of continuity, change, and disruption at a local level.

The point has been made by Ian Archer with regard to London, that 'the historian can be easily seduced by the formality of the minutes of the proceedings of the aldermen and common councilors into an acceptance of the myth of civic harmony they were designed to perpetuate', and that it can be all too easy to treat corporation members as 'cardboard cut-outs'.[20] This is, however, appropriately matched by Archer's 'powerful warning that we should not underestimate the divisions and differences of personality among the elite', and his acknowledgement that individuals could have significant influence on local activities.[21] This echoes the case of 'wise' William Whiting's dominance in Canterbury's parliamentary election politics, as detailed in

[18] AC4, fol. 260^{v}.
[19] AC4, fol. 275^{r}.
[20] Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 40.
[21] Ibid.

Chapter Two. It is, however, the formality of recording attendance at meetings which provides valuable evidence of real individual behaviour patterns of seventeenth-century corporation members.

This chapter, consisting of two sections, looks at the local practices of meeting and attendance in Canterbury and Maidstone. It is methodologically grounded in number counts of meetings, attendees or absentees, and calculated averages. To understand any possible impact of mayoral influence, annual data has, in all cases, been calculated on a mayoral year basis. In Canterbury, this means from 29 September each year and in Maidstone from 2 November. Maidstone is considered from 1606 when it formed its more formal twenty-four-man common council, as noted in Chapter Two, whilst Canterbury's missing burghmote book restricts the study there to the later period of 1630-60. This period does, however, provide valuable insight into function over the difficult years of the civil war and Interregnum.

The first section probes basic function by examining the framework of meeting systems in Canterbury and Maidstone. The former's recording of meetings with no business provides the prospect of viewing dysfunction hidden within a regular system, whilst the latter's less regular meeting system allows scrutiny of changes in meeting frequency. The second section analyses attendance patterns and recorded reasons for absence in Canterbury. This provides evidence of members' individual personal responses to officeholding, the way real life impacted corporate service, and the effect of absenteeism.

The simplicity of the analytical method used here has much to recommend it but belies some inevitable snags.[22] General issues with city records can be a problem. In Chester, the lazy and incompetent town clerk, Robert Brerewood, brought disorder to the city's records in the 1620s and was replaced immediately on discovery by a 'fitting clerke'.[23] Local practices of transcription of rough meeting minutes into surviving books introduces the possibility of mis-transcription or omission. Indeed, on two consecutive occasions in 1633 Maidstone jurat Samuel Marshall's name is entered as

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[22] See for example Ann Hughes' discussion of issues with theoretical and actual numbers of JPs (commission vs active) in *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 55.

[23] Paul Griffiths, 'Local Arithmetic: Information Cultures in Early Modern England', in *Remaking English Society: Social Relations and Social Change in Early Modern England*, ed. by Steve Hindle, Alexandra Shepard, and John Walter (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 113. See also pp. 130-2.

Robert Marshall.[24] Occasional evidence shows a man arriving late and his name being transferred from one list to another, as was the case for Robert Withinbrook at the May 1632 meeting in Maidstone, and it is likely that a small number of further instances were not recorded.[25] The number of expected attendees was also affected by the rate at which individual positions on councils were replaced. Occasionally, posts were left vacant before a new appointment was made and for complete accuracy such variations would need to be considered, but overall the figures have not been adjusted with this in mind. However, since the lists served a simple administrative function, they are unlikely to have been purposefully manipulated. The values calculated here should therefore be considered indicative rather than absolute, and with some caution, they can be assumed to represent a reasonably true picture of those attending court meetings.

It is acknowledged that the focus on a single type of meeting disguises the involvement of individuals in other aspects of corporate administration, including the many smaller committees formed for specific purposes. Halliday neatly sums up the relationship between burghmote-type meetings and the overall working system in reference to evidence from the diary of a Chester mayor of the 1690s: 'Assembly meetings were only the tip of the iceberg'.[26] Such an issue has previously been raised with regard to analyses of JP attendance levels, as discussed below: 'attendance there [sessions] should not be assumed to be an entirely fair measure of magistratic diligence'.[27] Nevertheless, since the burghmote was the foremost town court, analysis of this alone does provide insight into the functionality of a critical part of the organisational system.

It might be expected that a group of individuals often characterised as image conscious, self-interested and civic minded – 'small knots of reliable men' – would endeavour to ensure good attendance both individually and corporately at burghmote court meetings but the evidence presented here suggests that this assumption does not hold true.[28] Burghmote meetings in Canterbury and Maidstone between 1600-1660 almost never saw full attendance, the regular attendance rate equating to about two-

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[24] ACm1/2, fols 137^{v}, 138^{r}.
[25] ACm1/2, fol. 137^{v}.
[26] Halliday, p. 44.
[27] Stephen K. Roberts, *Recovery and Restoration in an English County: Devon Local Administration 1646-1670* (Exeter, 1985), p. 31.
[28] Peter Clark and Paul Slack, 'Introduction', in *Crisis and Order*, ed. by Clark and Slack, pp. 1-56 (p. 22).

thirds of corporation members. Furthermore, in Canterbury, an increasing number of court meetings were abandoned for want of numbers, a picture perhaps inconsistent with reliable men, or godly ideals. Maidstone's meetings were held intermittently, and though the corporation took steps towards regularity, they struggled to maintain it. The overall picture in both towns, therefore, is of a less than wholly dedicated group of individuals and two towns effectively run by an even smaller sub-section of the population than previously considered. For Canterbury, Maidstone, and similarly organised corporations in places like Leicester, discussions of the 'Twelve and Twenty-Four' are better described as the 'Eight and Fifteen', rarely being the same eight or fifteen at each meeting.[29]

Overall, the evidence points to two main conclusions. First, it dramatically illustrates the point that, in the seventeenth century, corporate functionality remained highly individual and unreformed. Secondly, that the structural framework of corporate systems had an inherent flexibility whereby whether men worked within the system or against it – as they sometimes did – there was the capability for continuity of function. A further general conclusion is, perhaps, obvious: caution is needed when considering wider processes of, for example, urbanization or state development, against assuming a 'typical' approach or response of urban governors simply because they existed under the common name of 'corporation'.

4.1 Corporate Meeting Systems

Incorporation established the right of those in mayoral office to preside over local courts and wield the tenets of authority: power of arrest, return of writs, holding of gaols with authority over gaol delivery and commitment to prison. The mayor, a 'learned man' – often the recorder – and certain aldermen could also stand as Justices of the Peace, though as has already been shown by the actions of John Denne in relation to the grant of Canterbury's charter, this could be a bone of contention.[30] By 1600, Canterbury corporation held sway over a wide range of judicial cases organised around its role as a county as well as a city and seven separate courts were held in the city aside from twice-yearly Kent county assizes, and quarter sessions.[31] Assizes were shared with Maidstone

[29] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, esp. pp. 195-6.

[30] The office of Justice of the Peace, introduced in the fourteenth century, was a means of devolving power to the localities whilst retaining crown control, Weinbaum, *Borough Charters*, p. xviii.

[31] Knafla, pp. xxiii-xxvi. The Palace Courts included a court of civil pleas and a separate plea for St Augustine's lands. Two were courts under the auspices of the Archbishop's Palace, the remaining five

and other Kent towns, and the sessions generally alternated between Canterbury and Maidstone, confirming their places as centres of administration for east and west Kent.[32]

By the seventeenth century, as Somner noted, Canterbury corporation members gathered 'for meeting and treaty about the affaires and good government of the City' at regular burghmote court meetings, handling administrative issues, setting by-laws and hearing local petitions.[33] Hasted tells that this court had 'been held immemorially on a Tuesday, and is called by summons and by the blowing of a horn'.[34] Scheduled to take place every two weeks in the town hall, regular attendance was established by the early sixteenth century.[35] This organised regularity meant that the court usually met on twenty-six occasions each year. In addition to this, and independent of the timing of regular meetings, mayoral election (14 September) and swearing-in (29 September) took place, occasionally with an associated run-of-the-mill business session.[36] Rarely, additional meetings were scheduled, such as the Saturday court held on 15 July 1643 to elect new mayor, Daniel Masterson, following the death of the incumbent, John Watson.[37] In total, over the thirty-year period 1630-60, excluding mayoral meetings on 14 and 29 September, the court convened on a total of 774 occasions.[38]

Maidstone, without county status, remained under the higher jurisdiction of the county of Kent but within its own town courts also had a court of burghmote.[39] In the 1560s, it was agreed that members would receive eight days' notice announced from the pulpit 'of any daye appoyncted for the making of any lawes or constytucions for the good Government welth and commodytie of this towne and parysshe'.[40] Gatherings here were far less frequent than in Canterbury. In 1563, it was stipulated that there

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under corporate jurisdiction. A court of civil pleas was supplemented by a mayor's court which could hear civil assizes and a court of piepowder for the marketplace also met occasionally before the mayor at the guildhall.

[32] Knafla, p. xx. Of ten assizes held 1600-4, Maidstone hosted four, Rochester three, and Canterbury, Dartford and Sevenoaks one each.

[33] Somner, *Antiquities*, p. 126.

[34] Hasted, XI, p. 9.

[35] Palmer, pp. 205, 358.

[36] In calculations below, any slight variation has been noted and used when calculating yearly averages. For example, each of the years 1634-5, 1635-6, 1636-7 and 1638-9 have one meeting date missing from the records.

[37] AC4, fol. 178^{v}.

[38] Extrapolation, assuming twenty-six meetings each year, provides a figure of around 1550 meetings for the whole period of 1600-1660.

[39] Knafla, p. xxxv. Other courts included a court leet for the parish under its control and separate fair and market courts.

[40] Maidstone Council, *Records*, p. 21.

should be three annual courts 'with at least six weeks between each', broadly reflecting the format of three law terms.[41] Jurats and freeholders were ordered to attend mayoral election and all burghmote courts with financial penalties for non-attendance.[42] Thus, in Maidstone, ad hoc courts were called according to need at the direction of individual mayors, establishing a significantly different meetings culture to Canterbury. Over the longer period, 1606-1660, Maidstone's corporation held a total of 230 formal burghmote court meetings, a number equivalent to only an eight to nine-year period in Canterbury.[43] Thus, corporation members in the two towns experienced very diverse working systems.

Other English town councils were similar to Maidstone: in Norwich, a minimum four annual meetings of the Assembly were required but an average of eleven per year were called.[44] Gloucester council met an average of ten times a year.[45] Some corporations, however, met even more frequently than Canterbury. In the 1580s, Northampton's mayor and aldermen increased their meeting frequency to almost once a week as they attempted to keep order and better administer the town.[46] York, with a regular pattern akin to Canterbury, held no fewer than sixty meetings in 1645 alone. This was necessary to deal with 'post-war reconstruction' after a destructive siege involving canon, mines and fire, inflicted by Parliamentary forces led by Sir Thomas and Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, Alexander Leslie, earl of Leven and Edward Montagu, earl of Manchester, in June 1644.[47] Gloucester similarly increased its meeting frequency by fifty per cent in their siege year.[48]

Towns with an ad hoc system were able to respond to crises by meeting more frequently, whilst those with regular systems had a system in place to make regular

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[41] Ibid., p. 18.

[42] Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

[43] Maidstone's minute books include several meetings identified as 'assemblies' of Burghmote rather than formal court meetings and these are not included in the count. For example, in the 1650s several gatherings are recorded which relate solely to presentations of prospective schoolmasters for the town's free school.

[44] Evans, *Norwich*, p. 43.

[45] Clark, 'Ramoth-Gilead', p. 178.

[46] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition*, pp. 129-30.

[47] Forster, *VCH York*, pp. 177, 189. Michael Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London, 2008), p. 328. The town was temporarily relieved by Royalist forces before further besiegement and eventual surrender in mid-July.

[48] Ian Roy, 'The English Republic, 1649-1660: The View from the Town Hall', in *Republiken und republikanismus im Europa der fruhen Neuzeit*, ed. by Helmut G. Koenigsberger, (Munich, 1988), pp. 213-38 (pp. 219-20).

decisions. Each town adapted to their own situation, creating specific local practices in relation to corporate meetings. Just as each town had a unique corporate history and structure, by the seventeenth century local administrative practice meant that as England's towns dealt with local social problems and were forced to deal with mid-century turbulence, they were regularly working from very different established systems with quite different time commitments. When MacCaffrey noted that for members of Exeter's Chamber attendance was 'time-consuming', he was correct, but their thirteen meetings a year were still not nearly so onerous as in other places.[49] And Halliday's statement that 'Each of the hundreds of corporations nationwide were in uninterrupted session, most for centuries', whilst true, implies a sense of uniformity which is not reflected in documented evidence.[50] Extreme differences could exist in the personal experience of urban officeholding in unstandardized institutions.

The following two sections consider Canterbury and Maidstone's meeting systems in turn, looking first at the pattern of meeting frequency in Maidstone over the period 1606-1660, and then at the levels of meetings with no recorded business in Canterbury for the period 1630-1660, evidencing change in both systems.

Attempting Standardisation

Maidstone's variable meeting system provides a good opportunity to analyse a local practice over time, and shows the efforts made in the town to change to a more regular format. Until 1620, and in close accordance with the stipulated three annual meetings, Maidstone's corporation gathered for five or less burghmote courts in each mayoral year and most years saw only one or two gatherings (Figure 7). In 1621, however, there was a significant change in practice with the first of two short-lived attempts to regularise and increase the frequency of meeting. Though the burghmote book carries no relevant order, the most likely reason prompting change was the introduction of a local tax to raise money for the recently acquired charter, the first order of the first monthly meeting being to confirm that it should be 'proceeded in'.[51] Certainly, the mayor, Robert Goulding, had not seen fit to begin his mayoralty with this alteration which was

[49] MacCaffrey, p. 37.
[50] Halliday, p. 7.
[51] ACm1/2, fol. 51^{r}. The second charter of James I was received on 12 July 1619 and so was not an immediate driver for change.

introduced over five months after his election, and was the first meeting he had called since taking office.

In a system already established to allow for extra meetings, it seems this move, though perhaps triggered by need, was the result of a purposeful decision to alter the framework of Maidstone's burghmote meetings, as evidenced by the heading placed at the beginning of the entry for 23 April 1621: 'The firste monethlie Burghmote holden by Robert Golding, mayor'.[52] This change coincides with the start of regular mention of receipts for 'making default at this Court without licence'.[53] This was more than an attempt to cope with a single issue, rather it was a conspicuous and directed change in regular practice.

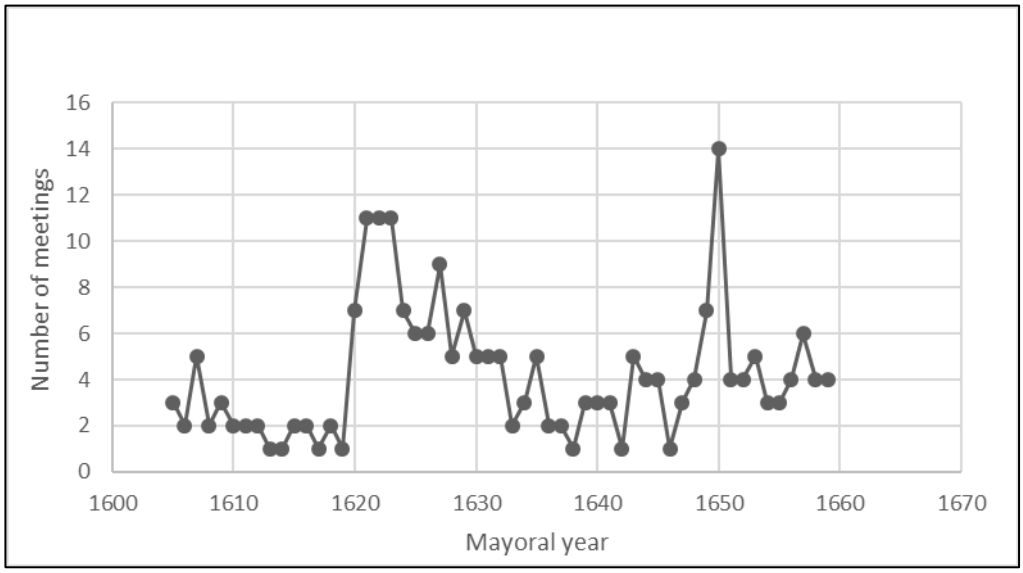


Figure 7: Frequency of burghmote meetings by mayoral year, Maidstone, 1605-1660 (Source: Md/ACm1/2, 3).

The introduction of regular meetings caused immediate problems for some corporation members. By the fourth meeting, in July 1621, former mayor and supporter of non-conformist preaching, John Crompe, was given leave by Mayor Goulding on the basis of 'testimony' from Mr Gull, the recorder, that 'in respect of his age and infirmity' Crompe would not be bound to appear at the monthly meetings 'in person'.[54] Despite

[52] ACm1/2, fol. 51^{r}.
[53] ACm1/2, fol. 51^{v}.
[54] ACm1/2, fol. 53^{r}. Crompe died within two years, PRC32/46/114. Clark and Murfin, p. 63.

this, in November that year, Crompe was elected as mayor for a second time, and under his leadership a refinement to the monthly meeting was attempted.

Mayor Crompe's first meeting was held on 7 November 1621, the first Wednesday after his election, and during his mayoralty the corporation held court on eleven occasions. In June 1622, the exact day of the month on which meetings should be held was specified: 'hence forward the Burghmote bee holden the first ~~Monday~~ \Wednesday/ in every moneth'.[55] The deletion here hints at the discussion held to determine the best day for meeting but further evidence suggests members left in some confusion.

From at least 1608, the most usual day for meetings was already a Wednesday. Indeed, the order above was passed on Wednesday 5 June, and of the previous thirty-nine meetings, only twelve had *not* been held on a Wednesday, and of these, only four on a Monday. Nevertheless, the meeting after the above order, on 'the first Wednesday in July', found only 'Mr Mayor and some very fewe' appearing, and they concluded that the meeting should be abandoned until 'the first Monday in the next moneth'.[56] The following meeting, duly held on Monday 5 August, saw an immediate reversal of practice as the corporation now resolved: 'the day for holding the Burghmote [is] altered to Wednesday & so accordingly in open Court amended'.[57] This reveals either a distinct lack of clarity, or dissent, or a combination of both surrounding the original June order.

It is quite possible that the large-scale absence in July speaks of men voting with their feet against the change to a Monday. Moderate Parliamentarian JPs and assize judges in Devon and Northampton showed their unhappiness in a similar manner in relation to court sittings after the regicide.[58] The alternative would suggest a considerable lack of communication between individuals from meeting to meeting, in that, though closely associated, members would not appear to have talked to each other about the day for the forthcoming meeting or been able to rally together members at short notice. This potentially calls into question broad assumptions, such as that corporations' 'thousands of members saw one another virtually every day'.[59] Such

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[55] ACm1/2, fol. 63^{v}.
[56] ACm1/2, fol. 63^{v}.
[57] ACm1/2, fols 64^{r}, 64^{v}.
[58] Capp, p. 34.
[59] Halliday, p. 7.

evidence is cautionary and provides an important counterbalance to our image of very tight-knit communities.

If establishing a meeting day had been difficult in Maidstone, it was even harder to maintain. Subsequent meetings were held on Wednesdays until the advent of Richard Maplisden's mayoralty in November 1629. After this, days become relatively random, though there are never meetings on a Sunday and only one Thursday meeting in the entire period to 1660. This episode underlines the practical everyday difference between the court systems in Maidstone and Canterbury. It also shows the willingness of, at least some individuals, to raise corporate function to a more organised level and such a worthy goal is consistent with a view of a deepening early modern administrative function, along with a desire for dutiful and efficient godly rule by Maidstone's largely 'godly' corporation.[60] At the same time, it demonstrates that not all members were keen to effect such changes and, perhaps, resented the additional responsibilities and calls on time.

The return to an irregular meeting pattern shows how difficult it was to sustain the change in cultural practice. From 1624-5, the monthly pattern established by Goulding began to wane, such that for the ten-year period 1633-4 to 1642-3, it had essentially reverted to the earlier pattern of three or less meetings per year, despite the need to deal with demands for £704 of Ship Money in 1635-9, for which the town was in arrears by 1638.[61] The administration and legality of Ship Money were the subject of discussion at Maidstone assizes and amongst local gentry, including the brother of Maidstone's recorder, Sir Roger Twysden, and Ship Money was just one aspect of the deepening national political crisis leading to civil war.[62] It might have been expected, therefore, that the number of meetings would increase. In an apparently opposite move to Maidstone, Norwich, which similarly ran on an ad hoc basis, increased the frequency of their core meetings (to 13-20 per annum) during five separate years of 'civic turmoil' including two years in the 1640s.[63]

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[60] Clark and Murfin, pp. 62-8

[61] Clark and Murfin, p. 61.

[62] M. D. Gordon, 'The Collection of Ship Money in the Reign of Charles I', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4 (1910), 141-62, p. 158. Kenneth Fincham, 'The Judges' Decision on Ship Money in February 1637: The Reaction of Kent', *Hist. Res.* 57 (1984), 230-7, p. 230. Peter Lefevre, 'Twysden, Sir Roger (1597-1672), of Roydon Hall, East Peckham, Kent' *HoP*.

[63] Evans cites the years 1620, 1642, 1649, 1660 and 1688, *Norwich,* p. 43.

During the 1640s, there were serious issues of internal dissent in Maidstone linked with religious division, a series of corporate purges and controversy over mayoral elections in 1641 and 1647.[64] Halliday argues that 'It was in the corporations that the impulse to purge in order to protect unity was strongest', and purge choices were, to some extent, based on local contexts.[65] However, a significant push came from Parliament, either directly, or via the introduction of measures such as the Engagement, requiring men to take oaths aligned to religio-political beliefs in order to hold office. This forced corporations to comply with imposed rules making it difficult in law for men of disparate views to serve together, whether they wanted to or not.

In Rochester, 'for the most part solidarity was much stronger than political rivalry and enabled men of very different views to work together in town affairs without seriously attempting to deprive each other of the positions of place and privilege important to all'.[66] Evidence from Canterbury points towards a similar reluctance to dismiss members. Councilman Roger Simpson, 'whose dutie it was according to his said place and the Auntient custome of this Cittie to have duly attended at the Court of Burghmote', had neglected this duty for two years, and the corporation, after 'mature and deliberate consideracon', chose to dismiss him in August 1646.[67] Six months earlier, Simpson had been given extra time to appear, despite his refusal to appear at court after a direct summons sworn delivered by the town sergeant, Mathew Burnley. It has been argued that it was necessary for the corporation to be 'pressed hard from outside' to take action in this instance.[68] Certainly, it appears that the corporate community were exceedingly reluctant to dismiss him, the order stating that they were 'very tender in the expulsion of any of their members if by any meanes they maie otherwise persuade them to a conformitie and an observance of their duties'.[69] Evidence from Exeter and Newcastle indicates a similar 'considerable reluctance' to dismiss men until the mid-1640s.[70] The close links forged by association and working together appear strong, and the unity of the corporate body, represented by keeping men within

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[64] Jones, 'Political History', pp. 59, 102.
[65] Halliday, p. 30.
[66] Jones, 'Political History' p. 134.
[67] AC4, fol. 228^{v}.
[68] Jones, 'Political History', pp. 137-8.
[69] AC4, fol. 221^{v}.
[70] Stoyle, *From Deliverance*, p.89. R. Howell, 'Neutralism, Conservatism and Political Alignment in the English Revolution: The Case of the Towns', in *Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642-1649,* ed. by John Morrill (London: 1982), pp. 67-88 (pp. 84-5).

the fold, of great importance, even in the face of wilful neglect. To dismiss a man, in one sense, meant accepting that the community had failed.

Despite internal disagreements in Maidstone's corporation during the 1640s, there is little in Maidstone's burghmote minutes with regard to reinforcing local urban order beyond everyday matters of 'the goeinge of Hoggs in the open streetes' or countrymen bringing 'pease, beans, butter, fish and other provision' to sell door-to-door rather than at the market.[71] If urban order was an issue here, it was not one which required additional meetings to solve the problems. Meeting frequency during the civil war period remained at a relatively low level, not increasing until after the Kent Uprising of June 1648 which centred on the town.

The touch-paper for this uprising was lit following the controversial trial of men involved in Canterbury's Christmas Day riots, at an assizes court beginning on 10 May 1648. Co-ordinated by an uneasy alliance of county moderates – a smaller group of 'Cavaliers' and outside agitators – unrest fermented for several weeks, with gatherings of men in Maidstone and daily committee meetings in Canterbury and Rochester, in relation to presenting a petition against the County Committee to Parliament.[72] A Parliamentary offer of indemnity to the rebels split their committee who signified a change in tactics by styling themselves a 'Council', and settled under the leadership of the royalist earl of Norwich, newly arrived in the county. Many moderate petitioners remained just that and lay down arms when faced by Parliament's General Fairfax at Blackheath. Those prepared to fight, largely the Cavaliers, were caught out at Maidstone on 1 June by Fairfax's military diversionary tactics, and after a pitched battle, the town fell under Parliamentary control. Maidstone corporation held only one burghmote meeting after 22 October 1647 until this great period of county upheaval was over; only an incomplete record of mayor James Ruse's election on 2 November 1647 exists.[73]

Within two months of the town battle, however, on 28 July 1648, mayor Ruse called a meeting which began by addressing a backlog of eleven new freedoms.[74] Three new councilmen and two jurats were chosen, and the repair of the 'Cisterne of the

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[71] ACm1/3, fol. 9^{v}, 16 August 1645; ACm1/2, fol. 197^{r}, 8 June 1642.
[72] For further detail of this episode see Everitt, *Community*, pp. 229, 240-70.
[73] ACm1/3, fol. 19^{v}.
[74] ACm1/3, fols 20^{r-v}.

Greate Conduit in the highstreete' was ordered, these actions perhaps the only sign in the minutes of the need to secure firm control of the town and restore order to both the streets and the built environment.[75]

Within two years, the corporation underwent a second, and short-lived, attempt to put burghmote meetings on a regular footing. Mayor Richard Bills, elected in November 1650, began his mayoralty with a series of five meetings over the space of just three weeks before reintroducing the lapsed monthly meetings 'of course' on 20 December.[76] The order was for meetings to be held on Saturdays at one o'clock and were to be announced by the crier the previous day at eight in the morning, 'in fower several publike places', again indicating how members relied on notice rather than conversational communication. An accompanying order stipulated a doubling of all default penalties if 'there bee not a competent number to hold a Courte'.[77] Despite Bills' brave attempt, the end of his mayoralty began a period of eight months without a single meeting, after which, the frequency of meetings during the 1650s fell back to around four.

Towards the end of Bills' mayoralty, and despite Maidstone's now hundred-year corporate history, it appears there was still uncertainty, or perhaps controversy, over how orders were agreed upon by the corporation. Uniquely, an order of 23 September 1651 begins: 'Whereas there was a debate at this Courte'.[78] Given that court meetings – which, as Somner said, were for the 'meeting and treaty' of affairs – likely always involved some debate of issues, this appears as a self-conscious entry and probably indicates significant division within the corporation.[79] The subject under discussion was whether it was constitutionally correct and necessary to have over half of the jurats and councilmen separately, or combined, to make a court and decide on orders. This was an important distinction, and one of relevance to internal power distribution.

The debate was adjourned to the next meeting, for which there was a severe increase in default fines, 'for that Courte day only', to ten shillings for jurats and five for councilmen. This action raises an important point concerning internal decision-making and our understanding of how early modern corporations worked. The punitive

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[75] ACm1/3, fol. 20^{v}.
[76] ACm1/3, fol. 44^{r}.
[77] Ibid.
[78] ACm1/3, fol. 52^{r}.
[79] Somner, p. 126.

fines imposed were set down as an order of burghmote, indicating that a majority, of whatever sort, were in agreement. The motion must have been instigated by one individual – possibly the mayor – and perhaps aimed more at absentees than those present. Nevertheless, when agreeing to orders such as this, it should be borne in mind, that these men were perversely voting to punish themselves and subjugating individual well-being to the common good of the corporate body.

The punitive meeting on 8 October duly saw a record attendance with only three absentees, two of whom presumably had good reason for their absence, being noted as 'spared' from the imposed fine.[80] The minutes here, however, are silent on any decision regarding the constitutional matter, and this being the last meeting of Bill's mayoralty, the new mayor, George Ongly, did not call another meeting until February 1651. There was a continuing reluctance on the part of subsequent mayors to hold more regular meetings and levels dropped immediately back to three to six meetings per year for the rest of the decade.

Despite Maidstone's consolidated position by 1659 as 'the fittest place for public meetings of the county', their own administration lacked coherent dedication and clarity, and the power of individual mayors to direct the course of local business and affect Maidstone's local organisational culture seems clear.[81] A tension existed between individuals and the changing expectations of corporate duty, with members seemingly unwilling, or possibly not needing, to meet on a regular footing, whether in the face of diversity or perhaps even increasing administrative demands from inhabitants over time. The experience of corporate officeholding in Maidstone appears to have been one of relatively limited expectation in terms of the regularity of meeting together as a burghmote.

On the surface, the regularity of meetings in Canterbury suggests that the corporate community did not have the same problems as in Maidstone. On closer examination, however, the next section shows how the city's apparently consistent meetings practice masks evidence of a growing problem of ineffectiveness.

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[80] ACm1/3, fol. 54[r].
[81] Kilburne, pp. 178-9.

Undermining a System

Canterbury's formal two-weekly arrangement for Burghmote meetings was a highly stable system, providing regular opportunity for the corporation to deal with the impact of local, regional and national issues, but a significant, and increasing, proportion of their meetings reflect a situation where no business was recorded. Most often, the city's minute books carry a note in English or Latin following date headings to record if a meeting did not take place 'for want of Common Council', occasionally for want of aldermen, or both, an issue quantified below. Frequently, these entries are accompanied by the phrase 'Nulla Burghmote' confirming no formal court meeting took place rather than there simply being no agreed business.[82]

The occurrence of absenteeism was not unique to Canterbury, nor, in all likelihood, to any time period. In Newcastle, insufficient attendees could result in 'an effective stoppage of business for the day'.[83] In Henley, the years 1660-3, beset by post-Restoration division and purges, saw half the town's meetings not gaining a quorum and towns could have issues with replacing displaced members in such circumstances.[84] Pre-Restoration internal community tensions also affected meeting attendance, though not all towns suffered seriously in this way. In Newcastle, where the mayor and at least six (of ten) aldermen were required to agree orders – implying from the outset an expectation of a level of absenteeism – Howell records that only six meetings between 1645-59 failed to secure enough attendees.[85] Gathering almost once a week during the Interregnum, if only six of perhaps around four hundred meetings were abandoned for want of numbers, then, as the figures below demonstrate, the contrast in patterns between Newcastle and Canterbury could hardly be greater.

Each new mayoral year in Canterbury generally appears to have begun with hopeful spirits, as the month tending to contain the fewest no-business meetings was October (Appendix E1).[86] The annual pattern is a variable one, but the mid-1630s exhibit a sustained six-year period when only three or four no-business meetings per

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[82] Meetings without this phrase and no record of any business may have been viable but with no orders passed. For the purposes of calculation, all meetings without recorded business have been counted together.

[83] Howell, *Newcastle*, p. 50.

[84] Halliday, p. 43, n. 55.

[85] Howell, *Newcastle*, pp. 50-1.

[86] The high summer month of August is the most likely to have unproductive meetings, part of an overall higher level across the summer period echoing the break in law terms.

year appear (Figure 8a).[87] This, perhaps, follows the issuing of a Book of Orders by the Privy Council in 1631. In West Kent, a surviving quarter sessions order book evidences a 'reforming spirit' in the 1630s in relation to a range of social issues including administration of the poor law.[88] The higher levels of absenteeism around 1631 might well be explained by an outbreak of plague in the city which appears to have run for much of that year. For this, a separate tent was set up on the Dongeon grounds 'most out of sight of the passengers thereby', for care and quarantine of the visited in accordance with the Book of Orders, and the city set out to kill loose dogs to prevent the spread of infection.[89] The outbreak must have been continuing at the end of October when the muster was cancelled though the muster master still received his fee.[90] However, plague resurfaced in 1635-8, years showing low levels of 'Nulla Burghmote', so this is, perhaps, not the whole explanation.

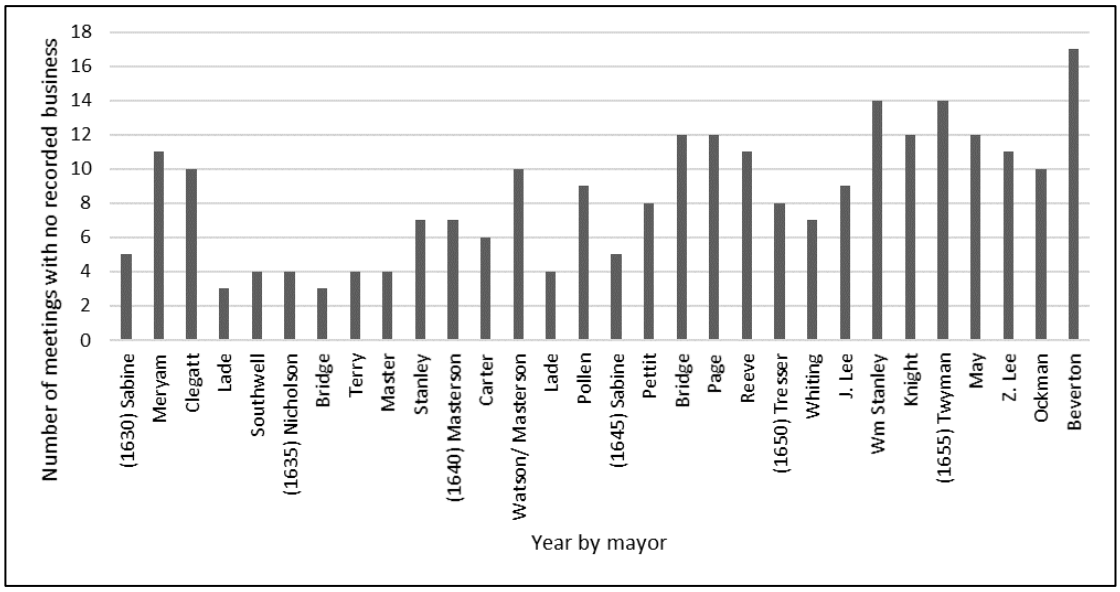
There were certainly other issues to deal with in the 1630s with county-wide corn riots in 1631.[91] Misbehaviour in the city in 1636 included no less than seven city ministers reported to Archbishop, William Laud, for living 'disorderly lives'.[92] There were issues with raising Ship Money and, unusually, two meetings in March 1637 were not held because of the absence of the mayor, William Bridge.[93] But there is little evidence to suggest any serious reason for the observed pattern; nothing in the minutes indicates an overwhelming need for increased efficiency.

Correlation of the data with serving mayors, as presented in Figure 8a, may suggest another possible reason: an association with individual mayoral leadership. The outlook of each mayor or their approach to the role may have influenced attendance. In Canterbury, the mid- to late-1630s had a succession of mayors who may have had leanings towards a more 'godly' outlook: John Lade, Walter Southwell, James Nicholson, William Bridge, John Terry and James Master. It could be that these men's dutiful 'work ethic' was something they brought to their role, with a desire to 'get

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[87] Even at this low level it is far greater than observed in Newcastle.
[88] R. D. Clerke, 'West Kent Quarter-Sessions Orders in the Reign of Charles I', *Arch. Cant.*, 80 (1965), 227-238 (p. 233).
[89] AC4, fols. 3^{r}, 9^{v}.
[90] AC4, fol. 15^{r}.
[91] SP16/191/4.
[92] Eales, 'Clergy and Allegiance', p. 87.
[93] AC4, fol. 124^{r}.

a)



b)

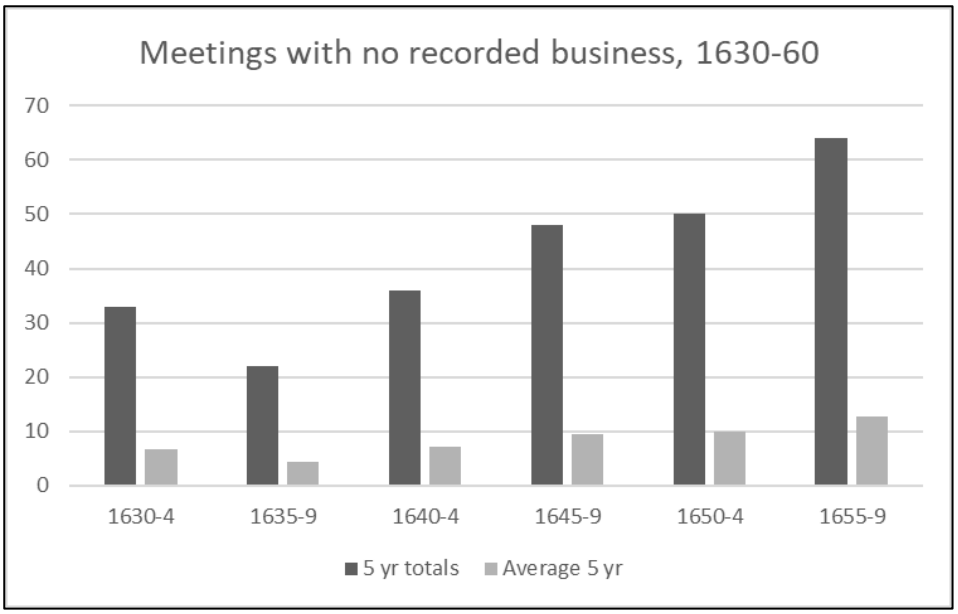


Figure 8: Canterbury burghmote meetings with no recorded business, 1630-60, mayoral year basis, a) Yearly totals, b) Five-year totals and averages (Source: CC-A/C/4).

things done', though such beliefs did not always follow through into dedication to office. Alderman Hoyle of York, despite his active 'godliness' in city affairs often only attended about half that city's council meetings each year, and only one of these Canterbury mayors, James Nicholson, had a particularly excellent level of personal attendance.[94] John Lade, however, does appear to have successfully repeated the lower level of no-business meetings of his first mayoralty (1633-4), in his second term of office (1643-4), though the most certain corporation Puritan, William Reeve, mayor in 1649-50, does not appear to have brought the corporation into line in a similar manner.[95] By the late 1640s, however, as five-yearly data indicates, there was a more general problem with absenteeism (Figure 8b).

Though exhibiting annual variation, after 1639, a general increase in the number of meetings where no business was recorded culminates in a peak in 1659-60. In this year, a total of seventeen, approximately two-thirds (65%), of the year's twenty-six meetings record no business, broadly a four- to five-fold increase from the levels of the 1630s. Five-yearly totals confirm the trend, and expose the significant disruptions in Canterbury corporation's working practice hidden within a regular meeting format.

The pertinent question is, of course, what exactly underlies this change? In Maidstone, there may have been an element of resistance to increasing responsibilities, but in Canterbury, the system itself was unchanged. The 1640s, as a period of crisis or disturbance, saw other town corporations increasingly dedicated whilst Canterbury appears to have conducted less business during the difficult years of the 1640s. Although the city's most serious civil war moments, the Christmas Day riots of December 1647 and Kentish Uprising of June 1648, may be connected with the higher rates of no-business meetings seen in these years, they do not explain the more general rise of the 1650s. This effect is more likely connected with the development of internal religious factions, an aspect considered further in the next section. It examines alderman/jurat and common councilman attendance patterns in Canterbury and Maidstone and considers recorded reasons for absence in Canterbury.

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[94] Claire Cross, 'A Man of Conscience in Seventeenth-Century Urban Politics: Alderman Hoyle of York', in *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England,* ed. by John Morrill, Paul Slack and Daniel Woolf (Oxford, 1993), pp. 205-24 (p. 208). James Nicholson missed only two or three meetings each year usually because of being out of the city.

[95] Eales, 'Clergy and Allegiance', p. 99. Reeve's mayoralty (1649-50) saw eleven, almost half the year's twenty-six meetings, produce no recorded business.

Before examining this evidence, and by way of a brief diversion, a longer-term perspective on meeting frequency can be had. Hasted commented that for the eighteenth-century Canterbury burghmote 'the ordinary business of the city not requiring such frequent meetings, this court is hardly ever convened oftener than once in a month'.[96] And this is an issue which, it seems, never goes away. In 2014, the newly elected mayor of Sandwich's modern town council caused internal controversy by seeking to reduce the traditional two-weekly meeting to every four, in a bid to increase staff efficiency.[97] As an aspect of internal corporate culture, meetings matter.

4.2 Meeting Attendance

This section begins by considering the development and character of meeting recording practices in relation to absentees and is followed by an analysis of evidence derived from attendance lists in Canterbury and Maidstone. It considers attendance patterns in both towns before using detail from Canterbury's minute books, which record reasons for absence, to assess absenteeism there.

Development of Recording Practices

The seventeenth century has been identified as entailing a 'shifting alignment in the day-to-day running of local-level government', a 'transitional time when formulations of authority were slowly but surely becoming more private and secretive while still keeping public faces'.[98] Chapter Six reveals how public face relationships with patrons altered in the period 1600-1660. It was, however, within the private, internal records and meeting environment of a corporate community that personal attendance at corporation meetings was recorded and noted by fellow members.

The importance of burghmote court meetings, or their equivalent, is reflected in the fact that, across England, towns concurrently developed different methods of tracking levels of attendance. At a time when many, if not most, local governing bodies (civic and parish) were collecting 'lists' - one London parish had a list of inhabitants for checking church attendance - corporations' attendance lists evolved as 'information systems specific to local needs'.[99] Stratford corporation went so far as to undertake

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[96] Hasted, XI, pp. 28-9.

[97] Emily Stott, 'Mayor of Sandwich defends choice to hold fewer town council meetings', *Kent Online*, 5 June 2014, <www.kentonline.co.uk>.

[98] Griffiths, 'Local Arithmetic', p. 117.

[99] Griffiths, 'Local Arithmetic', p. 117, 123. Griffiths describes in detail changes in early modern information gathering.

'almost obsessive recording' of internal voting, identified as a possible result of attempting to 'control their own affairs' against manorial lordship intrusion.[100] However, unlike public lists 'for people to read "dewties" and rules', these were private expressions of 'daily social practices' and subject to the utmost secrecy afforded to civic documents.[101] In Exeter, the Chamber appointed a 'special guardian' for their increasing store of private records, and as elsewhere, Canterbury and Maidstone securely locked away their minute books.[102]

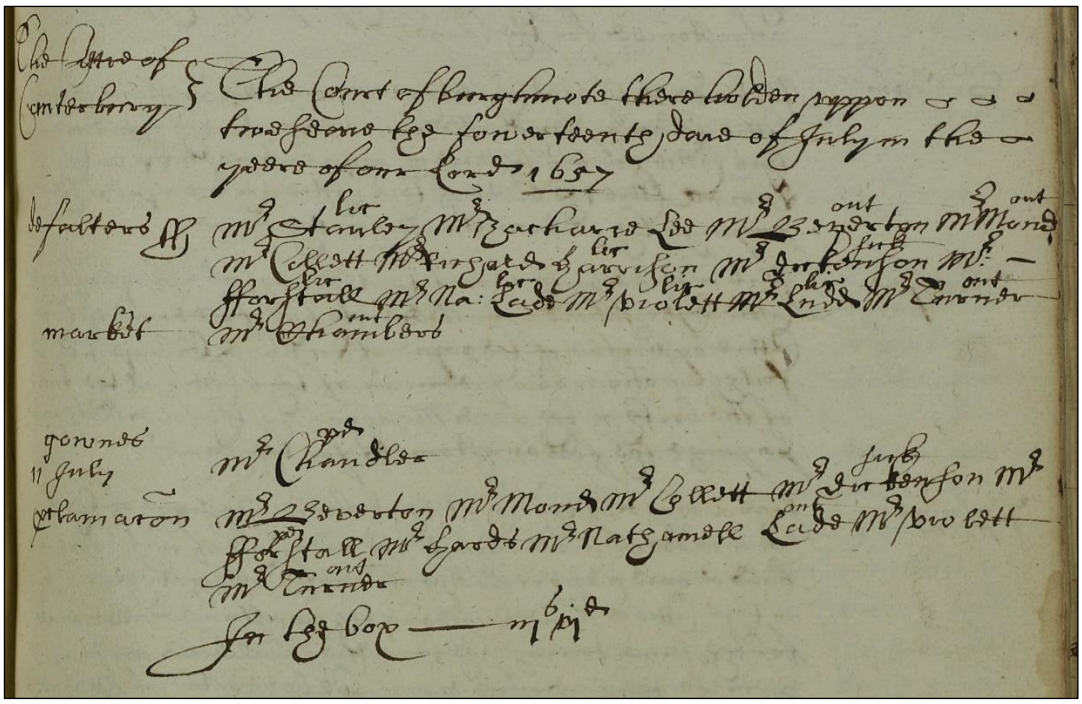
Most towns' meeting minutes, alongside a formulaic preamble, list out members who have or have not attended meetings, a written practice documenting deviation from an ideal situation where all members present themselves at every meeting. Absence or late arrival were inexcusable, and as has already been noted, often prompted punishment by means of a monetary fine. In 1603, Canterbury added at least 4s. 6d. to their income from 'fines of late comers to Burghmot'.[103] This was nothing new. Non-attendance in York at the end of the fifteenth century saw an average of 'more like 20' than the thirty-nine full complement, and even then, fines or dismissals were in place to deal with 'slackness'.[104] Usefully, however, these lists, in the manner of a regular 'census', provide a means of analysing attendance levels.

Until mid-1645, Canterbury's lists generally separate names of aldermen and common councilmen, after this they tend to be written as a single list, though still with aldermen's names before the rest of the council, the split often marked by the position of the sheriff, or 'Shreve'.[105] The list is titled 'defaulters', identifying those who did *not* attend, the terminology delivering a serious, negative connotation for those whose names appeared in the lists (Figure 9a). By contrast, Maidstone's lists most often take the form of four separate lists, identifying attending/defaulting jurats and attending/defaulting common councilmen, a more comprehensive method than that seen in Canterbury and one which provides the total complement of expectation. (Figure 9b).

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[100] Hughes, 'Religion', p. 77.
[101] Griffiths, 'Local Arithmetic', pp. 114-5, 123.
[102] MacCaffrey, p. 42.
[103] FA21, fol. 67^{r}.
[104] E. Miller, 'Medieval York', in *VCH York*, pp. 25-116 (p. 78).
[105] In these cases, the reconstructed lists of corporation members in Appendix D have been used to confirm alderman/common councilmen numbers for the purposes of calculation.

a)



b)

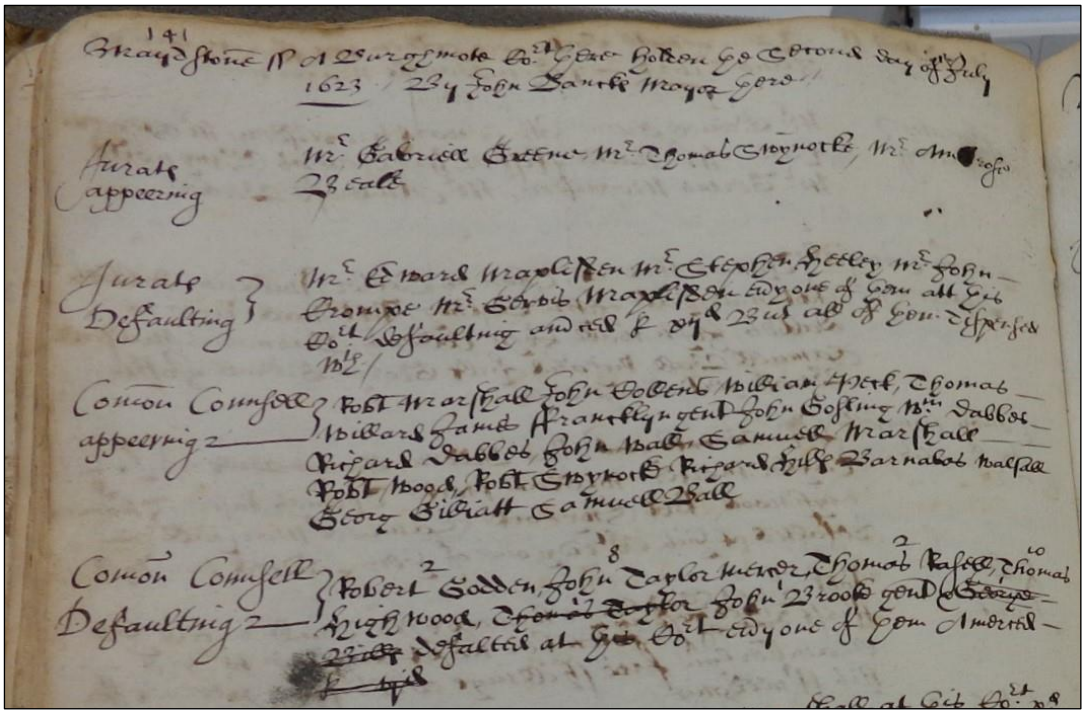


Figure 9: Minute book attendance lists in a) Canterbury (Source: CC-A/C/4, reproduced by permission of Canterbury Cathedral Archives), b) Maidstone (Source: Md/ACm1/2, reproduced by permission of Kent Archives and Local History service).

These formats are broadly similar in other Kent and English provincial towns. Nearby Rochester's records routinely contain separate lists of aldermen and common councilmen.[106] In Exeter, 'a list of councillors present, headed by the mayor' was placed before the business of each meeting.[107] The mayor's name similarly heads lists in Reading, where two separate lists for 'Capitall Burgesses' and 'Secondary Burgesses' occur, and though not always labelled, they are entered separately so marking out the two groups. Here, all names are listed, and a small ink dot is placed next to the names of those appearing, those without a dot identified as absent.[108] Thus, a variety of forms evolved, invariably reflecting corporate hierarchy, all with the explicit intention of monitoring presence and absence, and each expressing individual corporate practice. As a member, the local organisational rules concerning meetings linked to either attendance or non-attendance and different levels of financial fines, and established specific internal cultural experiences associated with attending council meetings.

Canterbury's records also qualify non-attendance, with a superscript note in many cases placed next to individual names, providing a reason for their absence.[109] Four categories are used to cover allowable and non-allowable reasons for absence: 'lic', by licence; 'out', meaning out of the city at the time of the meeting; 'egr' or 'sick', which is self-explanatory; and 'pd', or 'sol', which indicate payment for a default of attendance. This dataset offers a unique insight into individual and group patterns of behaviour, a personal approach which is often hard to find for corporation members whose '"authentic" voices rarely permeate into the corporation archives'.[110] Whilst not a record of the spoken word, these data directly reflect personal behaviour and a level of commitment and respect for burghmote meetings and their rules.

Attendance

The widespread existence of attendance lists points to a commonality of need but also the expectation of less than total attendance. They represent a documentary source from which evidence of non-attendance has been broadly noted but rarely explored in any detail, though individual examples of personal attendance are occasionally described.

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[106] Smith, *Rochester*, pp. 140-1.
[107] MacCaffrey, p. 32.
[108] *Reading Records: Diary of the Corporation*, ed. by J. M. Guilding, 4 vols ([n.p.], 1892-96), II, facsimile of a manuscript facing p. 351.
[109] A form of this system is in evidence in the sixteenth century, for example see CCA-CC/A/C/1/103, dated 1541-2.
[110] Reynolds, p. 32.

For example, Alderman Hoyle of York was frequently out of the city when serving as an MP, but during the city's occupation by Royalists and siege by Parliamentary forces, he understandably 'never appeared at meetings of the corporation'.[111] In Exeter, personal disagreement between a councillor, John Levermore, and the rest of the council led to public outbursts and he 'refused to attend Chamber meetings'.[112] In general, however, individual examples like this do nothing to explore the lifetime habits of an individual or quantify the wider problem, and the important issue of attendance levels in relation to understanding processes of practical urban governance has generally been little defined.

There is, nevertheless, some mention in the historiography. Evans states that, in Norwich, 'Meetings of great consequence were well attended', and Reynolds remarks on one of these meetings in relation to a contentious protest against Bishop Wren in September 1636: fifty-three of sixty councilmen appeared, constituting the 'fullest assembly' members could remember.[113] In Newcastle, 'Meetings of the Council were held frequently […] and attendance generally high'.[114] In late-medieval Coventry, the important group of twelve men comprising the 'Council House' were 'usually less' than this number, and the 'falling off' of common council members in York after the civil war has been noted.[115] In Tudor York, 'it was unusual for more than half to come, and over long periods, a quarter or less normally attended', with periods of attending aldermen outnumbering councilmen.[116] One exception to this generalisation is Paul Halliday's recent work on the development of partisan politics in post-1650 corporations which includes percentage totals of attendance numbers for 1,483 meetings across the towns of Chester, Leicester, Henley and Woodstock. Covering the later period of 1660-1727, he finds overall rates of 54-75 per cent attendance, his desire to quantify the issue being relevant to a study of borough politics and voting behaviour arising from corporate purges.[117]

Evans considers aldermanic absenteeism in Norwich for three specific meetings held in 1642-3 during a purge of Royalists, who were 'obliterated within the space of a

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[111] Cross, p. 217-9.
[112] MacCaffrey, p. 39.
[113] Evans, *Norwich,* p. 43. Reynolds, p. 197.
[114] Howell, *Newcastle*, p. 216.
[115] Phythian-Adams, *Desolation*, p. 123. Forster, *VCH York,* p. 177.
[116] Dickens, *VCH York*, p. 139.
[117] Halliday, pp. 42-3.

month'.[118] Perhaps the best example of some attention to this subject, however, is Stoyle's analysis of Chamber meetings in Exeter over the period 1636-46. In examining individual attendance, he neatly shows how it was affected by personal beliefs, the prevailing sentiment of the Chamber likely determining individual decisions to attend or abstain from Chamber meetings.[119] These examples show the strength of this source in understanding individual and group behaviour, particularly in relation to purges. Rather than looking directly at the link between factions and meeting attendance, however, the next section takes a slightly different approach to those outlined above. It takes the opportunity offered by Canterbury's recording of reasons for non-attendance to provide a finer analysis of this aspect of absenteeism.

Non-Attendance

Early modern individuals saw their place in society within hierarchical, patriarchal and patronal social structures, at home, in the parish and, for corporation members, within state power lines that ran from Crown to individual. Aspects of duty and community are pertinent when thinking about 'personal commitment' in this period, and as – most often – middling sort individuals, members were part of a group where nascent self-identification was based upon an 'ideal urban "middling" householder [who] was not only protestant, sober, male and industrious: he was also office-holding and literate'.[120] This image, however, can sit uneasily with a general view of urban governors as corrupt, oligarchic and self-interested, and the opportunity to consider evidence of the dutiful dedication of a governing group, and the reasons behind corporate absenteeism – a mix of social, political and religious drivers – is appealing.[121]

Neglect of duty was a serious matter, and attendance was not only an issue for local corporations but nationally and at a county level: Elizabethan chancellors 'continually complained of slackness' with regard to those around them.[122] Amongst county magistrates were many hard-working – and less dedicated – justices. Ann Hughes' analysis of JP attendance in Warwickshire found overall levels of attendance of about two-thirds in the 1620s, dropping to about a half in the 1630s, the latter perhaps

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[118] Evans, *Norwich*, p. 127.
[119] Stoyle, *From Deliverance*, pp. 62-3, 89.
[120] Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 122.
[121] See for example Clark, 'Civic Leaders', p. 311.
[122] Alison D. Wall, *Power and Protest in England, 1525-1640* (London, 2000), p. 102.

surprising given the introduction of the Book of Orders as noted above.[123] Anthony Fletcher demonstrates a similar situation for Sussex, with the majority of 189 quarter sessions meetings (1625-60) under-attended, and in most cases, only about half the JPs appearing.[124] In Canterbury and Maidstone, assizes and quarter sessions attendance in 1598-1602 saw average attendance levels of the working commission at 58 and 45 per cent, and 55 and 34 per cent, respectively.[125]

Under-attendance by JPs was identified as a concern at a national level due to the important role county justice played in local government. A Privy Council order of June 1605 highlighted widespread problems with quarter sessions attendance, and it was, in part, the level of neglect impacting broader concerns about plague, dearth and poverty which led to the publication of the January 1631 Book of Orders, accompanied by a royal commission to Archbishop George Abbot and other Privy Council members.[126] Directed at JPs and 'other Officers, Magistrates, and Ministers of the Peace, within the seuerall Counties, Cities and townes' one aim was to improve JP work patterns.[127] An order that they should 'hold monthly meetings in their divisions in order to exercise closer control of the poor law administration', highlights the fear of disorder that might follow from negligent governance.[128] Regularisation of meetings was accompanied by a temporary increase in attendance in Warwickshire.[129] By 1637, however, there was a nationwide dismissal of 'the inactive', instigated by a leading commissioner, Sir Thomas Coventry, himself a particularly dedicated administrator holding increasingly responsible roles in Worcester and then London, rising to Lord Keeper in 1625.[130] Nevertheless, problems continued, and a high level of JP 'apathy' in Devon has been linked with a fall in Interregnum attendance to less than twenty per cent.[131] Town corporations were not subject to similar oversight of attendance levels; in this respect

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[123] Hughes, *Politics, Society*, pp. 55, 345. Attendance allowance lists from quarter sessions order books (1624-60) are used for analysis. She also references similar work on other counties by J. H. Gleason, *Justices of the Peace in England, 1558-1640: A Later Eirenarcha* (Oxford, 1969). Wall, pp. 105-7.
[124] Fletcher, *Sussex,* pp. 219-21, 358.
[125] Knafla, p. xxiv.
[126] Paul Slack, 'Books of Orders: The Makings of English Social Policy, 1577-1631', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 30 (1980), 1-22 (p. 2).
[127] Charles I, *Orders and Directions, together with a Commission for the Better Administration of Iustice, and more Perfect Information of His Maiestie* (1630), p. 11.
[128] Fletcher, *Reform*, pp. xxix, 53.
[129] Hughes, *Politics, Society*, p. 57.
[130] Fletcher, *Reform*, p. 9; Fletcher, *Sussex*, p. 129; Glyn Redworth and Andrew Thrush, 'Coventry, Sir Thomas (1578-1640), of Croome d'Abitot, Worcester', *HoP*.
[131] Roberts, *Recovery*, p. 30.

they were self-regulated, relying on the goodwill, sense of duty, or imposition of local rules and punishments to try and maintain a working quorum.

Paul Halliday summarises his section on meetings attendance by stating that 'borough corporations included a handful who did most of the work, a majority who appeared regularly to support them, and a minority that rarely came to meetings'.[132] It is true that in Canterbury men like John Furser, James Nicholson, John Watson and Henry Knight, who rarely missed meetings were in relative short supply, Halliday's 'handful who did most of the work'. More common were men like John Standley, William Watmer and Thomas Gilbert, who throughout their term of office missed half to three-quarters of meetings each year for a variety of reasons. Such men cannot, in all fairness, be deemed conscientious with a high regard for their office or sense of duty. They push the bounds of Halliday's description as those who 'appeared regularly'.

Using the reconstructed burghmote membership lists for Canterbury, as detailed in Chapter Two, and the default lists in the city's minute books, it is possible to assess overall levels of aldermen and common council absences for the period 1630-1660. Separate examination of the upper and lower councils provides values for overall average absences of 4.1 aldermen (34.2%) and 8.8 common councilmen (36.7%), (Figure 10). This translates to an average meeting attendance of eight aldermen and fifteen common councilmen, hence the suggested 'Eight and Fifteen' referred to at the outset.

Using attendance lists from Maidstone's minute books, data for jurats (1606-60) indicates an overall average attendance of 6.7 men (56%), a figure only slightly lower than Canterbury's equivalent (Figure 11). The annual pattern of variation here reveals two points of note. First, although Maidstone's corporation did not increase the frequency of meeting during the civil war period, as demonstrated above, the early 1640s saw a better average level of jurat attendance at meetings. The second point, is that the lowest average attendance figure of 4.4 men, appearing as a noticeable dip in 1650-1, occurred during the mayoralty of Richard Bills, as described above, which saw the greatest number of meetings in any single year. Perversely, then, Bills' attempt to reinforce attendance levels and increase the regularity of meetings, appears to have had

[132] Halliday, p. 42.

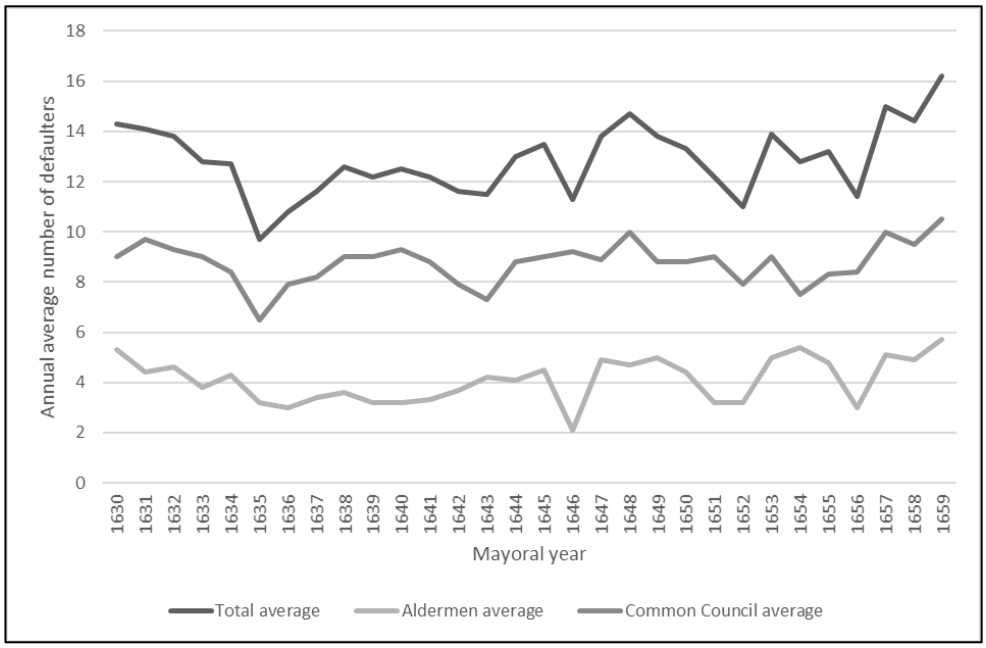


Figure 10: Average meeting default levels in Canterbury: total, aldermen, and common councilmen (Source: CC-A/C/4).

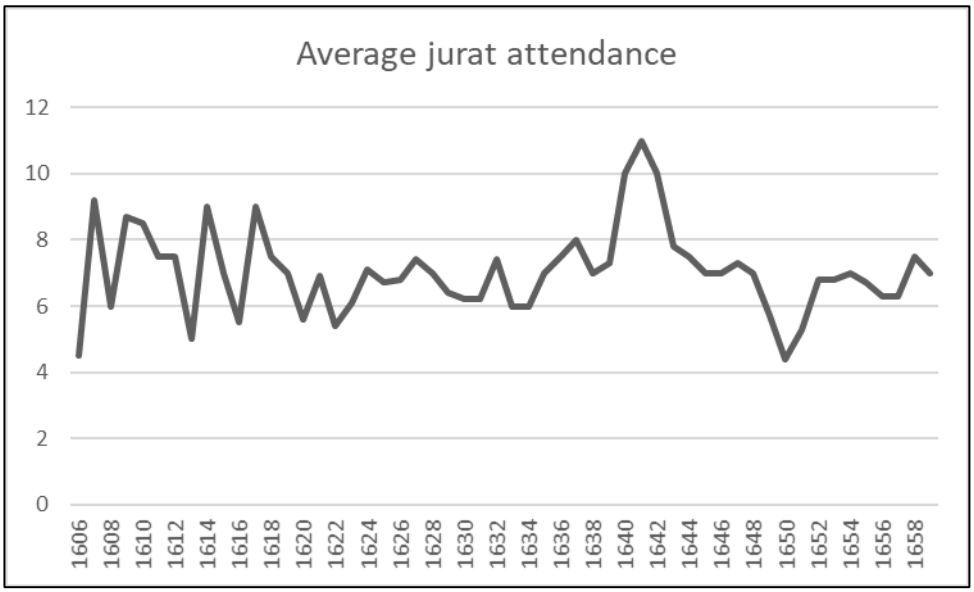


Figure 11: Average jurat attendance by mayoral year, Maidstone, 1606-60 (Source: Md/ACm1/2, 3).

the opposite effect, despite a concurrent order to double fines for those defaulting at future meetings.

These methods of analysing meeting and attendance data provide a useful means of assessing everyday function in urban corporations and allow insight into real working practices. Evidence of alterations in local practice can provide a prompt for further research into specific findings, as for example, more detailed reasons for the increase in meeting frequency but decrease in attendance during Richard Bill's mayoralty in Maidstone. This section, however, continues by turning to an analysis of Canterbury's recorded reasons for members' absences from burghmote meetings.

It is important not to ignore simple reasons for absences. One is resistance to officeholding for personal or financial reasons. Clark suggested with respect to Gloucester, that 'a significant proportion found the financial strain too much and dropped out of the council after one or more spells of official service'.[133] Halliday puts forward the suggestion that variation in rates of attendance in the four towns noted above were due to 'varying degrees of gentry membership', these men often being absent because of competing interests and infrequent residency.[134] This may be a part of the explanation but appears simplistic, especially given Stoyle's evidence from mid-century Exeter linking ruling factions and absenteeism. It is useful, therefore, to analyse recorded annotations on Canterbury's default lists which indicate individual reasons for non-attendance at each burghmote court meeting, in order to understand at a general level, reasons for non-attendance. The analysis below of documented reasons for non-attendance uncovers some of the everyday reasons behind non-attendance as well as hinting at political ones, demonstrating a substantially more complex picture than gentry absence.

It has already been demonstrated that Canterbury corporation's average meeting saw thirteen absentees: four aldermen and nine common councilmen. For defaulting aldermen, half (50.3%) of these absences were by licence, a further 20.6% had no recorded reason for absence, though their name appears on the defaulters list, 17.1% were due to absence from the city, and only 5.7% of entries indicate the payment of a fine (Figure 12). Unsurprisingly, a small number of absences (6.3%) were due to sickness, often preceding the death of an individual. John Hunt is recorded as sick at

[133] Clark, 'Ramoth-Gilead', p. 177.
[134] Halliday, p. 43.

twelve meetings in 1630-1, followed by a period of 'no reason' in the drawn-out prelude to his death in mid-1632. Henry Vanner's run of sickness in late 1630 also preceded his death in early 1631.[135] William Stanley missed thirteen meetings due to sickness in 1645-6 but went on to serve for several more years, though with a generally poor attendance record.

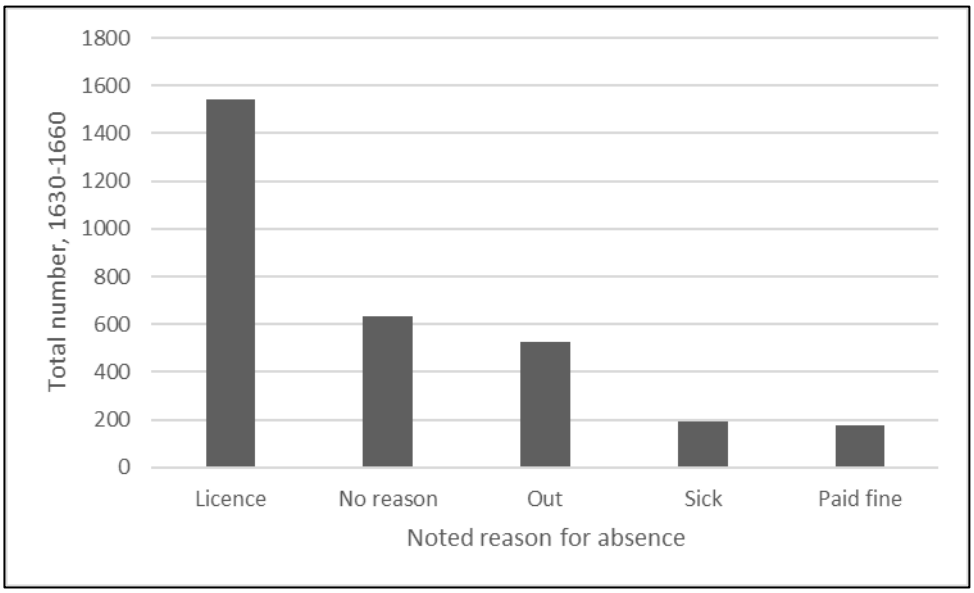


Figure 12: Total numbers of recorded reasons for meeting absence, Canterbury aldermen, 1630-60 (Source: CC-A/C/4).

Five-yearly totals draw out changes in the proportions of each category over the period 1630-60 (Figure 13). The high level of sickness seen in the early 1630s may be on account of the plague year of 1631, mentioned earlier, although the late 1630s was not without plague and sickness and levels might reflect other prevalent illnesses within the city. There are two features of interest: high levels of absence without reason during the second half of the 1640s, and an increase in men out of the city in the second half of the 1650s. That the greatest number of absences were approved by licence indicates that most men respected the rules and worked within the system, but the high number of absentees without licence and relatively high proportion of men out of the city are perhaps surprising, and these aspects form the greater part of the discussion here.

[135] CCA-U/3/90/1/1. According to the burghmote minutes Hunt died at the meeting on 10 April 1632 but the minuted date has been altered and given his burial date of 29 March 1632, he must have died at the previous meeting on 27 March, AC4, fols 45$^{r, v}$. PRC28/16/439.

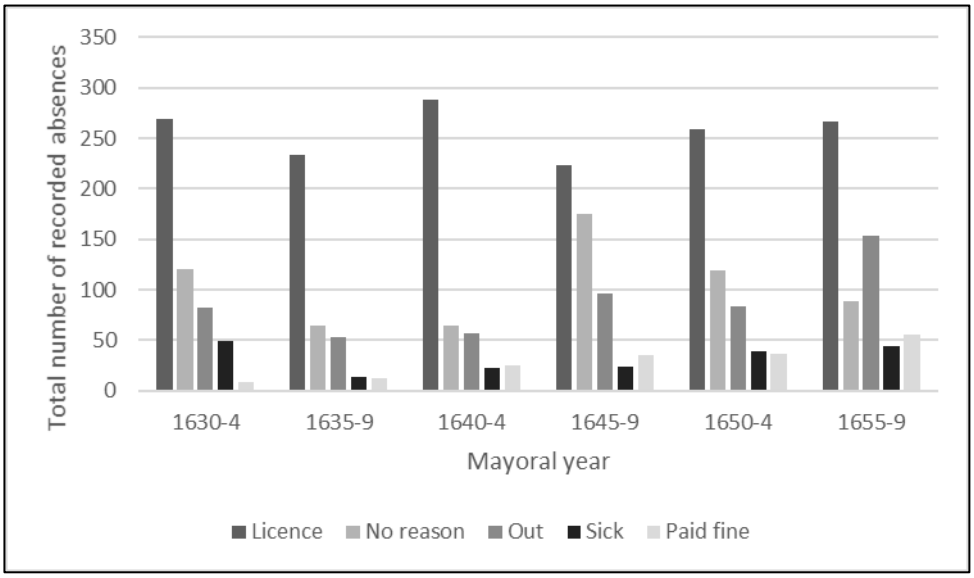


Figure 13: Recorded reasons for meeting absence, five-yearly data, Canterbury aldermen, 1630-60 (Source: CC-A/C/4).

Absence from the City

The inclusion of 'out' as a category indicates the acceptability of being out of the city as a reason for missing a meeting in Canterbury, and an understanding that travel represented an inevitable fact of men's lives. It accounts for almost a fifth of all absences, but with higher levels after 1645 and an apparent increase at the end of the 1650s. To warrant this allowance, a man needed to be 'gonn out of the Cittie before the blowinge of the Burgmote horne in the morneinge'.[136] This regular, two-weekly call to the burghmote court meeting – probably beginning at 9am during this period – presented a different experience for members of the corporate community in Canterbury to those in the corporation of Maidstone, where the few meetings each year were announced ahead of time, in church.

Given the high number of merchants within Canterbury's corporation, as demonstrated in Chapter Two, trade was likely the most often cause of absence, though a few instances are marked with the word 'London' and may relate to official business trips as opposed to personal ones. Evans cites the clash with occupational trading as a particular issue of loyalty between business and civic duty, and Howell also highlights the tension in Newcastle for men to both maintain their own livings and attend the

[136] AC4, fol. 315[r].

Common Council meetings, 'the main bulwark for the preservation of their privileges'.[137] In Canterbury, the corporate system made clear provision and local understanding of this need.

Most aldermen were out of the city on one to three occasions in most years, but several individuals left the city more frequently. Typical examples of men travelling out of the city are John Meriam and Thomas Reader who, in the 1630s, were both out about six times per year. The period 1638-44 shows less variability but no obvious reduction, or rise, in travel beyond the city liberty on account of the civil war. In the late 1640s William Stanley was out several times, and George Milles, before a long period of absence discussed below, was out of the city seven times in the year 1643-4.

Some evidence of men travelling to London in the 1650s comes from an 'elaborate system' of registration introduced from 1655 under Cromwell's, probably 'more radical', major-general, Thomas Kelsey; by this system, suspect Royalists were subject to close scrutiny of their movements around the country.[138] Of nineteen Canterbury men known to have been on the Registrar's list, four lawyers – John Best, Thomas Hardres, Francis Lovelace, and Edward Roberts – are noted as travelling to their chambers in London.[139] Three members of the common council are also identified. Apothecary, Avery Hilles, elected to the common council in 1658-9 was in London in July and December 1656. Francis Maplisden, dismissed from the corporation in November 1650 but recently readmitted on 26 February 1656, travelled to London on 7 February that year, residing with Robert Wheeler, a gunsmith, at the Sign of the Squirrel in Shoe Lane; he travelled back to Canterbury on the ninth. He left the city after his council readmission and returned to London on 26 February to stay with cheesemonger, John Webb, near Billingsgate, heading back again to the provinces two days later. In June he returned to visit Wheeler again. John Simpson, likely the council member dismissed on 24 December 1650, and Thomas Turk, a pipe-maker, and Canterbury freeman since December 1641, were also recorded as travelling to London. Richard Pysing, a carpenter who worked for the corporation, including on the guildhall, spent three days in London in March 1656 with Thomas Gibson at the Bleeding Heart in

[137] Howell, *Newcastle*, p. 51.
[138] A. Rhodes, 'Suspected Persons in Kent', *Arch. Cant.*, 23 (1898), 68-77 (p. 68). Durston, p. 52.
[139] The following examples all come from: Rhodes, pp. 71-2.

Stepney. This evidence, though centred on a subset of royalist individuals, indicates the relative frequency with which men from Canterbury were travelling to London.

Two men appear to be largely responsible for the observed rise in the last few years of the 1650s: aldermen John and Zachary Lee. The former, a fellmonger, joined the corporation in April 1650, becoming an alderman less than a year later.[140] Having recorded 'out' absences on eight occasions in the previous three years, he was absent from the city on twelve occasions in 1658-9 and fourteen in 1659-60, over half of the year's meetings. Zachary Lee recorded nine occasions in the two years before his mayoralty (1657-8), followed by six and twelve instances in the two years after, despite serving as chamberlain. Prior to this, both men's 'out' absences were higher than most, but not excessive. No firm explanation has been uncovered for this sudden change. It may have been occupational, or possibly political, since Zachary Lee was heavily involved in the Independent church established in the city by Puritan Divine, John Durant in the 1650s.[141] It is possible, therefore, that the political environment of the years following Oliver Cromwell's death, and anticipation of the return of Charles II, played some part in his changing habit, such that he purposefully sought to be out of the city rather than attend burghmote meetings.

This section has examined how the working culture of Canterbury's corporate community made provision for the reality of men's lives beyond their duty to the corporation. The two-weekly regularity of Canterbury's meetings set up a tension between corporate membership and domestic and occupational lives which was not experienced by members of Maidstone's corporation in the same way. In Canterbury, travel outside the city on every other Tuesday morning, throughout the year, necessitated forethought and an early start, in order to get beyond the city boundary before the call to duty. In this way, the everyday functioning of Canterbury's corporation had a regular and significant impact on how men arranged other aspects of their lives. The following section, looking at licensed and unlicensed absences, reinforces how local ways of organising practical aspects of urban governance shaped the lives of members of the corporate community, and how members might respond to the systems imposed on them.

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[140] AC4, fols 300^{r}, 315^{v}.

[141] Avril Leach, 'The Cultural Expression of the Relationship between Canterbury City and Cathedral, 1630-1670' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Kent, 2010), p. 36.

Licensed and Unlicensed Absence

The two recorded categories of 'licence' and 'no given reason' in Canterbury's civic minutes provide the clearest indication of practices of conformity and non-conformity with burghmote rules. A licence for absence was usually obtained directly from the mayor at some time before a scheduled meeting. In December 1650, Canterbury mayor, Thomas Tressor, appointed as alderman in April 1648 shortly after the Christmas Day riots and a generally good attendee, attempted to bring members of the court into line in relation to their attendance. A blunt order was passed, reaffirming the penalties for missing meetings without licence: 'To the end that the Courte of Burghmote may be for the time to come more certenly kept than formerly and the members of this house may more constantly attend the service of this Court than of late they have donne'.[142]

Tressor was responding to a five-year period which saw the lowest level of licences obtained by the corporation's members, coupled with a correspondingly high level of absences without a recorded reason, and several years where almost half of meetings had no recorded business (Figures 8a, 14).There had been an apparently dramatic rise in absence without reason to its highest level in 1645-6 under mayor Avery Sabine, followed by an equally dramatic fall to the lowest level seen in 1646-7 under another 'moderate', Paul Pettit.[143] Whilst there is the possibility that these dramatic changes could simply be the result of different levels of attention given to recording reasons for absence, it is notable that the system appears consistent in recording reasons at each meeting.

Tressor's order confirmed fines at a rate of 6 pence for councilmen and double for aldermen, with additional fines for those arriving late but 'before the chapter shalbe read'.[144] Within weeks, however, this order was revoked, on account of 'some differences towchinge the attendance & comeinge of the members of this house to the Courte of Burghmote'.[145] The order cites 'ambiguities and doubte' as the problem, the thrust of which appears to have been that in order to obtain a licence, the new order required that it be requested in 'open court'. This either required two-weeks' forethought or appearing at a meeting in order to obtain licence not to attend it – no

[142] The three years before had also seen higher levels of meetings with no orders passed than at any time over the previous twenty. AC4, fols 314^{r}, 315^{r}.
[143] Jones, 'Political History', p. 102.
[144] AC4, fols 312^{v}, 315^{r}.
[145] AC4, fol. 315^{r}.

wonder then that there was some confusion. Members of the corporation clearly made their unhappiness known, and an amended order provided that the mayor 'may give licence out of Court (as formerly hath bine accustomed) to any member of this house to be absent from the Courte of burgimote'.[146] This gave far greater flexibility in relation to the time and place for requesting a licence. It is also a further reminder of the greater intrusion of corporate rules – grounded in the consequences of the local practice of two-weekly meetings – into the lives of the members of Canterbury's corporate community as against members in Maidstone.

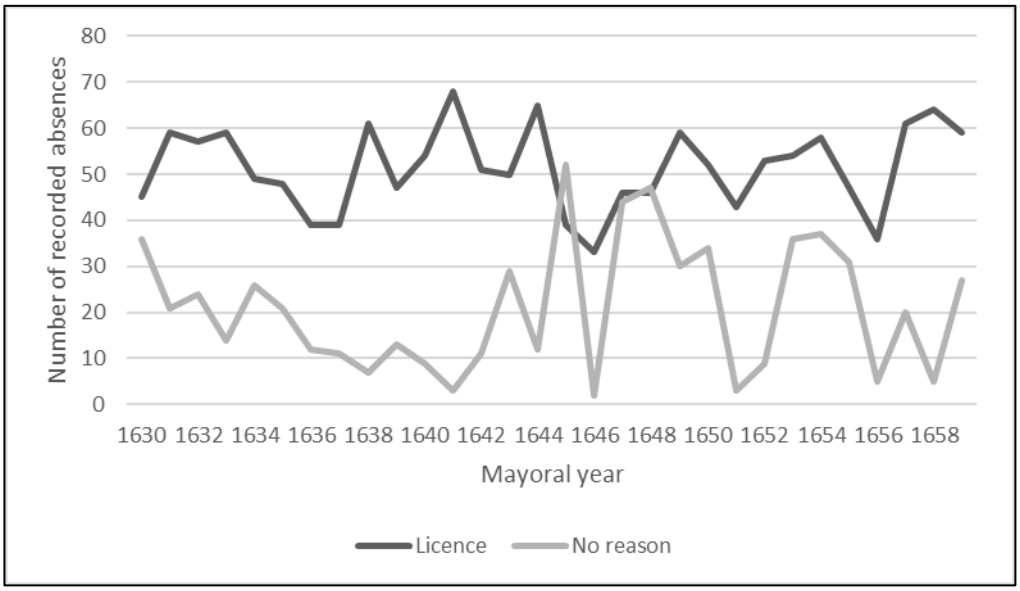


Figure 14: Annual numbers of meeting absences by 'licence' or 'no reason', Canterbury, 1630-60, by mayoral year (Source: CC-A/C/4).

The order may have cleared up the confusion over how to obtain a licence, but there was a sting in the tail for members; this order went on to warn that 'noe such licence shalbe given to any one member two Courtes together'.[147] This forced men to attend at least once a month and appears to have been reasonably successful, though brewer, William Stanley, managed to obtain licence for four out of five consecutive weeks in the summer of 1653. There are also further instances over the next ten years of

[146] AC4, fol. 315^{r}.
[147] AC4, fol. 315^{r}.

men pushing the restrictions to the limit with a one week on, one week off pattern, William Stanley being one of these.

Alderman John Terry also appears to have worked the licence 'system'. In March 1642, he and common councilman, stationer Joseph Bulkley, had been given leave by an order of burghmote to be 'at liberty for comyng to Burgmott & for their age & weakness shalbe freed from fynes in that behalf', though, in fact, Terry appears to have always been an intermittent attendee.[148] Several months later, in September 1643, at the beginning of John Lade's mayoralty, Terry became a regular non-attendee without reason and is recorded as missing eighteen of the year's twenty-six meetings (14 no reason, 3 licence, 1 sick) and it is possible there was a religious undertone to his actions.

An order passed a year later, on 24 September 1644 – a meeting held in the transition between mayoral election and swearing in – demanded that he attend every court meeting 'as all others of this house ought and doe', despite his age.[149] Rather than conforming, Terry simply applied for licences instead, missing only one less meeting in 1644-5 than in the previous year (11 licence, 4 no reason, 2 sick). His period of regular non-attendance without reason in the early 1640s had, perhaps, been due to more than old age, signified by the perverse nature of his later response; he did, however, eventually petition for dismissal in August 1646 due to deafness and 'inability of body'.[150] Nevertheless, one wonders how he had coped with having to attend every single meeting during his own mayoralty in 1637-8, a point which pertains to the majority of members, and again reinforces the difference in the practical experience of the same role in different towns.

It is in the absences without reason that long-term non-attendees are most often observed, their lack of interest, or ability, in attending made clear by their unwillingness to obtain licences, generating persistent runs of absence, often preceding dismissal, leaving the corporation, or death. William Whiting (son of the 'wiseman' of Chapter Two), obtained a licence for 23 October 1655, but in the two weeks before the next meeting wrote his will, being 'sick and weak of bodie'. He did not attend further, having a run of seven absences without reason (though clearly sick and dying), prior to

[148] AC4, fol. 167^{r}.
[149] AC4, fol. 194^{r}.
[150] AC4, fol. 227^{v}.

his death in early 1656.[151] Beginning his aldermanship in January 1650, he had only ever attended half (eighty) of all the meetings during which he held office, twenty-six of these being during his own mayoralty, giving a forty per cent attendance rate aside from that year. As with John Terry, compulsory mayoral attendance must have required quite some effort.

Members did petition to leave the corporation for personal or residency reasons. Through the 1630s, woollendraper, James Master, had missed eight to twelve meetings each year, mostly with licence but being out of the city several times each year. With good attendance in 1640-1 (2 licence, 1 paid fine) he missed eleven meetings by licence the following year. Poor attendance, probably in 1644-5 largely through sickness, led into a long run of absence without leave from mid-1645.[152] This culminated in his petitioning the burghmote court to be dismissed from office on 20 October 1646, 'beinge necessarily called awaie from the discharge of his duetie'.[153] Though this possibly hints at some form of war-related work, no further detail is provided. Whatever his reasons, they were not profitable ones and by 1659 he was in gaol for debt and petitioning the council for assistance.[154]

Examples such as these begin to tease out real and everyday circumstances of corporate officeholding and the influence of local corporate systems on the lives of members of corporate communities. Perhaps one of the most striking examples of wilful non-attendance, which illustrates how in-depth study of this nature can provide insights into local tensions and conflicts of the period, is that of George Milles. On 15 October 1650, early in the mayoralty of Thomas Tressor, Milles was brought before the burghmote court and discharged as he had 'refused by the space of two yeeres now last past to officiate and execute his said office of Aldermanshipp'.[155] A more serious issue than simple neglect, however, was behind this as the minute entry continues:

> havinge broken his oath as beinge a freeman of this Cittie in not embracinge the keepinge of the peace of the same and not warneinge the Maior of this Cittie that then was of the outrages and insurreccon which were made in the said Cittie in or aboute June in the

[151] PROB 11/255/46.
[152] The minutes record 'sick' and 'no reason' for this period.
[153] CC-A/P/B/1646/27.
[154] CC-A/P/B/1659/17.
[155] AC4, fol. 309^{v}.

> yeere of our Lord god 1648 but did abett and promote the same by beinge then in Armes.[156]

Milles had become an alderman in September 1643.[157] Prior to this, in May 1642, he had signed Blount's pro-parliament petition and, in August that year, a letter in support of Richard Culmer, as evidenced in Chapter Three.[158] But in June 1648, he had clearly held arms for the king in the Kentish Uprising; one witness against him stated that he had been seen, 'with the insurrection on horseback, armed with pistols'.[159]

Though missing several meetings each year since becoming an alderman (often being out of the city), he was generally a good attendee, however, this pattern changed abruptly in the aftermath of the Christmas Day riots of December 1647. His part in the events of that, and subsequent days (rioting continued on 27 December), is unknown, though he was one of only three aldermen to appear for a scheduled burghmote court on Tuesday 28 December, the other two being 'moderates' Avery Sabine and Vespasian Harris.[160] These were the three described as 'Comparentes' in the change from the usual 'defalt' described earlier. Milles subsequently missed six of the next eleven meetings, for four of which he obtained a licence and one of which he was out of the city. However, from 13 June 1648, immediately after the Kentish rising, he completely abstained from attending, beginning the two-year period for which he was punished in October 1650. During this time, he did not obtain a single licence.[161]

It seems, therefore, that individuals understood quite explicitly the difference between a conforming action in the form of allowable non-attendance, and a contrary action represented by purposeful absenteeism without reason. The cross-over from one to the other is visible through these records and demonstrates how it was possible to express individual or, potentially collective, defiance. Howell cites evidence that in Newcastle, in 1663, members of the Butchers' Company *en masse* went so far as to

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[156] Ibid.

[157] AC4, fol. 180^{v}.

[158] Eales, 'Alan Everitt', p. 32; Culmer, *Parish Looking-glasse*, p. 8.

[159] Colonel George Colomb, 'The Royalist Rising in Kent, A.D. 1648', *Arch. Cant.*, 9 (1874), 31-49 (p. 48).

[160] AC4, fol. 260^{v}. Jones, 'Political History', pp. 102, 104.

[161] Milles' story does not end with his dismissal. On 21 January 1661 he was re-elected to the corporation though he initially refused in open court, perhaps not wishing to return to the corporation from which he had been dismissed; he was certainly willing to pay a fine of £20. Nevertheless, and despite his reluctance, in September of that year he was elected mayor.

disrupt local Council elections by their wilful absence from the meeting.[162] And attendance could also be manipulated by individuals in mayoral office: in Gloucester, meetings were 'often rigged to the oligarchy's advantage', as evidenced by mayor Rich, who 'summoned meetings at short notice when he "well knew divers of the council to be forth of the city"'.[163] Council meetings across England's early modern towns were not only a forum for administration, they provided an arena for venting personal dissatisfaction and engaging in local, internal corporate politics.

Conclusion

This chapter does not, and did not attempt to, represent a rounded picture of officeholding in relation to the urban elite whereby men were variously involved in other courts, committees, parish Vestry meetings and guild meetings. Rather, it identifies internal functional and behavioural practices – real ways of working – in relation to one important urban court. The demonstrated, and previously unexplored, difference in functional systems between Canterbury and Maidstone is broadly representative of the two systems at work in all corporations which ran either regular or irregular town court meetings.[164] This alone provides a split in internal community practices across English towns. The exact way each locality then worked within either system, their individual expectations of attendance, default fines and allowances for 'real life' matters, meant everyday officeholding presented a different experience for each town's corporate community.

Neither town's fundamental way of working altered between 1600-1660 and yet neither system was quite the same by the Restoration. Evidence from Maidstone speaks of moves towards a redefinition of working practice, but in reality, was no more regularised in 1660 than in 1600, despite two attempts in this regard. By 1660, Maidstone was the main location for county assizes and sessions, as well as the site of the county jail and a new House of Correction for West Kent, all of which required a level of responsibility from the town corporation.[165] Yet, their own internal administration relied on the whim of a mayor to call his corporation together, a

[162] Howell, *Newcastle*, p. 52.
[163] Clark, 'Ramoth-Gilead', p. 178.
[164] Halliday, p. 47.
[165] Clark and Murfin, p. 51.

corporation consisting of members who did not always comply, and between whom, it might seem, there was less communication, on occasion, than might be expected.

Canterbury's long-established two-weekly Tuesday meetings continued to be recorded as such with rare exception. Finding that within this apparently regular system lies hidden a rise in the number of meetings with no recorded business, is unexpected. It confirms the caution with which we should approach 'seductive' formal minutes. Regularity of entries is not representative of regularity of function, which is not to say that the corporation was entirely dysfunctional in terms of local governance. Both sets of governors continued to maintain order most of the time, set the poor to work, managed their finances, coped with plague and dearth, and regulated trade and the body politic. Aside from a flashpoint moment in Canterbury in 1647, and a forced battle on the streets of Maidstone, the towns were largely kept under control. As evidenced in Chapter Two, the continuation of freedom admissions in Canterbury, with only a brief hiatus in the few months after the Christmas Day riots, is indicative of a level of function maintained by the working corporation.

In 1976, Clark and Slack described 'a powerful standing committee' developing in early modern towns across England in response to local and central administrative drivers, a phrase promoting an image of aggregate solidity.[166] The evidence presented here, whilst not looking at 'powerful' political actions, does bring into question the sense of the early modern corporation as 'one body' of men. The corporation formula – one mayor, twelve aldermen and twenty-four common councilmen – set out the bounds of the body, the 'skin' within which they were contained. This body was subject to constant renewal through the leaving and appointment of individuals over time, Tittler likening it 'to a moving bus'.[167] But in addition, on a smaller timescale – week by week – the apparent solidity of the 'standing committee' was, in fact, in constant flux in terms of attendance. If of a Leviathan nature, it was one in which most men constantly blinked in and out of the picture.

It is accepted that non-attendance is a general feature of corporate bodies, and fundamental levels of seventeenth-century attendance in Canterbury and Maidstone were probably little better or worse than in any other period, especially given that there would always be men who were sick or absent for valid reasons. Neither was the

[166] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition*, pp. 129-30.
[167] Tittler, *Architecture*, p. 100.

problem of attendance purely an issue for urban corporations, though it has perhaps been less studied than, for example, county JP attendance. Nevertheless, whether a corporation had persistent absentees or ran under-capacity, this did not necessarily present a serious problem to continuity of function. Even if regularly run by an 'Eight and Fifteen', there was a built-in overage, and local order and governance could be secured with a smaller 'faction' in charge.

A widespread half- to three-quarters-full running mechanism for most corporations may sit uncomfortably alongside ideas of regular civic association and duty. The importance of a sense of 'civility' in early modern corporations has been linked with ordinances for compulsory meetings and calls for punctuality designed to enhance 'corporate cohesion'.[168] Such moves could also be reinforced by religious beliefs. The actions of men like Henry Sherfield, recorder of Southampton and Salisbury, evidence the importance some men did attach to personal religious beliefs and the desire to bring that influence in to direct local affairs.[169] Alderman Hoyle of York from the 1620s onwards also 'strove to spread godliness in the city […] increasingly […] through civic office'.[170] Indeed, it is claimed that 'The many aldermen who shared Hoyle's philosophy regarded virtually all aspects of the corporation's undertakings in a moral light'.[171] These beliefs, however, did not always translate directly into action, whatever the *ideals* set out by corporate communities in the name of the 'corporate body'. Furthermore, in the mid-seventeenth century, it was religious beliefs which underpinned a great deal of internal corporate division.

This internal division could be reflected in non-attendance, but division of thought and ideology within corporate communities was not new, or, until the onset of corporate purges, the potential cause of existential crises for corporations. There are many examples of the reality of how one corporate body was constituted from many individuals. Henry Manship's concept of a city commonwealth included the idea that it was 'formed and made of divers members'.[172] Patterson identified 'camps of interest' in Chester's corporation in the 1610s between two local families where patrons were

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[168] Phil Withington, *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful Ideas* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 224-5.
[169] Paul Slack, 'The Public Conscience of Henry Sherfield', in *Public Duty,* ed. by Morrill, Slack and Woolf (Oxford, 1993), pp. 150-71 (pp. 164-8).
[170] Cross, pp. 204-24, 208.
[171] Cross, p. 210.
[172] Withington, *Politics*, p. 11, quoting from Manship.

sometimes called upon to resolve problems.[173] MacCaffrey commented that in Exeter, 'divergences of opinion did not impair the working unity of the community in other matters'.[174] In late-medieval Bristol, Sacks notes that election processes meant that the corporation 'was never overwhelmed by a single faction but was always controlled by a majority who held common views on the key issues of the day'.[175] Canterbury saw William Whiting's 'wisemen' in the 1620s. Halliday, looking at later seventeenth-century divisions and emerging partisan politics, also acknowledges internal disagreement was not a novelty: 'Difference of opinion had its place in the life of England's centuries-old borough corporations, whose members after all were "councillors," each properly bringing his own counsel about the "weale public" to assemblies'.[176] The ideal vision may have been for harmony and unity, but civic corporations were made of real individuals with a diversity of beliefs.

Administrative governance was achieved despite division, and historians can appear surprised by the resilience of corporations in the period after 1640. Halliday begins his preface: 'From the 1640s on, England's cities divided against themselves, yet they stood'.[177] He goes on to identify 1688 as 'the exception that proves the rule […] the break in governance that stands out in sharp relief', that 'At all other periods, in the vast majority of places, we see the same thing: amidst the strife of supposed crisis, government worked', and: 'One of the most remarkable aspects of the first age of party was the degree of continuity most corporations maintained in their administrative responsibilities through some of the ugliest internal feuds'.[178] He even goes so far as to dramatically conclude: 'the new politics of competition may well have been reviled, but it was peacefully absorbed by the body politic, which, though dismembered, continued miraculously to live'.[179] Yet, this was no miracle. It is true that post-1640 purges were a visible expression of internal division, but they were sentiments forced into the open and given consequence by the extreme political environment. The corporate system which contained internal factions like Whiting's Wisemen, or reformed and unreformed beliefs of the sixteenth-century Reformation, was the same system which coped with

[173] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 100.
[174] MacCaffrey, p. 190.
[175] Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 163.
[176] Halliday, p. 4.
[177] Halliday, p. xi.
[178] Halliday, pp. 23, 47.
[179] Halliday, p. 28.

partisan politics except that division became a public, political matter, rather than a private, internal one.

If corporate systems had an inherent flexibility capable of coping with internal division, they could also have an in-built mechanism for expressing dissent: non-attendance. This was understood and could be manipulated by individual members or coordinated group action, offering a means of individual expression within the corporate 'skin'. Corporate members, though constrained by unity of decision, understood they had the means to express individual power within the corporation; they understood voting by voice, by poll, *and* by foot, a practice honed by the purges and events of the period from 1630 onwards.

The paradox of corporate life in this period came to be between duty, personal belief, and the practicalities of real life. Barry describes some of the tensions of the 'Bourgeoisie' as between 'self-control and obedience to others, between competition and cooperation, between restraint and liberality'.[180] For the majority middling sort of men in civic corporations, it might also be pertinent to add a tension between the personal body and the corporate body, whereby attendance, or rather, non-attendance as a form of corporate transgression, might be seen as a subversive arena of control in the hands of the individual. Patterns of personal behaviour might be seen as an expression of the relative importance of the personal against the corporate.

This chapter demonstrates how different patterns of everyday function within civic corporations impacted the practical experience of urban governance. The next two chapters turn to consider cultural aspects of the corporations of Canterbury and Maidstone. Chapter Five examines aspects of political material culture – town halls, civic gowns, and civic insignia – and Chapter Six looks at corporate gifting and dining. Both chapters evidence cultural continuity and change and examine the contribution of each aspect to individual organisational cultures.

[180] Barry, 'Bourgeois Collectivism?', p. 101.

Chapter Five: Material Culture

The previous chapter demonstrated how different functional patterns of meetings and attendance created unique internal behavioural environments within the corporate institutions of Canterbury and Maidstone. It suggested that the dynamic stability of the functional form provided opportunity for individual expression within the corporate body. That body, however, also formed a single authoritative entity as a corporate institution and this aspect was publicly communicated through visual imagery and material means as part of an urban political culture. This chapter examines features closely associated with civic elites: town halls, civic portraiture, corporate clothing in the form of gowns, and civic insignia. Though used publicly in political and symbolic ways they all derived from, and were used within, the context of a working organisational environment. Attention is thus directed to observe these material mediators of power from another angle, that of everyday corporate practice.

Visual display for political purposes was important in early modern England and not restricted to provincial towns; it was employed to great effect by royalty and the Commonwealth regime. In Tudor times, royal ceremonies were 'employed first to establish and then to consolidate the Tudor dynasty'.[1] Similarly, the establishment of the Stuarts and, later, the battle between Charles I and Parliament were played out in political rhetoric and print, but also by ceremonial and material means including imagery on seals, coinage and medals.[2] In the mid-seventeenth century, as Sean Kelsey has shown, public image remained an important consideration for the Rump Parliament as they assumed authority: 'The Rump improvised a new adornment for civil authority. Its visual and verbal discursive strategies replaced the "trappings" of the regal polity with an imagination and verve which bely common assumptions about the regime's reactionary character and lack of ideological commitment'.[3] Visual display as political communication was an important part of early modern hegemony.

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[1] Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1997), p. 4.
[2] Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (London, 2010), pp. 355-63.
[3] Sean Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic: The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth 1649-1653* (Manchester, 1997), p. 1.

In the urban setting, Robert Tittler argues, 'elements of cultural expression […] animate and facilitate political life'.[4] This point was made to support Tittler's initial work on the role of English civic portraiture, an aspect of political culture largely ignored until that point, but which evidences a reworking of political culture by urban governors in the post-Reformation period.[5] Other features of civic political culture were equally visible: architecture in the form of the town hall, civic insignia, and corporate gowns were all used to convey sentiments of power, social hierarchy and civic identity.

The image of civic ceremonial culture of the seventeenth century has sometimes suffered from comparison with pre-Reformation forms of medieval religious-based culture such that it has been seen as a diminished force in urban life. Typical of this is Peter Clark's description of how Gloucester's medieval civic ritual, involving 'all the members of the body politic in quasi-religious drinkings and processions', progressively declined into ceremonies which 'served primarily to demonstrate oligarchic power and control', with a focus on dress, 'ever more elaborate civic regalia', and procession to sermons or court, with a 'high point' of an 'elaborate dinner' on 'Nomination Day'.[6]

Whilst it is valid to see that post-Reformation changes, and the development of civic autonomy, had brought urban culture to a different place, it is, perhaps, reflective of progressive change rather than loss. Evidence from Knowles' unpublished comparative analysis of Coventry and Chester between c.1600-c.1750 indicates that neither town's apparent cessation of late medieval civic pageantry by the end of the sixteenth century, in tune with prevailing historiographical thought, was quite what it seemed.[7] Instead, Chester witnessed both continuity and innovation in its ceremonial year into the seventeenth century.[8] It would seem, therefore, more akin to the situation in relation to popular culture, as argued by Barry Reay, that

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[4] Robert Tittler, 'Civic Portraiture and Political Culture in English Provincial Towns, ca. 1560-1640'*, J. Brit. Stud.*, 37 (1998), 306-29 (p. 307).
[5] Tittler, 'Civic Portraiture', p. 329.
[6] Clark, 'Ramoth-Gilead', p. 178.
[7] Philip Knowles, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Culture: A Case Study of Two Provincial Towns, Chester and Coventry c.1600-c.1750' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2001).
[8] Knowles, p. 35.

'British rituals were continually invented and reinvented'.[9] In a similar vein is Peter Burke's point, that in seventeenth-century London 'traditional festivals were in decline', but that this allowed 'opportunities for the rapid penetration of newer forms of popular culture'.[10] As a cultural environment, the urban and civic landscape was one of change, even in the seventeenth century.

For corporate communities, however, in a material sense, little new was invented in the post-Reformation urban environment. The elements of town halls, gowns, and civic insignia, all existed in the later medieval period as evidenced by the early sixteenth-century world of Coventry described by Charles Phythian-Adams.[11] It may be that, after the 1530s, urbanisation and increasing numbers of autonomous towns made civic material culture seem a more prevalent feature of urban life across the country, but as other forms of urban and civic ritual fell away, corporate elements became more prominent in the urban setting. The context had changed but for corporate communities the means of expression had not. Leading townsmen took established material signifiers of hierarchy and status and simply used them in a more widespread way. The important point is not *that* they were used but *how* they were used by each individual corporate community. It is in the detail of everyday practice that local issues which reflect the impact of national politics can sometimes be understood.

The cultural arsenal of civic insignia included ceremonial maces and swords, the use of which were granted by the king, and represent in anthropological terms 'a set of symbolic forms expressing the fact that [the governing elite] is in truth governing'.[12] As Tittler acknowledged, as a result of increasing authority but without the traditional deference afforded landed gentry, for civic leaders the need to 'strengthen the trappings of hierarchy and office remained intense' into the seventeenth century.[13] In 1630s Stratford, Hughes suggests that 'aldermen were concerned to maintain a certain amount of pomp and ceremony', and even accused of

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[9] Barry Reay, *Popular Cultures in England 1550-1750* (London, 1998), p. 162.
[10] Burke, 'Popular Culture, London', p. 39.
[11] Phythian-Adams, *Desolation*, pp. 79, 140.
[12] Clifford Geertz, 'Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power', in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, ed. by Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 13-38 (p.15).
[13] Tittler, *Architecture*, p. 104. Clark, 'Introduction', p. 46.

'endeavouring to outstrip other corporations by having and keepeinge a greater number of officers to attend upon them than is requisite for soe small a corporation'.[14] This need extended to supporting notions of civic ideals. Jonathan Barry frames Bristol's civic ceremony and ritual as appealing 'to the citizens to acknowledge that their magistrates were living up to the high standards of justice'.[15] By the mid-seventeenth century, personal religious beliefs had an increasing significance in many areas of early modern life, though the impact on corporate communities varied according to local circumstances. Clark and Murfin suggest that in Maidstone, under the influence of Puritan magistrates, there was suppression of 'traditional ceremonies and ritual' leaving only mayoral election and the mayor's privilege of a fishing day unscathed.[16] In Bristol, however, Barry argues that there was 'no sign' that activities such as Sunday processions, perambulations, and church festivals were a problem, and that the 1650s Presbyterian Council 'was as enamoured of pomp as any other'.[17]

Whilst ceremony may have continued, moments of overt expression represent a fraction of the corporate year. Mayoral election and installation comprised at most a few days, regular processions to church generally occurred only on a Sunday and took no more than a matter of hours. Any sense of corporate group identity is unlikely to have been restricted only to those moments, even if they served to reinforce and display it. For corporation members, there was a real and regular experience of corporate culture of a more mundane and everyday nature, and weighting our understanding of civic life to 'high' occasions in isolation is eying up only the icing on the corporate cake.

There remains the important question of how corporate communities understood their material environment in a private sense, away from moments of high civic culture, and how ceremony dovetailed with everyday internal matters. As Victor Morgan expresses it, in concluding his exposition of the central role of civic material objects in constructing civic memory: 'we need to put the objects back into the hands of the actors upon the historical scene […] we need to reanimate the

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[14] Hughes, 'Religion', p. 73.
[15] Jonathan Barry, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century Bristol', in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Barry Reay (Beckenham, 1985), pp. 59-90 (p. 74).
[16] Clark and Murfin, p. 63.
[17] Barry, 'Popular Culture, Bristol', p. 71.

objects, at least conceptually. They will then regain the contextualized meanings that they tend to lose when suspended in the aspic of the display case'.[18] This chapter attempts something in this vein by looking at what material objects illustrative of urban political culture meant to the group with which they were most closely associated, to determine whether they served any other function, or had an internal group meaning.

Material culture represents an expressed aspect of a community group and is included by Withington and Shepard as a category in their aforementioned six-part process of community.[19] In relation to Norwich, Victor Morgan called for inclusion of studies of 'material culture of past societies and the residues of that material culture if we are to understand its ideas and values'.[20] From sociologist Tim Dant's point of view, relationships between people and material objects 'are at once tactile and visual, practical and symbolic', such that 'the impact of the "culture" cannot be separated from the impact of functional use'.[21] Though symbolic, corporate material objects were also functional, and corporate members and civic officers interacted with them at an everyday level. To understand the full complexity of the corporate relationship with its associated material culture, everyday experience needs to be considered alongside political symbolic use.

This chapter begins by engaging directly with Robert Tittler's work on town halls as signifiers of power and civic portraiture as part of an expanding political culture. It confirms that Canterbury and Maidstone were each, in their own way, part of the refashioning of urban political culture exhibited elsewhere in the post-Reformation period. Both had prominently sited town halls and a higher level of civic insignia than they had in the sixteenth century; both expressed corporate identity and social status through the wearing of gowns. However, the evidence presented here demonstrates these items had alternative meanings in the everyday context of group culture.

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[18] Victor Morgan, 'The Construction of Civic Memory in Early Modern Norwich', in *Material Memories: Design and Evocation*, ed. by Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley (Oxford, 1999), pp. 183-97 (p. 197).

[19] Withington and Shepard, 'Introduction', p. 12.

[20] Victor Morgan, 'Perambulating and Consumable Emblems: The Norwich Evidence', in *Deviceful Settings: The English Renaissance Emblem and its Contexts*, ed. by Michael Bath and Daniel Russell (New York, 1999), pp. 167-206 (p. 175).

[21] Tim Dant, *Materiality and Society*, (Maidenhead, 2005), p. 146.

In this reading, the evidence demonstrates overlaps between the institutional space of the town hall and domestic space, indicating that a hall might also provide a community space with a sense of a corporate 'home'. It shows how gowns, whilst a ubiquitous form of corporate expression, could have quite local meanings. It also illustrates how approaches to gown-wearing did not always live up to the ideal of conformity and unity. Rather, in the 1640-60 period their use was complicated by religious belief and could become a source of internal community tension. It further shows that we should not only connect civic insignia with public ceremony and the role of the mayor, since they formed part of a wider context of organisational culture in which they could be the focus of private ritual, and were practically connected with lesser officers and other everyday material concerns. In summary, public corporate life in Canterbury and Maidstone is shown to be intimately connected with private corporate life through the medium of corporate material culture.

The first section of this chapter considers the symbolic role and elements of architecture and furnishings of the town hall buildings in Canterbury and Maidstone showing their parity with town hall developments elsewhere at this time. It then examines the topic of civic portraiture, looking at the context of the production of a surviving early seventeenth-century portrait of a Canterbury alderman. This prompts the consideration of overlaps between domestic and town hall space and how town halls might be seen as the 'home' of the corporate body. The second section considers another feature of civic material culture, the wearing of gowns, again looking at their symbolism but also practical use and local meaning. The final section turns to civic insignia – maces, seals, and civic swords, also grounding these symbolic and ceremonial items within a more everyday context.

5.1 The Town Hall

Town Hall Symbolism

Our current understanding of the functional and symbolic use of town halls in the early modern period is largely derived from the work of Robert Tittler. Tittler demonstrates the important role of town halls in the parallel development of urban autonomy in the form of incorporation, their significance to the consolidation of

oligarchy, their public statement of civic power, and their economic and legal links with the urban community.[22] He writes of the motivation of town hall acquisition:

> Most town halls […] were intended to symbolize the attainment of civic authority from seigneurial hands and the exercise of that authority over the community. In both cases, the hall seems often to have been regarded not only as a place of government but also as a semiotic object.[23]

This important symbolism was reflected in the siting of town halls, most often at the heart of urban space. Canterbury's town hall was in the centre of the main High Street thoroughfare, as Somner observed, 'in the fittest and most convenient place'.[24] It sat approximately 400 metres from each city gate to the west, north and east, and the castle precinct boundary to the south. Visitors arriving via Westgate, the main entrance from London, would pass the town hall on their way to visit the cathedral or the city's markets.

Maidstone's corporation met in the Lower Court Hall constructed above a corn-market space and the older of two court halls centrally sited in the 'spacious breadth of the High Street'.[25] Both corporation's town halls were thus highly visible, being the most obvious civic objects in an urban landscape littered with 'visual mnemonics', symbols like city arms and decorated door posts.[26] The size, decoration, and location of town halls publicly presented 'new-found civic pride' for town governors whereby halls served to 'legitimize the urban leadership and dignify its position'.[27]

Representative of the level of desire for corporations to gain a town hall was the magnitude of corporate expenditure required. Withington contends that Tittler 'underplays' the financial context of town hall building given that building costs were high and they were often 'built on credit'.[28] Given that this activity placed corporations within broad economic networks, he argues that corporate furthering of

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[22] These themes are represented by each chapter of Tittler, *Architecture and Power*.
[23] Tittler, *Architecture*, p. 93.
[24] Somner, p. 66.
[25] Russell, pp. 207-8. Hasted, IV, p. 293.
[26] Morgan, 'Civic Memory', pp. 188-193.
[27] Tittler, *Architecture*, p. 157, but this is the thrust of the book.
[28] Withington, *Politics*, p. 34.

commercial practices established them as a 'vehicle for early modern change'.[29] The amount spent on a new town hall could certainly be disproportionate to civic income – Blandford's corporation spent 'probably six or eight times its annual gross revenues' on their hall in the 1590s, which included a kitchen, blind room lockup, and a 'decorative lantern…which enclosed a clock'.[30]

Once built, however, as Parry notes in his study of Exeter's guildhall, by the seventeenth century, the overall structure of some halls could remain 'almost unchanged'.[31] Nevertheless, internally, the use to which spaces were put might alter: Henry Manship writes that Great Yarmouth's hall fell out as a place of feasting in the 1630s and the guildhall kitchen was rented out.[32] These changes were instigated by corporate communities themselves since town halls were not subject to external control in the way the fabric of church space was.[33] There were no broad edicts such as that by Charles I in 1633 in relation to decisions made concerning altar/table alignments.[34] Though developing internally in relation to the functions of a court, the pace and style of development, alteration, and choice of furnishings were entirely open to local corporate decisions.

By 1600, Canterbury and Maidstone's spatially different halls, constructed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively, required only maintenance, alteration, or enhancement. Canterbury's building sat on the site of a previous hall and consisted of a large open hall flanked by a vestibule to the south and a chamber to the north.[35] The street entrance was to the south and led into the building between two rooms.[36] The room to the north, in the sixteenth century described as a mayor's parlour, was separated from the main hall by a lockable door and below another chamber for which, in 1608, the corporation purchased 'a rope at the stayers goyinge

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[29] Withington, *Politics*, pp. 33-4.
[30] Tittler, *Townspeople*, pp. 59-80.
[31] H. Lloyd Parry, *The History of the Exeter Guildhall and the Life Within* (Exeter, 1936), p. 80.
[32] Henry Manship, *A Booke of the Foundacion and Antiquitye of the Towne of Greate Yermouthe*, ed. by C. J. Palmer (Great Yarmouth, 1847), pp. 245-6.
[33] For example, see Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 234-8.
[34] Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism, and Counter-Revolution', in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. by Conrad Russell (London, 1973), pp. 119-43 (p. 138).
[35] S. E. Rigold, 'Two Types of Court Hall', *Arch. Cant.*, 83 (1968), 1-22 (p. 3).
[36] William Gostling, *A Walk in and about the City of Canterbury, with many Observations, not hitherto described in any other Publication*, 4th edn (Canterbury, 1796), p. 58

up to ye Chamber weying vj li'.[37] In documentary records, the rooms in Canterbury's building were usually identified by function: the 'Juries chamber', the 'Countye Chamber', 'ye counsell chamber', the 'Chamber of the cytty', the 'Court hall Chamber', or sometimes simply 'the Chamber'.[38]

By contrast, Maidstone's hall, whilst it may have included small separate storage rooms, was essentially a single second-floor space. Eventually, in 1641, the owner of the separate prison building known as the 'Brambles' was ordered to 'cleere the roome' appointed there for the use of the common council and juries after the corporation had complained, 'wee find by daily experience [they] cannot soe privately and conveniently retire themselves as they should and ought'; the room was also to be connected by a 'door and passage' to the Court Hall.[39] This reflects increasing separation of private jury rooms seen elsewhere.[40] Further progression in Maidstone is evidenced by the construction close-by of a new court house in about 1611 for county meetings. Previously, the corporation had paid towards temporary court spaces. They paid for 'hanging the Court at the Assizes and Sessions' and 'setting up the seats', afterwards paying 'for takinge them downe'.[41] Maidstone's members therefore worked within a significantly different spatial environment to Canterbury's hall which had very definite private spaces outside the public court area, and a greater variety of rooms. The different spatial arrangements of the two town halls provided different everyday environments within which members of the two corporate communities met and delivered justice.

Several features of Canterbury's guildhall at this time reflect 'the evolution and delineation of space and even the furnishings within the halls [which] mirrored and enhanced the development of civic political authority'.[42] It might also be noted that development of interior spaces in a particular way by different communities has parallels with modern theories of organisational culture which acknowledge the role of the physical environment in both developing and expressing institutional

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[37] FA21, fol. 237^{r}.
[38] FA21, fol. 158^{r}; FA22/1, fols 68^{v}, 71^{v}, 102^{v}; FA23, fol. 341^{r}.
[39] ACm1/2, fol. 188^{r}.
[40] Tittler, 'No Loose People', p. 627.
[41] FCa1/1610, fol. 4^{r}.
[42] Tittler, *Architecture*, p. 105.

character.[43] The entrance to Canterbury's town hall was marked by 'great postes without to the streat'; these, the posts of the door and the door itself were painted 'in collers laid in oyle' by 'parkynson the paynter' in 1612-13, and at least the posts again before the visit of King Charles I in 1625.[44] The external posts were topped with lead and carried 'the veane of the lawe on [the] west post at the curt hall dore', some form of a visible symbol of the key function of the hall as a court room.[45] In about 1641, the posts were replaced by new pillars, turned by Goodman Poole and carved, along with the king's arms, by joiner George Vandepeer; at the same time, the lead over the hall 'portal' was replaced by plumber, Nicholas Justice.[46] Decoration of town hall entryways was not a purely English practice, and in Europe, Kolozsvár's early modern hall entrance included an exhortation to civic governors that 'every councilor, upon entry to this town hall on taking up his office, leaves his personal affairs outside the door'.[47] Tittler used the metaphor of the town hall being a 'doorway to the community' but the physical entrance was an important liminal marker for members of urban, civic and corporate communities.

Inside Canterbury's main court hall the individual mayor's chair, erected at incorporation on a raised dais with canopy above, represented 'a gauge of […] growing dignity and authority', not only uniquely identifiable, but by the seventeenth century enclosed and locked.[48] It was fronted by a desk, then a rail and table, the latter a top sitting on separate legs, and covered with a green Penistone carpet which was occasionally subject to 'scowring' and mended with canvas but not replaced.[49] Directly above the mayor's seat were the king's arms, and after the execution of Charles I, new Commonwealth arms in a gilded frame.[50] Physical and visual barriers clearly marked the separation between the mayor and all others.

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[43] Schein, pp. 9-13.
[44] FA22/1, fol. 102^{v}; FA23, fol. 248^{r}.
[45] FA22/1, fol. 71^{v}.
[46] FA25, fols 92^{r}, 92^{v}.
[47] Ágnes Flóra, 'Symbols, Virtues, Representation: The Early Modern Town Hall of Kolozsvár as a Medium of Display for Municipal Government', *Hungarian Historical Review*, 1 (2012), 3–21 (p. 11).
[48] Tittler, *Architecture*, p. 113. Palmer, p. 150. FA22/1, fol. 238^{r}.
[49] FA22/1, fols 31^{r}, 31^{v}, 72^{r}; FA23, fols 36^{r}, 290^{r}.
[50] FA25, fols 527^{r}, 528^{v}.

Other seating, probably that for the aldermen, had cushions for which 'one Skyn of Red leather' was purchased in about 1607 for mending purposes.[51] There is mention of a 'matt wheron the Comon Consell do use to sitt', made by the wife of a local smith, and in the mid 1650s a new 'wainscot settle' was made for the jurors.[52] The court hall also held a crier's seat (needing regular maintenance) and a set of 'Rayles and [5] postes…for a place for the prysoners'.[53] Thus the material nature of each form of seating established a clear seating hierarchy reflecting the perceived status of each individual or group.

Town halls were also increasingly decorated, though this was not an entirely new phenomenon. Christian Liddy describes how medieval Coventry's large tapestry depicting the hierarchy of heavenly and earthly courts, 'a sacred notion of authority, descending from God to king' was purposefully designed to be placed above a raised platform where later the mayor's chair sat, describing it as a 'fairly blunt political statement'.[54] There is some evidence of increasing decoration of Canterbury's hall after 1600. In 1621, the corporation purchased an expensive (£33) 'tapestrie hanging' of unknown imagery with a bequest from twice-mayor, Thomas Hovenden, a man who also requested that a 'Godly preacher' provide the sermon for his funeral at the cathedral.[55] Elsewhere, as in Exeter's Elizabethan town hall, the arms of guilds and mayors might be painted on the walls generating personal links with corporate memory.[56] It was, however, civic portraiture which more generally became an important feature of civic pride in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and this forms the subject of the following section.

Civic portraiture

We are, today, familiar with rows of portraits of past robed civic officials adorning the walls of town halls. This was, however, a relatively new means of expressing civic pride in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Not all portraits, however,

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[51] FA21, fol. 197^{v}.
[52] FA21, fol. 23^{r}; FA26, fol. 294^{r}.
[53] FA21, fol. 23^{r}, FA22/1, fol. 338^{r}.
[54] Christian D. Liddy, 'Urban Politics and Material Culture at the end of the Middle Ages: the Coventry Tapestry in St Mary's Hall', *Urban History*, 39 (2012), 203-24 (pp. 216, 224).
[55] FA23, fol. 36^{r}; PRC 28/11/254.
[56] Parry, p. 75.

were produced to hang in civic spaces and this section examines how 'civic' portraits might represent an overlap between civic and domestic life.

The direction of art history has altered in recent years to place artworks within historical contexts of production and consumption. Robert Tittler and Tarnya Cooper have comprehensively tackled the subject of those paintings unlikely to merit serious study by art historians because of their 'naivity', most recently placing provincial artworks and painters within narratives of regional development and a growing 'public for portraiture'.[57] In seeking to understand the political implications of this form of visual culture, Tittler places a carefully defined set of portraits within the broader context of early modern portraiture. His two criteria for a 'civic portrait' are purchase or sponsored production by an organisation and display within a civic space, his study extending the civic genre to include universities and livery companies as well as borough corporations.[58] In the period 1500-1640, universities led the way in terms of the quantity of artworks produced and bought, in part a reflection on the number of individual colleges within the collective grouping.[59] Provincial towns appear more prolific than livery companies or other charitable institutions but this comparison is somewhat misleading as each group constitutes a variable number of component institutions.[60] What is noticeable, however, is the extent to which provincial town practice was dominated by the larger, more outwardly-looking towns of Exeter, Bristol and Norwich, with the origins of civic portraiture located in early sixteenth-century Bristol.[61] Smaller provincial towns like Canterbury and Maidstone were slower to develop in this way.

By Tittler's 'civic portrait' definition, only two pictures for Kent towns exist in the period of his study: a painting of Elizabeth I owned by Dover corporation c. 1598, and a painting of Sir Thomas White purchased by Canterbury corporation in 1608.[62] The latter painting was one of several produced for the largely cloth-making

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[57] Robert Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England 1540-1640* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 8-9, 11-2; *Face of the City*, p. 3. Tarnya Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (London, 2012), p. ix.
[58] Tittler, *Face of the City*, p. 4.
[59] Ibid., pp. 169-72.
[60] Ibid., pp. 172-5.
[61] Ibid., pp. 172-4.
[62] Tittler, *Face of the City,* pp. 172, 173. Public Catalogue Foundation, *Oil Paintings in Public Ownership in Kent* (London, 2004), p. 27.

towns which benefitted from his financial largesse and was bought in London by mayor William Watmer who 'layd owt' five pounds for it, before being reimbursed by the chamberlain.[63] The painting was specially brought by water to Whitstable and the 'picter sett up in ye Courte halle' with newly purchased ribbon and 'grene tafata for the curten', not unusual for civic portraits at this time; a similarly adorned portrait of recently deceased Provost, Anthony Blencowe, hung in Oriel College, Oxford in the 1620s.[64] In Canterbury, the curtain was mounted on a rod with 'curten ringles'.[65] The painting, bought shortly after the corporation received the new James I charter and civic sword, was hung in the town hall, thus establishing a visual precedent in the hall's internal decoration by civic portraiture.

By defining what constitutes a civic portrait in such a restricted manner, understandable within the context of what Tittler sets out to achieve, he excludes consideration of other portraits with a civic connection, but which are important in the context of the local environment. Paintings outside his definition are described as 'private' or 'personal' portraits, and he mentions three further Canterbury examples in this category: pictures of Joseph Colfe, John Watson and Leonard Cotton.[66] Revisiting the three in his later work on provincial portraiture, he notes the latter two are probably eighteenth-century copies.[67] The painting of Joseph Colfe, excluded as a civic portrait, nevertheless represents an authentic early seventeenth-century representation of a Canterbury alderman in his civic attire (Figure 15). How then are we to understand this painting in relation to Canterbury's local corporate culture, if it was not produced to hang in the local town hall?

The wider milieu of early modern portraiture encompasses what Kevin Sharpe calls 'the vogue for the portrait' which 'evidenced the heightened sense of self' in the

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[63] Tittler, *Townspeople*, chapter four examines Sir Thomas White's philanthropy, pp. 100-20. For comparison of the several copies of White's portrait see Tittler, *Portraits*, pp. 166-9. FA21, fol. 290^{v}.

[64] Tittler, *Face of the City*, pp. 51, 153; K. Fincham, 'Expansion in Retrenchment', in *Oriel College: A History*, ed. by J. Catto (Oxford, 2013), p. 120; FA21, fol. 290^{v}.

[65] FA21, fol. 290^{v}.

[66] Public Catalogue Foundation, pp. 27, 33. In *Face of the City*, Tittler erroneously notes Colfe's portait as a picture of John Colfe but corrects the error in *Portraits*.

[67] Tittler, *Portraits*, p. 161.

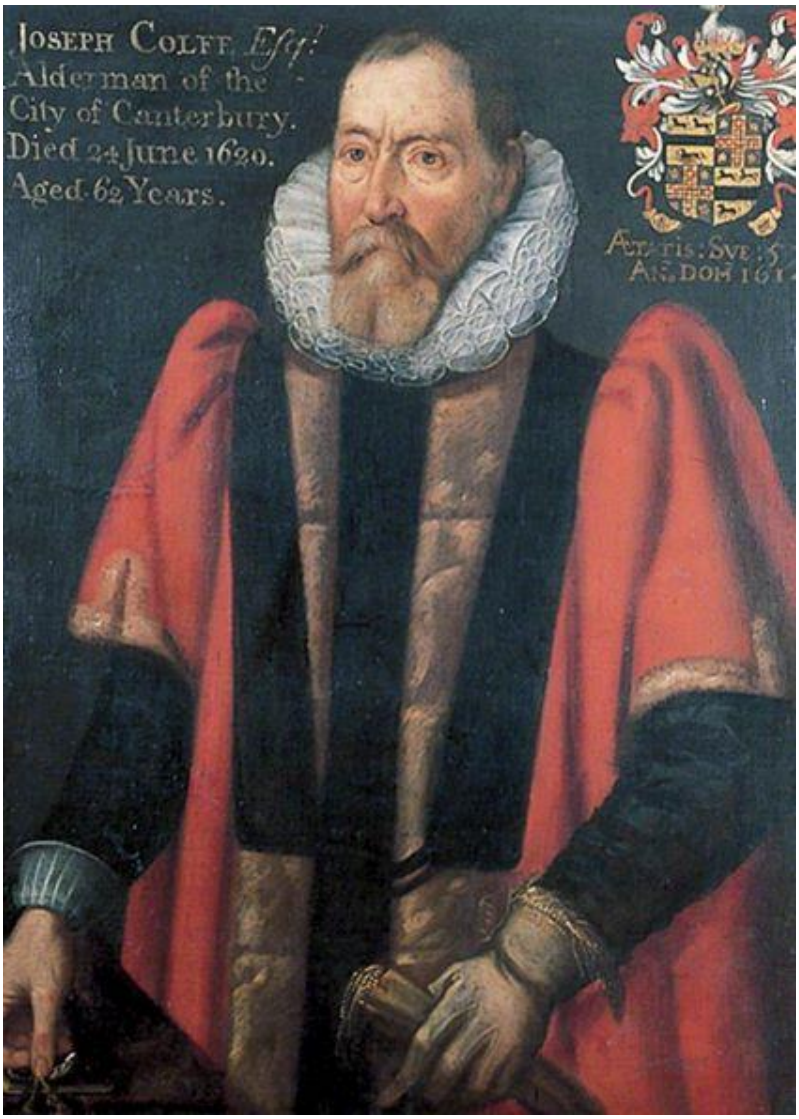


Figure 15: Portrait of Alderman Joseph Colfe, unknown artist (artwork held by and image © Canterbury Museums and Galleries, accessed at www.artuk.org).

Court setting.[68] By the end of the sixteenth century, however, 'the employment of portraiture became an increasingly useful strategy of distinction for new types of [art] patrons, broadly categorised […] as the urban elite'.[69] Tarnya Cooper describes artwork of this nature as a '"citizen" portrait' with a broad definition of citizen as an urban inhabitant, and she clarifies differences in style against portraits produced for nobility or gentry as well as questioning the assessment of the former as simple attempts at gentry emulation.[70]

Alternative reasons for commissioning 'citizen portraits' include being 'an aid to memory following the death of the sitter', so possibly providing 'An exemplar for the living'.[71] Victor Morgan outlines how the early modern quest to place personal lives within a larger framework of existence caused an 'anxiety to determine God's meaning, to discern a wider purpose and an ultimate destiny' which when expressed through the publication of written 'exemplary individual lives', could similarly establish a form of idealized constructed memory.[72] But citizen portraits could also simply record 'an individual's likeness at a moment in time' or be markers of 'moments of personal change'.[73] An inscription on Colfe's portrait indicates that it was painted in 1614 when he was aged fifty-seven, and we can be certain, therefore, that it was not made to celebrate his election as alderman in about 1608, his service as chamberlain, or subsequent mayoralty, beginning in September 1611.[74] His appointment to the common council was in March 1594, and perhaps twenty years as a member of Canterbury Corporation prompted the move, but further evidence suggests his painting sits within another contextual layer.

Tarnya Cooper indicates that the commissioning of portraits by urban citizens began to produce collections of 'ancestral images'.[75] The will of Colfe's son (Joseph Colfe, died 1632) reveals a bequest to *his* son of 'the iij pictures his great grandfather his grandfathers and fathers'.[76] In 1632, the pictures of three generations existed

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[68] Sharpe, *Image Wars*, p. 58.
[69] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 1.
[70] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, pp. 1, 2, 4.
[71] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 14.
[72] Morgan, 'Civic Memory', p. 186.
[73] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, pp. 14, 15.
[74] FA21, fol. 226^{r}, chamberlain 1609-11, mayor 1611-12.
[75] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 13.
[76] PRC 17/68/341c.

within the Colfe household and remained within the family. Of the paintings of Amandus Colfe (d. 1603), Joseph Colfe (d. 1620) and Joseph Colfe (d. 1632), it must be assumed that the extant painting now held by Canterbury City Council is that of Colfe (d. 1620) referred to in the will. Joseph Colfe's portrait is thus firmly placed within the context of a family tradition, supporting Tittler's exclusion from the civic portraiture categorisation and providing an alternative understanding of the painting in terms of the importance of civic roles to those who held them.

At his death, Colfe's inventory shows that he owned at least twenty-six pictures spread across four rooms in the house, the portrait presumably being one of his collection.[77] His estate, including personal and domestic possessions, shop goods, debts and property leases, was valued at £2,892 3s. 2d. and illustrates his rich lifestyle. The inventory exposes his ownership of a wide variety of linen, glassware, furniture and silverware; Colfe owned books, including Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, works of Calvin and a bible; and his legacies included gilt salts, silver spoons and wine cups. However, though a small number of pictures are given further description twenty are simply denoted 'pictures' and none is identified as Colfe's portrait. In his great chamber, which contained a range of fine furniture including walnut stools, a large drawing table, chairs and a variety of carpets and cushions, were eight pictures, four at least of a clear religious nature:

one pickter mary meagdelen	xiij s iiij d
iij picktors of iij bishops	xx s

A 'womans piktor' and 'one other' were clearly not Colfe's, neither were two further 'smalle picktors' in this room, his picture being relatively large.[78]

The remaining twenty pictures were split between the 'parlour next the street', 'lesser cichen' and 'great parlour'. Four in the lesser kitchen, an area used to store weaponry (swords, muskets etc.), were the least valuable in the house, together worth only two shillings. The 'parlour next the street' held no fewer than twelve pictures at a combined value of 26s. 8d. suggesting each was worth no more than a few shillings. Nevertheless, they hung in a room which held a drawing table and two

[77] PRC 28/11/106.
[78] The picture is 91.5 x 66.0 cm unframed; Public Catalogue Foundation, p. 27.

virginals - as well as a court cupboard and a still – but no form of seating. There were just two pictures in the great parlour, this room also holding the three books described above. The two pictures here, valued together at ten shillings, the same as a 'Large mape' in this room, are most likely to have been those of Colfe and his father. Although Tarnya Cooper notes that personal portraits might sometimes be omitted from inventories, she also confirms their regular placement in halls, parlours, chambers, or galleries in the homes of the elite.[79]

Colfe's painting was not produced for public display in the town hall but for the purpose of emulating his father and for more restricted display within his home. It was not presented to the city corporation until 1772.[80] Whatever the specific occasion prompting his decision to commission the portrait, the fact that he chose to be painted in his aldermanic gown for a domestic painting reveals a sense of pride in the role and his achievement. As Cooper notes, it was not unusual at this point for citizen portraits to be developed for domestic settings, and the opportunity for individual choice in the details of presentation and features, gave portraits 'a highly orchestrated document of self, which is, at least in part, determined by the agency of the sitter/patron', though elsewhere she acknowledges the many 'slippery categories' of domestic portrait settings.[81] Colfe's portrait, however, would appear to be a blend of the personal, domestic and civic, evidencing everyday overlaps between each setting.

As Tittler has so ably shown, portraits very similar to Colfe's *did* hang in civic space and, in Norwich, even played a part in the city's Guild Day ceremony by lining the streets when the new mayor was celebrated.[82] This type of portrait is seen by Tittler as designed to 'project images of the institutional heritage and memory' to a broad public.[83] However, that very similar portraits might hang in both civic and

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[79] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, pp. 61, 62, 95.

[80] John Brent, *Canterbury in the Olden Time* (Canterbury, 1860), p. 82.

[81] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, pp. 5, 98, 112-3. Tarnya Cooper, 'The Enchantment of the Familiar Face: Portraits as Domestic Objects in Elizabethan and Jacobean England', in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham, 2010), pp. 157-77 (p. 175).

[82] Victor Morgan, 'The Norwich Guildhall Portraits: Images in Context', in *Family & Friends: A Regional Survey of British Portraiture*, ed. by Andrew Moore and Charlotte Crawley (London, 1992), pp. 21-9 (p. 22-3).

[83] Robert Tittler, 'Faces and Spaces: Displaying the Civic Portrait in Early Modern England', in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham, 2010), pp. 179-87 (p. 182).

domestic spaces, is suggestive of a conceptual overlap, a point further examined in the next section by looking at the town hall from a domestic viewpoint.

The town hall as a corporate 'home'

When, in 1621, Boston's sergeant-at-mace, Peter Dixon, deposed to the Privy Council how he carried the mace before the mayor when 'he goeth abroad' he was conveying the sense of going out from the familiar setting of home.[84] A mayor's house might also be closely connected with a sense of civic space, but in institutional terms the mayor's 'home' was the town hall. In statements about symbolic power, Tittler alludes to a town hall's more everyday function: 'these and other halls were not only acquired because of the need for mere office space in which to exercise new constitutional authority'.[85] His use of the phrase 'mere office space', and later description of halls 'merely as a place of business', set against his subsequent argument for towns halls as a 'locus of command', and as an 'edifice irreplaceably symbolic of civic authority, power, and legitimacy', however, perhaps underplays the importance of the town hall as providing a community space for corporations.[86] Whilst agreeing with his conclusions regarding the political symbolism of town halls it is possible to understand them from a different angle and add another, more everyday layer to the attitude of townsmen to their town halls. This section examines material overlaps between domestic and institutional settings to propose that town halls may also have had a resonance as 'homes' for corporate communities.

At the outset, it is prudent to consider whether this concept, and any level of comparison of institutional and domestic interiors, is legitimate: Tittler's own work and additional recent research suggests it is. Early modern European institutions, including orphanages and charitable hospitals, have discernible domestic interior characteristics with regard to spatial arrangements, material culture and visual display indicating a 'domestic dimension [to] institutional life'.[87] The early modern architectural development of Oxford colleges, 'a form of social organization that

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[84] SP14/120/116. The *OED* provides a definition of the term as 'of or relating to the world outside or away from one's home'.

[85] Tittler, *Architecture*, p. 93.

[86] Ibid., pp. 93, 95, 96.

[87] Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti, 'Introduction', in *Domestic Institutional Interiors in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti, 2nd edn (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 1-26, (p. 2).

appears to be, at once, both institutional and domestic' has been shown, through 'material, behavioural, and spatial practices', to reflect collegiate 'households'.[88] On the other hand, domestic interiors, especially those of higher status individuals, could equally be used to express private domesticity, and power and status, and the possible overlaps in relation to civic portraiture have shown one aspect of this.[89] Whilst these examples involve live-in institutions, Cavallo and Evangelisti suggest people 'entered institutions bringing with them objects, habits and consumer aspirations'.[90] In this manner, corporate members likely brought ideas of domestic life with them to the institutional environment of the town hall.

Explorations of the gradual separation of public and private spaces in the early modern period also provide evidence of parallels between institutional and domestic spaces. Tittler's work in this respect focused on town halls of post-Reformation England, taking inspiration from Michael McKeon's work on domestic spaces.[91] Like McKeon, Tittler's conclusions regarding the observed physical developments in town halls are based on the idea that a self-conscious understanding of the separation of private and public sentiments precedes the subsequent construction of space in this way rather than the reverse.[92] Here, developments of separate, more private spaces in town halls followed from changes in a domestic setting but it might also work in reverse. Lena Cowen Orlin's study of Alice Barnham, a 'self-chronicler in fewer than seventy surviving words' – words inscribed on a portrait – included an examination of the rebuilding of the institutional London Drapers' Company guildhall alongside that of the Barnhams' home in the second half of the sixteenth century.[93] Orlin's investigation of the locations of personal privacy which Alice and her husband, Francis, experienced, led her to propose that their experience of 'the corporate parlor' informed the Barnhams' own understandings of privacy in their home.[94] The key point from both Tittler and Orlin's work, is that broader conceptual

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[88] Louise Durning, 'The Oxford College as Household, 1580-1640', in *Domestic Institutional Interiors*, ed. by Cavallo and Evangelisti, pp. 83-102 (p. 83).
[89] Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the Household* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 65, 85.
[90] Cavallo and Evangelisiti, p. 3.
[91] Tittler, 'No Loose People'. Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore, 2005), ch. 5.
[92] Ibid., p. 622.
[93] Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, ch. 3.
[94] Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, pp. 112-51, esp. pp. 113-4.

developments could be similarly expressed in both domestic and institutional settings and there remained at this time, close connections between them.

Experiences and expressions of social power might also be similar in the two settings. Domestic households were complex environments, but within them, lines of power were largely reflective of those of wider hierarchical society: 'As a king ruled the country so the husband ruled his household'.[95] Domestic relationships could also work as 'private Commonwealth[s]', suitably governed by a patriarch but subject to 'the seditious potential of family rebellion', and set alongside overlapping senses of equality in other respects, such as equality before God.[96] These understandings were equally ascribable to the situation within a town hall. There was a clear hierarchical structure from mayor to town servants, and, though mayoral authority derived ultimately from the monarch, in his own local town hall setting the mayor stood as the highest authority. Each man, as he took on the role of mayor, already, almost universally, had experience of standing as the head of a household, albeit as the patriarch of women and children. And, as Chapter Four demonstrated, there was scope for personal rebellion against that authority. This is not to argue that a corporate community was of the exact nature of a domestic household but that elements of private domestic life could find close parallels within the town hall setting.

Even the idea of having servants was something more closely associated with officeholders in a domestic setting on account of their generally higher social status, though it perhaps should be noted that a significant proportion of domestic servants were female whereas town servants were generally male.[97] The town hall's male orientated space is, perhaps, one significant difference to most domestic settings. Evidence of the presence of women in the town hall setting in Canterbury, beyond presentation or petitioning at court, is largely limited to cleaning and producing the cushions. The corporation made quarterly payments of six pence to widow, Ann Savidge, 'for her paynes in sweepinge the Courthall doore'; she was also paid to clean the flesh shambles and corn market, and on one occasion 'ye house for ye

[95] Richardson, *Domestic Life*, p. 27.
[96] Ibid.
[97] French, *Middle Sort*, p. 83.

Pockye wench'.[98] In about 1603, payment of 3s. 4d. was made to 'Leonardes wife the Smith' for the common council mat seating.[99] In contemporary rhetoric and literature, needlework was associated with women's work along with a sense of desired or imposed invisibility.[100] Women certainly appear largely invisible in the male-dominated town hall environment of corporations, though evidence is, perhaps, hard to come by in this respect, beyond the inclusion of aldermen's wives in communal dining, a point returned to in Chapter Six.

In terms of physical structure, direct links could exist between domestic architecture and town halls in England and in Europe. Kolozsvár's early modern hall was converted from an urban house, even if it was altered to express power by exhibiting inscriptions and statues relative to judicial and administrative authority.[101] Canterbury's town hall, established as a guildhall in the fifteenth century, has been identified as constructed on an 'essentially domestic plan'.[102] For Rigold, this form of guildhall was linked with early medieval hall houses but by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Tittler suggests that the pattern of design for new halls was more akin to 'the great country house', promoting a conceptual link to the landed gentry.[103] In Bristol, examination of probate evidence alongside architectural considerations shows that, in the early seventeenth century, members of the civic elite or wealthy merchants who lived in hall houses furnished their halls simply with wooden benches, wall pictures, and weaponry whilst more luxurious furnishings had moved from the halls to separate parlour rooms.[104] The halls remained a symbolic space, a signifier of status, and provided the opportunity to host important visitors when required.[105] Architecturally, town halls could physically derive from domestic structures or echo elements of them.

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[98] FA23, fol. 247^{r}; FA21, fol. 158^{v}; FA22/1, fol. 387^{v}.
[99] FA21, fol. 23^{r}.
[100] Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Three Ways to be Invisible in the Renaissance: Sex, Reputation, and Stitchery', in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 183-203 (p. 184).
[101] Flóra, pp. 14-5.
[102] Rigold, p. 7.
[103] Rigold, p. 1. Tittler, *Architecture*, pp. 43, 47-8.
[104] Roger H. Leech, 'The Symbolic Hall: Historical Context and Merchant Culture in the Early Modern City', *Vernacular Architecture*, 31 (2000), 1-10 (p. 4).
[105] Leech, p. 8.

Unlike a domestic setting, however, court halls were places for public courts and parliamentary elections. Freemen could literally have their voice heard in the space of the town hall 'appearing at the place of election to shout or say aye to the proposal of the nominee's name'.[106] Inhabitants could present petitions to magistrates or appear in court for legal judgement on misdemeanours. Some town halls, as in Canterbury, exhibited large, open symbolic and functional hall spaces but, often behind them, were separate private chambers, echoing the separation of domestic parlours and chambers as identified by Tittler and McKeon.[107] In Canterbury's back upper hall chamber, spatially separate from the public court hall, were at least two lockable chests, cupboards and a press; to these were later added boxes and 'a new presse of drawers' made by joiner George Church.[108] The early press stored soldiers' coats, the chest and cupboards stored documents, including charters, and the seal.[109] Reflective of practical administrative needs, this space was furnished in a different way to the public hall space, and contained the more private items of corporate life.

Other aspects of interior furnishing are also suggestive of a domestic and civic overlap in an era before significant specialisation of legal and administrative settings. Domestic seating could provide a similar hierarchy to that seen in the town hall. Chairs were 'singular seats providing distinction for the sitter' and overwhelmingly found in gentlemen's homes.[110] In a home, 'Forms, benches and settles were collective seats with implications for physical comfort, status and social engagement' and 'The possession of cushions related closely to status'.[111] Presses were found in chambers, as indeed were most storage items of furniture and often included locks to provide a level of security and privacy.[112] Carpets similarly appear in the homes of higher status individuals, and even green taffeta curtains, such as those around the painting of Sir Thomas White, adorned the bed of late sixteenth-century Canterbury councilman, Robert Alcock.[113] Finally, decorated portal entrances enhanced elite

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[106] Kishlansky, pp. 10-1.
[107] Tittler, 'No Loose People', p. 626. McKeon, pp. 252-58
[108] FA21, fols 78^{r}, 231^{v}; FA22/1, fol. 71^{v}; FA23, fol. 441^{v}; FA26, fol. 389^{v}.
[109] FA21, fol. 26^{v}.
[110] Anthony Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 141, 146. See also Tittler, *Architecture*, pp. 112-3 for a discussion of the evolution of mayor's chairs in relation to domestic seating.
[111] Buxton, pp. 146, 147.
[112] Buxton, pp. 199, 201, 203.
[113] Buxton, pp. 228-9. Richardson, *Domestic Life*, pp. 89, 90.

residences inside and out. In Norwich, aldermen's homes were adorned with decoratively carved posts, and internally, homes might feature a 'portal, a wooden structure surrounding an interior doorway, creating a ceremonial entrance'.[114] The town hall was not a domestic home, but it was, perhaps, 'inhabited' by the corporate community. For anthropologist Mary Douglas, home was very much linked with community; she envisioned the 'home as an embryonic community', a space of communal memory, justice, and daily practices.[115] The familiarity of structure, furnishing, forms of decoration, and relationships which overlapped with domestic settings, perhaps provided a sense of 'home' for the corporate body.

As a final point, Tittler's acknowledgement that 'the hall is justifiably associated most directly with the ruling element rather than with the community as a whole' also points towards the town hall as an object of corporate territoriality as much as a political statement.[116] The reluctance with which Worcester corporation 'on sufferance' allowed county sessions to be held in their guildhall is suggested by Tittler as being because 'Their hall remained a symbol of *their* authority' which they did not wish to have confused through its use by other authorities.[117] However, some element of such a reluctance might equally be ascribed to a private sense of ownership, with use by others having a sense of invasion of corporate 'privacy'. Tittler does, perhaps, allude to this role for town halls in his Epilogue to *Architecture and Power*: 'The hall's very existence often stemmed from a new-found civic pride: pride of the sort which a new owner takes in a home which he has long inhabited as a mere tenant'.[118] Like domestic settings, town halls represent a complex environment. They reflected functions of law and administration, they served as emblems of political authority, *and*, as this section indicates, they could provide a sense of 'home' for the corporate community. The way in which each corporation expressively produced and interpreted civic architecture and decoration, generated

[114] Victor Morgan, 'Civic Memory', pp. 190-1, including an illustration of posts in Norwich on p. 191. Buxton, p. 228.
[115] Mary Douglas, 'The Idea of Home: A Kind of Space', *Social Research*, 58 (1991), 287-307 (p. 288).
[116] Tittler, *Architecture*, p. 157.
[117] Ibid., pp. 96-7.
[118] Ibid., p. 158.

local, individual experiences of domestic/institutional overlap and settings of corporate life.

Another feature of civic culture is the wearing of gowns by members of a corporate community, as illustrated by the painting of Joseph Colfe. This practice might be seen to be a ubiquitous monoculture with occasional reference to the different colours of gowns worn by urban governors in different places, but the examination of evidence relating to gown use presented in the next section indicates an undercurrent of local practice, and different approaches to gown-wearing in individual corporate communities, adding to the sense of specific organisational cultures.

5.2 Corporate Gowns

Gown Symbolism

The wearing of gowns in conjunction with civic office was a practice established by the latter half of the fifteenth century, and in the context of early modern corporate life, gowns were a vehicle for individual representation of the 'civic self' as well as a material requirement for corporate life. Robert Tittler attributes much to the practice, stating that gowns bore the 'symbolic power to transform the layman into the civic official'.[119] This concept might be seen within a broader argument that 'It is also the facility of clothing to cover and to uncover, to stand prominently in the way of others' ability to see the body, which makes it a vehicle for the representation of self within society'.[120] A civic gown could 'cover' an ordinary person, placing the role it represented in public view. In medieval Coventry, unacceptable personal behaviour, which might result in a bar from civic progression, meant that anyone 'who would not mend his ways, should "be deprived of his cloke, & of the Counceill of this Cite"'.[121] It is worth noting that it is the cloak which is the first-mentioned punitive action here.

As well as being symbolic of an individual role, 'civic virtues could […] be projected by appropriate attire', one such virtue being the singular identity and unity

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[119] Tittler, *Face of the City*, p. 120.
[120] Catherine Richardson, 'Introduction', in *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*, ed. by Catherine Richardson (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 1-28 (p. 8).
[121] Liddy, p. 222.

of the whole corporate body, expressed by members looking alike in their gowns.[122] In some towns, like Winchester, this virtue of unity is known to have extended through the medium of gown wearing to include aldermen's wives who were brought into the corporate community in this way.[123] Gowns also served to reinforce a public expression of social hierarchy, something suggested by Wrightson to be 'the most fundamental structural characteristic of English society'.[124] By choosing to set themselves apart in the manner of their clothing, corporation members made efforts to bolster their 'social distinction'.[125] Thus, civic gowns were symbolic of individual and corporate identity as well as social hierarchy.

In providing a visual message, it was the colour of gowns which predominated, with a notional link to royal authority whilst also making a statement about power. The most common gown colour, red, had been associated with civic offices from the medieval period. It is recorded that in 1415, London's mayor and aldermen greeted Henry V in crimson and scarlet gowns, and in later civic pageants, the Lord Mayor of London was 'resplendent in red, with his chain and cap of office'.[126] This colour association was an enduring one, and 'the color red, above all, the resonant scarlets and crimsons continued to announce both rank and ceremony' during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[127] In Bristol, a series of ceremonial occasions throughout the year even became identified as 'Scarlett days' because of the appearance of the corporation.[128] Processional gown-wearing made a significant impact on observers, as Tracey Hill observes: 'Vivid colour and the prevalence of luxurious furs and fabrics are among the strongest impressions one gains from the varied accounts of [London] mayoral inaugurations'.[129] As well as promoting an obvious social hierarchy to an urban population, however, gowns might also serve as a way to express internal civic hierarchy.

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[122] Tittler, *Face of the City*, pp. 120, 104-5.
[123] Atkinson, p. 64.
[124] Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London, 2003), p. 25.
[125] Clark and Slack, *Towns in Transition*, pp. 116-7.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Jane Schneider, 'Fantastical Colors in Foggy London: The New Fashion Potential of the Late Sixteenth Century', in *Material London, ca. 1600*, ed. by Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 109-27 (p. 115).
[128] Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 185.
[129] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p. 190.

Differences in cloth quality and colour between the mayor and aldermen and corporate servants established and reinforced an internal hierarchy. When aldermen donned scarlet robes, their status above councilmen was made clear: being permitted to wear a scarlet gown represented organisational promotion and clear separation from other members, and civic servants. A similar situation pertained in guilds: the Stationers' Company visualised internal hierarchy between 'senior wealthier members who were allowed to wear the company's livery, and the rest of its freemen'.[130] In Exeter, mayors, the chamberlain, sheriff and recorder wore crimson or scarlet gowns, while stewards wore violet, and the council, murrey or violet.[131]

This type of variation extended across corporations and many groups used more than just a scarlet gown; indeed, a lexicon of gown etiquette could exist.[132] Canterbury alderman, Henry Vanner, owned 'one scarlett gound and a tippet and two blacke gounds' at the time of his death in 1630.[133] In Exeter, alderman Alexander Germyn possessed three items: 'one somber black, faced with satin, guarded with velvet and lined with baize; another of scarlet, and of course his robe of scarlet, lined with taffeta'.[134] London's aldermen had a bewildering range of options, encompassing combinations of scarlet, violet or black gowns worn with or without scarlet or violet cloaks, each with or without furs and linings. The use of each combination was specified in a publication of 1629 covering thirty-four different occasions, from attending Bartholomew Day's wrestling to presentation of the mayor elect to the Lord Chancellor.[135] Such evidence suggests that for corporate communities, gowns represented more than simple shows of unity, or even expressions of power, which might easily be mediated by a single colour and style. It also indicates that a nominal association of 'gown-wearing' with civic life and civic ceremony underplays the complex everyday reality which existed within a corporate community and the variety in experience across different corporations.

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[130] Ian Anders Gadd, 'Were Books Different? The Stationers' Company in Civil War London, 1640-1645', in *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society*, ed. by Anne Goldgar and Robert I. Frost (Leiden, 2004), pp. 35-58 (p. 41).
[131] Parry, p. 66.
[132] Jewitt and Hope, I, p. lxxxviii.
[133] PRC16/196 UV/4.
[134] MacCaffrey, p. 270.
[135] Corporation of London, *The order of my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Sheriffes for their Meetings and Wearing of their Apparrell throughout the whole year* (1629).

Very specific decisions could also be made about which gown to wear in order to make a political statement. In Canterbury, the aldermen in the earlier part of the seventeenth century met the visiting archbishop in their more ostentatious, scarlet gowns; after the Restoration, however, they appear to have switched to appearing in black.[136] There may have been other, unevidenced reasons for such a change, but it is, perhaps, a reflection on the altered relationship of city and cathedral establishment after the civil war and Interregnum period, that the scarlet gowns were no longer considered necessary to meet with a visiting archbishop.

An early example from Sandwich is also indicative of the potential for using gowns as a form of corporate memorialisation. Following the death of mayor, John Drury, after a French invasion in 1457, a permanent alteration in the colour of the mayor's gown – from scarlet to black – represents an important moment of local corporate cultural expression.[137] The gown change mediated the relationship of subsequent mayors to their post, serving as a reminder for incumbents but also for the wider community. This action by Sandwich's civic elite was so powerful that today's mayor continues to wear a black gown in remembrance of Drury's death. This action was irrelevant to any expression of power or status, rather it was a reminder of communal loss. Thus, gowns were not just a common feature of all civic corporations facilitating statements of identity and authority but played a uniquely local role in terms of colours used and the specific choices made by each corporate community concerning which gowns to wear on which occasion. In this way, gowns served a distinct purpose in relation to the internal organisational culture of groups of urban governors across England's early modern towns.

Gown Use

Despite their important role as symbols of office, power and a unified corporate identity, as Robert Tittler observes, many civic records contain repeated entries relating to gown use, stating that corporations 'seem almost obsessed with the civic raiment of their officers'.[138] Bristol corporation did manage a period of sixty years without such an order, until, in 1629, members were ordered 'on certain holidays, to array themselves in scarlet' with a fine of 6s. 8d. if not so dressed in church 'whether

[136] Leach, 'Cultural Expression', p. 41.
[137] Gardiner, *Historic Haven*, p. 139.
[138] Tittler, *Face of the City*, pp. 105, 119.

attending the Mayor or not'; on other Sundays, a black gown was expected.[139] When observed as aspects of local cultures, it is clear that careful distinction made between occasion and clothing had important local meaning. In Bristol, it has been observed there was a notable 'fierce civic pride' amongst freemen and a council sensitivity to 'the possibility that its public reputation might be tarnished' perhaps explaining the need to reinforce gown-wearing there.[140] However, it might be considered that a true sense of civic pride amongst all members would not have needed an order to remind members to wear their gowns.

In other towns, like Reading, there were more regular orders. Here, an order of 1613 required all Burgesses and court stewards to attend meetings at the town's Guild Hall in a 'gowne decently, as beseemeth magistrates of the towne', and there were fines for just the Capital Burgesses who on 'Saboth days or lecture days' arrived at church with no gown; this was followed three years later by another, similar decree.[141] This stated that 'for more decencye and comelynes amongest themselves, everye Capitall Burgesse of this boroughe, within three monethes next after the daye in whiche he shall take the oath […] shall from henceforth provide and have in readynes one gowne, furred with foynes or martens, agreeable to the other Magestrates' gownes' with a twenty shilling forfeit for not wearing it.[142] This indicates the desire for a similarity of style and colour, but also the need to reiterate for new members that they had a specific amount of time to conform to group practice.

As an apparently 'unaltered' practice which survived Reformation change, the continued 'obsession' with gowns in the seventeenth century perhaps indicates an important underlying issue to be explored. In part, this is hinted at by Tittler who states that 'there are some indications that the frequent injunctions for mayors and aldermen not to go "abroad" without their official dress corresponded with times of particular stress in specific places'.[143] He cites, by way of example, orders issued in Boston's immediate post-incorporation period and Chester's 'years of severe crisis'

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[139] Latimer, p. 109.
[140] Barry, 'Popular Culture, Bristol', p. 73.
[141] Guilding, II, p. 55.
[142] Guilding, II, p. 73.
[143] Tittler, *Face of the City*, p. 121.

of the 1590s.[144] Evidence from Canterbury supports this idea; it also demonstrates how gown-wearing practices after 1640 were complicated by individual religious beliefs and how local leadership by individual mayors might ease, or exacerbate the problem.

Before turning to consider this evidence, it is instructive first to make a point about evidence from Maidstone. Maidstone's minutes contain very few references to gowns suggesting a relative conformity of practice or lack of desire to enforce clothing behaviour. In March 1618, an entry – more in the form of procedural record than punitive edict – records that the mayor and jurats are on Sundays to 'sett at Churche in their Gownes'.[145] Some jurats are also to accompany the mayor in their gowns on the four occasions when he surveys 'the fayres and markets, weights and measures, and weighing of bread'; they were also expected to be dressed in gowns for attendance at the Court of Pleas.[146] The entries are focused more on the importance of attendance, not only in terms of physical presence but as a symbolic form of attendance on the mayor. It might be that conformity was enforced without the need for corporate orders but otherwise appears that, in Maidstone, the wearing of gowns was a relatively uncontentious issue in this period.

Canterbury presents a far more complex picture, though in the absence of the early minute book, it is not possible to recover the situation before 1630. The first relevant entry after this date appears in August 1635, when, under mayor Walter Southwell, an order of burghmote indicates a laxity of common council members in attending Sunday sermons at the cathedral not 'in their gownes but in their clockes'.[147] Subject to a three pence fine, conformity of gown wearing on Sundays and at 'other Cheeff ffeastivall daies as at Christmas Easter & whitsontyde' is demanded since gowns were '(beyng both Comendable & decent) and more gracefull for them'.[148] The lack of reference to come into line with regard to court attendances or other everyday occasions such as attendance at the market indicates that either this was not a problem or it was not considered to be as important as on major occasions.

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[144] Ibid., pp. 119-20, 121.
[145] Acm1/2, fol. 39^{v}.
[146] Acm1/2, fols 39^{v}, 120^{v}.
[147] AC4, fol. 103^{r}.
[148] AC4, fol. 103^{v}.

However, the order makes clear the role of gowns as symbols of decency and honour for corporation members.

A similar order, this time extending to aldermen, is recorded at the outset of Clive Carter's mayoralty in 1641, then not repeated again until October 1648, in one of the earliest meetings of the mayoralty of Michael Page.[149] The latter entry begins: 'it is thought fitt by this Court that for the honor of this Cittie' before ordering that gowns are to be worn to Sunday cathedral sermons.[150] It is notable that the order is 'unanimouslie' agreed; such language is of rare occurrence in Canterbury's minutes and this implies an overwhelming desire to enforce gown-wearing at this time. And the time is relevant. October always marked the beginning of a new mayoral year and was a moment of corporate renewal, but in 1648 the chance to start afresh provided an element of closure on what had been a difficult year. The previous mayor, William Bridge, had been attacked during the city-wide disorder of the Christmas Day riots in December 1647. As the sheriff had tried to arrest a resisting rioter, the mayor helped – with a 'Cudgell' – and the rioter 'knockt down the Major […] whereby his Cloak was much torne and durty, besides the hurt he received'.[151] The December riots were followed by the more widespread Kentish Uprising of June 1648, producing for Canterbury a significantly disruptive year of urban crisis. Therefore, the order for 'members of this house to goe in their gownes to the Cathedrall' may be linked quite rightly with corporate attempts to reinforce a sense of community cohesion and restore some sense of normality.

The strength of this need at this time can be measured by a small organisational change in the format of the burghmote meeting records. Chapter Four examined the default lists for meeting attendance and these were often followed by a note of members defaulting in attendance at the market. Following the order above, those not wearing gowns are also identified under the marginal title 'Gownes' (see Figure 9a, Chapter Four). One of the first entries relates to William Whiting (the 'wiseman's' son) 'for beinge at the Cathedrall by two Lordes days without his gowne' and he is fined six pence a further three times over the next year.[152] Of fourteen others fined in

[149] AC4, fol. 164^{v}.
[150] AC4, fol. 270^{v}.
[151] E.421.22, p. 2.
[152] AC4, fol. 274^{r}.

the same period, ten are single instances, and a further four councilmen suffered fines on more than one occasion: John Simpson (3), Jeremy Masterson (2), Thomas Gilbert (3) and Joseph Philips (2).[153] Coming hard on the heels of a time of 'particular stress', this represents a significant clamp-down on members and attempts to, as Tittler describes it, 'flaunt something tantamount to the civic flag'.[154] It also shows, however, that not all members easily conformed with the edict, and that there was a level of regular surveillance of personal action amongst the corporate community.

The recording practice continues for just one year, until 30 October 1649, a year which, it should be noted included the death of Charles I in January 1649. Just prior to the October order, on 18 September 1649, the last meeting over which Michael Page presided, and held in-between the election of the next mayor, Puritan William Reeve, and his swearing in, there is another relevant order which suggests that Reeve had threatened to do away with the customary ceremonial aspects of mayor-making entirely. The order states:

> For the better continuance of the dignitie and honor of this Cittie according to the auncient usage and custome thereof that the Maior and Aldermen of the same Cittie of the time beinge shall from henceforth uppon everie Michaellmas daie beinge the time when the Maior elected of the said Cittie for the yeere then next followinge is to be sworne into his said office meete at the Guildhall of that Cittie in their scarlett gownes at the accustomed houre in the forenoone of the said daie and soe shall attend that solempnitie as hath bine accustomed And alsoe that the said Maior & Aldermen shall forever hereafter weare their Scarlett gownes at such other times in the yeere as shalbe agreed uppon by the said Maior and Aldermen or the greater number of them the Maior beinge one.[155]

Under ordinary circumstances, there should have been no need to dictate the form of the mayor-making ceremony, and in the latter part of the order, the inclusion of the phrase that gowns should be worn '*forever* heareafter', is emphatic in its meaning. This was an attempt to secure the future of a longstanding symbolic tradition within Canterbury's corporate community against strict Puritan beliefs

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[153] AC4, fols 274^{r}-290^{v}.
[154] Tittler, *Face of the City*, p. 121.
[155] AC4, fol. 284^{v}.

which conflicted with the showiness of civic ceremony. That there was sufficient support for this move indicates the split of beliefs in the corporation at this time, and a willingness to push through an order ahead of the new mayor taking office. It also provides an example of how gowns, as an aspect of corporate material culture, could become the focus for tensions between personal beliefs and accepted corporate practices.

The fears underpinning the order were not unfounded. Though, presumably, Reeve did have to attend his own ceremony in his gown in line with the new order, within weeks, the former order to wear gowns to Sabbath-day cathedral sermons was declared to be 'from henceforth null and be noe longer in force'.[156] Notwithstanding this, at the same meeting, members are ordered to wear their gowns to attend morning and afternoon cathedral sermons on the day of thanksgiving on 5 November.[157] The order, then, was a very specific one in relation to Sunday worship, presumably relating to Reeve's own Puritanical Sabbatarian viewpoint which was in tension with the usual tradition of wearing gowns to Sunday services. This clash of Puritan views with civic culture was not unique to Canterbury; in the 1650s, Puritan influence in Salisbury also saw the wearing of gowns suppressed.[158] As a Puritan mayor in Canterbury, William Reeve was able to reinforce his own views on the corporate community, either by commanding enough support of a similarly orientated faction, or simply by dint of his being mayor.

Despite several orders for members to wear gowns on specified Thanksgiving Days over the next few years, the general practice of wearing gowns at other times may have been largely suppressed until the mayoralty of Richard May who took his oath in September 1656.[159] An order of 4 November 1656 – notably early in the mayoral year and the day before 5 November celebrations – is extensive, and indicates that, by this point, several aldermen did not even own a gown.[160] The order's language makes clear a desire to reinstate the practice and its previous role as a corporate 'custom'. This shows a sense of corporate memory, and parallels

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[156] AC4, fol. 290^{v}.
[157] AC4, fol. 292^{r}.
[158] Jewitt and Hope, I, p. lxxxviii.
[159] AC4, fols 314^{v}, 329^{v}.
[160] AC4, fols 412^{v}-413^{r}.

language of 'auncient customs' seen in popular political culture.[161] The order is worth presenting at length:

> Whereas in former times & not longe since the Maior & Aldermen of this Cittie for the time beinge weere accustomed to weare Scarlett gownes for the more honor of the said Cittie and the goverment thereof (beinge one of the most Auncient & eminent Citties of this Common wealth) not only uppon Michaelmas day but uppon other daies in the yeere which decent & laudable custome hath not been of late soe well observed as it ought to have been Now therefore for the better observacon and continuance of that soe auncient laudable & decent custome & for the better upholdinge of the honor of this Cittie & goverment thereof for the time to come It is ordered & decreed […] that from henceforth all & every the Aldermen of this Cittie which as yet hath not a scarlett gowne shall within six monethes now next ensueinge finde & make him a scarlett gowne uppon paine [of] forfeit.[162]

The forfeit, twenty shillings a month, also extended to future new members not obtaining a gown within six months of appointment. This was a serious penalty, and it did not stop there: the order went on to raise the regular default fine from six pence to five shillings, ending with a statement of intent to recover fines incurred by sueing members, underlining the extreme seriousness of this order and determined desire to reinstate the previous cultural tradition.

For this year, the recording of fines was also reintroduced. Beginning by clearing all former debts, the recording runs for the period of Richard May's mayoralty, disappearing from the records at the first meeting of the next mayor, Zachary Lee, who took office in September 1657. This sharp change of practice, as above, which is in step with mayoral change, poses questions about the role of factions, or even the influence of individual mayors, in making local decisions and the different ways in which each corporation approached decision-making and internal politics, a point returned to in the next section.

During this year of recording gown defaults, only seven men received fines but four were serious offenders: John Dickenson (5 fines), Thomas Chandler (9 fines),

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[161] Andy Wood, 'The Place of Custom in Plebeian Political Culture: England, 1550-1800', *Social History*, 22 (1997), 46-60 (p. 52).
[162] AC4, fols 412^{v}-413^{r}.

Richard Hards (9 fines) and Richard Harrison (11 fines).[163] Several of these were also double fines in that the penalty was imposed at both morning and evening sermons. At the first meeting of Independent Zachary Lee's mayoralty, the worst offender, councilman Harrison, a signatory to the petition against John Marston as detailed in Chapter Three, seems to have received relief from his clear reluctance to wear a gown. He was 'henceforth excused of & from his attendance at the markets & of wearing his gowne to the Cathedrall upon the Lords daie'.[164] Old and infirm, Richard Harrison left the council two years later in August 1659.[165] Dickenson and Hards, along with Zachary Lee and the sword-bearer, William Buckhurst, were among those 'dismissed and removed […] for there disaffecon to his Maiestie and his government' by letter of King Charles II in January 1661, and Thomas Chandler was displaced in August 1662.[166] Cromwell's church settlement of 1654 had allowed free conscience for Christians other than Episcopalians, Catholics and radical sects but in a corporate setting, allowances for religious beliefs which clashed with corporate ideals, could be, as in Canterbury, dependent on individual mayors and corporate factions.[167]

As a final point to this, on 5 October 1658, the first meeting of mayor Thomas Ockman, following the recording of an extensive list of new rules to be implemented by 1 November, there is an order for three aldermen, Squire Beverton, Richard Forstall, and William Turner, to 'get Scarlet gownes', also by 1 November.[168] Given that these three were elected as aldermen at least a year before, it is clear that under mayor Zachary Lee they had not been pushed in any way to conform with gown wearing. Lee's approach as mayor to the corporate community he oversaw may perhaps be seen as consistent with his own Independent religious beliefs, tending towards an allowance for non-conformity and expression of individual standpoints.

What are we to make of this evidence which demonstrates a distinct sub-culture of internal meaning and an everyday reality of a local corporate gown culture,

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[163] AC4, fols 412^{v}-429^{v}.
[164] AC4, fol. 430^{r}.
[165] AC5, fol. 14^{v}.
[166] AC5, fol. 33^{v}.
[167] Jeffrey R. Collins, 'The Church Settlement of Oliver Cromwell', *History*, 87 (2002), 18-40 (p. 18).
[168] AC5, fol. 6^{v}.

rather than the straightforward, high-day corporate uniformity of scarlet gown processions to which much is attributed? Firstly, given that men might regularly chose not to wear gowns, especially in the period of the mid-seventeenth century, the desire to express unity is another corporate ideal which does not appear to have always been wholeheartedly endorsed in the reality of everyday practice, much like meeting attendance. Both show tensions between maintaining a public corporate face and personal practice which could be expressed in a form of subversive rebellion whilst members continued to serve.

Secondly, at least at some points in the 1650s, several Canterbury men did not even *own* gowns, and when ordered to obtain them, were given six months to purchase material and have one made. Gowns were certainly not cheap to purchase and likely took some time to be made. Alderman Newton of Cambridge spent over £4 just adding trimming to upgrade his council gown to an alderman's gown in 1668, and Canterbury and Maidstone's shops, as with most towns outside London, probably tended to carry materials of a less expensive nature, thus requiring materials to come from London.[169] Nevertheless, six months was a long time when set against the three months given Reading Capital Burgesses as above. These considerations of everyday matters related to civic gowns present a far more personal connection between members and the materiality of civic clothing than a view of processional symbolism allows for.

The orders in relation to gowns were, of course, discussed and passed away from public view. However, non-conformity was obvious to city inhabitants during a procession or church service. Members of corporations did not only discuss legal disputes or problems of poverty – regular practical governance could also require maintenance and reassessments of their own internal culture. The timing of many of these orders also appears significant, most occurring within the first few meetings of a new mayoral year or, as with the May/Reeve transition at a liminal juncture in the corporate year. This may reflect the relative power of different factions within the corporation, but the subject of the power of individual mayors to direct corporate

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[169] *The Diary of Samuel Newton, Alderman of Cambridge (1662-1717)*, ed. by J. E. Foster, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 23 (Cambridge, 1890), p. 29. Ronald M. Berger, 'The Development of Retail Trade in Provincial England, ca. 1550-1700', *J. Econ. Hist.*, 40 (1980), 123-28 (pp. 125-6).

action within an internal political environment is, perhaps, worthy of further study since it may have wider implications for other actions taken by corporations.

This section has demonstrated that close examination of gown culture can provide important evidence of everyday organisational practice out of line with a generally assumed desire for corporations to show a cohesive display of unity. An alternative evidential view of another element of civic material culture is taken in the next section which examines civic insignia.

5.3 Civic Insignia

Swords and Maces

Civic insignia, like gowns, were a visual means of expressing sentiments of corporate authority and a range of forms existed including civic swords, maces, hats of maintenance, oars, and horns, and each corporate community had their own individual mix producing a local experience of this aspect of civic material culture. Jewitt and Hope, in their comprehensive collation of evidence of the civic insignia of English and Welsh borough corporations, also include corporate seals considered in the next section.[170] Civic swords and maces are the best-known and most common forms of insignia and closely associated with public, visual civic ceremony and authoritative symbolism. However, by branching out and approaching insignia as material objects, alongside evidence in relation to those appointed to bear them, a different understanding of their role within a corporate community emerges, one very much set within a local everyday context and reflecting the more institutional side of corporate life.

The earliest civic swords were received by strategically important towns like London and Bristol from the mid-fourteenth century, and were probably actual gifts from the monarch, though all swords represent an 'incarnation of the royal Sword of State'.[171] By the accession of James I in 1603, fourteen English towns had been granted the right to have a civic sword; some, like Lincoln and Exeter had two, and

[170] The terms insignia and regalia are often used interchangeably, however, technically the term 'regalia' relates to royal accoutrements and all civic items are 'insignia', J. F. Garner, *Civic Ceremonial: A Handbook of Practice and Procedure* (London, 1957), p. 69.
[171] Claude Blair and Ida Delamer, 'The Dublin Civic Swords', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 88C (1988), 87-142 (pp. 90-93). Jewitt and Hope, I, p. lxvi.

Bristol had three, providing a local sense of urban status, and again, a local culture.[172]

From a modern perspective, it is easy to gain an overview of the picture of a small number of important early modern towns scattered across England with rights to display ceremonial swords during civic display. When mayors actually paraded urban streets with a sword borne before them, however, few observers are likely to have thought about their own town's sword in the context of others. For most inhabitants, as well as the corporate community, swords and maces more regularly symbolised local power embodied in the mayor. In 1637, a usurper to the mayoralty in Christchurch was reported to the Privy Council for assuming the role on the basis of having 'by indirect practice' got hold of the town's mace, something in the interloper's eyes sufficient to endorse his position.[173] In a local working context, swords and maces were used and understood equally as representative of local office, even if the principle of symbolic authority lay behind the understanding of their use. It was not the monarch who carried the sword, paraded behind it, or had to immediately defend its symbolic use in contested urban space, the latter a particular issue in cathedral cities.[174]

A raised sword carried in front of a mayor by a sword-bearer signified mayoral jurisdiction and when lowered, a deferential position; the former sometimes sparking controversy if carried in this manner through cathedral precincts. In Chester, a cathedral prebendary 'actually pulled down the sword' of the mayor in 1605, a move which led the corporation to draw on the patronage of Sir Thomas Egerton who eventually ruled in the mayor's favour.[175] Exeter had a similar dispute in 1600.[176]

In the context of jurisdictional claims, swords and maces could be symbolic foci for local tensions. Catherine Patterson evidences how 'Some of the most divisive disputes in cathedral cities revolved around the symbolism of the civic regalia'.[177] In Canterbury, Somner records a medieval issue between Archbishop Courtney and

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[172] Jewitt and Hope, I, p. cxxxiv.
[173] SP16/352/94.
[174] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 133.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid., p. 132.
[177] Catherine F. Patterson, 'Corporations, Cathedrals and the Crown: Local Dispute and Royal Interest in Early Stuart England', *History*, 85 (2000), 546-71 (p. 552).

Canterbury's fourteenth-century bailiffs' sergeants concerning their maces, but by the Restoration, Dean Thomas Turner asserted to Archbishop Sheldon that 'the sword and mace which is always borne and carried upright before the Mayor within their owne Citty and Liberty is vail'd and carried aslaunt within our Church and Liberties'.[178] Canterbury corporation's relationship with cathedral authorities was not always a smooth one, but in the seventeenth century there do not appear to have been the serious issues with insignia seen elsewhere.

As the seventeenth century progressed, royal interest in local disagreements in cathedral cities increased, especially in the context of the desire of Charles I in the 1630s to control and promote the authority of the church. In these instances, intervention 'almost always benefited cathedral authorities and questioned the privileges of corporations'.[179] In 1636, King Charles attempted to control how civic maces were used in all cathedral cities by issuing a general order for their deferential use in precincts.[180] From 1642, however, cathedrals came under iconoclastic and existential attack, and as the Commonwealth was established after the regicide in 1649, cathedral establishments were dismantled.[181]

Cathedral property was abandoned by its ecclesiastical owners leaving townsmen open to appropriate cathedral space as preaching centres, parish churches, or, as in Canterbury, non-conformist meeting spaces.[182] Carl Estabrook identified the mid-seventeenth century as a 'pivotal period' with respect to civic and cathedral conflicts, arguing that by the Restoration, secular authorities had gained the upper hand in ceremonial contests for urban space.[183] The Interregnum period of the 1650s was a critical one for the renegotiation of urban jurisdiction but also a complicated one for insignia symbolising the authority of the monarch.

The public use of symbols of royal authority would have appeared incongruous after the regicide had they not been given renewed legitimacy as symbols of state. Within a few months of the death of King Charles, the mayor of London's sword was

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[178] Somner, p. 135. Robert Beddard, 'The Privileges of Christchurch, Canterbury: Archbishop Sheldon's Enquiries of 1671', *Arch. Cant.*, 87 (1972), 81-100 (p. 98).
[179] Patterson, 'Corporations, Cathedrals', p. 559.
[180] Ibid., p. 564.
[181] Lehmberg, pp. 25-41.
[182] Ibid., pp. 41-50.
[183] Estabrook, 'Ritual, Space, and Authority', p. 593.

ordered to be ceremonially given to the Speaker of the House, who immediately returned it to the hands of the mayor for his continued use.[184] The parliamentary mace was made anew, designed and made by goldsmith Thomas Maundy and, in June 1649, Parliament ordered towns to follow suit such that all 'great Maces to be used in this Commonwealth be made according to the same forme and Paterne'.[185] Whilst some towns replaced their maces entirely, others, like Sandwich appear to have merely altered them to remove royal symbols.[186] Maidstone rapidly obtained a new mace 'without the king's arms' but Canterbury dragged their heels.[187] The corporation's order to alter the 'great mace which doeth belonge to this Cittie' was not made until September 1650, at the end of the mayoralty of Puritan William Reeve, and even then it was to be 'finished with as little charge and addicon of silver as may be', the 'little charge' being £27 18s. 6d.[188] Entries such as these present evidence of the practical actions which were also part of the reality of corporate ownership of civic material objects.

Even before the Commonwealth situation, the royal link to civic insignia as material objects aside from their symbolism might be considered relatively tenuous. In 1608, Canterbury's 'sworde and skabert' with the 'engravinge and enamelinge thereof' was purchased by the mayor, in London, at a cost of £10 6s., a far cry from a personal gift from the king.[189] The blade was imported from the Solingen area of what is now western Germany, as were the blades of 'All the fine English swords' in the early seventeenth century, including that of Henry, Prince of Wales, and Canterbury's sword was probably hilted by a member of the London Cutlers' Company.[190] Once brought to Canterbury, it was local men who handled it when work was necessary. Local freeman cutler, Henry Collett, undertook 'cleaning up of the Cittie sworde' in 1641-2; three years later, he provided 'a new Scabbard' and 'tryming of the Citty Sword'.[191] At the Restoration, and presumably in time for the

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[184] Jewitt and Hope, I, p. lxxiii.
[185] Jewitt and Hope, I, pp. xlvi-li.
[186] Gardiner, *Historic Haven*, p. 267.
[187] Russell, p. 195.
[188] AC4, fol. 305^{r}; FA25, fol. 528^{v}.
[189] FA21, fols. 241^{v}, 242^{r}.
[190] J. F. Hayward, 'The Exhibition of Arms and Armour in Cutler's Hall', *The Burlington Magazine*, 93 (1951), 328-9 (p. 328).
[191] FA25, fols 94^{r}, 243^{r}.

visit of Charles II in May 1660, it was another freeman cutler, William Dollman, who cleaned the sword and made a new 'red Velvet' scabbard, the velvet being provided by alderman Henry Twyman.[192] Swords may have been representative of Crown authority, but they were purchased and owned by corporations. Material decisions of consumerist choice at the time of purchase placed swords at a remove from the monarch, and continuing use and care set them within an everyday context of corporate culture.

Like swords, maces were purchased and maintained by corporations, so also locating them as material objects with local meaning and context. In 1621, Boston's mace was identified in a Privy Council letter as 'belonging to that Towne'.[193] Maidstone's new mace, being ordered by the corporation in 1641 to 'bee made and prepared to bee carried before the Mayor for the tyme being', established a very local connection of ownership, the purchase, enabled by a donation from jurat Ambrose Beale of thirty pounds, adding a personal link to its production.[194] Similarly, Maidstone's mace bought within a few weeks of the regicide, was funded by the sale of a 'little white mace', an injection of £10 from another jurat's bequest, and corporate money at a total cost of £47 3s. 5d.[195] Maidstone's earlier mace was altered by local goldsmith and councilman, Philip Lupo, and in Canterbury, maces were worked by local goldsmiths James Santine and Thomas Barrett.[196] It was a local craftsman in Sandwich who struggled to alter that town's mace because of a 'bar of iron [running] through the handle and up into the head' and expressed his consternation at the delay, promising the largest mace would be done in time for the Easter Sessions because he would 'stay till it be ready'.[197] In this way, maces may be seen as objects of corporate memory and a part of the everyday lives of local craftsmen as much as they were emblems of royal authority.

When used ceremonially, insignia were visually exposed, but a critical part of the symbolism was generated by the men holding them: sword-bearers and sergeants-at-mace. Both offices derived from royal practice and were marked out by name to

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[192] FA26, fols 478^{v}, 479^{v}.
[193] PC2/31/39.
[194] ACm1/2, fol. 184^{r-v}.
[195] ACm1/3, fol. 24^{r}; Jewitt and Hope, I, pp. 344-5; Russell, p. 197.
[196] ACm1/2, fol. 14^{r}, FCa1/1610, fol. 5^{r}; FA25, fols. 90^{r}, 137^{r}; FA26, fol. 480^{r}.
[197] Gardiner, *Historic Haven*, p. 267.

show that they were caretakers of their respective material objects. Sergeants-at-mace were originally royal sergeants-at-arms.[198] Depictions of swords on early royal seals show them held in a monarch's hand, giving way by the fifteenth century to images of them being 'carried by an attendant sword-bearer'.[199] This symbolism of office played a part in parading, but sword and mace bearers were, in reality, local men engaged by corporations for these roles and they experienced the closest and most regular contact with the objects, despite the usual association of civic insignia with the person of the mayor.

When Canterbury sergeant-at-mace, John Clark, 'departed this Citty without licence of the Maior' in December 1641, he was discharged from office 'for that cause' but also 'being besides chardged with carrying away the Mace of his office & other Misdomenores'.[200] His replacement, Henry Lee, was ordered not to have his mace until a bond was sealed.[201] Object, office, and person were practically linked, quite aside from any authoritative symbolism a paraded mace or sword might impart.

The use of civic insignia also engaged corporations with the practicalities of filling and maintaining these roles in order to continue the public face of ceremony. Details of the appointment of Canterbury's first sword-bearer are lost to the missing minute book, but later evidence shows hopeful candidates petitioned the burghmote court for the office, with the decision made by corporate voting. In June 1654, five men, Thomas Bullock, William Buckhurst, Stephen Nicholson, Lennard Joyce, and John Peeke petitioned for the position.[202] The surviving petitions evidence the qualities prospective sword-bearers considered might be required for the post, including freedom of the city. Bullock indicates he would serve 'with all faithfulnesse', Nicholson similarly states that he 'will faithfully discharge his duty', Peeke declares he will 'perfome all ye duty and parts thereto belonging', and Joyce determines to discharge the duty 'with all care and diligency'.[203] William Buckhurst, a tailor, and member of an Independent congregation does not receive the office this time but is successful in a later petition. Since a good reputation was likely important

[198] Jewitt and Hope, I, pp. xviii-xxxi.
[199] Jewitt and Hope, I, p. lxvi.
[200] AC4, fol. 166^{r}.
[201] AC4, fol. 166^{r}.
[202] CC-A/P/B/1654/10-14.
[203] Ibid.

in order to secure the position it is notable that of six known sword-bearers to 1660, at least three were tailors, an important point given the close links seen between the corporation and the Drapers' and Tailors' Company evidenced in Chapter Three.

The reverse of Buckhurst's petition also carries evidence of the votes cast for each petitioner.[204] Each petitioner's name is listed and followed by a run of small circles. Joyce has only one, Peeke two, Nicholson eleven, and Buckhurst and Bullock have seventeen and eighteen, respectively. A second round of voting between the latter two might also be suggested by the repetition of their names below the original list, with further runs of circle votes, this time split seven for Buckhurst and seventeen for Bullock. This is a reminder, not only of the actions required by corporations to organise the appointments of corporate officeholders, but also the types of internal politics and use of different political systems which could occur within corporate environments.

As well as appointing officers, there were other practical matters to be considered, aside from simply giving a man a sword or mace to carry. Within weeks of the first sword-bearer's appointment, at the 5 November celebrations at the Sun inn, Canterbury's newest officer was treated to having his dinner paid for him by corporation funds confirming his entry into the civic community.[205] Within three years it had been arranged for him to have his own seat with a chain in the nave's west aisle of the cathedral.[206] There was also the matter of the provision of gowns for lesser officers.

In December 1619, tailor and sword-bearer, Jeremy Smyth, is allowed forty shillings 'for his Gownecloath soe ordered by burmoth'.[207] At this time, the city's other officers, the sergeants-at-mace, the jail keeper and the town clerk all received an annual allowance for their livery as recorded in a separate 'Gownes for officers' section in the city's account books.[208] This practice changes over the seventeenth century, gradually reducing to biannual provision and eventually to a four-yearly provision for a lesser number of officers. A number of surviving petitions, confirmed

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[204] A/P/B/1654/10.
[205] FA21, fol. 286^{r}.
[206] FA22/1, fol. 67^{r}.
[207] FA23, fol. 107^{r}.
[208] See for example, FA22/1, fol. 396^{r}.

by several orders of burghmote, show that by the 1650s the sword-bearer, along with other officers, were petitioning for new gowns which were described as 'very badd' or 'nowe worne out and unfit for to weare' and reminding the corporation exactly how many years it had been since they had received money towards new gowns.[209] In 1652 and 1653, sword-bearer, John Osborne's petitions confirm that Canterbury mayors continued to use the civic sword during the Interregnum and that providing gowns for officers was a regular practical consideration.[210] Osborne's petitions of 1653, perhaps purposefully from his point of view, depicts a sad rather than glorious picture of civic ceremony in the city, his gown 'being now growne old and threadbare'.[211] These requests reflect the everyday and individual decisions which corporations became engaged in, in order to promote civic authority by means of civic insignia.

A final point in relation to the everyday reality of the role of civic insignia in corporate life comes from a consideration of aspects of storage when not in use. In Boston, two maces, a larger ceremonial one engraved with the king's arms and a lesser, but regularly used mace with a ball and cross on the top, were stored 'in the windowe' or 'upon the linin cupboard' at the mayor's house; at night they were carried 'up into the maiors chamber', either by a sergeant-at-mace or a house servant where there were 'certen cases made for them'.[212] This insight into the everyday handling of civic maces reveals a very different experience from the high occasions of public ceremony. By storing the maces in the mayor's house, not only did it create a personal connection of responsibility, but it also directly linked his domestic space with corporate life.

Storage within the mayor's house, however, did not ensure security. Though no clear evidence exists in this period for Canterbury or Maidstone, in the late fifteenth century, Coventry's mayor also apparently kept the sword and mace in his house from where they were stolen in a popular uprising.[213] The above evidence from Boston derives from the deposition of the sergeant-at-mace who, on coming to collect the mace from the mayor's house on a day in 1621, found the top cross had

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[209] CC-A/P/B/1653/61, A/P/B/1650/9.
[210] A/P/B/1650/9, 1652/12, 1653/92, 1653/109.
[211] A/P/B/1653/109.
[212] SP14/120/116.
[213] Liddy, p. 221.

been removed. The mayor stood accused that 'either by himself or some others by his appointment or consent' he had 'cutt of the Crosse from his ma[jes]ties Armes upon the mace'.[214] Whoever had been responsible, the mayor's angry insistence to an acquiescent sergeant that the issue should be resolved later may have been based in his own guilt but it also reveals something of the complex sense of ownership and tensions surrounding everyday handling of the object of the mace.

Individual corporate development and a sense of urban status could be marked by the use of civic insignia, as noted at the outset of this chapter, but such changes also shaped each corporation's local community culture. Once granted, swords or maces as material objects became directly associated with the corporate community through purchase or production, and with lesser officers and craftsmen through the ongoing practices of everyday use and maintenance. Insignia formed part of a more private working culture of corporate organisations, as well as being necessary for public symbolism in relation to civic authority. This more balanced view of civic insignia reveals their dual role in both public and private expressions of corporate culture.

Another important civic material object was the corporate seal, also potentially connected with specific local organisational approaches. Seals were not paraded in the way swords or maces might be, but they were symbolically important to the private world of a corporate community.

Seals

Swords and maces were powerful symbols of national and local authority, but seals were, perhaps, of greater importance to corporate communities as objects representative of corporate identity, as much as authority. Seals symbolised the 'birth' of a corporation, the charter marking its legal existence and the seal usually, as noted in Chapter One, the first material object purchased by a newly formed corporate body. Pollock and Maitland underlined the legal importance of a seal to corporate function stating: 'The rule that the corporation can do no act save by a writing under its common seal' differentiates a legal corporation from 'aggregates of men'.[215] Practically, they were used to authenticate property leases and other

[214] PC2/31/39.
[215] Pollock and Maitland, p.490.

important documents arising in the context of local government. In 1604, Canterbury's chamberlain, William Watmer, had to ride twice to London to purchase new city weights and measures because on his first trip he 'could not then have them by reason he had not a warrant under the towne seale for that purpose'.[216] From the outset, actions of corporate authority, perhaps especially beyond jurisdictional boundaries, might be achieved through the medium of the material corporate seal.

Visually, seals 'straddled the divide between the literate and illiterate' with the image on a seal being of significance.[217] Sometimes made explicit in a charter, the power to 'break, change, and new make [seals] at their pleasure' gave corporations control over their own image in more ways than one.[218] The image of a monarch adorned royal seals, images representative of a town adorned civic seals, often in the form of 'turreted castle[s]', or keys 'representing government security and control'.[219] Herald John Philipot, during his Visitation of Kent in 1619, saw fit to include images of Maidstone's seals 'so entred & depaynted in his said Booke', along with notes about their grant and use.[220] In the late 1530s, Canterbury's common seal had to be altered to remove the newly unacceptable image of Thomas Becket, presenting in its place what Jewitt and Hope describe as 'a very poor shield of the city arms'.[221] Alteration of the image reflected the change in the perception of Becket but resulted in a new vision of the city, disseminated through its use.

Seals could be as powerfully symbolic as swords and maces. In a royal setting, as Sean Kelsey shows (quoting Henry Hallam): 'the Great Seal, in the eyes of English lawyers, has a sort of mysterious efficacy, and passes for the depository of royal authority in a higher degree than the person of the king'.[222] Kevin Sharpe follows the same line of thinking in explaining how, in the early 1640s, this seal became a vital material component of the battle between King Charles I and

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[216] FA21, fol. 78[r].
[217] Kelsey, p. 92.
[218] This is the wording in Canterbury's James I charter, A. Citizen [Bunce], *Translation*, p. 157.
[219] Sharpe, p. 339. Adrian Ailes, 'Powerful Impressions: Symbols of Office and Authority on Secular Seals', in *Signs and Symbols: Proceedings of the 2006 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2009), pp. 18-41 (p. 26).
[220] Acm1/2, fol. 44[r].
[221] Palmer, pp. 227-8. Jewitt and Hope, I, p. 320.
[222] Kelsey, p. 92.

Parliament.[223] On 22 May 1642, the royal Great Seal was 'secretly and perfidiously conveyed away' by the Lord Keeper, Edward Littleton, when Charles left London, depriving Parliament of its use and bringing dependent administration to a non-functional halt.[224] As Sharpe notes, 'In the case of seals, the contest was for ownership of a symbol that authorized action'.[225] The absence of the seal, however, provided an opportunity to fashion a new seal, virtually identical to that of the king and imbued with authority by Parliament in November 1643; Charles' seal, and any documents sealed with it since its removal from London, were ordered nullified.[226]

Though Parliament was divided on this potentially treasonous course of action, responsibility for the new seal was given to six commissioners, specifying that its use must be overseen by three individuals, including at least one member each of the House of Commons and Lords, thus establishing ritualistic requirements for its use.[227] Even before Charles' death in January 1649, a new image design for a Commonwealth seal was in hand, and within a week of the regicide the old seal, and its storage purse, had been destroyed as the new regime established 'An entirely new representational language of political signs and symbols' based on nationalistic 'republican iconography'.[228] The struggle for control of the governmental seal was not only based on practical need but indicative of its symbolic power.

In a more local setting, Canterbury and Maidstone's corporate seals were equally subject to ritualistic access reflecting their functional and symbolic status. Their importance to corporate authority and potential for fraudulent misuse established that they be locked in corporate chests with limited access, as with the Great Seal. Over time, special storage requirements and evolving local practice could produce individualized forms of corporate rituals. Until 1632, access to Exeter's great chest had required no less than eight men, each with a separate key; after this, the requirement was reduced to three men, the mayor and the oldest and youngest of the aldermen.[229] The seal and corporate money were held individually in smaller

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[223] Sharpe, p. 355.
[224] Firth and Rait, pp. 340-2. Kelsey, p. 92.
[225] Sharpe, p. 357.
[226] Sharpe, p. 356; Firth and Rait, pp. 340-2. Kelsey, p. 93.
[227] Firth and Rait, pp. 340-2. Kelsey, p.92-3.
[228] Kelsey, pp. 94, 97.
[229] Parry, pp. 62, 99.

chests within the large 'great chest' and the mayor held the key to these. In fourteenth-century Sandwich, chest keys represented symbols of office and were ritualistically relinquished by the outgoing mayor, the new mayor not receiving them until after taking his oath.[230] There is no evidence for the existence of this type of ritual in seventeenth-century Canterbury or Maidstone, but Canterbury's minute books do reveal a form of ritual associated with their common seal matrix.

Canterbury's town seal was most regularly used to seal property leases. The 'Casual Receipts' sections in the city account books are full of entries relating to payments for sealing leases, or on occasion those given freely, such as that for ex-alderman Warham Jemmett in about 1604: 'for the seale of the lease of the Seller under the towne hall graunted to Warham Jemett late Ald'.[231] Given that most leases required a monetary payment for sealing, it is unsurprising that such entries appear in the account books. It is more surprising, perhaps, that entries occur in the minute book in relation to the seal, and the text of recorded orders in Canterbury outline a form of corporate ritual surrounding the use of the town seal matrix.

Entries are sometimes identified by a marginal note: 'The seal to be taken out' and three stages in the ritualistic process are discernible. The first stage is the removal of the seal: 'yt ys ordered that the Comon seale of this Cittie at some Convenient daie before next Court of Burghmot shall be taken out of the Chest'.[232] This implies permission was needed to use the seal and that notice needed to be given for its removal. The second stage, the action of sealing, meant the gathering of a group of corporate members to open the chest and seal documents: 'This was done accordyngly in presence of Mr Maior Mr watmer Mr Whityng Mr Ladd Aldermen Mr Grove Mr Brankes Mr Plaier & Mr Nicholson & other'.[233] The final stage recorded is one of closure: '& the seale put upp into the chest agayne' or it might be 'laid up'.[234] Control of the ritual, though ordered by communal consent, was in the

[230] Sheila Sweetinburgh, 'Mayor-making and Other Ceremonies: Shared Uses of Sacred Space among the Kentish Cinque Ports', in *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. by P. Trio and M. De Smet (Leuvan, 2006), pp. 165-88 (p. 171).
[231] FA21, fol. 67^{v}.
[232] AC4, fol. 33^{v}.
[233] AC4, fol. 40^{v}.
[234] AC4, fols 40^{v}, 92^{v}.

hands of the mayor: 'the seale [to be] taken out of the chamber for that purpose when Mr Maior shall appoint for sealing the lease'.[235]

This practice surrounding the functional use of Canterbury's seal also served as a symbolic reinforcement of corporate hierarchy, the ritual being based around restricted access with the mayor at its centre. As Paul Griffiths states: 'Authority…was sealed and exhibited by closing doors and chests'.[236] Physical handling of the seal was severely limited, in contrast to the regular outings of swords and maces. The latter publicly reinforced the pre-eminent status of the mayor, however, though the seal image was publicly visible on sealed documents, within the corporate community, the seal matrix, a symbol of corporate identity hidden away and privately used, powerfully underlined internal hierarchy. Rituals, such as this, developed independently within each corporate community, and as aspects of local organisational cultures provided unique experiences of corporate life.

Conclusion

This chapter has gathered evidence of three features of civic material culture to answer questions about the nature of the internal cultural environment of seventeenth-century corporations up to the Restoration. It provides an insight into the private and personal approaches to civic material objects lying beneath public display, and demonstrates that alongside a public role, they had an everyday role in the internal organisational culture of corporate communities.

It cannot be denied that the use of civic material culture in political symbolism was important. In the urban setting, social and authoritative hierarchical deference was achieved by the development of town hall environments, display of civic insignia and the ceremonial wearing of gowns.[237] No wonder, in London, Lord Mayor's Show pageant authors like Anthony Heywood wove them into pageant texts: 'you this Day behold this Scarlet worne, / And Sword of Iustice thus in publike borne'.[238] Though Canterbury chamberlain, Thomas Halke, similarly memorialised the new civic sword in a private note in city accounts as a 'memorable ensigne of honor and Justice', this was also an object in an everyday world, linked with

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[235] AC4, fol. 158^{v}.
[236] Griffiths, 'Secrecy', p. 944.
[237] See particularly: Tittler, *Architecture*, ch. 5, pp. 98-128.
[238] Hill, *Pageantry*, p. 191.

servants' salaries, petitions for clothing, storage concerns, and routine or necessary maintenance, peppered with occasions of public symbolic use.[239] Maidstone corporation had no civic sword, and it seems unlikely that the corporation would have considered approaching a monarch with this request. As a smaller town, their own sense of their position in the early modern urban hierarchy was important in this regard. For Canterbury, the self-understanding of their existence as the governing community of an important town of antiquity underpinned their confidence in even petitioning for a sword. Expansion of the use of insignia was as reflective of internal self-understanding as it was of a need for public reinforcement of authority.

The use of civic swords and maces survived the Commonwealth period, but the experiences of that time perhaps altered the conceptual link between them and royalty. Victor Morgan notes that the first mayoral portrait to include civic insignia appears in 1660, ascribing it to a possible 'acknowledgement of renewed regal authority'.[240] However, it might equally represent a far closer material connection between local governors and their insignia, forged from a greater sense of local autonomy and material ownership during the Interregnum. The experience of this period was one which reinforced how swords and maces reflected local authority and possession, no matter who was in charge at a national level.

This chapter raises an important question of how, more generally, corporations across England's towns responded to changes occurring at a national level in the mid-seventeenth century, and how they dealt with the conflict of personal belief and corporate need and culture. As was the case in Chapter Four, certain practices have been highlighted here to which insufficient attention, perhaps, has been given by historians. For example, the many gown references in town records have been observed but not studied in detail as evidence of local cultural practice, practices which, in the full context of individual organisational cultures take on a new significance. Gown-wearing practices appear locally distinct with specific meaning for each community, the mix of different colour gowns and occasions for wearing them creating unique experiences of being a corporate body.

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[239] FA21, fol. 242[r].

[240] Morgan, 'Civic Memory', p. 193.

Corporate identity as a unified governing body was an ideal image conveyed by material means, but within the body, individuality could be expressed, contested, and repressed, by both members and mayors. This individuality was most often experienced in the setting of decisions made within the town hall, buildings well described in terms of their political and economic role, features which have, perhaps, overshadowed their possible function as a familiar community space. The town hall may have represented a place with domestic parallels in terms of rhetoric, and types and placement of furniture, even whilst being an institutional environment. For the corporate community, documents, and insignia including seals and charters, were stored in locked chests, often in private spaces within a town hall, and seating was identifiable with the mayor or individual groups such that material objects served as much to establish internal hierarchy as a public social hierarchy. In this way, civic material culture served to delineate both external and internal levels and lines of authority and power so that objects could, at once, serve as public and private symbols of the same concepts.

Civic swords and maces were ceremonial representations of authority but not necessarily of the corporate body. In contrast, seals, though hidden away, may have been more representative of the identity of the corporate body and could be subject to internal rituals demonstrating a form of reverence. Swords and maces were the tools of authority whilst seals were symbols of corporate identity. In many ways this supports what we already know, that swords and maces formed part of a constructed political culture of visual communication with the public. However, a rounded view of corporate life requires an understanding of the full context within which such objects were used. In this respect, knowledge and understanding of the internal corporate cultural environment, and the everyday treatment of each object, its place and meaning for the corporate community is of equal importance to the ‘public face’ aspects.

This chapter has examined several aspects of corporate material expression, and in recovering everyday function and meaning rebalances our understanding of the life of early modern corporations. It demonstrates that as well as signifying overt political culture, civic material objects played an important role in local organisational cultures.

For any community, another part of the sense of self is created by boundaries and a sense of the 'other' lying beyond them.[241] In relation to institutions, Cavallo and Evangelisti express it in this way: 'communal identity in part turned on relations of an institutional community with the outside world'.[242] Beyond the communal boundary, but within the context of an early modern social hierarchy, as argued by Braddick and Walter, 'social relationships of power' required many individuals and groups to negotiate in 'two directions', corporations being in such a situation.[243] Whilst the authoritative relationship with inhabitants was often mediated by legal means of controlling behaviour, the relationship between corporations and patrons or local gentry, was often marked by cultures of gifting and dining, and the final chapter considers the nature of the local cultures of Canterbury and Maidstone's corporate communities in this respect.

[241] Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (Chichester, 1985), p. 12.
[242] Cavallo and Evangelisti, p. xviii.
[243] Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, 'Introduction: Grids of Power: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Early Modern Society', in *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 1-42 (p. 11).

Chapter Six: Gifting and Dining

Chapter Five established that Canterbury and Maidstone's seventeenth-century corporations were engaged in public material expressions of corporate identity and power seen in other towns of this period. It also exposed undercurrents of everyday experience linking these forms of political culture to an internal corporate culture and group politics. This chapter revolves around the question of the nature of organisational culture in relation to gifting and dining. As an institutional group, specific external corporate relationships were frequently mediated by forms of food and drink, including food gifts and communal feasting. Set within the contexts of hospitality, patronage, and commensality, as aspects of organisational culture, these elements played an important role in the internal life of corporations and were markers of distinct communities.

Corporate communities did not exist in isolation. The functional necessity for corporations to maintain or honour important relationships worked through the contexts of hospitality, patronage, and commensality; an implied clear-cut distinction here is, however, a false one and in practice these arenas overlapped. The material expression of relationships, when observed from the point of view of the corporate community and patterns of spending, lends itself to the conceptual model of a sliding scale of corporate behaviour. At one end, the most extreme forms of deference represent the greatest gap between the corporate community's sense of self and their understanding of 'other', best understood in relation to the hospitality and individual gifts – most often wine and banquets – offered to visiting royalty and ambassadors. In the middle, the strongest working and local patronage relationships were more likely to be marked by repetitive gifting. As the most regular practices, it is these which are explored in most detail in this chapter. The other end, involving hosting visiting judiciary, or inviting locals to join in with corporate dining events, merges hospitality and patronage with corporate commensality in varying degrees. Here, a range of corporate events involving shared meals may be defined by 'financial inclusivity' – whose meals were paid for by corporate funds – and this provides a marker of local organisational cultures. These ideas become clearer in what follows, the key points being that contexts of patronage, hospitality, and commensality underpin the material expression of certain relationships and that individual

corporate gifting and dining practices emerge from, and define, internal organisational cultures.

Hospitality in early modern England was broadly concerned with charitable giving and notions of honour. Felicity Heal's extensive study of hospitality is grounded in the experience of the rural gentry where household hosts engaged in generous 'open hospitality' to neighbours and the poor as part of an 'honour code'.[1] Urban hospitality, though bearing similarities to its rural-based counterpart, was of a somewhat different nature given townsmen's smaller households, a different social context and better established 'public provision of care for the outsider', especially with regard to the poor.[2] Whilst foreign visitors often 'commented favourably on the standard of inns' and the 'English enthusiasm for feasting', there was also a contemporary view that 'reluctant hospitality' was offered by townsmen.[3] Heal identifies, however, the difficulties of recovering evidence of true *urban* experiences based on a lack of surviving evidence, and in presenting largely '*civic* and guild entertainment' she outlines some similarities between urban and rural forms of hospitality: 'The same assumptions about order, hierarchy, and social control existed, though they were mediated through a different set of institutions and articulated with a slightly different rhetoric'.[4] In this respect, honour, 'neighbourliness', and a sense of 'openness and enclosure' when bringing guests into the host's townscape were all important.[5]

Patronage was a frequently employed method of resolving local issues or protecting corporate privileges. Early modern forms of patronage have been variously described as: a 'ubiquitous relationship that permeated early modern political, social, economic and artistic life', something 'structur[ing] early modern society', 'a powerful tool', and 'necessary to stable governance'.[6] Frequently characterised by 'traditional forms of exchange – deference and honor, gift-giving and hospitality' in the urban setting, it was practised by corporations who sought 'to

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[1] Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 390.
[2] Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 300.
[3] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 203, 300.
[4] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 300, 301, 306.
[5] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 301-5
[6] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 2. Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London, 1993), pp. 2, 3.

cultivate the favor of the powerful'.[7] Catherine Patterson identifies the importance of geographic locality to the patronage networks of urban corporations and the importance of gifting within this context, but offers no detailed view of specific gift-giving practices of a single corporation, understandable within the aims of her research which sought to 'investigate the wider workings of patronage that affected all towns'.[8] Approaching the subject from an organisational culture point of view, this chapter is less concerned with the detail of political negotiations and outcomes of gifting. Rather, it compares the nature of the gifting practices of Canterbury and Maidstone corporations, the choices made in terms of recipients, the identity of donors, and the impact of alterations in working practices over time. In the absence of detailed work for other towns it is difficult to provide adequate comparisons for parts of this chapter, emphasising the need for similar studies to strengthen our understanding of the nature of corporate gifting.

The word commensality 'literally means eating at the same table (*mensa*)' but in broader interpretation, as usefully stated by Kerner and Chou, may be understood as 'eating or drinking together in a common physical or social setting'.[9] Forms of urban hospitality, understood as 'intramural commensality', were occasions when 'the social energies of urban oligarchies were […] directed inwards' rather than engaging with non-inhabitants.[10] An important aspect of such gatherings was a sense of 'company', a contemporary term reflective of inclusivity and the 'social politics implicit in different kinds of interaction that characterise "everyday social life"'.[11] Heal denotes corporate commensality as events funded by corporations and guilds for themselves and often located in a non-corporate setting.[12] This both makes an important point and glosses over an important detail. The many examples of civic 'junketing' provided by Heal reveal the wide range of events funded by different corporations across English towns and are witness to the centrality of this feature in corporate life. However, in broad examination, the detail of the relevance of each

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[7] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 7.

[8] Ibid., p. 7, see however, pp. 15-24 which provides an excellent overview of corporate gifting.

[9] Susanne Kerner and Cynthia Chou, 'Introduction', in *Commensality: From Everyday Food to Feast*, ed. by Susanne Kerner, Cynthia Chou and Morten Warmind (London, 2015), pp. 1-9 (p. 1).

[10] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 322- 35.

[11] Withington, *Politics*, pp. 129-35, 131. See also, Withington, 'Company and Sociability in Early Modern England', *Social History*, 32 (2007), 291-307, which focuses on the context of sociable drinking.

[12] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 306-7.

occasion to an individual community is lost. Corporate funding for each occasion in an individual corporate cultural calendar appears representative of institutionalised practices unique to each corporate community, and thus formed part of the local environment within which men experienced urban officeholding.

Though patronage implied practical support, hospitality notions of charitable giving, and commensality aspects of 'company', close links existed between them and understanding the nature of gifts in different settings was important. Gifts and hospitality 'offered a social matrix through which connections could be made and nurtured' but connections, once made, could on occasion and with understanding be manipulated.[13] The boundaries of Salisbury corporation's hospitality involving the visiting prince of Brunswick in 1610 were pushed as they 'orchestrated a display of regard that, according to the rules of patronage, required some reciprocation'.[14] The banquet the prince provided was insufficient to match their 'lavish civic ceremony' and gift of gold, and the corporation successfully secured his political support for their incorporation, achieved two years later.[15] Further problems of understanding the complexities of distinctions between gifting contexts are made clear by Heal's note that, in an urban setting, 'it is often difficult to calculate who is entertaining whom at a particular municipal junket'.[16] The spending patterns of corporations, as evidenced by chamberlains' accounts, potentially provides a means of visualising local interpretations of the boundaries of corporate responsibility for hosting, by identifying what was considered legitimate corporate expenditure in different places.

The first two sections of this chapter examine the detail of two gifting practices common to many corporations. First, it looks at the role of corporations as gift-givers and the gifting of sugar loaves. Decisions in relation to gift-giving were entirely within the remit of a corporation. The type of gifts given, occasions of gifting, and gift recipients are relevant to an understanding of choices made in relation to what warranted legitimate corporate expenditure. In this sense, analysis of gift-giving provides a deeper insight into the character of each corporate community. Second, the chapter considers the position of corporate communities as gift recipients, as

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[13] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 24.
[14] Ibid., p. 176.
[15] Ibid., pp. 175-6.
[16] Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 306.

marked by receiving gifts of venison, which formed an important part of corporate feasts. In this regard, the final section puts venison gifts in a wider context of corporate dining, and considers the range of dining events hosted by Canterbury and Maidstone corporations and their individual approaches to financial inclusivity.

Overall, this chapter demonstrates that each corporation had distinct gifting and corporate dining patterns providing different experiences of corporate officeholding. In Maidstone, gifting and dining are shown to be of a relatively simpler, inclusive and traditional nature, in Canterbury more complex and political, in keeping with earlier findings of this study, and reflecting the towns' individual urban and corporate identities. The majority of dining occasions show a high level of continuity over the period 1600-1660. Food gifts, whether given or received, were a prominent feature of the early Stuart period in both towns but definitively fell away in Canterbury, and partially in Maidstone, prior to the onset of civil war. In Canterbury, the change reflects altered relationships with political patrons and the city's recorder, but the evidence suggests that perhaps the most significant change was in the corporate community's understanding of itself.

6.1 Giving Gifts

Historians 'have become alert to the importance of gifts in different contexts', but as Ben-Amos highlights, 'historical studies that fully address issues of gift giving in the early modern and modern era, and, crucially, their mutations over time remain few and far between'.[17] Ben-Amos's own work shows the methodological usefulness of gifting studies by unpicking informal giving networks evidenced by gift-giving enabling a demonstration of how they were 'revitalized and expanded'.[18] The relative paucity of early modern, as opposed to medieval, gifting studies is beginning to be addressed by work on early modern urban and Court patronage, and hospitality.[19] Furthermore, literary evidence of contemporary early modern perspectives on gifts

[17] Illana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 7, 8.

[18] Ben-Amos, *Culture of Giving*, p. 4.

[19] As noted, Catherine Patterson has studied the subject of urban patronage across a wide range of early modern towns and includes a broad discussion of gift patterns, see *Urban Patronage*, especially pp. 18-21. Linda Levy Peck, in *Court Patronage* has considered the role of gifts within Court patronage networks, see especially pp. 12-29; Felicity Heal has written about *Hospitality in Early Modern England,* as well as food gifts and gift-giving practices with an emphasis on Court politics in *The Power of Gift*, see especially pp. 35-43.

and gift-giving demonstrates links with religious and moral narratives emphasising the positive benefits of giving, the dangers of abusing gift systems and the impact of inappropriate reciprocity.[20] Nevertheless, the detail of gifting practices in a corporate institutional setting is an understudied area.

The subject of gifting is a complex one.[21] A key influence has been sociologist Marcel Mauss's work *The Gift*.[22] In Mauss's gift-system concept there are social 'obligations of exchange and contract' between parties, in part, based on the principle that in all human relationships 'Two groups of men who meet can only either draw apart, and, if they show mistrust towards one another or issue a challenge, fight – or they can negotiate'.[23] Material gifts are a manifestation of the latter approach of human negotiation, and observed gift systems are markers of the formation and negotiation of stable, ordered relationships.[24] Though identified as a 'minor motif' in Mauss's work, studies of the connections between gifting and patronage have begun more recently to analyse the role of power in narratives of gifts and gifting.[25] Given the central position of borough corporations in a range of early modern political and administrative networks designed to ensure peaceful governance, their use of gift systems to establish and maintain important power-defined relationships is understandable.

At the heart of the gift system as envisaged by Mauss are the 'gift' and the experience of 'gift-exchange', usefully understood by Felicity Heal's explanation of the two terms: 'the first can refer exclusively to the material object, the second to the movement of the thing, its social trajectory. Both, however, usually imply exchange'.[26] Ben-Amos also argues for 'the gift [as] a process, rather than exclusively a material entity', clarifying that it 'depended for its success on proper understanding between the transacting parties'.[27] In the context of corporate gifts, a

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[20] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, pp. 10-22.
[21] Fronting work on gifting in sixteenth-century France, Natalie Zemon Davis provides a compact but thorough introduction to theories and disciplinary discoveries in relation to gifts, see *The Gift in Sixteenth-century France* (London, 2000), pp. 5-8.
[22] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift* (London, 1990).
[23] Mauss, p. 82.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Davis, p. 8. She specifically cites here Linda Levy Peck, Alain Guéry, and Sharon Kettering.
[26] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 29.
[27] Ben-Amos, *Culture of Giving*, p. 23.

corporation was always one of the 'transacting parties' and therefore needed to understand the language of exchange with reference to a broad range of individuals. As will be shown, their understanding is reflected in the variety of gifts given and the observed specificity of occasion and gift.

Gifting systems are subject to change over time, and changes in gifting practices denote alterations in the social process and understanding of the relationship between transacting parties. Davis suggests that, 'Though there are big shifts in systems of gift and exchange over time […] gift exchange persists as an essential relational mode, a repertoire of behavior, a register with its own rules, language, etiquette, and gestures. The gift mode may expand or shrink somewhat in a given period, but it never loses its significance'.[28] For the seventeenth century, increasingly important market economies were thought to have replaced gift systems, but rather it has been shown that they can exist alongside them so that 'gift elements persist with new connections and consequences'.[29] Linda Levy Peck demonstrates how the early seventeenth-century Court patronage system became inverted as lines of patronage expressed by client-to-patron gifts of money became an expectation of money in return for favours.[30] By understanding established gifting practices in corporations, therefore, it becomes possible to discern alterations which reflect the changing attitudes of corporate communities and the practical functioning of social and political relationships.

Amongst the categories of items exchanged in the early modern period, 'Food was the material good most commonly offered as a gift'.[31] English and European townsmen had long practised gift-giving involving a variety of foods. Basel's account book of 1371 includes a 'an official register of gifts given', and in the fifteenth century, York's accounts show a 'steady flow of gifts of wine, flesh, fowl, marmalade, marchpanes, and the ever-present sugar loaves'.[32] For Dover's early sixteenth-century corporation, 'fish was the usual gift', from the 1580s giving way to

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[28] Davis, p. 9.
[29] Davis, p. 7.
[30] Linda Levy Peck, '"For a King Not to be Bountiful Were a Fault": Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England', *J. Brit. Stud.*, 25 (1986), 31-61, passim.
[31] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 35.
[32] Valentin Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts: Presents and Politics at the End of the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2002), trans. by Pamela E. Selwyn, p. 2. Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 307.

wine and sugar.[33] Regular practices of food gifting continue to be evidenced in early seventeenth-century corporation accounts.

Gifting had been a corporate economic burden from the medieval period – medieval Exeter, Norwich and York spent 5-10 per cent of their annual expenses on gift-giving (1377-1509); for the period to 1640, Patterson suggests a typical value of 3-4 per cent.[34] Despite this, in studies concerning urban governance, references to food gifts are generally of a limited nature and seen as evidence of patronage networks or stereotypical corporate behaviour and their importance as an aspect of individual organisational culture has been overlooked. By identifying early seventeenth-century gifting patterns in Canterbury and Maidstone this chapter explores the nature of two individual early modern approaches to gifts and gifting.

The beginning of consumerist practices and the increasing availability of different forms of goods, including foods, in the seventeenth century provided opportunities for innovative gift giving.[35] Both Canterbury and Maidstone corporations, however, remained staunchly traditional in their approaches. The 'language' of Canterbury's gifts, aside from sugar loaves, was almost exclusively banquets, sometimes specifically marchpane or cakes, and wine of various sorts – ipocrist, muskadine, and sack. The 'sweet banquet' arose in England as a specific practice from the court of Henry VIII and came in the sixteenth century to be 'expected' by those of a higher social status as a form of entertainment; wine was similarly a gift traditionally 'reserved for the upper echelons'.[36] A series of French and Spanish ambassadors passing through Canterbury, notably in the period 1618-25, included 'A French Imbassador named Mounsier Treenyall' and 'A Spanish Ymbassador named Signeor ~/~/~ don Treegor' who received banquets from Canterbury corporation.[37] Such gifts evidence the experience afforded Canterbury's

[33] Dixon, p. 194.
[34] Lorraine Attreed, *The King's Towns: Identity and Survival in Late Medieval English Boroughs* (New York, 2001), p. 101. Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 17.
[35] Linda Levy Peck, 'Building, Buying, and Collecting in London, 1600-1625', in *Material London* ed. by Orlin, pp. 268-85 (pp. 277-80).
[36] Louise Stewart, 'Social Status and Classicism in the Visual and Material Culture of the Sweet Banquet in Early Modern England', *Hist. J.*, 61 (2018), 913-42 (pp. 914, 915). C. M. Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food in Late Medieval England', *J. Med. Hist.*, 37 (2011), 6-18 (p. 11).
[37] FA22/2, fol. 446^{v}.

corporation members on account of the city's geographic location, something little seen in Maidstone.

Other important visitors were offered a 'hoggeshed' of wine, as was Archbishop Abbot on his first visit to the city as archbishop in 1615, at a cost of £9.[38] Visiting again in 1620, Abbot received a hogshead of canary wine at £10 and a banquet at a further cost of £4 8s. 10d.[39] The hogsheads represent two of the most expensive gifts given by Canterbury corporation in this period, underlining the importance the corporation placed on this relationship at this time. Despite this expense, the gifts were less than those usually sent by Bristol's corporation to important visitors. They consistently chose to grace recipients with a 'pipe' of wine, the equivalent to two hogsheads.[40] This was a grander gift than Canterbury's, but one in keeping with Bristol's higher income and urban status as a regional city. It is also reflective of the notion of a consistent individuality of choices made by corporations which contributed to local organisational cultures.

The parallel gifts given by Maidstone also carried some sense of status, but were restricted to salmon, veal, lamb, and capons, given largely to local gentry. Only once, when ambassador Sir Henry Wotton visited the town in 1610-11, did Maidstone's corporation purchase a gift of wine at a cost of 3s. 6d.[41] The two towns therefore present very different but internally consistent approaches to gift-giving. In part, this may be explained by financial status. Canterbury's annual income was shown in Chapter One to be higher than Maidstone's, providing more scope for expensive presents, and Canterbury's geographic location required more frequent offering of hospitality to important travellers. But in a similar manner to ambassadorial gifts between nations, which 'for the most part, reflected a country's resources and the particular skills of its artisans' so that frequently France gave tapestries, Russians gave furs, and Italians gave jewellery, corporate gifts could be

[38] FA22/1, fol. 193^{v}.
[39] FA22/2, fol. 446^{r}; FA23, fol. 98^{v}.
[40] Latimer, pp. 43, 52, 65, 208. Ronald E. Zupko, *A Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles: The Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 302-4.
[41] FCa1/1611, fol. 3^{r}.

tailored to local availability, and urban and corporate identity.[42] Organisational tradition played a significant role in gifting choices.

Sugar Loaves as Gifts

Within the repertoire of gifts, the most regular given in this period by Canterbury and Maidstone corporations was the sugar loaf. By 1600, refined sugar from Brazil, traded through Europe, was an established English commodity, and the loaf, described as a 'moulded conical mass of hard sugar' was the final product in the process of sugar production.[43] Diarist John Evelyn observed sugar refinement on a visit to Bristol in 1654 and records the action of 'casting it into loaves'.[44] After 1655, Brazilian sugar gave way to that from English-owned plantations in Barbados leading to a decline in costs and over the century the 'fine' sugar price fell from two shillings to eight pence per pound.[45] As a result, the symbolic status of sugar reduced in 'almost perfect step with the increase in its economic and dietary importance' and sugar loaves lost their popularity as gifts.[46]

As gifts, sugar loaves were often associated with New Year as a time of giving. Instigated by Henry III in the mid-thirteenth century, New Year's celebrations on 1 January became 'the traditional season of gift-giving among the elite', but the practice altered after the death of Elizabeth I when James I's 'style of governance probably also diminished the courtly ritual of the New Year'.[47] Nevertheless, New Year's gifting did continue into Charles I's reign and in 1636, Dorothy Percy Sidney, countess of Leicester, wrote of sending a New Year's gift to King Charles I via a servant.[48] Pollard identified the annual practice as being broken when 'the Puritan

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[42] Maija Jansson, 'Measured Reciprocity: English Ambassadorial Gift Exchange in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *JEMH.*, 9 (2005), 348-70 (p. 349).

[43] Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl, 'Sugar loaf', in *Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities, 1550-1820* (Wolverhampton, 2007).

[44] Latimer, p. 250. The Museum of London holds a seventeenth-century mould. A contemporary illustration of the complete process of early modern sugar production begins with cane in the fields and ends with the releasing of sugar loaves from moulds, see 'Saccharum' by Philip Galle, British Museum, 0410.4.203.

[45] Jon Stobart, *Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England, 1650-1830* (Oxford, 2012), p. 30. Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (London, 1985), pp. 37, 38, 160.

[46] Mintz, p. 95.

[47] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 17. Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 131. Alfred Frederick Pollard, 'New Year's Day and Leap Year in English History', *EHR*, 55 (1940), 177-93 (p. 180).

[48] *The Correspondence (c.1626-1659) of Dorothy Percy Sidney, Countess of Leicester*, ed. by Michael G. Brennan, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Margaret P. Hannay (Farnham, 2010), pp. 92, 93.

revolution intervened' though re-introduced at the Restoration, finally ceasing before the end of the seventeenth century.[49] Evidence from Canterbury and Maidstone, however, suggests a more nuanced picture of the decline of gifting practices than simply the rise of Puritanism or the onset of civil war.

As gifts, sugar loaves could cross social boundaries. Elizabeth I received loaves from grocers Lawrence Shref and Dunston Ames (1559-71), and from 'the Lady Yorke'.[50] As gifts from grocers, they were particularly appropriate, the symbol of a sugar loaf, or loaves, often signifying a grocer's trade on signage and later seventeenth-century trade tokens; Samuel Pepys frequented an inn by the name of 'The Sugar Loaf' in Fleet Street.[51] A local Canterbury resident, Thomas Cocks, purchased three sugar loaves on 31 December 1607, and in 1613, London lawyer, James Whitelocke, received a sugar loaf at Christmas as well as many gifts of venison.[52] Sugar loaf gifts provided the material means of expressing a broad range of social relationships, perhaps contributing to their widespread use.

Canterbury and Maidstone corporations usually sourced their loaves locally, though in 1620, Canterbury corporation purchased eight loaves – a total of 62lb – from 'Hugh Witch A londoner'.[53] Sugar had been imported via Sandwich since at least the end of the fourteenth century and was easily accessible.[54] Loaves varied in weight, the standard gift being about 10lb and sometimes denoted as 'fyne suger' or 'Barbery sugar' for which an extra penny a pound was paid.[55] In Canterbury, four of the five named individuals from whom the corporation purchased sugar loaves were also corporation members: George Masters, Joseph Colfe, Walter Southwell and James Glover, the first two each being the regular suppliers of half Canterbury's gifts until the 1620s.[56] Maidstone purchased loaves from Mr Francklyn, Thomas Newman

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[49] Pollard, p. 180.

[50] *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603*, ed. by Jane A. Lawson (Oxford, 2013), pp. 43, 58, 63, 77, 82, 121, 125, 139, 156.

[51] See for example a mid-seventeenth century token, ID no. NN19307 in the Museum of London, < https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/collections>.

[52] Thomas Cocks, *The Diary of Thomas Cocks 1607 to 1610*, ed. by Joseph Meadows Cowper (Canterbury, 1901), p. 24. James Whitelocke, *Liber Famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke,* ed. by John Bruce (London, 1858), pp 49, 92.

[53] FA23, fol. 33^{v}.

[54] Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1760* (London, 2006), p. 10.

[55] FCa1/1604, 2^{v}; FA22/1, fol. 67^{v}.

[56] George Masters was master to apprentice Robert Cushman before he travelled to the New World.

and John Grinell.[57] As a gift, sugar loaves embodied a sense of the exotic and of tradition. They were local urban commodities and often appropriate gifts in relation to the trading background of corporate members and the next section examines the detail of the gifting of sugar loaves by Canterbury and Maidstone corporations.

Gifting Sugar Loaves

Canterbury and Maidstone corporations were not alone in giving gifts of sugar loaves. Patterson records that Leicester city corporation gave 'several gallons of wine and pounds of sugar nearly every year as a New Year's gift' to the earls of Huntingdon.[58] However, Felicity Heal's comment in relation to late medieval York's gift register as including 'ever-present sugar loaves', suggesting a general ubiquity of such gifts, underplays the local relevance of gifts and gifting processes as part of the cultural customs of individual corporate communities.

The broad picture of networks of relationships evidenced by corporate gifts of sugar loaves given by Canterbury and Maidstone shows that they delineate very local relationships with no overlap of recipients despite their common county location. Both corporations regularly purchased sugar loaves as gifts in the early seventeenth century, but this practice definitively ended after January 1624 in Canterbury and probably by 1630 in Maidstone (Appendix F1). Maidstone's records are scant after 1614, but only one, in 1625, contains a reference to sugar loaves. For both corporate communities, therefore, the practice ceased long before the onset of civil war, and though sugar loaves and New Year gifting were falling out of fashion, the evidence indicates the vitally important role of local circumstances within this contextual background. It demonstrates natural changes in local relationships as patrons died, the impact of tension in working relationships, and, perhaps most importantly, in Canterbury, a changing understanding of the corporate community's sense of identity.

Maidstone's accounts are less consistent in identifying recipients of sugar loaves (Figure 16). In 1605-6, five loaves, weighing over 55lb and costing £4 7s. 1d., were purchased for several unknown recipients, though a further two loaves given to

[57] FCa1/1601, fol. 3^{r}; FCa1/1610, fol. 3^{v}; FCa1/1613, fol. 4^{r}.
[58] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 197.

Mayoral Year Beginning	A	B	C	D	E	F
1600						
1601						
1602						
1603						
1604				MP/M	MP/M	
1605						
1606						
1607						
1608						
1609						
1610						
1611						
1612						
1613					MP/M	MP/M
1614						
1615						
1616						
1617						
1618						
1619						
1620					MP/M	
1621						
1622						
1623						
1624					MP/M	
1625						
1626						
1627						
1628						
1629						

Key:

Blue: Evidence of sugar loaf gift
White: No evidence of gift
Grey: Missing records
MP/M Elected MP for Maidstone
A: Unknown or 'Others'
B: Edward Wotton, 1st Baron Wotton
C: Sir William Sedley
D: Laurence Washington
E: Sir Francis Fane
F: Sir John Scott

Figure 16: Sugar loaf gifts given by Maidstone corporation, 1600-1630 (Source: Md/FCa1/1600-1630).

Lord Edward Wotton costing £1 18s. 9d. were identified that year.[59] This example makes clear the scale of this form of gift-giving in Maidstone, the corporation being prepared to spend about five per cent of corporate funds to maintain relationships in this way. Maidstone's records are also less clear about when gifts were given. They are not described as New Year gifts, and placement of entries in the accounts – often but not always chronologically organised – suggests that, in contrast to Canterbury, they may sometimes have been associated with quarter sessions or other court gatherings throughout the year.[60] Maidstone's gifts were, perhaps, closely linked with marking a range of other occasions, and possibly associated with reciprocity for gifts of venison, rather than as a distinctive feature of New Year gifting as is seen in Canterbury.

In Maidstone, five named recipients of sugar loaf gifts are identifiable. Lord Edward Wotton who, as will be seen below regularly gave venison to the town, received sugar loaves from the corporation for two years in 1604-5 and 1605-6 though some of the earlier unidentified gifts may relate to him.[61] Another possible recipient of the unknown gifts may have been Sir William Sedley, a baronet from 1611 and nearby resident of Aylesford Priory.[62] Sedley had been High Sheriff of Kent in the 1580s and was a Kent JP. It was probably this latter role, his financial assistance to the town's poor, and his close residency which combined to create a close link. Sedley was the most regular recipient of sugar loaves from Maidstone corporation between 1608-9 and 1613-14; documented as receiving a loaf in five of the six years, he is probably included in the 'others' noted for 1611-12.[63] In the early years, his loaves cost about 25-30 shillings each, representing loaves of 16-20lb in weight, comparable with the size of gifts in Canterbury.[64]

Sir Francis Fane, who also regularly gave venison to Maidstone, represented the town in parliament from 1604-1621. He only received sugar loaves between 1610 and probably 1614 from Maidstone corporation, implying that they did not directly

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[59] FCa1/1606, fol. 3^{v}.
[60] For example, see FCa1/1613, fol. 4^{r}.
[61] FCa1/1605, fol. 3^{v}; FCa1/1606, fol. 3^{v}.
[62] Hasted, II, pp. 429.
[63] FCa1/1609, fol. 3^{r}; FCa1/1610, fol 3^{v}; FCa1/1611, fol. 2^{v}; FCa1/1613, fol. 4^{r}; FCa1/1614, fol. 3^{v}.
[64] Maidstone Council, *Records*, p. 249. Based on 18 pence per pound as detailed for other loaves purchased in 1604-5 and 1605-6.

connect the holding of parliamentary office with this form of corporate gifting.[65] This is supported by evidence of gifts given to two other Maidstone MPs. Laurence Washington (elected 1604) received only a single sugar loaf coinciding with the end of his parliamentary stint and the year of his gift of half a buck, probably a mutual appreciation for his service.[66] Sir John Scott, elected MP in 1614 and Washington's relation by marriage, though giving venison over the three years before his election, perhaps received only one sugar loaf in return – in the year before his election – though records are absent for several years after this point.[67] The corporation's relationship with MPs made them possible regular recipients of gifts, but the community's approach in this respect appears to have remained an ad hoc one with gifts probably related to specific instances of service to the corporation.

It is notable that there are no gifts from Maidstone corporation to the town's recorder in spite of the long-term relationship with William Gull in the early part of the century (recorder 1599-1634). Nor are there gifts to other county officeholders, or Sir Thomas Fludd or Sir John Leveson who were elected as town MPs in 1601, though it is possible they are among the 'others' given gifts before 1606-7. Even the relatively regular gifts to Wotton and Fane were of limited duration. The last known sugar loaf gift was given in 1625-6 to an unknown recipient, and though many years' accounts are missing after this, existing records suggest cessation of the practice in parallel with Canterbury, and around the time of the accession of Charles I.

The practice in Canterbury appears different in three respects. First, it seems to have been a much stronger tradition marking significant relationships over extended periods of time. Second, this form of gift-giving may be definitively connected with New Year, there being regular reference to purchasing sugar loaves as 'a newe yeres gifte', and third, it is a practice closely linked with city recorders and legal advisors.[68]

Gifting may be characterised by defining three sets of recipients (Figure 17). The only exception to these groupings is the £2 14s. 7d. spent in 1600-1 on 'ij great Shewger loves' to 'gratify Mr John Smyth of Sturrye' for 'his kyndnes toward this

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[65] First gift, FCa1/1610, fol. 4^{r}.
[66] Peter Lefevre, 'Washington, Laurence (c.1546-1619), of Chancery Lane, London and Maidstone, Kent', *HoP*. FCa1/1610, fol. 5^{r}.
[67] First gift, FCa1/1612, fol. 3^{v}; FCa1/1614, fol. 3^{v}.
[68] FA21, fol. 232^{r}.

Mayoral Year Beginning	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1600	R							
1601	R							
1602	R							
1603	R							
1604	R MP/C				MP/C			
1605	R							
1606	R, ?		?	?	?			
1607	R							
1608	R							
1609	R							
1610	R							
1611	R				R			
1612					R			
1613					R			
1614			MP/K		R MP/C	MP/C		
1615					R			
1616					R			
1617								R
1618								R
1619								R
1620						MP/C		R MP/C
1621								
1622								
1623								
1624						MP/C		R
1625								MP/C
1626								
1627								
1628								
1629								

Key:

Blue: Evidence of sugar loaf gift
White: No evidence of gift
? Probable but not identified
MP/C Elected MP for Canterbury
MP/K Elected MP for Kent
R Recorder
A: Sir John Boys
B: John Smyth of Sturry
C: Sir Peter Manwood
D: Sir Henry Finch
E: Matthew Hadde
F: Sir George Newman
G: Mayor of Canterbury
H: Sir John Finch

Figure 17: Sugar loaf gifts given by Canterbury corporation, 1600-1630 (Source: CC-F/A/20-26).

Cittie'.[69] That the corporation were prepared to spend this sum, equivalent to a quarter of the annual rent of £10 received that year from one of the most lucrative rentals, 'the Abbottes myll', emphasises the importance to the corporate community of making this type of gift. The most enduring gift relationships evidenced are with successive city recorders, Sir John Boys, Matthew Hadde, and John Finch. A second group is represented by three local influential men, Sir Peter Manwood, Sir Henry Finch, and Sir George Newman. The final recipients, as will become clear, are perhaps the most extraordinary in the context of early modern corporate gift-giving practices: they are city mayors in the period January 1617-1624.

In the early modern period, the post of recorder was one often taken up by barristers as an 'ancillary to their major preoccupations of advocacy and counselling'.[70] They might also be selected as borough MPs as a 'perquisite of office' as in early seventeenth-century Chester and as seen in Canterbury.[71] Recorders were useful to corporations for their legal knowledge and were capable public speakers, having 'a regular channel for impressing their view of the world on at least the more respectable townsfolk, in the jury charges they customarily delivered at sessions of the peace and their speeches at the installation of civic officers'.[72] Their position, as a close confidant, and often sworn member, of a corporation, placed them in a uniquely powerful position despite an element of subservience denoted by their acknowledged role as an 'attendant' of the mayor. They imparted a sense of corporate prestige, and though 'their importance was far from merely symbolic', the role did have the propensity to 'become something of a civic status symbol'.[73] Norwich went so far as to display a portrait of their recorder, amongst other civic officials, in their guildhall.[74] As lawyers, recorders assisted urban governors in local and national legal affairs, and their regular attendance at Inns of Court in London presented the opportunity to forge corporate connections with the

[69] FA20, fol. 281[r].
[70] Wilfred R. Prest, *The Rise of the Barristers* (Oxford, 1986), p. 20.
[71] Prest, *Barristers*, p. 255. Morrill, p. 31.
[72] Prest, *Barristers*, pp. 191, 231.
[73] J. E. M., 'Boys, John (c.1535-1612), of St. Gregory's, Canterbury, the Middle Temple, London and Betteshanger, Kent', *HoP*. Prest, *Barristers*, p. 242.
[74] Morgan 'Guildhall Portraits', p. 26.

capital city. For practical and prestigious purposes, therefore, the relationship between corporation and recorder was a significant one.

Canterbury's appointment of a recorder in 1593 was perhaps somewhat behind other corporate towns, despite their long history of incorporation. Prest remarks how 'recorderships sanctioned by royal charter jumped from fifteen to over fifty in the course of the sixteenth century', and Tittler similarly identifies the period 1540-1640 as one when recorders (and high stewards) became 'indispensable additions for towns of any importance'.[75] Maidstone had nominated recorders from 1560, though it was a joint post with that of town clerk until 1607, and Canterbury's town clerks perhaps served a similar role until the separate appointment of a recorder.[76] The corporation was not bereft of legal advisors but the commencement of the new role perhaps reflects an increasing need for dedicated legal counsel.

Canterbury's first recorder, Sir John Boys, grew up close to Canterbury and in the 1590s lived at the old, dissolved St Gregory's Priory on the city's north-eastern outskirts. In the 1570s he served as recorder and MP for the Cinque Port town of Sandwich.[77] His appointment as Canterbury recorder, formalised in early 1593, was not universally welcomed, prompting claims of laziness in relation to his parliamentary office for Sandwich.[78] Nevertheless, he was appointed as 'one Learned in the Lawe […] to be Chosen by the maior for the keeping and holding of the Sessions to here and determine Causes and to assiste the maior […] as ofte as need shall be'; he was subsequently named in post by the city's charter of 1608.[79]

Canterbury's corporate relationship with Boys appears to have been well established before his appointment as recorder, the 1591 corporation being invited to dine with him at New Year.[80] Corporate funds were first used to buy him a sugar loaf gift in the year he began as recorder, a clear mark of recognition, the practice then continuing until his death in 1612. Boys often received two loaves:

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[75] Prest, *Barristers*, p. 240; Tittler, *Townspeople*, p. 25.
[76] Russell, pp. 187, 412. Durkin, p. 43.
[77] J. E. M., 'Boys, John'.
[78] Durkin, pp. 43, 217-8.
[79] CCA-CC/A/O/3; AA/56.
[80] FA19, fol. 109^{v}.

> Item ij sugar loffes wayinge xviij li & a half at 20d
> for a new yeares guyfte to Sr Jhon Boys recorder 30s 10d.[81]

This reciprocal dining/gifting arrangement established in the 1590s continued. Corporate attendance at dinner is evidenced by tips given by the city diners to a number of servants or 'officers', commonly 'to butler Cooke & Porter' or, sometimes, 'gyvene to the officers at Mr Recorders howse on newe yeres daye', though the monetary amount here is small enough – from twelve pence to two shillings per officer – that a generous mayor may have chosen to tip from his own purse.[82] That both gift and the tipping of servants warranted the spending of corporate funds, however, indicates that these arrangements were understood to be a legitimate part of the culture of the corporate community, playing a role in the way this relationship was negotiated.

After the death of Boys, the recordership was offered to Matthew Hadde, another long-term associate of the city who had been granted freedom, appointed a common councilman, and retained as a city counsel in 1591.[83] Hadde and John Boys represented Canterbury together in parliament in 1604-10. Hadde was a competent lawyer and by the reign of James I had 'virtually monopolised all the high legal posts in Kent'.[84] He first received gifts shortly after his election as MP and prior to his appointment as recorder, though his first invitation to the mayor and aldermen to dine with him came just a few weeks after the death of John Boys in December 1612.[85] On this occasion, at least, the invitation was extended to their wives: 'Paid at Mr Haddes recorders when ther dyned on newe yeres daye Mr mayor the Aldermen and ther wyves'.[86] The relationship with Boys and Hadde represents the city's strongest, and most reciprocal, in terms of hospitality and gift-giving in this period, and one which, in similar vein to other towns, appears to have been 'close and cordial'.[87] It involved the corporation in a practice of giving and dining marked by corporate expenditure, which though still within the town, was, perhaps, one of the

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[81] FA21, fol. 334^{v}.
[82] FA21, fol. 291^{v}, FA22/1, fol. 100^{v}.
[83] Thrush, 'Hadde, Matthew'.
[84] Clark, *Provincial Society*, p. 275.
[85] FA22/1, fol. 100^{v}.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Prest, *Barristers*, p. 250.

few occasions of corporate commensality, in the sense of eating together, which was not instigated by the corporation themselves.

After Hadde's death, the corporation and new recorder, John Finch, set out to continue the established arrangement, beginning in January 1618 with a gift and an invitation from Finch to the mayor, aldermen and their wives.[88] By birth, education, marriage, appointments and connections, future Speaker of the House of Commons, John Finch, would appear to have been another eminent recorder for Canterbury; his personality, however, seems to have outweighed many of his other advantages. It has been suggested that 'Few members of the Caroline Court were more vilified by his contemporaries than Finch' and some historians have also damned him for his egotistical behaviour.[89] Certainly, the close relationship Canterbury corporation enjoyed with its first two recorders did not continue with the third, a tension which contributed to the permanent demise of the corporation's New Year traditions.

It has been suggested that Finch's appointment was controversial from the outset, with one possible reason being problems between the corporation and Finch's father, Henry, in the 1590s.[90] At the time of John Finch's appointment in 1617, the mayor was Mark Berry. Serving as mayor for the third time, it was Berry who, in relation to contested corporate appointments in the 1590s, had been the subject of Henry Finch's 'Prominent' objections.[91] Religious tensions may have also played a part in the problems occurring after John Finch's appointment but whatever the case, in 1619, for a reason no doubt recorded in Canterbury's lost minute book, John Finch was dismissed as recorder.[92] The impact of the intense rift meant that the city corporation's second New Year's dinner with Finch on 1 January 1619, and their gift of two sugar loaves, was the last.[93] In Leicester, when a disagreement between the corporation and the earl of Huntingdon in 1606 led to the former's choice not to send a New Year's gift, Catherine Patterson described the action as 'a bold and unequivocal statement'.[94] In the context of the long-standing materially-mediated

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[88] FA/22, fol. 337^{r}.
[89] Andrew Thrush, 'Finch, John II (1584-1660) of the Moat and Christchurch, Canterbury, Kent and Gray's Inn, London', *HoP*.
[90] Thrush, 'Finch, John II'.
[91] Durkin, p. 219.
[92] Thrush, 'Canterbury 1604-1629' and 'Finch, John II'.
[93] FA22/1, fol. 384^{v}.
[94] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 205.

relationship of Canterbury corporation with city recorders, this was a similarly significant moment.

A Privy Council request to reinstate Finch was met with a polite refusal from the mayor and aldermen who claimed to be attempting to maintain peaceful order in the light of widespread concern over Finch's behaviour:

> We cannot conceave how it may be done without great discouragement unto us in our government, much discontentment to the Comanalty, and disturbance of that publiqe place, and quiet of this Citty which of late we have enioyed, and wherin we much desire to continue.[95]

Following an intervention by Archbishop Abbot and the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Lord Edward Zouche, the city were forced to reinstate Finch, their cheeky explanation for not having done so before being their misunderstanding of the word 'readmission' in the Council's original request to return him to post.[96] Despite this episode, Finch served as MP for the city in the 1621 parliament, his controversial relationship with the corporation perhaps influencing the political stirrings witnessed in future parliamentary elections as outlined in Chapter Two. Whatever the case, the damage to cordial New Year traditions was done, and though the subsequent recorder, Lancelot Lovelace, appointed in 1621, served in post until 1638, he never received a sugar loaf gift from the corporation.[97] Once the link between gifting of this form and the recorder was broken, it was clearly felt to be neither desirable or necessary to reinstate it.

As well as marking the relationship with their early recorders, the city corporation purchased similar sugar loaf gifts for Sir Peter Manwood, Sir Henry Finch and Sir George Newman. Peter Manwood, knighted in 1603 and a 'pillar of county administration', resided at Hackington, a manor outside Canterbury city walls which he inherited on the death of his father, Sir Roger Manwood, in 1592.[98] This established a close geographical link with the city, though he served as MP for

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[95] SP14/115/57, 19 May 1620.

[96] SP14/115/81, 28 May 1620.

[97] Elements of the disputes are covered in Thrush, 'Finch, John II'. Hasted, XII, p. 611.

[98] Peter Lefevre and Andrew Thrush, 'Manwood, Sir Peter (c.1568-1625), of Hales Place', *HoP*. Note that Manwood's entry in *ODNB* suggests he was mayor of Canterbury in 1605; it is unclear on what evidence this is based but appears inaccurate since the outgoing and incoming mayors that year were Edward Nethersole and Mark Berry.

Sandwich from 1589-1601 and thereafter for Saltash and New Romney, also holding a range of military, judicial and administrative roles in the county. The city corporation established routine New Year's gifting to Manwood in 1592, three weeks after his father, Sir Roger Manwood, judge and chief baron of the Exchequer, died.[99] Sending no less than three sugar loaves weighing a total of 43¼lb it was perhaps a sympathetic move, but may also have been driven by a determined attempt to establish a good relationship with the son and heir.[100] Peter himself was 'very lavish' and spent much on entertainment, and the corporation enjoyed a good relationship with him, sending gifts almost every year until 1620-1.[101] At this point, Manwood, much in debt, left England, returning a couple of years before his death in 1625.[102] Despite his return to be a close neighbour to Canterbury, there was no resumption of the previous gift-giving practice. As with Finch, once the custom was broken there was little inclination to reinstate it.

Of the remaining two men, Sir George Newman's gifts are likely understood in light of his role as Canterbury MP in 1614 and 1621, appointments secured by Archbishop Abbot's patronage.[103] The city's gifting to him ran from 1617 to 1623, an unbroken run of seven years largely coinciding with his standing in parliament.[104] Given tensions in the relationship between Canterbury corporation and the Finch family, it is notable that Henry Finch received sugar gifts. As a lawyer, he assisted the corporation with legal work and twice served as MP for Canterbury in the 1590s. He received gifts in January 1606 and 1607 and then again over a five-year period from 1614-18, ending just before his son John's appointment as recorder. Given the relatively extended period of gifting to Henry Finch, it is quite possible that the city had hoped he, rather than his son, would replace Matthew Hadde as their recorder, despite any previous tensions. The evidence of these gifts, even in the face of what appear to have sometimes been difficult relationships, underlines the complexities of political networking for early modern corporations. It also demonstrates how

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[99] FA/20, fol. 32v. That year the recorder received 29¼lb.
[100] Sybil M. Jack, 'Manwood, Sir Roger', *ODNB*.
[101] K. H. Jones, 'Hales Place at Hackington and its Predecessors', *Arch. Cant.*, 45 (1933), 201-4 (p. 202).
[102] Lefevre and Thrush, 'Manwood, Peter'.
[103] B.P. Levack, *The Civil Lawyers in England, 1603-1641: A Political Study* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 46, 258.
[104] First gift FA22/1, fol. 289^{v}.

evidence from gifting practices over time can add to an understanding of the nature of corporate relationships.

In Canterbury, the final group of sugar loaf gift recipients was the corporation's mayors. It was noted earlier that in the context of client-to-patron gift-giving, part of the meaning of the ritual was the showing of deference and honour by the giver to the recipient of the gift. The evidence presented so far in this chapter demonstrates the wholeheartedly outwardly-looking nature of corporate gifting. The suggestion, therefore, that the mayor, as an individual or office, within the body of the corporate giver, should receive a gift, marks a significant shift in the understanding of the role of the mayor in the life of Canterbury's corporate community and in the role of gift-giving within it.

The first mayor to receive a New Year sugar loaf was Mark Berry. The corporation purchased 20lb of sugar for him in January 1617, a gift directly comparable with those received by Sir Peter Manwood, Sir Henry Finch and Matthew Hadde that year.[105] Berry was an ambitious individual and involved in a city project of the 1590s to open up the river Stour for trade, as well as other, sometimes controversial, financial and property deals.[106] The year of the gift marked his third election to the office of mayor - a relatively infrequent occurrence for any individual and this may have been the prompt for the first gift.[107] Disappointingly, any attempt to understand the exact reason comes up against the lack of the relevant minute book. That there was an order to make the gift, and make it a regular practice, however, is clear from an entry in the accounts: 'Paid for xx li and a quartr of suger in twoe loafes which by order of Burghmot is appoynted yerely to be given to the Maior for the tyme being'.[108] This was clearly a move which had gained the support of the corporate community.

Gifts given by a corporation to mayors elsewhere are not unknown. In Exeter, the mayor sometimes received a hogshead of wine, but these gifts were punitive and made by those who refused to take office.[109] In 1620, the members of Exeter's

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[105] FA22/1, fol. 289^{r}.
[106] See Durkin's final chapter: 'Mark Berry – An Early Modern Oligarch', pp. 215-27.
[107] Somner, p. 184.
[108] FA/22, fol. 200^{r}.
[109] Parry, p. 50.

corporation did gather together to produce a ‘silver salt, double gilt, with the arms of the City engraven thereon’ for the mayor’s use in his house.[110] This was, however, a single gift made to the office of the mayor and used by subsequent individuals; it was also linked with another local practice of providing silver at the point of election to the council. Some explanation of the change in Canterbury’s gifting practice might be understood by Tittler’s observation that as mayors came to deal more often with ‘more privileged figures as a political (and eventually, in some cases, a social) equal’, they ‘looked inwards and downwards towards [their] nominal fellows somewhat less than before’; he concludes that ‘the office was becoming more important than the community’.[111] This change in Canterbury, appears to support the idea of the mayoral office being seen in a new light by the corporate community.

In Canterbury, the sugar gift to the mayor became standard practice for eight years until 1624. By this time, Peter Manwood had died, and the corporation had fallen out with John Finch. In the last three years of sugar loaf gifting, only MP Sir George Newman and the mayor received sugar gifts at New Year, and in the very last year, on 1 January 1624, *only* the mayor of Canterbury received such a gift. The practice, presumably finally discontinued on the collectively agreed order of the Burghmote, headed by mayor James Master, may simply represent a falling away of the practice or even have been religiously motivated. Whatever the reason, within the evidenced patterns and gift-giving contexts, this short-lived practice raised the office of the mayor as corporate leader and placed it on an equal footing with other recipients. Such a change reflects a growing sense of corporate self-importance.

6.2 Receiving Gifts

Within the broad social framework of patronage as outlined in the introduction to this chapter, Patterson declares and demonstrates that, for the period to 1640, ‘Gift-giving was fundamental to urban patronage’.[112] A particular aspect of patronage is an unequal relationship: ‘a relationship of exchange that provides mutual benefits to both parties, but in which one partner is clearly superior to the other’.[113] This

[110] Parry, p. 86.
[111] Tittler, *Reformation*, p. 241.
[112] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 18.
[113] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 2.

imbalance is typified by the nature of the most common food gift received by urban corporations: venison.

Venison as a gift

Of all food gifts, venison was 'marked out from the rest by cultural consent'.[114] Its suitablity as a 'gift meat' was rooted in its absence from commercial markets and the social status of those owning or leasing deer parks, this being 'one of the most defining aspects of their status'.[115] It was the conceptual link whereby 'A [deer] park expressed a distinctive relationship to royal power [and] asserted claims to privileges of the forest and hunt' which imparted prestige.[116] Venison was closely associated with 'the self-identity of the gentry' and 'Both the right to eat venison and to exploit its political uses as a gift gave added political resonance to the right to hunt'.[117] Consumption followed naturally from the hunt and venison meals also possessed a metaphorical sense of high repute. James Holt, Fellow of Corpus Christi, Oxford, and friend of Henry Oxinden of Barham, wrote to Oxinden of a dream in 1626 in which they met 'at a Venison pasty, where wee wanted for nothing that might encrease the mirth of such a meeting'; Holt's connection between the 'happy remembrance' of his friend and venison symbolized the high regard he had for him.[118] Rhetorical reference and control over the life and death of deer, including eventual consumption, set the animal's life-cycle within the sphere of the upper echelons of society, enriching the experience for both givers and receivers of the meat.

As a gift, venison was given between peers as well as to subordinates. At his death in 1586, courtier Sir Philip Sidney willed to his friend Lord Edward Wotton, later inhabitant of St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury and bestower of venison on Canterbury and Maidstone corporations, 'One fee buck to be taken yearly out of my park at Penshurst, during his life natural'.[119] Though an appropriate gift between those of high social status, the 'luxury food' was a regular gift to early modern

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[114] Felicity Heal, 'Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England', *P&P*, 199 (2008), 41-70 (p. 57).
[115] Heal, 'Food Gifts', p. 58.
[116] Dan Beaver, '"Bragging and Daring Words": Honour, Property and the Symbolism of the Hunt in Stowe, 1590-1642', in *Negotiating Power* ed. by Braddick and Walter, pp 149-65 (p. 152).
[117] Braddick and Walter, p. 25.
[118] Dorothy Gardiner, *The Oxinden Letters 1607-1642* (London, 1933), p. 27.
[119] David McDine, *Unconquered: The Story of Kent and its Lieutenancy* (Canterbury, 2014), p. 56.

corporations and guilds across England. Charles I gifted deer to ambassadors of all sorts, but venison also 'flowed annually to the tables of the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London'.[120] Even in Late Stuart England, venison remained an important gift, 'embedded in medieval notions of status'.[121] Regular gift-giver and Buckingham MP, Sir Ralph Verney, whose park at Middle Claydon held fifty-five deer, continued to provide '"reasonable" entertainment for the mayor and aldermen' there, reinforcing his own 'superior status and the asymmetry of his relationships'.[122] When given as a gift, venison was linked with elite status and notions of patronage.

Venison gifts did, however, come at a price for recipients, incurring park keepers' fees and costs of baking. For lawyers, who also often received venison gifts, the quantities in which they were given could generate significant costs. Prest shows that as early as 1513, 'rulers of the Middle Temple [were] concerned that readers were receiving too many bucks and overburdening the house with the resultant fees'.[123] In spite of this admonition, readers continued to receive great quantities of meat into the seventeenth century. James Whitelocke, a King's Bench judge, often received Christmas gifts of venison (in 1613, two does, one half doe and two sides of doe) but in 1619, at a ritualistic inns of court gathering of lawyers known as a 'reading', he received no less than 'buckes 83, on[e] stag, and a side'.[124] Whitelocke's associated costs, probably representing only keepers' fees, came to over £40.[125] Corporate gifts were never on this scale but, nevertheless, costs could form a significant proportion of yearly expenditure.

It is the existence of payments in relation to keepers' fees and the further costs of baking venison which evidence patterns of gifting in civic accounts. Park keepers

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[120] Daniel C. Beaver, *Hunting and the Politics of Violence before the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 23.
[121] Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660-1720* (Oxford, 1999; repr. 2007), p. 23.
[122] Whyman, pp. 29, 31. M. W. Helms, Leonard Naylor and Geoffrey Jaggar, 'Verney, Sir Ralph, 1st Bt. (1613-96), of Middle Claydon, Bucks.', *HoP*.
[123] Wilfred R. Prest, 'Readers' Dinners and the Culture of the Early Modern Inns of Court', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Manchester, 2011), pp. 107-23 (p. 113).
[124] Whitelocke, pp. 32, 71. David Lemmings, 'Ritual, Majesty and Mystery: Collective Life and Culture among English Barristers, Serjeants and Judges, c.1500-c.1830', in *Lawyers and Vampires: Cultural Histories of Legal Professions*, ed. by David Sugarman and W. Wesley Pue (Oxford, 2004), pp. 25-64 (pp. 27-8).
[125] Prest, 'Readers' Dinners', p. 113.

were responsible for arranging the delivery of venison gifts and their fees were often around ten shillings; a half buck incurred a half fee.[126] Payments 'for the keepers fee that brought the bucke' might be made by chamberlains, or mayors, if the deer was transported by the keeper, or by a town servant if they were sent to collect it, as with Canterbury's Samuel Ferrier in 1632-3 who was paid 'for horshier to fetch the said venison'.[127] That an officer might be reimbursed for these costs reinforces the understanding of venison as a gift to the whole corporation.

Since venison usually formed the centrepiece of a feast, this could incur further costs. Payments had to be made to cooks for their service and for ingredients, especially if the venison were made into pasties – the stuff of Holt's dreams – requiring 'sewett', 'batter', pepper and 'flower'.[128] In Canterbury, baking costs were as much as a further twenty-five shillings and feasts were usually held in a local inn - the Lion, the Chequer, the Bear, inns often run by corporation members.[129] Unusually perhaps, in 1612-13 an unknown issue caused half a 'very fatt buck', sent by Lord Edward Wotton, to be eaten 'at Mr Mayors howse' and 'The other half of the said buck beying eaten at Mr Sabyns shreve'.[130] The meaningful context of the split is lost to us, though perhaps based in the practicalities of physical space, or hierarchical separation, or even the size of the gift. It is possible, nevertheless, to understand that eating venison at either the mayor's or the sheriff's house would have provided a strong sense of privilege and occasion.

Together, keepers' fees and baking costs incurred charges in the region of £4-5 per buck received: Canterbury's two venison feasts of 1614-15 cost £8 16s. 2d., representing four per cent of expenditure that year.[131] Though no doubt pleased to receive venison, corporations would also have been aware of the expense required before getting to the point of sharing the meal. The fact that such costs were ever an allowable corporate expense evidences the perceived communal nature of these gifts.

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[126] FA21, fols. 159^{r}, 238^{r}. Susan Pittman, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Deer Parks in Kent' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 2011), p. 75.
[127] FA25, fol. 92^{r}; FA24, fol. 144^{r}.
[128] FA21, fol. 159^{r}.
[129] For example, in 1609-10 they dined at the Lion, FA21, fol. 337^{r}.
[130] FA21, fol. 103^{v}.
[131] FA22/1, fols 193^{v}-194^{v}, 196^{v}.

The assumption, however, that civic accounts reflect payments in relation to all such gifts relies on recording practices and the premise that corporate coffers always bore some or all the expenses. It is certainly the case that costs of governance were sometimes borne by individuals in office and could be so onerus that, as in Bristol, fines of up to £100 were preferable to corporate service.[132] It is the case that in Canterbury's records there are fewer entries in relation to baking costs than keepers' fees, and perhaps the former were more likely to be paid for by a corporate officer. In 1600-1, however, when Canterbury mayor, Warham Jemmet, paid for a venison dinner consumed at Michaelmas sessions, and also for three other sessions dinners during his mayoralty, he was reimbursed by the city chamberlain from corporate funds.[133] Since venison was a gift usually given to a corporate body rather than an individual, in Canterbury often referred to as 'given to the Cyttie' equating the corporation with the town, in this respect, costs were perhaps more likely to be borne by the city purse.[134] The underlying uncertainty means that accounts should be assumed to provide a reasonably accurate picture of gifts received but not necessarily a fully comprehensive one.

Receiving Venison

In the broadest view of venison gifting in Canterbury and Maidstone, it becomes clear, that though it is a significant feature of both towns in the early seventeenth century, after 1641 – with one exception – the practice ends in Canterbury, denoting a marked alteration in the mediation of administrative and political relationships in this way (Appendix F2). Maidstone's evidence is limited after 1625 but seems to indicate a continuation of venison gifting practices (also Appendix F2).

An important feature arising from the evidential detail of venison gifts is that Maidstone, though a smaller town than Canterbury and one with fewer privileges, annually tended to receive a greater number of venison gifts (Figures 18 and 19). At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Canterbury corporation usually received

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[132] Latimer, p. 35.

[133] FA20, fols 430^{r}, 431^{r}, 432^{r}, 432^{v}. The venison meal cost about £3 more than those without it.

[134] FA22/1, fol. 387^{r}.

Overleaf:

Figure 18:Venison gifts given to Canterbury corporation, 1600-60 (Source: CC-F/A/20-26).

Key:

Blue:	Evidence of venison gift
White:	No evidence
?	Probable
A:	Unknown
B:	Sir John Leveson
C:	Robert Cecil, 1st earl Salisbury
D:	Edward Wotton, 1st Baron Wotton
E:	William Man
F:	William Cecil, Viscount Cranborne, later 2nd earl Salisbury
G:	Sir Moyle Finch
H:	Archbishop Abbot
I:	Philip Herbert, 1st earl Montgomery
J:	Elizabeth Finch, 1st countess Winchilsea
K:	Lady Margaret Wotton, wife of Edward Wotton
L:	Thomas Finch, 2nd earl Winchilsea

Mayoral Year Beginning	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1600												
1601												
1602												
1603												
1604												
1605												
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Overleaf:

Figure 19: Venison gifts given to Maidstone corporation, 1600-60 (Source: Md/FCa1/1600-1660).

Key:

Blue:	Evidence of venison gift
White:	No evidence
Grey:	Missing records
?	Probable
2	Number of venison given that year
MP:	Elected as Member of Parliament that year
A:	Unknown or unclear
B:	Edward Wotton, 1st Baron Wotton
C:	Sir Thomas Fludd
D:	Sir Francis Fane
E:	'Mr Lovelace'
F:	Laurence Washington
G:	Sir John Scott
H:	Sir Thomas Wotton
I:	Elizabeth Finch, 1st countess Winchilsea
J:	Sir Francis Barnham
K:	'Lord Daker', Francis Lennard, 14th Baron Dacre
L:	'Lord of Tennant', possibly John Tufton, 2nd earl Thanet
M:	Heneage Finch, 3rd earl Winchilsea
N:	'Mr Barnham', probably Robert Barnham, Maidstone MP 1660, 1661

Mayoral Year Beginning	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1600														
1601														
1602		2												
1603														
1604		2		2 MP		MP								
1605		2												
1606		2												
1607														
1608														
1609														
1610		2		2										
1611		2		2										
1612		2		2										
1613		2?		3?										
1614				MP			MP							
1615														
1616														
1617														
1618														
1619														
1620				MP						MP				
1621	2													
1622														
1623														
1624				MP						MP				
1625														
1626										MP				
1627														
1628										MP				
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1630														
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1633														
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one or two bucks each year; by contrast, Maidstone received about four per year, though numbers are variable in both towns.[135] These comparative findings stand in opposition to the possible preconceived idea that Canterbury, as the pre-eminent town, would have been more likely to receive venison. Rather, for Maidstone, it probably reflects closer and more traditionally mediated relationships expressed by a corporation governing a smaller town and with less political standing.

The pattern of gifts received by both towns may be characterised as occasional or regular. It has been suggested that, in relation to early modern gift-giving in France, the regularity of gifting was important: 'Reciprocity over time created a personal bond between giver and recipient: at any given moment one participant had the obligation to give and the other the expectation of receiving'.[136] This element of expectation arising from regular giving, or receiving, is an important one when considering how a venison gift might be linked with feasting events in a corporate calendar, a point examined further in the last section of this chapter.

Unlike the patterns of sugar loaf gifting detailed above, there is some overlap of regular donors of venison to Canterbury and Maidstone. Canterbury's patrons include Lord Edward Wotton in the period to the mid-1620s, in the 1630s his widow, Lady Margaret Wotton, and also Elizabeth Finch, the viscountess of Maidstone, later countess of Winchilsea. Edward Wotton and Elizabeth Finch were also consistent benefactors to Maidstone corporation along with Sir Francis Fane. The example of Lord Edward Wotton, who sent venison to both Canterbury and Maidstone, provides useful comparative evidence of the tailoring of gifting arising from the different patron-client relationships in each town.

Wotton was born in Kent at the family seat in Boughton Malherbe, about sixteen miles from Maidstone and thirty-five from Canterbury.[137] He served as Lord Lieutenant of Kent from 1604 until pressed to resign in 1620 by George Villiers, duke of Buckingham.[138] Before his appointment as Lord Lieutenant, Wotton held other county offices, serving as a JP from c.1593, sheriff of Kent in 1594-5, and

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[135] FA20-26, entries are found within the 'Foreign Expenses' sections. FCa1/1601-1660, entries are found within the 'Payments' or 'Disbursements' sections.
[136] Sharon Kettering, 'Gift-giving and Patronage in Early Modern France', *French History*, 2 (1988), 131-51 (p. 145).
[137] Loomie, 'Wotton, Edward'.
[138] Ibid.

holding senior roles in government.[139] His gifting to Maidstone predates his Lieutenancy and continued until at least 1614, at which point there is a break in Maidstone's accounts. He regularly gifted two deer, a privilege only occasionally experienced by Canterbury.[140] In Canterbury, the first identifiable gift from Wotton is in 1607-8 and his gifts continue until 1622.[141] There appears, however, to be a break of two years coinciding with Wotton's appointment as Ambassador extraordinary to France.[142] In his absence from the country in 1610-12, he apparently forewent his gifts to Canterbury whilst Maidstone continued to receive bucks, perhaps organised by Wotton's son, Thomas. This, and his earlier commencement of gifting, suggests a closer relationship with Maidstone's corporation, probably founded in his association with the family manor rather than his officeholding as Lord Lieutenant.

From 1612, Wotton and his wife came to live at St Augustine's Abbey just outside Canterbury city walls. The Abbey grounds included a deer park, one of about fifty-three active parks in Kent and delightfully illustrated on a mid-sixteenth-century map held by Canterbury Cathedral Archives.[143] Gifts to Maidstone corporation continue in the name of 'Lord Wotton', and though likely sourced from Boughton Malherbe, it is again possible that Wotton's son, Thomas – who definitively sent two gifts to Maidstone in the 1620s – continued the association with the family seat.[144] In Canterbury, Wotton ceased regular gifting shortly after the end of his Lieutenancy in 1622.[145] Though continuing to reside at St Augustine's Abbey, Wotton's cessation of gifting at this point closely connects it to his Lieutenancy.

County lieutenancy alone did not necessarily inspire corporate giving. Further evidence that locality and personal connection played a significant role, over and above that of office, can be seen by considering other Lord Lieutenants of the period. The two previous incumbents, courtiers and Lords Cobham, William and Henry Brooke, only occasionally gave deer to Canterbury in the 1590s, despite the fact that

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[139] Loomie, 'Wotton, Edward'; Hasted, V, p. 403.
[140] FA21, fol. 238^{v}.
[141] First gift: FA21, fol. 238^{v}; last gift: FA23, fol. 96^{v}.
[142] Anthony Charles Ryan, *The Abbey and Palace of St. Augustine Canterbury AD597-1997*, 2nd edn (Canterbury, 2001), p. 19. McDine, p. 66.
[143] Pittman, pp. 2, 29. CCA/Map 49.
[144] FCa1/1621, fol. 4^{r}; FCa1/1623, fol. 3^{v}. FCa1/1614, fol. 3^{v}.
[145] FA23, fol. 96^{v}.

they had held St Augustine's Abbey and the deer park (1563-1604).[146] Their gifts, such as William Brooke's deer of 1595-6 baked into five pasties, appear to have been linked to specific occasions, Brooke's pasties on the occasion of a visit to the city.[147] This specificity of gifting in relation to an event marks other irregular gifts as detailed below.

Ludovic Stuart, the duke of Lennox, and Edward Wotton's successor as Lord Lieutenant in 1620, owned Cobham Hall in Kent with a deer park, but never appears to have sent venison to Canterbury or Maidstone corporations. Philip Herbert, earl Montgomery, later earl of Pembroke, and Lord Lieutenant from 1624-42, did give venison to Canterbury but only for three years, and then specifically during the period of contested parliamentary elections in which he sought to influence the choice of burgesses.[148] After his death, he was described by his second wife, Lady Anne Clifford, as 'generallie throughout the Realme very well beloved', and his three gifts to the corporation in 1624-6 might be seen as the benevolent actions of a newly-appointed Lord Lieutenant.[149] However, Montgomery was deeply involved in promoting Canterbury's parliamentary candidates, John Fisher and James Palmer, in the city's controversial elections for 1625-8; despite Montgomery's continued role as Lord Lieutenant until 1642, he only ever sent venison to the city corporation for these three years.[150] The last of his gifts arrived on 13 September 1627, the eve of mayoral election.[151] His gifts must therefore be seen as indicators of a purposeful relationship – either on his part or the corporation's – perhaps even pushing the bounds of patronage towards bribery, but not the sole result of his county office.

It is notable that, from the mid-1620s, Canterbury corporation's venison gifts came only from two elite women. Within three years of Edward Wotton's death in 1628, his wife, Lady Margaret, who continued to live at St Augustine's Abbey, reinstated the annual practice of sending venison to Canterbury corporation,

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[146] Ryan, p. 18.
[147] FA20, fol. 197^{v}.
[148] David L. Smith, 'Herbert, Philip, first earl of Montgomery and fourth earl of Pembroke', *ODNB*. FA23, fols 249^{v}, 294^{r}, 341^{r}.
[149] Lady Anne Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. by D. J. H. Clifford (Stroud, 1990), p. 106.
[150] Thrush, 'Canterbury 1604-1629'.
[151] FA23, fol. 341^{r}.

continuing to do so for eleven years.[152] As an elite widow, Lady Margaret's social status was to some extent assured, albeit cast within one of the three stereotyped roles of women as 'maid, wife, and widow'.[153] The place of a financially secure mature widow, however, 'allowed the exercise of independence impossible in any other female condition'.[154] Tittler's case study of Joyce Jefferies, a gentlewoman spinster of Hereford, showed her deep involvement in the economy, culture, and social life of the city, to the extent that she shared in mayoral election celebrations, sending a gift, and dining at the mayor's house for several years after 1638.[155] Widows like Lady Joan Barrington, and the dowager countess of Warwick, retained 'the social status, prestige, and dignity of their married state', making widowhood their 'time of maximum female autonomy', grounded in independent control of a household and potentially becoming a point of advice on 'important religious and social issues'.[156] Elite single widows' political, as well as social, standing could therefore remain high in the local setting.

Margaret Wotton's position within Canterbury society, however, was complicated by her own confessed religion, having in 1633 directed the construction of a controversial memorial at Boughton Malherbe church to her husband, with an inscription identifying both Edward and herself as Catholics.[157] Even with the very public fallout from this, including a £500 fine from the High Commission, the corporation continued to receive her gifts of venison until 1641-2.[158] The difficulties of treading a line between religious and social 'conformity and resistance' led many Catholics to seek 'accommodations with the ruling powers' by moulding themselves into 'the acceptance of many norms and conventions of public behaviour and civil disobedience'.[159] In late 1630s Norwich, there was 'panic' among the elite amid 'rumours of popish plots to burn down the city', a symptom of heightened religious

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[152] FA24, fol. 44[r].
[153] Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720* (Oxford, 1998), p. 66.
[154] Mendelson and Crawford, p. 180.
[155] Tittler, *Townspeople*, pp. 195, 197.
[156] Mendelson and Crawford, pp. 175, 180.
[157] Loomie, 'Wotton, Edward'.
[158] Last reference, FA25, fol. 92[r].
[159] Marie B. Rowlands, 'Recusant Women 1560-1640', in *Women in English Society 1500-1800*, ed. by Mary Prior (London, 1985), pp. 149-80 (pp. 161-2).

tensions.[160] This type of environment perhaps made it particularly important for professed Catholics like Lady Margaret to secure and support their position locally. It was only when her religion became politically critical in September 1641, and potentially threatening weaponry in her possession – 'fowerteene Pikes' – were removed from her house, 'in regard of her Recusancy by order of the present Parliament', that her gifting ceased.[161] The pikes were 'hanged up in the guild hall', signifying the very different footing on which her relationship with Canterbury corporation now stood and representing an action after which it would have been untenable for her to continue presenting gifts symbolising goodwill.[162]

The second female patron was Elizabeth Finch, viscountess of Maidstone and later 1st countess of Winchilsea, the widow of Sir Moyle Finch (d. 1614) of Eastwell, a manor roughly equidistant from Canterbury and Maidstone.[163] She commenced gifting to Maidstone corporation in 1622-3, coinciding with being made a viscountess; this was followed a couple of years later by gifts to Canterbury.[164] For Elizabeth Finch, it would seem that it was her own social status which was important in making the decision to commence gifting, though it is also possible that this elevation of status allowed her to offer some form of political service to the corporations, given the elite social circles in which she probably moved. Canterbury, and likely Maidstone, continued to receive her gifts for about eight years, until her death in 1634. Her son, Thomas, presented deer to Canterbury in the two years after his mother's death but this was a short-lived relationship.[165] It was one not yet disturbed by the onset of civil war but perhaps one which was simply not nurtured by the corporate community.

Maidstone's other regular donor was Francis Fane, one of the county group of leaders in the Maidstone vicinity. A freeman of the town since 1604, he served as Maidstone MP in the 1604, 1614 and 1620 parliaments and consistently presented venison from 1604-5, the date of his first election, until 1623-4, the cessation of his

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[160] Reynolds, p. 243.
[161] AC4, fol. 164r.
[162] AC4, fol. 176r.
[163] She became Viscountess Maidstone in 1623 and Countess of Winchilsea in 1628.
[164] FA23, fol. 294r.
[165] FA24, fols 191v, 241r.

political association with the town.[166] His gifts fit within a local narrative of political patronage and represent the type of relationship Patterson evidenced between the earl of Huntingdon and Leicester corporation, one of 'respect and affection'.[167]

As well as regular gifts, Maidstone also received occasional gifts from several other town MPs: Sir Thomas Fludd (stood 1601), Sir John Scott (1614), Sir Francis Barnham (1621, 1624) and Laurence Washington (1604), all of whom lived within seven miles of Maidstone. Each sent venison once or twice, with few obviously related to election years. This makes it difficult to construe them as post-election gratitude or pre-election bribery, though Sir John Scott's three gifts given in the three years preceding the 1614 election, and after failing to regain the county seat, may hint at his desire to woo Maidstone corporation for a seat in Parliament.[168] Sir John Leveson, Maidstone MP in 1597 and 1601, nearby resident and supporter of a local river project, may have graced Maidstone corporation with a venison gift in 1600-01.[169] It was Canterbury corporation, however, which received at least two deer from him: one in the year of his election as Kent MP and another in 1606-7, though they never apparently received venison from any of their own MPs.[170] These gifts are likely linked with particular moments of political support or celebratory occasions, with individual events prompting ad hoc gifts.

Canterbury's irregular gifts of venison were a greater feature of the period to the mid-1620s. The possible political motivations of Philip Herbert's gifts have already been noted, but gifts were also a part of offering hospitality. Here, the example of Archbishop Abbot is instructive. The archbishops of Canterbury stood as patrons to Canterbury corporation though their relationship was not always a smooth one. In the 1620s, Abbot bestowed a costly water conduit on the city but also engaged in a lengthy Quo Warranto dispute in which he challenged the jurisdictional rights of the city over several sites under his ownership.[171] In post from April 1611 to

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[166] Virginia C.D. Moseley and Andrew Thrush, 'Fane (Vane), Sir Francis (1580-1629), of Mereworth Castle, Kent and Apethorpe, Northants', *HoP*. Md/FCa1/1605-1624.
[167] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, pp. 197-8.
[168] FCa1/1612, fol. 3^{v}; FCa1/1613, fol. 4^{r}; FCa1/1614, fol. 3^{v}. Peter Lefevre and Andrew Thrush, 'Sir John Scott of Nettlestead and Scot's Hall, Smeeth, Kent and Philip Lane, St. Alphege, London', *HoP*.
[169] Richard Wisker, 'Leveson, Sir John (1555-1615)', *ODNB*; Buckley, p. 14; FCa1/1601, fol. 3^{r}.
[170] FA21, fols 76^{r}, 197^{v}. See *HoP* for further details of Canterbury, Maidstone, and Kent MPs.
[171] Le Baigue and Leach, p. 111; CCA-DCc-ChAnt/C/1237.

his death in August 1633, he only sent venison to the corporation on his two visits to the city in 1615 and 1620.[172] With a reputation for being an excellent host, on his first visit to Canterbury as archbishop in August 1615, 'hostile Catholic observers' reported that he arrived 'in such state that it offended James I'.[173] As part of his largesse, he invited the mayor and aldermen to dine with him and sent them a 'fatt bucke'.[174] Similarly, in 1620, he sent a buck and the corporation, in return, sent the 'hogshead of sack' noted earlier.[175] The city governors dined with him using corporate money to tip his porters, yeomen of the wine and beer cellars, and usher of the hall, marking it as a legitimate corporate outing.[176] Events such as this, show that though corporations may have some reputation for feasting on venison, they were to a large extent reliant on the goodwill of others for creating such opportunities.

Abbot's successor, Archbishop Laud, had 'no reputation for generous hospitality' and never visited Canterbury; though his account books evidence his involvement in extensive gifting networks until after his arrest in December 1640, he never sent food gifts to the city corporation.[177] It can be seen, therefore, that, as with local officeholding, patronage did not necessarily imply regular benevolence when gifting venison. Abbot's two gifts were directly related to his presence in the city, highlighting the contextual importance of occasion in the receipt of ad hoc venison gifts, in contrast to the regularity of those seen above, delineating closer, ongoing, 'personal' relationships.

This idea is further confirmed by other occasional gifts, such as that given by the 'lorde Treasurer' Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury in 1608, probably linked with the successful grant of the city charter which bears his family coat of arms.[178] Even though, at this time, Cecil held St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, payment for the buck being made to 'Reve keeper of Canterburye parke', it was the only venison gift

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[172] Kenneth Fincham, 'Abbot, George', *ODNB.* FA22/1, fol. 193^{v}; FA22/2, fol. 446^{v}.
[173] Felicity Heal, 'The Archbishops of Canterbury and the Practice of Hospitality', *J. Eccl. Hist.*, 33 (1982), 544-63 (p. 559). Fincham, 'Abbot', *ODNB*. FA22/1, fol. 193^{v}.
[174] FA22/2, fol. 446^{v}.
[175] LPL-MS 1730, fol. 115.
[176] FA22/2, fol. 444^{v}.
[177] Heal, 'Archbishops', p. 559. *The Household Accounts of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1635-1642*, ed. by Leonie James (Woodbridge, 2019), pp. xviii, xxxi-xxxii.
[178] FA21, fol. 238^{r}; AA/56.

given by him.[179] A final example is Edward Wotton's last gift. This was given in 1625 when he hosted Charles I and Henrietta Maria at his St Augustine's home on Henrietta Maria's arrival from France as Charles's new bride, a gift undoubtedly linked with the wedding celebrations.[180]

Though gifting venison was perhaps limited by access to a deer park, neither this, or locality, or local, regional, or national office determined the pattern of venison gifting. Rather, each gift was inspired by a specific blend of circumstances. Keith Wrightson suggested that 'Relationships of patronage and clientage, paternalism and deference' … 'were conducted on terms largely, though not wholly, defined and determined by the relative superior'.[181] This would appear to have been the case with venison gifts, and infused each gift's reception and subsequent feast, with meaningful associations. In the context of corporate life, therefore, venison gifts are not simple representations of patronage, but as ad hoc gifts are reflective of significant events in corporate life, and as regular gifts, of important local relationships, thus providing unique cultural experiences for each organisation.

In Canterbury, Lady Margaret Wotton's last gift of 1641-2 effectively removed these experiences from corporate life.[182] With no regular donor, there can no longer have been any expectation of enjoying a venison feast. The two feasts on 9 August 1642, the eve of civil war, and another eaten at a formal Thanksgiving Day on 24 October 1651, perhaps made a welcome change.[183] Both venison gifts were from unknown patrons. In Maidstone, however, limited evidence of gifts from the earl of Winchilsea and 'Mr Barnham', probably son of Sir Francis, and Maidstone MP in 1660, suggest the continuation of traditional relationships between the corporate community and local gentry.[184]

The apparent difference in the continuity of gifting after 1641, when the experiences of the two towns apparently diverge, may be understood by a difference in the way the two towns maintained local relationships during and after the civil

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[179] Ryan, p. 18. FA21, fol. 238^{r}. FA21, fol. 238^{v}.
[180] FA23, fol. 294^{r}.
[181] Wrightson, *English Society*, p. 65.
[182] FA25, fol. 92^{r}.
[183] FA25, fol. 92^{v}, FA26, fol. 82^{r}.
[184] FCa1/1647, fol. 3^{r}; FCa1/1660, fol. 5^{r}.

war; wider contexts of political change may also have played a part. As detailed earlier in this thesis, there was, at this time, a falling away of traditional county links into the royal Court in favour of direct connections into Parliament, combined with moves towards more ideological politics, perhaps something Canterbury's corporation were more engaged with.[185] As Daniel Beaver has explored, there was also a wider narrative of political action in 'unmaking the forests of southern England', a change of relevance to venison gifting.[186] Within a year of the death of Charles I, royal parks and forests were ordered cleared and money raised from selling deer used in support of Commonwealth soldiers.[187]

John Crouch's 1649 play, *Newmarket Fair,* took 'revolutionary disafforestation as [its] premise', and derided London aldermen as 'upstart commoners' with 'moral and political shortcomings'.[188] Crouch made an astute connection between corporation and the high-status connotations of venison, but it was a connection which, perhaps for towns like Canterbury, was no longer of quite the same importance. Nevertheless, like Maidstone, other towns probably did continue to receive venison gifts after, and perhaps even during the civil war period. Comparative analysis of patterns of gifting elsewhere may be useful in assessing the different approaches seventeenth-century governors took to the development and maintenance of local social and political networks.

As a footnote to this discussion of venison gifts and corporate gift-giving, there is one individual gift of venison which stands out amongst all other evidence. In 1623-4, Canterbury corporation uniquely *sent* a traditional gift of venison: 'Paid that this Accomptant hath disbursed for a fatt bucke, which was bestowed uppon Mr Palmer, soe ordered by Burmoth'.[189] This event raises a number of questions: where the city obtained the deer; why they felt entitled to *give* venison; and why, in particular, this recipient should be honoured with such a gift. Identifying 'Mr Palmer' as James Palmer, city MP in 1626, and candidate in 1628, provides possible answers to these questions.

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[185] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, pp. 236-7.
[186] Beaver, *Hunting*, p. 3.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Beaver, *Hunting*, p. 153.
[189] FA/22, fol. 203^{v}.

Palmer was supported by the Lord Lieutenant, Philip Herbert, who, as shown above, sent venison to the corporation in the three years before the election at which Palmer was chosen. As with the disputed elections outlined in Chapter Two, the 1626 election was also contested. At the time, Palmer had the support of a large proportion of the city elite and was controversially granted freedom of the city at the time he stood for election.[190] Though not standing in 1624, it is possible that Palmer was involved in some way in the earlier election. Certainly, the corporation's gift points to their perception of high political stakes and a significant attempt at wooing Palmer. Herbert's later support of Palmer as a candidate also establishes the possibility that the deer was obtained by the corporation via him, perhaps even at his instigation. The critical point is, that within the context of Canterbury's gifting patterns, the perception of self-importance required by the corporate community to countenance sending the type of prestigious gift of which they were only ever otherwise the recipient, should not be underestimated. It shows the extent to which Canterbury's 1620s corporate community might engage in political activities beyond the normal confines of traditional patronage relationships and adds a different angle to the detail of the contested elections.

The previous two sections have compared the experiences of Canterbury and Maidstone's corporate communities in relation to food gifts. A point made above was that venison gifts provided a reason for a feast or added to the celebration of other, regular, dining events. Paul Lloyd, in examining the connection between food and identity suggests that the social connotations of venison bestowed a sense of privilege on all those attending a venison feast by marking out 'consumers as being different from outsiders'.[191] The relatively small number of venison received by Canterbury and Maidstone corporations annually, and the often ad hoc nature of their reception, meant that such feasting, though perhaps the pinnacle of consumptive delight, was not an everyday occurrence. Nevertheless, the reduction, or cessation, of venison gifts had an impact on the internal culture of corporations. In order to assess this, and the role of corporate dining in shaping organisational cultures, the final

[190] Clark, 'Thomas Scott', p. 14. Cogswell, 'Canterbury Election', pp. 10-1.
[191] Paul S. Lloyd, *Food and Identity in England, 1540-1640: Eating to Impress* (London, 2015), p. 64.

section of this chapter examines how Canterbury and Maidstone corporations approached a range of dining occasions, as evidenced by corporate expenditure.

6.3 Corporate Dining

This section considers the subject of corporate dining. Firstly, it looks at local choices made by Canterbury and Maidstone corporations concerning paying for certain meals with corporate funds and how each corporation approached this in different ways. Secondly, it examines the range of dining events associated with each corporation and how these produced individual organisational cultures.

Food and Corporate Expenditure

As Joan Thirsk noted at the outset of her examination of the subject of food in early modern England, 'mankind has to eat to survive'.[192] As a consequence, food and drink is a ubiquitous feature of daily life in any setting or time. Whilst broad contexts of the role of food in society are being more widely investigated, it has recently been suggested by Paul Freedman that 'eating together is so common that it has tended to pass unnoticed'.[193] This is, perhaps, untrue in relation to borough corporations where feasting is identified as a particular feature of corporate life. In providing a summary characterization of a Canterbury citizen after reviewing the city's records, the *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report* highlighted 'in social matters, his eagerness to accept any decent excuse for a feast'.[194]

The practices of dining are, however, important in a community setting and particularly in the ritualistic and ceremonial world of early modern civic corporations, and as has been detailed above, being recipients of gifts of venison provided definitive opportunities for feasting. Despite this, the detail of urban commensality in early modern England is not well studied, notwithstanding Felicity Heal's work, and the attention given to the role of drink and alehouses.[195] This section draws attention to spending choices made by Canterbury and Maidstone's corporate communities in relation to celebrations involving corporate dining. It

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[192] Thirsk, p. 1.

[193] Paul Freedman, 'Medieval and Modern Banquets: Commensality and Social Categorization', in *Commensality*, ed. by Kerner, Chou and Warmind, pp. 99-108 (p. 99).

[194] Historical Manuscripts Commission, I, p. 166.

[195] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 322-344. See, for example, Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830* (London, 1983); Phil Withington, 'Intoxicants and Society in Early Modern England', *Hist. J.*, 54 (2011), 631-57.

demonstrates that both towns made individual, largely consistent, internal choices, the detail of which adds further definition to the accumulating picture of each corporation's distinctive organisational culture.

In the relatively formalised hierarchical society of the seventeenth century it still held true that 'diet was a fundamental expression of social place'.[196] On a national scale, the Court culture of Elizabeth I which James I 'inherited' produced 'an impression of stupendous magnificence and liberality', in part by 'distributing prodigious quantities of food' through guest banquets and household beneficence.[197] At the end of the century, annual expenditure per head on diet ranged from £2 to £120 across eleven social categories with the 'top end of the "middle sort"' spending about £8 per head per annum.[198] For those who could afford it, eating out was an additional expense. In London's 'increasingly fashionable' west end of the 1630s, 'high-class dining' could cost six shillings but an 'ordinary', a fixed-price meal, might be had for between three pence and two shillings with a 'respectable meal' at a 'common table at an inn' costing sixpence.[199]

The meals paid for by Canterbury and Maidstone's corporations in this period usually range from eight pence to a shilling and are often, at least in Canterbury, referred to as 'ordinaries'. Choices made with regard to how much was spent on meals for different attendees at corporate dinners, could serve to reinforce the internal social hierarchy and when hosting events, the number and price of meals supported by corporations had economic and social implications. Decisions made could also reflect notions of the boundaries of what constituted corporate responsibility within each local organisation.

An important theme of corporate celebration is inclusivity and exclusivity. In relation to hospitality, inhabitants of both rural and urban environments had a 'shared belief that neighbourliness was central to the community', and Heal asserts that this

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[196] Adam Fox, 'Food, Drink and Social Distinction in Early Modern England', in *Remaking English Society*, ed. by Hindle, Shepard and Walter, pp. 165-87 (p. 166).
[197] R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Art and the Material Culture of Majesty in Early Stuart England', in *The Stuart Court and Europe*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 86-112 (p. 90).
[198] Fox, 'Food, Drink', pp. 168-9 drawing from Gregory King, p. 169.
[199] Robert Ashton, 'Popular Entertainment and Social Control in Later Elizabethan and Early Stuart London', *London Journal*, 9 (1983), 3-19 (pp. 9-10). Sara Pennell, '"Great quantities of gooseberry pye and baked clod of beef': Victualling and Eating Out in Early Modern London', in *Londinopolis,* ed. by Griffiths and Jenner, pp. 228-49 (p. 234).

belief underpinned the practice of civic hospitality as a 'means to reduce social conflict and enhance solidarity internally, but also to promote a vision of the generosity of the town externally'.[200] In the terms of Withington and Shepard's previously discussed process of community, the element of 'the people who did it, did not do it, did not want to do it, were excluded from doing it' provide markers of important communal boundaries.[201] Building on this, Withington's investigation of an early modern concept of 'Company', a part of the practical mechanism of early modern sociability, especially within urban behavioural contexts revolving around drinking, indicates the significant role of 'participation', or 'who was included or excluded from company'.[202]

It is notable that this term is sometimes used in relation to corporate gatherings. In Maidstone, at the ritual river survey, examined further below, the corporation paid 'them that rowed and went a fisheing when Mr maior went to haukwoode and his company'.[203] In Canterbury, minister Edward Aldey was paid for preaching on the day of mayor-making 'to Mr Maior & his Company', and an order for 'the Cittie to beare the Chardges of bakynge the Bucks and of the wyne to the Company there' was made in relation to two venison feasts.[204] Even a visit in 1614-15 to 'Mr wetenhall in his sicknes', warranting corporate expense for 'wyne and cakes then & there eat & druncke', was made by 'Mr maior & his Company'.[205] In the use of the term 'company' here, a distinct separation is made between the mayor and the rest of the corporate community – probably a number of aldermen. They are, however, bound together by textual and mental conjunction, even though it is clear that the mayor is the pre-eminent individual in each case.

Felicity Heal picks up a similar point regarding inclusivity in her discussion of corporate commensality in terms of the 'precise arrangements about who had the right to participate, how the extra commodities should be provided, and what, if anything, should be paid by those involved' in feasts.[206] She also makes clear that

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[200] Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 303.
[201] Withington and Shepard, 'Introduction', p. 12.
[202] Withington, *Politics*, pp. 127-37, 131. See also Withington, 'Company and Sociability'.
[203] FCa1/1607, fol. 3^{v}.
[204] AC4, 36^{r}, 70^{v}.
[205] FA22/1, fol. 191^{v}.
[206] Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 313.

many corporate dining occasions were 'not given for guests by a host or group of hosts, but were shared meals, self-financed or at least partially so, by the assembled company'.[207] Whilst historiographical discussions of inclusivity at corporate feasts are more likely to revolve around the socio-political implications of invitations, picking up on how the range of corporate dining events was approached in relation to corporate spending provides a means of teasing out the sense of importance of each occasion to an individual corporate community, focusing on internal rather than external relevance to each corporation.

By examining who was mentally 'excluded' from a corporate financial responsibility, even when included by invitation, a sense of endorsed corporate inclusivity on different occasions may be achieved. Spending choices reflect the internal organisational culture of each individual corporation and economic choices made by Canterbury and Maidstone corporations form consistent patterns making it possible to identify what was considered important to each one in their local context.

Dining Events

In the hierarchy of corporate events marked by some form of communal dining, mayor-making, the 'most obvious moment in the urban year at which feasting was likely', looms large.[208] In the detailed ritual of mayor-making in Norwich, Ezzy et al. see the feast as an event which 'celebrates the new status' of the mayor.[209] Heal, in relation to Bristol and Cambridge, considers it a public marker of authoritative transition.[210] It was a central event for all corporate institutions, and their variable approach in terms of corporate sponsorship has been noted but assigned to factors other than distinct organisational cultures.[211] In her discussion of mayor-making ceremonies, for example, Heal indicates that 'York was prone to economize and only bid the office-holders to dine'.[212] Reducing choices to mere financial decisions, however, denies cultural relevance. The consistency of different approaches to the range of events within each corporation can reflect the perceived relationship

[207] Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 306.
[208] Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 324.
[209] Ezzy, Easthope and Morgan, p. 413.
[210] Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 325.
[211] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 325-6.
[212] Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 325.

between the entity of a corporation and its members, as well as simple practical considerations.

In Canterbury, direct corporate sponsorship on the occasion of mayor-making extended only to peripheral activities. From 1611 onwards, a one shilling payment was made to the 'Clark of Saint Andrewes for ringing the Sermon bell for Mr Mayor and the Companie on mychaelmas daie'.[213] Michaelmas Day sermons were also provided for at a cost of ten shillings from the arrival of Edward Aldey as minister of St Andrew's in 1624, until his contentious sermon of 1647, after which other ministers were paid for this service.[214] There was a further contribution to 'herb[es] & Flowers for the hall', and in 1628 'Crimson Ribon' for the 'scutchens' of the music waits, a musical group endorsed by the corporation.[215] The consistent lack of any funding by the chamberlain for food and drink suggests either that each man paid for himself, or that there was an expectation on the incoming mayor to provide hospitality, something Heal suggests was 'often perceived as the most appropriate way of gaining the honour that should accrue to office'.[216] It is likely that, in Canterbury, the gift of mayoralty was balanced by the new mayor's reciprocal gift of a celebratory meal for the corporate community, acknowledging his appointment to the most senior position.

Maidstone provides a contrasting picture of greater corporate inclusivity. Here, the custom was to use town funds to pay for thirty to forty 'Comoners dinners at the election of Mr mayor' at a cost of six pence each.[217] It is assumed that these relate to the extended common council. Also paid for were the meals of the recorder, lawyers and sometimes the minister, their dinners costing one shilling each; the sergeants and crier were treated to six-penny meals, reinforcing the social hierarchy. Bell ringers, wine and fire were occasionally provided for by corporate expenditure, but the crossed out entries for wine in 1605-6 and ringers in 1603-4 point to such items being subject to annual discussion.[218] Corporate funds in Maidstone to the tune of

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[213] FA23, fol. 152^{r}.

[214] The first payment is recorded in 1625-6, FA23, fol. 295^{r}.

[215] FA23, fols 98^{r}, 391^{r}. For tensions between the musicians and the corporation see Avril Leach, 'Musical Discord in Canterbury', Canterbury Cathedral Archives & Library Newsletter, 46 (2010).

[216] Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 326.

[217] FCa1/1611, fol. 2^{v}. For example, thirty-four dinners in 1622 cost seventeen shillings.

[218] FCa1/1606, fol. 2^{v}; FCa1/1604, fol. 2^{v}.

about one pound were spent in the period before 1640, later increasing to nearer four pounds. In Maidstone, then, it appears that at least one element of the honorific meal was considered a corporate responsibility and a way of including the wider civic community in the celebration.

Other corporate elections could also be marked by specific cultural practices. Berlin, in relation to Phythian-Adams' work on Coventry, describes them as part of the 'solemnities attendant on the election of new officers [which] helped to confer on the newly elect those social attributes appropriate to the position'.[219] Some were probably grounded in the behaviour of medieval guild communities, as in Stamford, where guild oaths had concluded by 'drinking a round with the brethren'.[220] In Exeter, there was a tradition of providing a loan and silver to the value of fifteen shillings on election, often in the form of a silver gilt spoon.[221] Tittler describes a common corporate practice of freemen gifting gloves to their brethren on election, an action which 'signified gratitude for admission to their ranks, submission to the collective will of the corporate body, and a willingness to share in its burdens and costs'.[222] As internal rituals, they drew new members into the corporation, initiating them into the customary ways of the organisation.

No electoral ritual of this nature is evidenced in Maidstone, although that does not preclude its existence. There is, however, evidence of a local cultural practice in Canterbury in relation to newly sworn-in members of the corporation. In sixteenth-century Canterbury, entry to the common council, or promotion to the office of alderman or sheriff, was accompanied by an expectation that the initiate would provide a dinner for his new brethren.[223] By 1600, this practice had largely become the payment of a fine though still understood and carefully distinguished almost sixty years later as a corporate custom. This is evidenced by an amended account entry from 1657-8; when Joseph Colfe paid his common council entry fine, it was noted as 'according to an ancient ~~order~~ Custome in that behalfe', the struck through word

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[219] Berlin, p. 15.
[220] John Spurr, 'A Profane History of Early Modern Oaths', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 11 (2001), 37-63 (p. 46).
[221] Parry, p. 86.
[222] Robert Tittler, 'Freemen's Gloves and Civic Authority: The Evidence from Post-Reformation Portraiture', *Costume*, 40 (2006), 3-20 (p. 14).
[223] Palmer, p. 329.

attesting to a distinct understanding of the difference between customs and orders.[224] The level of fine was a substantial £3 6s. 8d. for a common councilman and double for an alderman. Most appear to have paid a fine, as for example, all eight councilmen joining in 1624-5, and it is the records of these payments in the city's chamberlains' accounts which facilitated the reconstruction of the burghmote membership as detailed in Chapter Two.[225]

Continued refusal to pay the fine could lead to reinforcement of the custom by order of the burghmote court, but it also provided a further opportunity for recalcitrant members to make independent forms of protest. Councilman Thomas Kyngsford, who initially refused his council place on pain of a £10 fine in mid-August 1632, was eventually sworn in October that year, but declined to submit either to provide a dinner or pay a fine for the next five years.[226] Eventually, in November 1637, the burghmote court ordered that he have two weeks to do it, and with no recorded payment in the accounts it must be assumed that he finally organised an entry dinner.[227]

By 1649, however, control over the approach of providing a meal rather than money was sought so that 'none of the members of this house shalbe execused of his fine in money for or in respect of any feast he or they shall make to theis house without the consent and order of this Court'.[228] This move appears to have been as a result of councilman Henry Knight providing a meal and then being 'discharged' of his councilman's fine because of 'the feast he this daie makes unto all the members of this house'. At this point, it seems, a monetary fine was preferable to a meal. It is noteworthy that, though customs, these aspects of corporate culture were important enough to warrant discussion at a court of burghmote.

By continuing to enforce payments in lieu of meals, rather than letting the custom die out, a surviving relevance to internal group culture is revealed. A shared meal provided a bonding experience, but an enforced monetary payment continued to express the power of the community – the corporate body – in demanding some form

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[224] FA26, fol. 382^{v}.
[225] FA23, fols 238^{r}, 239^{r}, 239^{v}.
[226] AC4, fols. 52^{r}, 55^{r}.
[227] AC4, fol. 130^{r}.
[228] AC4, fol. 294^{r}.

of subservience of the new member. Modern organisational culture describes a similar process: 'In cultural terms new entrants are seldom a perfect match and, almost immediately, another set of processes come into play, which are concerned with inducing these people to adopt the required feelings and behaviour'.[229] This aspect of 'culturisation' of members was important for community cohesion but also served to promote and reinforce each organisation's cultural traditions over time.

Other corporate gatherings provided broader opportunities for commensality, and in Maidstone most corporate expenditure on food and drink revolved around court meetings, connecting dinners there directly with corporate function. In 1605-6, 'the comons dynners' were paid for at mayoral election but also 'at the Sessions', 'at the boromoth', 'at the lawday' and when the mayor 'sat clark of the markett'.[230] This shows a remarkable consistency of approach to corporate expenditure across events and a generosity to the 'commons' at every occasion. Wine, and meals for the recorder, minister, or other legal counsel might also be paid for at one shilling, and sergeants-at-mace and the crier at six pence, echoing the same pattern seen for mayor-making. For members of Maidstone's corporation, their understanding of what constituted a corporate responsibility, as evidenced by corporate expenditure was a consistent one which shaped how the corporate community experienced and understood being one corporate body.

Even in the early eighteenth century, Maidstone corporation supported the 'mayor's dinner' (£18), sessions dinners at about £3, a court leet dinner (£6 10s.), a burghmote dinner (£6 16s.) and a river survey dinner at £10.[231] Another tradition, that of paying for the lodging of assize judges, was restricted in 1732 to five pounds (from ten) but the corporation continued to provide them with 'the usual presents of a calf and lamb, and two dozen of wine, and one barrel of strong and one barrel of small beer'.[232] This longevity of custom demonstrates the strength of organisational practice once established and the ongoing transmission of internal culture over time.

Two further occasions are of relevance to Canterbury and Maidstone's individual corporate cultures. The first is Maidstone's 'Fishing Day' which provides

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[229] Hill, *Culture and Organisation*, p. 42.
[230] FCa1/1606, fols 3^{v}-4^{v}.
[231] Russell, pp. 208-9.
[232] Russell, p. 209.

an example of how landscape could influence organisational culture. The second, Canterbury's 'County Day', revolved around the annual auditing of corporate accounts.

In Maidstone, a section of the river Medway was the responsibility of the town's corporation and subject to annual survey. Canterbury had a similar responsibility for the river Stour, but surveys were conducted via ad hoc burghmote-appointed committees; in Maidstone, the survey was a ritual event. The day, also known as the 'mayor's fishing', involved sailing down the river from East Farleigh Bridge, about two miles south-west of Maidstone town centre, to Hawkwood in the parish of Burham over four miles north-west, the point which marked the end of the corporation's jurisdiction as granted by charter of Elizabeth I.[233] Here, a river survey court was held and later a dinner. A similar situation pertained at Bristol with a rowing down the river and a feast for the manor court at Portishead.[234]

The Fishing Day involved the corporation paying for 'breade and beare' for the journey, for the evening dinner, for boat hire and 'to them that rowed'.[235] There were payments for 'the boat Mr mayor had' and 'the boatt the Jury had', the mayor's at 6s. 8d. costing eight pence more than that for the jury.[236] The total event cost the corporation upwards of one pound. In 1604, expenses were £1 15s. 3d., in 1623, they were £2 10s. 10d., including ten shillings for 'ye fyshers suppers' and a further two for 'ye musitions suppers', and in 1660 £3 8s. 2d. showing an increase in costs over time.[237] The necessity of surveying the river engaged the corporate community in an event which became a ritual feature of corporate life in the town, and was marked out as a corporate responsibility by the allowance of expenses for boats and sustenance.

Problems of deciding on the limits of corporate expenditure did arise and are exemplified by a decision made by Maidstone corporation in relation to the fishing day in July 1624. On this occasion, the 'poynt of the Charter of Queene Elizabeth', and other orders which authorised the survey, were publicly read.[238] In the course of

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[233] Hasted, IV, 275. Russell, p. 209.
[234] Latimer, p. 86.
[235] FCa1/1607, fol. 3^{v}.
[236] FCa1/1624, fol. 4^{r}.
[237] FCa1/1604, fols 3^{r-v}, FCa1/1623, fol. 3^{v}, FCa1/1660, fol. 5^{r}.
[238] ACm1/2, fol. 79^{r}.

the Hawkwood court, it had become necessary to appoint a jury, and those chosen demanded their dinners in return for service. An earlier order of burghmote, from March 1607, had stipulated that civic duty on the Fishing Day might be repaid by a meal with 'nothing henceforward allowed toward the dyet of any that doth not servyce'.[239] In 1624, it was agreed by the corporation that six pence would be given to each member of the jury 'towardes their Supper' putting them on a par with the commons and servants' meals. For all others attending the day, it was reiterated that the norm was that 'As well men as women to discharge the Boats they be carried in' and their 'ordinary at Supper' at twelve pence each.[240] The 'Chamber' was to pay for wine and a collection made of 'some competent somme', then 6s. 8d., 'for the Musicians' who played 'upon the reckoning at Supper'. This evidence from Maidstone suggests the important detail of the boundaries of spending corporate money, the group decisions often taken in establishing them, and the defined limits of the understanding of how corporate function related to expenditure.

The final example relates to Canterbury and their 'County Day', an annual gathering to review and sign off the chamberlains' accounts. Given Canterbury corporation's cultural practice of providing little in the way of corporate sponsorship of meals in relation to law gatherings or mayoral election, evidence for its annual accounting day is significant. Whilst historiographical attention has been paid to the public occasion and relevance of mayor-making, accounting days are events rarely mentioned in the lives of early modern borough corporations. Yet, for Canterbury, when assessed by corporate spending within the context of other events, this occasion represents a significant corporate moment.

Outgoing chamberlains prepared their year's accounts for review in the period between the end of the mayoral year and the end of the calendar year. They usually presented them for auditing in December, a time London artisan Nehemiah Wallington associated with accounting, prompting him to consider his 'soul's estate' that month.[241] Prior to the day of reading, a committee of six or seven aldermen and common councilmen might be appointed to examine the account.[242] The day, dated

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[239] ACm1/2, fol. 13^{r}.
[240] ACm1/2, fol. 79^{r}.
[241] Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, 1985), p. 182.
[242] AC4, fols 57^{r}, 77^{v}.

evidence suggesting frequently a Thursday, was then set by an order several weeks beforehand and 'apoynted to be the County daie'.[243] The chamberlain was 'their to Accompt before Mr Maior the Aldermen & Comon Councell & other as hath ben formerly used', the 'other' including the constables of each ward.[244] The level of public openness at each stage of the day was made clear with 'the Freemen to be at the Accompt, non free at dinner', the dinner rounding off the day.[245] The accounting began at four or five o'clock in the morning in order to allow time to read and confirm Canterbury's extensive account. This early start necessitated an annual allowance from corporate funds to ensure warmth and light: two to four 'sackes of coles' and up to 'fower poundes of Candells' were routinely used.[246] The paid-for provision of these items is relatively unusual within the accounts, though few meetings perhaps began so early on a winter morning.

After the account reading, a number of auditors signed off the accounts. At least two, and up to twenty-two, the list always included the mayor and chamberlain, usually some aldermen, and common councilmen.[247] After signing, there was a celebratory 'drynckyng' with paid for 'wyne bred and bere in the mornyng after readyng of the Accompt when all ther were com as well of the howse of burghmot audytors'.[248] The bread was usually in the form of two or three 'dossen of manchett bread', a food associated with higher status, and the wine was often 'pottells of muskadynn'.[249]

The day was rounded off by an evening dinner at a local inn, often the Lion, situated adjacent to the town hall:

> Paid for the County dynner kept at the lyon towesday the viij th of december 1612 for the yeare ended at St myghaell next before for the whole company of the mayor aldermen and comon' counsell & audytors and for wyne & waytes ye day.[250]

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[243] AC4, fol. 57^{v}.
[244] AC4, fols 57^{v}, 76^{v}.
[245] AC4, fol. 57^{v}; AC7, fol. 8^{v}; AC8, fol. 163^{r}.
[246] FA22/2, fol. 439^{v}.
[247] FA22/2, fol. 439^{v}.
[248] FA22/1, fols 67^{r}, 100^{v}.
[249] FA21, fol. 231v; FA22/2, fol. 439^{v}; Fox, 'Food, Drink', p. 172.
[250] FA22/1, fol. 100^{v}.

The city usually paid for ‘wine of all sortes’, in 1631 consuming ’11 quartes of sacke then’ and ‘3 gallons of Clarett’.[251] From the early 1640s, tobacco became a more regular feature of the dinner, costing another 5s. 6d. in 1658.[252] As the text above indicates, inclusivity at this event was seen in terms of largesse to ‘the whole company’ and corporate money was used to pay for forty or fifty dinners. This included corporation members, servants, city waits, and auditors, and costs for the dinner alone could be in the region of £4-£6. The importance of this event to Canterbury’s corporation is exemplified by the fact that, when examined in the full context of all other dining occasions, this dinner is the only one in the corporate year for which the corporate coffers footed the whole bill.

County Day was a day-long opportunity to celebrate the final closure of the previous mayoral year and bind together the corporation under the new mayor. Its timing, coming three months into the new mayoralty, was also the period in which a new mayor, perhaps, set out a different direction for the course of internal and external politics. It is also of significance that there does not appear to have been any diminuation of this event on account of the Civil War or any impact of puritanism, and County Day dinners continued into the eighteenth century.[253] Canterbury’s County Day was a vital part of the everyday function of the city corporation. It may not have had quite the pomp and public ceremony, or historiographical appeal, of mayor-making, but in the reality of the institutional life of corporation members it may have been experienced as the most ‘corporate’ of all events.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to examine corporate approaches to gifting and dining in Canterbury and Maidstone, features of group culture arising from the organisational necessity of maintaining external working relationships and aspects of everyday corporate life. In the analysis of gifting, it reveals a sense of the institutionalisation of different systems within the two corporations. It identifies the relative independence of giving and receiving networks in each town, and the minimal overlap in terms of county networks. In examining patterns of local spending decisions corresponding to a range of dining occasions, it uncovers working approaches to ‘corporate’ events

[251] FA24, fol. 92^{r}.
[252] The first mention is in 1642-3, FA25, fol. 136^{v}; FA26, fol. 434^{r}.
[253] Panton, pp. 33-4.

based on financial inclusivity – whose dinners were paid for – as opposed to social invitation. Here, the character of individual attitudes to corporate expenditure shows the part they could play in reinforcing an internal hierarchy, and that close attention to spending patterns may provide a sense of how members interpreted and experienced being 'one body'. Overall, the evidence presented demonstrates a strong sense of continuity in dining practices and significant changes in gifting in both towns. It is proposed that, though the manner of expressing external relationships altered, the resulting impact on internal culture was minimised by an underlying sense of stability derived from the continuity of a range of dining occasions of internal significance.

This chapter began by briefly exploring the idea that, though there may have been a general early modern compendium of gifts and understanding of the relative status of foods and food gifts, individual corporate communities interpreted it in light of their own nature, need, locality and circumstance. In so doing, by the seventeenth century they had developed their own 'dialect' in relation to the 'language' of food gifts. Material expression of external relationships inclined towards a reliance on customary institutionalised practice; transmission of this form of culture over time provided an easy way for successive generations of corporate officeholders to more easily navigate the field.

Each town's governors established their own set and form of relationships with local patrons, MPs, recorders, and county officers. Canterbury's situation as a county in and of itself placed it in a different position to Maidstone, but even here, county leaders remained potentially useful and influential patrons. In Kent, there appears no formal understanding that any official role engendered a definitive need for corporate or patronal gift-giving though office made it more likely, a natural position within the early modern system of patronage. Instead, the exchange of food gifts is characterised by a blend of office and a personal or local connection, reinforcing the idea of the self-determination of gifting networks established by the two corporations.

Direct patterns of reciprocity between giving and receiving gifts appears limited. Felicity Heal characterised the material expression of relationships between 'landed elite and their urban clients' as one where 'Sugar-loaves, manchpane, and

local commodities of high status were given by the towns, and in return an occasional haunch of venison would be sent to the borough'.[254] Catherine Patterson remarked that Leicester corporation were treated by the earl's sending 'venison or sturgeon or some other lordly gift' in return for corporate gifts of wine and sugar at New Year as well as other 'more casual gifts' during the year, in the context of a personal relationship founded in both locality and patronage.[255] Whilst these stances on occasion, and perhaps in other towns, might be true, for Canterbury and Maidstone it would appear that the two gifting systems largely ran on very different lines.

As gift-givers, the most formalized experience of gifting is represented by Canterbury corporation's presentation of sugar loaves to its recorders until the disagreement with John Finch in 1619. The cessation of gifting to the city's recorders was definitively marked by an alteration in a personal relationship, and the same was true of the ending of the long-term practice of gifting to Sir Peter Manwood indicating that local circumstance as much as social trends played an important part in gifting. The direct link with fading New Year celebrations, and the declining specialty of sugar, probably made it inevitable that this form of gifting would eventually disappear, but the decision to begin gifting sugar loaves to the mayor in 1617 points to it not yet being considered an outdated custom. This is a move which would have necessitated agreement from both council benches. Considering this move in light of Mauss's theory, noted above, that a gift implies exchange, and alongside Arjun Appadurai's stance that objects have value because of the 'judgment made about them by subjects', this suggests that the mayor was now worthy of a commodity of the same value as corporate patrons, as well as the internal recognition of his brethren.[256] Whether similar events might be found across England's corporations or not, this represents a turning inwards and appears a transitional moment in Canterbury corporation's understanding of themselves. This sense of autonomy in Canterbury corporation is strengthened by considering the evidence of

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[254] Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 312.

[255] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, pp. 197-8.

[256] Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 3-63 (pp. 3, 57); this rests on the theories of Georg Simmel.

their presenting a gift of venison, which also shows the lengths to which they might go to further their own political ends.

As gift recipients, Canterbury, though a town of higher status than Maidstone, has been shown to have had less formalized arrangements in relation to receiving the distinctly prestigious gift of venison. Despite their city profile and greater autonomy there was, perhaps, less expectation of holding regular venison feasts. Here, gifts of venison were often associated with specific instances of political patronage or urban hospitality though they did also receive regular annual gifts from several patrons. The gifts received from Lord Edward Wotton, and later his wife, indicate that Canterbury corporation either cultivated these connections or, perhaps even utilised them to gain access to the deer they knew were roaming the park on the outskirts of the city. Their position of receiving regular and repeated gifts of venison from two local elite widows, even in the face of Margaret Wotton's public Catholicism, does, however, raise questions about the potential influence of elite women on urban governance, and could be a subject appropriate for further study.

Maidstone corporation's regular acceptance of a greater number of venison gifts than Canterbury's, and the probable connection with lawdays, strengthens the notion of a community engaged in more traditional networks of patronage. It was, perhaps, Maidstone corporation's maintenance of these more traditional links with county gentry which determined the apparent continuation of their venison gifts throughout the period, whilst in Canterbury, it did not survive in any regular form beyond the early 1640s. Each organisation's internal approach to gifting might therefore be seen to shape the outcome of cultural practice.

Venison gifts connected patronage, hospitality and commensality, but the ensuing feast could have a different meaning in the context of the individual culture of each corporate community. It has been argued that 'the solemnity with which corporations normally greeted their [venison] present' was driven by the 'critical aspect' of the 'participation in the beneficence of a patron or friend of the town'.[257] The gift, however, might represent an unexpected gift or a routine moment of reinforcing a close relationship. Consumption as part of hospitality around law gatherings, as in Maidstone, linked it with administrative function and external

[257] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 312-17.

relationships, consumption at mayoral election more closely, perhaps, with internal affairs. Nevertheless, venison always delivered a sense of occasion and status.

From an internal culture point of view, however, and given the split between cessation and continuity of venison gifts seen in Canterbury and Maidstone respectively, the context of the venison feast in relation to other dining occasions becomes relevant. The loss of venison gifts in Canterbury may have reduced the sense of connection between external patronage and corporate dining, but practically it represents a relatively small change for the corporate community. Communal dining at mayoral celebrations continued, as did dining on law days, at burghmote meetings and on fishing days in Maidstone, and on County Day in Canterbury. Attendees may have nostalgically hankered for venison, but despite its absence, there was a distinct continuity of function and celebration, even if there was a more introspective slant to the meals.

Corporate dining occasions represent an integral part of a community's organisational culture and reveal distinct boundaries of inclusivity when considering evidence of corporate expenditure. The situation in Canterbury again shows a greater complexity; variations in corporate financial support reinforce internal hierarchy and reflect the relative importance of different events in the context of corporate identity. Canterbury and Maidstone's accounts reveal differences in the perceived boundaries of what constituted legitimate corporate spending in relation to shared commensality on different occasions. Heal recognizes that 'a number of components were involved in the calculations which urban magistrates made about the utility of shared commensality', but suggests that there were only 'two basic concerns': 'the political value of conviviality' and economic costs.[258] Both of these factors, however, were determined by the cultural identity of each corporation and the ways in which they individually expressed their own interpretation of the responsibilities of being a corporate body.

Limitations of space and the defined scope of this study restrict taking this line of thinking further, but it could usefully be extended to encompass the full range of corporate, civic, and urban celebrations. With regard to urban celebrations of national events, Amy Calladine has recently highlighted the lack of investigation of

[258] Heal, *Hospitality*, p. 337.

ceremonial practices 'associated with the translation of [central] political authority into the localities'.[259] Analyzing civic records and published accounts of urban celebrations related to the proclamation of Richard Cromwell as Lord Protector in 1658, she emphasizes the vital role of the 'decision-making of local governors' in treading a careful line between national, public, and corporate interests in using 'public ritual as a critical tool for the negotiation of challenges in both a national and local framework'.[260] Noting that the combined work of Archer, Roy, Roberts, and Withington evidences forms of 'corporate independence' during the 1650s, she places her own work in support of this view, seeing a 'growth in self-awareness and self-regulation' of local governors, exemplified by the variable ways in which they responded to the need to proclaim Richard Cromwell's accession.[261]

Whilst concurring with Calladine's assertion regarding the lack of detailed study of local ceremonial practice, and the more general opinion regarding the autonomy of corporate decisions in the 1650s, evidence presented in this chapter challenges the assumption that the arrangement of events such as the Cromwell celebrations should be set solely within a context of the 'relatively ambiguous nature of public ritual in the 1650s'. Rather, this chapter indicates that they should also be seen within the context of each corporation's evolved and established organisational culture, from which they derived.

In the seventeenth century, changing social attitudes, renegotiated local relationships, and mid-century disruptions resulted in changes to political networks. Patterson notes that corporations needed to learn 'how to interact in new ways'.[262] In autumn 1655, when Cromwell's major-generals and commissioners arrived in the counties 'they neither wised nor intended that these new local officials should replace entirely the traditional structures and personnel of English and Welsh local government', rather, that they would 'work alongside' each other as 'partners rather than rivals'.[263]

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[259] Amy Calladine, 'Public Ritual and the Proclamation of Richard Cromwell as Lord Protector in English Towns, September 1658', *Hist. J.*, 61 (2018), 53-76 (pp. 54-5).
[260] Calladine, p. 69.
[261] Calladine, p. 69.
[262] Patterson, *Urban Patronage*, p. 153.
[263] Durston, p. 73.

There is evidence that the major-generals broadly set out to cultivate respectful relationships with local governors, and that it was often reciprocated in kind. Coventry and Leicester corporations 'lavishly entertained' Edward Whalley, and in Shrewsbury and Dorchester, mayors bestowed gifts upon generals James Berry and John Desborough.[264] This respect, however, only went so far: in Leicester and Coventry it did not extend to raising the town's mace in the major-general's presence, the latter's mayor resorting to absenting himself to avoid the potential confrontation.[265] Without a complete set of accounts for Maidstone, it is hard to be sure of their reaction to this particular change in the administrative network. The lack of evidence from Canterbury, however, indicates that they did not mediate any new administrative relationships by means of corporate gifting. This fits with the general cessation of food gifting in Canterbury by the early 1640s, setting this corporate community further apart from traditional approaches to socio-political networks and increasing their reliance on their own internal culture.

In conclusion, this chapter reinforces the notion that the subject of gifting and dining is a complex one. The accepted general assumption that elite patrons gave high status gifts of venison has marginalised specific evidence of who gave what, and when. This work shows that these details are important. As well as revealing local networks of patronage, it can tell us something about the individual character of corporate communities. Each town had a unique understanding of who might be considered an appropriate recipient of gifts, and of the suitability of types of gift. Canterbury's overall approach may be seen to be a more ambitious one of political awareness. They were prepared to stretch the bounds of corporate gift-giving back towards their own community in terms of gifting sugar loaves to the mayor, and in sending a gift of venison, in a direction which furthered their own political ends. Maidstone's corporation remained traditional and more akin to an idealistic commonwealth. In each case, the actions of 'the corporation' depended on its members, and they worked within the constraints of group behaviour established by the boundaries of the corporate community as a working organisation. Each corporation presented a distinct internal environment from which social networks were made and political and administrative decisions taken.

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[264] Ibid.

[265] Durston, p. 74.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to examine the question of how aspects of practical governance may have generated different cultural environments within the early modern corporations of Canterbury and Maidstone, the two principal administrative towns of Kent in the seventeenth century. It suggests that a historiographical focus on elite oligarchic rule, an emphasis on expressions of unifying political culture, and a concentration on the external networks of corporations has overshadowed the important role of everyday working practices in generating a form of associative culture. As townsmen took formal institutional control of an increasing number of England's towns, the decisions they made, and ways in which they responded to internal and external tensions had a growing influence on society, as well as on local and national politics.

The task of understanding urban development might be easier if all corporations worked in the same manner but the singular experiences of each corporate community differed. Underpinning decisions and actions lay a shared understanding of what it meant to be a corporate body within specific institutional, city commonwealth and urban settings. This thesis evidences the nature of two institutional cultures in the period 1600-1660 and proposes that distinctive local organisational cultures provided individual experiences of corporate officeholding and understandings of the 'corporate body'. It supports Withington's characterisation of civic communities as variant forms of city commonwealths and has implications for the study of early modern institutional, civic, and domestic culture as well as urban development.

In questioning the nature of 'organisational culture', this thesis has compared the institutional development, character, and working practices of the two early modern corporations of Canterbury and Maidstone. It furthers our knowledge of urban governance in the two towns and adds a cultural layer, relating to internal function and ways of working, to our understanding of the institution of the early modern corporation. It demonstrates how local organisational practice shaped individual corporate cultural identities, such that members of corporations in Canterbury and Maidstone experienced corporate officeholding in different ways. Wallace MacCaffrey characterised the city of Exeter by the social, economic, and

political actions of its leaders.[1] He suggested that: 'The bewildering complexity of the duties which were carried out by the members of the civic oligarchy in the variety of their official capacities obscures somewhat the basic character of their association'.[2] This thesis contends that it was those everyday 'duties' and the way in which they were approached which contributed to the associative character of corporations and the variety of experiences of corporate life.

The topics examined in this thesis form only a part of the rich organisational culture of early modern borough corporations evidenced by civic records. Despite some limitations in surviving sources for both towns, the combined use of civic minutes and accounts shows the strength of using the two sources in parallel. The ability to reconstruct Canterbury's burghmote court membership in the absence of twenty-seven years of minute book attendance lists is a prime example. Whilst this thesis has examined a range of features of corporate culture, the records for both towns still represent a rich source for topics for further research, for example: the approach of corporations to the regular work of committees or other courts; the full nature of the relationship of the formal corporation with other lesser corporate officers; and the role of aldermen's wives or women employed by the corporations. An assessment of 'corporate space', based on the ways in which a corporate community expressed their authority and identity through the medium of the built environment – by means of paving, or cleaning – has the potential to yield further insights into a sense of what constituted corporate responsibilities, and the impact of urban maintenance on group culture and the corporate relationship with inhabitants.

This thesis has presented a range of evidence in support of an assessment of the organisational cultures of Canterbury and Maidstone. It demonstrated in Chapter One how the foundations of individual 'organisational cultures' were influenced by a town's pre-incorporation history and the circumstances of incorporation. By 1600, both Canterbury and Maidstone were incorporated towns, but with different corporate histories and senses of corporate memory. This chapter presented newly-gathered data in relation to financial standing – an important enabler of corporate life – for both towns and evidenced a level of material difference in civic records.

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[1] MacCaffrey, pp. 275-183.
[2] MacCaffrey, p. 277.

Chapter Two showed how different approaches to granting economic privileges could influence the character of freedom. It also provided an original analysis of Canterbury's freemen population, demonstrating a continuity of occupational diversity with the sixteenth century and illustrating the separate demographic position of corporation members in relation to the wider freeman body. The burghmote membership for Canterbury for 1600-1660 has been reconstructed for the first time, and this, when combined with previous studies, completes an unbroken run of our knowledge in this respect from 1520-1660. Uniquely combining the lists for 1641 and the following years with data from the surviving 1641 poll tax has provided new insight into the relative wealth of serving and future members of Canterbury corporation to confirm that officeholders were likely to be the wealthier inhabitants of the city.

Chapter Three examined non-institutional associations between corporation members. It indicated that both Canterbury and Maidstone exhibited the type of kinship connections seen in other towns. It also revealed the continuation of a long-lasting connection with St Andrew's parish in terms of corporate residency in Canterbury and the newly-instated form of ward administration arranged around jurats' houses in Maidstone. This chapter further presented evidence from Canterbury concerning the range of religious beliefs apparent within the city in the seventeenth century, as well as a snapshot of the mix of religious standpoints within the corporation as evidenced by several petitions of the 1640s and 1650.

In Chapter Four, an original comparative analysis of meeting systems in Canterbury and Maidstone provided evidence of the different experiences of corporate life in relation to the fundamental aspect of gathering together as a burghmote court. Additionally, the novel exploration of reasons for attendee absence in Canterbury probed behavioural attitudes to corporate duty. It showed the inherent flexibility within a regular meeting system, like that of Canterbury, which allowed for the realities of early modern life and the potential for individual, or group, expressions of dissent. It proposed that corporate function was, to some extent, assured precisely because it did *not* require the constant wholehearted involvement of all members, a point they understood well enough to manipulate.

In taking an alternative view of material political culture in Chapter Five, this thesis challenged assumptions about the full experience of constructed political culture. It provided a balancing viewpoint to ideas of public expressions of power by presenting something of the everyday context of civic material culture. It demonstrated the close associations between town halls and domestic environments, and everyday practicalities connected with the use of civic insignia. It revealed how the wearing of gowns, often assumed to bring the community together by providing visual unity, in reality, was not always approached with a sense of unerring duty.

Finally, Chapter Six provided a new analysis of Canterbury and Maidstone's gifting patterns over time, and placed venison gifts within the wider context of corporate dining. In so doing, it highlighted the important role of regular local events in shaping individual corporate experiences, and in the continuity of organisational cultures. It suggested that evidence of what constituted legitimate corporate expenditure, in terms of whose meals might be paid for when corporations gathered to eat together, provides an insight into local interpretations of corporate life and offers an alternative viewpoint of the experience of civic institutional culture.

In Kent, Canterbury and Maidstone were, by 1600, both run by incorporated groups of ruling townsmen charged with similar responsibilities of urban governance. One important distinction between the two towns was the status of Canterbury as a cathedral town against Maidstone's position as a market town and some element of Canterbury corporation's sense of urban status likely derived from the city's historical ecclesiastical position as the home of the archbishops of Canterbury. The cathedral was used as a corporate place of worship whilst also providing a second strong authority prepared to challenge or hold to account the civic authorities. In Maidstone, there was inevitably less jurisdictional tension of this nature but equally there was no counterbalance to offset corporate authority in the town. This allowed, perhaps, a greater sense of unitary urban control for Maidstone's corporation and inhabitants alike and the research approach taken here is one which might be extended to examine potential cultural differences between cathedral, market, port, and small town governance.

The weight of evidence presented in this thesis suggests that members of Canterbury's corporation experienced an institutional culture of greater tradition,

complexity, hierarchy, and internal politics, whilst members of Maidstone's corporation experienced a simpler, less tightly bound, and more inclusive environment. These differences shaped the shared local experience of individuals working together as a corporate body. Detailed analysis of each institutional culture from 1600-1660 identifies a level of cultural continuity existing in the two corporations over the artificial historiographical divide at 1640. The post-1640 period is often associated with a sense of urban and rural disruption, but the evidence presented here indicates levels of continuity of institutional custom and function alongside disjuncture and discontinuity, suggesting the potential benefits of a closer examination of civic records to our understanding of this time period.

In Canterbury, by 1600, a long history of self-governance and medieval incorporation had given time for deep habits of institutionalised practice to form, evidenced by the formulaic continuity of recording practices, corporate connections with St Andrew's parish, a regular meetings format, and a consistent local approach to gift-giving and corporate dining. Patterns of expenditure on a range of events remained consistent, exemplified by the essentially unaltered continuation of 'County Day' across the period, even throughout the civil war period of the 1640s. In this sense, the group culture of 1660 might be considered little different – except for gifting – to that of 1600. Despite this apparent sense of continuity, there was change.

The role of the mayor, and the status of the corporation and city, were enhanced by the grant and purchase of the civic sword; this also engaged them in a new relationship with the office of sword-bearer, and material considerations related to ownership and everyday use of the sword itself. During the Interregnum, civic insignia continued to play a role in local governance but the association with monarchic authority was lost. The giving and receiving of food gifts were no longer a feature of Canterbury's corporate culture by the 1640s, but before dying out, they marked alterations in the relationship of the corporation with its recorder and between the mayor and corporate body. The factional corporate community of the 1620s were sufficiently politically motivated to break their own rules to further their own ends, and by the 1650s there was a rise in absenteeism.

For Maidstone, though there is more limited evidence, direct comparison of corporate development and working practices provides a contrast to Canterbury. A

more recently incorporated community in 1600, there were several notable differences. With the town encompassing one parish, there was a default parish connection between corporation members as well as other inhabitants; a spread of residences, nevertheless, allowed a new ward system to be based on the location of jurats' houses. The irregularity of burghmote meetings also points to a corporate community less connected by this form of institutional association, despite two attempts to put the system on a more organised footing with the introduction of monthly meetings. There is also some evidence that decision-making was of a more 'democratic' nature, with the common council and wider group of 'commoners' having more sway than in Canterbury. This notion of a different interpretation of *being* a corporate body in Maidstone, extends to their approach to corporate expenditure on a range of dining events, including mayor-making, such that every event was essentially treated in the same manner, in opposition to the variation seen in Canterbury. In Maidstone, there was also, perhaps, a greater conformity of gown-wearing and a maintenance of more traditional forms of local patronage, marked by the apparent continuation of venison gifting after 1640.

Perhaps the most thought-provoking findings of this study are the analyses of meetings practices. In Canterbury and Maidstone, as in other towns, there existed an expected 'norm' of attendance at meetings, as evidenced by recorded lists of attendees or absentees, with a system of 'punishment', usually financial, for transgressive behaviour. In Canterbury, for a short period, a similar system was introduced in relation to wearing gowns. As outlined in the Introduction, Jenkins and Wrightson identified practices with norms and punishments as features of institutions. Whilst the 'rules' were actually established by corporation members, once in place, they might, perhaps, be seen as representing the 'power' of the fictional, legal 'corporate body' over the individual member.

Braddick and Walter, in their discussion of the mechanisms by which power was negotiated in all manner of settings and sets of relationships throughout early modern society, highlight the role of the 'public transcript', defined by them as an 'acceptable public version of relations of domination and subordination'.[3] They suggest that 'the public transcript is the outcome of regular, not episodic,

[3] Braddick and Walter, p. 5. Braddick and Walter draw on the work of James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (London, 1992).

negotiations between dominant and subordinate groups', occurring in the 'everyday politics of relationships'.[4] It is possible that, by developing systems which allowed acceptable absences, corporations established a form of corporate public transcript by which means members stepped away from regular personal confrontation.[5] Seen this way, everyday actions of attendance and absence have relevance to how individuals experienced corporate officeholding. The way members worked with, or against, the established system, perhaps provides a means of examining a sense of personal subordination to the 'dominant' corporate body.

Importantly, this was not a mechanism open to Maidstone's corporation members in the same way since they only held burghmote meetings three times a year. In this sense alone, the experience of being a member of a corporate body in Canterbury differed from ostensibly the same role in Maidstone. In the latter, there was significantly less responsibility and commitment required in relation to the burghmote court, and, as a result, in Maidstone, at least some level of internal group politics must have been negotiated by different means. The apparent reluctance, or perhaps lack of need, of corporation members in Maidstone to adjust to monthly meetings might be understood in terms of a resistance to the greater intrusion of the 'corporate body' into their lives.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore these ideas further but this sense of a greater level of internal politics within Canterbury's corporation has other implications. It raises the possibility that Canterbury corporation's involvement in the contested parliamentary elections of the 1620s could connect with their already more complex internal political and cultural environment, grounded, in part, on their regular meeting pattern. A correlation of meeting frequencies in borough corporations with contested elections could relatively easily identify any potential connection in this regard.

The role of factionalism adds a further layer to the complexities of internal politics between individuals and their relationship with the corporate body. The scope for diversity of opinion within the corporate institution, and the accompanying question of how political the local experience of corporate life may have been, is a

[4] Braddick and Walter, pp. 7, 8.
[5] Ibid., p. 6.

subject which has, perhaps, not received enough attention. This thesis shows how corporate systems could be flexible enough to contain differences of opinion whilst providing scope for individual expression, and the potential influence of individual members or mayors. The topic of the internal political environment of corporate groups has not been ignored, but, until more recently, it has not taken centre stage, and is often seen in the light of national politics – especially, and, to an extent, appropriately, in the seventeenth century – rather than on its own merits.[6]

A timely debate has, however, started in this regard. Withington's examination of citizenship and city commonwealths, Halliday's proposals in relation to borough corporations as important sites of late seventeenth-century political developments, and Cogswell's call for further investigation into their role in early Stuart contested elections, provide a new contextual setting for the study of early modern corporations and emphasise the need for a better understanding of corporate urban governance. This thesis suggests that a layer of internal organisational culture may have informed, constrained and enabled the actions of individuals and corporate communities with the potential for hegemonic influence over the wider civic and urban communities. Anthony Fletcher's description of Rye and Chichester corporations as 'assertive and troublesome', and his characterisation of Chichester's 'merchant oligarchy' as 'aggressively independent' could perhaps be seen as open invitations to assessments of organisational culture.[7]

The seventeenth century saw a more extensive system of incorporated towns in England than ever before, each one existing as a form of civic commonwealth. The point of incorporation marked the moment at which men began to work together as one body within a legal institutional framework. It established the form and legality of a new corporate body, the boundaries of their authority, and the privileges and rights they could enjoy but it did not specify how they should go about achieving local governance. Decisions about how to run the town and quotidian organisation were largely within their own remit. The public face of corporate life has been considered, but equally important was a corporation's private face. As Goldgar and Frost assert, the 'cultural assumptions' of those within institutions 'directly affected

[6] See for example, Morrill, *Cheshire*, p. 32, pp. 31-74, or Evans, *Norwich*, p. 90.
[7] Fletcher, *Sussex*, p. 141.

their operation and social role'.[8] As well as assumptions in relation to, for example, social status and gender, organisational culture likely also played a part. Urban officeholding did not generate a uniformity of experience, and though corporations mediated political relationships using similar material means, local practice was configured in unique ways. Functional and contextual differences generated a diversity of experience within corporate communities.

This work presents a balancing view to that of urban governors as ceremonial, oligarchic, litigious communities. It reveals 'real' ways of working and prompts a reassessment of the internal political and cultural environments of early modern corporations. It has implications for our understanding of the cultural life of towns and the relationship of 'corporate culture' to civic and urban culture, raising questions of how the wider freemen body and other urban inhabitants understood and experienced corporate authority in everyday ways. It offers a comparative methodological approach to assess the internal working culture of other urban centres. It shows how careful attention to organisational practices is revealing of cultural aspects of institutional corporate life. A corporate body was established by charter, but institutional practice gave it character. Examination of organisational culture provides a way to better understand the principles underpinning each corporate group.

In conclusion, this thesis presents a novel approach to the examination of early modern corporations and the lives of officeholders, adding a cultural layer to our understanding of institutional urban governance. It integrates previously studied separate aspects of corporate life – demographics, political culture and patronage – and, turning the view inwards, provides a coherent picture of the different organisational cultures of the seventeenth-century corporations of Canterbury and Maidstone. As working communities, corporate identity was shaped by individual frameworks of corporate organisation. This thesis presents a new interpretation of the internal environment of the early modern corporation and demonstrates distinct differences in the experience of being one corporate body in the two seventeenth-century towns of Canterbury and Maidstone.

[8] Goldgar and Frost, p. xii.

Appendices

Appendix A: Timeline

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Appendix A: Timeline

Timeline including charter dates, MPs, and known notable plague years

Date	General	Canterbury	Maidstone
Fifteenth Century			
1448		Henry VI Incorporation charter	
1461		Established as a county by charter of Edward IV	
Sixteenth Century			
1500	38 incorporated English towns		
1537			End of manorial lordship of the Archbishop of Canterbury
1549			Edward VI Incorporation charter
Seventeenth Century			
1601 parliament		*Elected MPs:* Sir John Boys, John Rogers	*Elected MPs:* Sir Thomas Fludd, Sir John Leveson
1603	Accession James I	Plague	Plague
1604			First charter of James I Plague
1604-10 parliament		*Elected MPs:* Sir John Boys, Matthew Hadde	*Elected MPs:* Sir Francis Fane, Laurence Washington
1605		Plague	
1608		Charter of James I Plague	
1609		Plague	
1614-15		Plague	
1614 parliament		*Elected MPs:* Sir George Newman, Sir William Lovelace	*Elected MPs:* Sir Francis Fane, Sir John Scott
1619			Second charter of James I
1621 parliament		*Elected MPs:* Sir George Newman, Sir John Finch *Also stood:* Sir William Lovelace, John Latham	*Elected MPs:* Sir Francis Fane, Sir Francis Barnham
1624 parliament		*Elected MPs:* Thomas Denne, Thomas Scott *Also stood:* Sir William Lovelace, John Latham	*Elected MPs:* Sir George Fane, Sir Francis Barnham
1625	Accession Charles I	Plague	
1625 parliament		*Elected MPs:* John Fisher, Sir Thomas Wilsford *Also stood:* Sir Henry Wotton, Sir George Newman, Thomas Scott	*Elected MPs:* Edward Maplesden, Thomas Stanley *May have stood:* Sir Edwin Sandys

1626 parliament		*Elected MPs:* Sir John Finch, James Palmer *Also stood:* Sir John Wilde, Sir Thomas Scott	*Elected MPs:* Sir George Fane, Sir Francis Barnham
1628-29 parliament		*Elected MPs:* Sir John Finch, Thomas Scott *Also stood:* James Palmer *May have stood:* Sir John Wilde, John Fisher	*Elected MPs:* Sir George Fane, Sir Francis Barnham
1630s		Plague 1630-1, 1635-9	
1640	181 incorporated English towns	Publication of William Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*	
1640-46 parliament		*Elected MPs:* Edward Masters, John Nutt	*Elected MPs:* Sir Francis Barnham, Sir Henry Tufton
1641	Poll tax		
1642	Start of civil war		
1647		Christmas Day riots Plague	
1648			Battle of Maidstone
1648-9 parliament		*Elected MPs:* Edward Masters (purged), John Nutt	*Elected MPs:* Sir Francis Barnham (purged), Sir Henry Tufton (purged)
1649	Regicide: Charles I		
1653	*Barebones Parliament nominations for Kent:* Viscount Lisle, Thomas Blount, William Kenrick, William Cullen, Andrew Broughton.		
1654 1st Protectorate parliament		*Elected MPs:* Thomas Scott, Francis Butcher	*Elected MP:* Sir John Banks
1656 2nd Protectorate parliament		*Elected MPs:* Thomas St Nicholas, Vincent Denne	*Elected MP:* Sir John Banks
1658	Death of Oliver Cromwell		
1659 3rd Protectorate parliament		*Elected MPs:* Thomas St Nicholas, Robert Gibbon	*Elected MPs:* Andrew Broughton, Sir John Banks
1660	Restoration of Charles II		

Note: Further detail of MPs and elections are available at www.historyofparliamentonline.org

Appendix B: Financial Tables and Graphs

B1: Annual income and expenditure, Canterbury, 1600-1660

(Source: CC/F/A/20-26)

Year	Income	Expenditure
1600-1601	£249 18s. 6d.	£153 18s. 5d.
1601-1602	£318 3s. 10d.	£260 6s. 5d.
1602-1603	£282 19s. 1d.	£272 2s. 1d.
1603-1604	£259 10s. 11d.	£200 7s. 9d.
1604-1605	£216 19s. 6d.	£188 6s. 5d.
1605-1606	£225 17s. 3d.	£190 9s. 0d.
1606-1607	£231 12s. 11d.	£275 10s. 8d.
1607-1608	£684 15s. 11d.	£1108 4s. 5d.
1608-1609	£365 19s. 0d.	£658 12s. 7d.
1609-1610	£154 1s. 7d.	£190 1s. 7d.
1610-1611	£200 3s. 10d.	£249 6s. 8d.
1611-1612	£220 17s. 2d.	£188 1s. 9d.
1612-1613	£262 18s. 10d.	£245 4s. 8d.
1613-1614	£223 2s. 0d.	£192 18s. 0d.
1614-1615	£251 14s. 9d.	£218 6s. 5d.
1615-1616	£309 6s. 4d.	£200 5s. 11d.
1616-1617	£312 16s. 7d.	£222 4s. 1d.
1617-1618	£387 10s. 9d.	£253 4s. 7d.
1618-1619	£362 12s. 1d.	£254 8s. 11d.
1619-1620	£475 3s. 3d.	£473 6s. 8d.
1620-1621	£291 17s. 8d.	£284 11s. 3d.
1621-1622	£239 14s. 1d.	£241 15s. 10d.
1622-1623	£390 14s. 6d.	£390 1s. 7d.
1623-1624	£278 10s. 1d.	£280 15s. 3d.
1624-1625	£506 19s. 5d.	£478 11s. 9d.
1625-1626	£247 10s. 7d.	£207 15s. 9d.
1626-1627	£326 15s. 1d.	£299 2s. 10d.
1627-1628	£253 7s. 4d.	£244 15s. 1d.
1628-1629	£205 18s. 8d.	£204 1s. 2d.
1629-1630	£277 15s. 5d.	£226 6s. 11d.

Year	Income	Expenditure
1630-1631	£271 15s. 3d.	£213 15s. 5d.
1631-1632	£279 9s. 5d.	£214 18s. 3d.
1632-1633	£303 7s. 11d.	£219 13s. 5d.
1633-1634	£317 12s. 0d.	£236 7s. 3d.
1634-1635	£333 4s. 0d.	£264 10s. 6d.
1635-1636	£302 13s. 4d.	£269 19s. 9d.
1636-1637	£276 13s. 6d.	£265 5s. 5d.
1637-1638	£246 4s. 0d.*	£251 3s. 9d.
1638-1639	£227 19s. 6d.	£257 16s. 1d.
1639-1640	£230 19s. 2d.	£235 16s. 8d.
1640-1641	£267 8s. 6d.	£278 16s. 5d.
1641-1642	£270 4s. 9d.	£322 2s. 0d.
1642-1643	£274 6s. 7d.	£290 10s. 8d.
1643-1644	£250 19s. 8d.	£257 6s. 1d.
1644-1645	£271 5s. 5d.	£289 3s. 9d.
1645-1646	£345 13s. 4d.	£321 18s. 7d.
1646-1647	£262 18s. 4d.	£227 19s. 9d.
1647-1648	£280 7s. 11d.	£269 14s. 8d.
1648-1649	£306 11s. 1d.	£286 1s. 0d.
1649-1650	£265 1s. 2d.	£263 13s. 1d.
1650-1651	£332 13s. 4d.	£296 5s. 0d.
1651-1652	£355 0s. 9d.	£264 14s. 4d.
1652-1653	£339 18s. 10d.	£290 17s. 7d.
1653-1654	£367 1s. 11d.	£257 19s. 6d.
1654-1655	£403 17s. 10d.	£268 15s. 5d.
1655-1656	£440 17s. 9d.	£257 14s. 4d.
1656-1657	£538 16s. 8d.	£238 3s. 4d.
1657-1658	£646 7s. 9d.	£287 11s. 9d.
1658-1659	£641 3s. 11d.	£319 11s. 5d.
1659-1660	£602 10s. 11d.	£523 12s. 5d.

* Pence figure illegible, entered as zero

B2: Annual income and expenditure, Maidstone, available years, 1600-1660

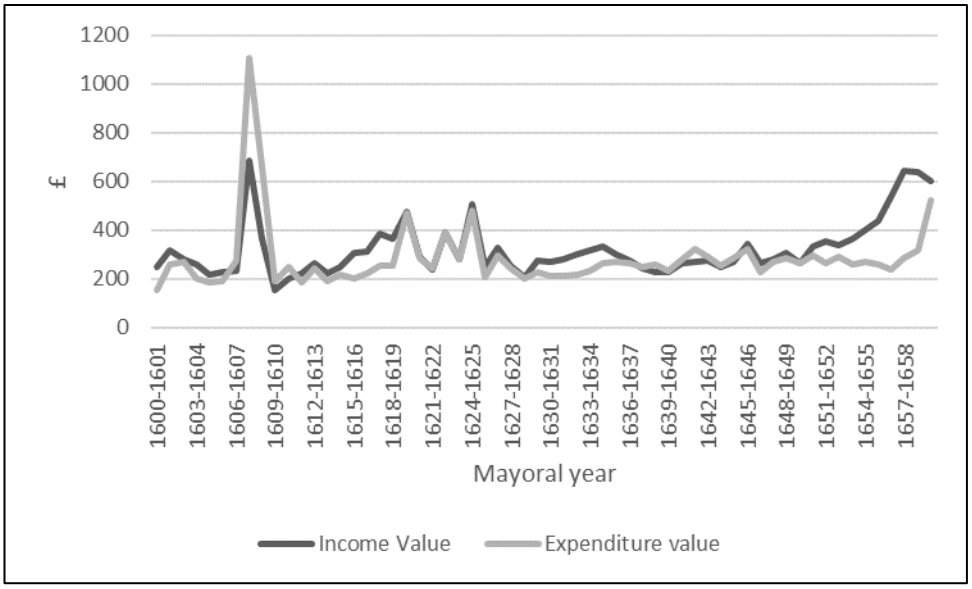
(Source: Md/FCa/1601-1660)

Year	Income	Expenditure
1600-1601	£83 0s. 9d.	£90 1s. 3d.
1602-1603	£70 6s. 11d.	£95 15s. 0d.
1603-1604	£70 14s. 3d.	£71 19s. 11d.
1604-1605	£94 10s. 4d.	£123 14s. 3d.
1605-1606	£127 7s. 3d.	£116 17s. 3d.
1606-1607	£78 10s. 0d.	£76 16s. 10d.
1608-1609	£64 6s. 9d.	£70 9s. 4d.
1609-1610	£73 4s. 0d.	£76 15s. 0d.
1610-1611	£125 2s. 4d.	£125 0s. 6d.
1611-1612	£91 3s. 6d.	£59 2s. 8d.
1612-1613	£84 12s. 7d.	£77 18s. 4d.
1613-1614	£80 7s. 9d.	£79 10s. 0d.
1620-1621	£136 18s. 0d.	£147 1s. 6d.
1621-1622	£79 2s. 7d.	£103 14s. 8d.
1622-1623	£131 3s. 2d.	£113 15s. 6d.
1623-1624	£95 16s. 8d.	£114 12s. 10d.
1625-1626	£89 5s. 5d.	£104 19s. 2d.
1640-1641	£122 6s. 10d.	£101 17s. 5d.
1641-1642*	[£64 0s. 8d.]	[£82 9s. 3d.]
1643-1644	£137 8s. 10d.	£91 5s. 6d.
1644-1645	£131 10s. 0d.	£123 6s. 0d.
1646-1647	£153 10s. 7d.	£130 17s. 5d.
1656-1657	£192 2s. 8d.	£176 1s. 4d.
1658-16519	£164 0s. 7d.	£167 15s. 10d.
1659-1660	£177 13s. 6d.	£206 9s. 3d.

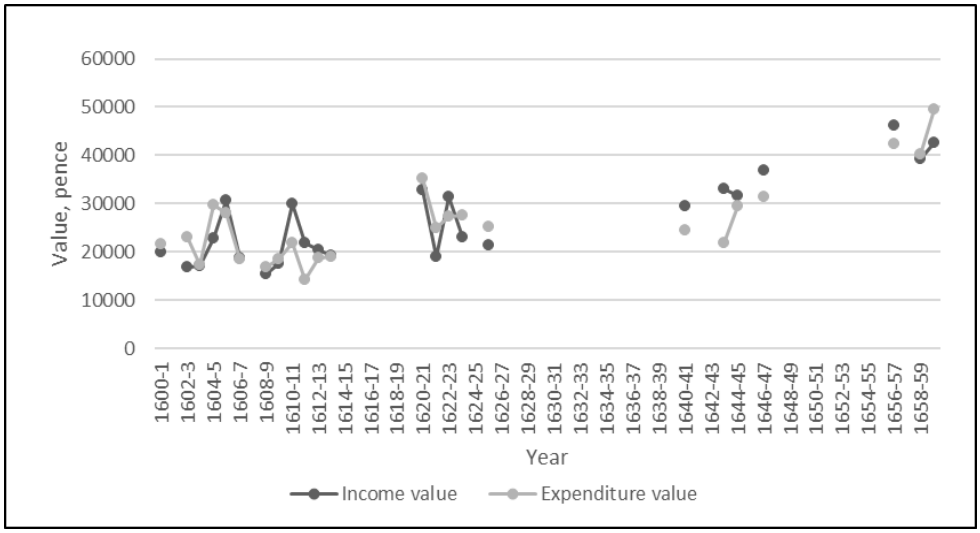
*The account data for 1641-2 are partial and disordered. The values here are from an accounting in September 1644 but are not included in the decadal average.

B3: Graph of annual income and expenditure, Canterbury and Maidstone, 1600-1660 (derived from B1 and B2 above).

a. Canterbury



b. Maidstone



Appendix C: Freemen and Apprenticeship Data

C1: Annual freemen and apprentice admissions, Canterbury, 1600-1660 (Source: CC/F/A/20-26)

Year	Freedoms	Decadal average	Apprenticeships	Decadal average
1600-1601	19		15	
1601-1602	35		17	
1602-1603	22		19	
1603-1604	25		23	
1604-1605	12		25	
1605-1606	21		19	
1606-1607	37		29	
1607-1608	21		29	
1608-1609	33		21	
1609-1610	22	24.7	17	21.4
1610-1611	32		18	
1611-1612	32		29	
1612-1613	34		25	
1613-1614	45		15	
1614-1615	29		31	
1615-1616	37		11	
1616-1617	29		26	
1617-1618	33		34	
1618-1619	22		21	
1619-1620	25	31.8	20	23
1620-1621	34		28	
1621-1622	30		27	
1622-1623	20		16	
1623-1624	22		15	
1624-1625	21		25	
1625-1626	20		16	
1626-1627	32		24	
1627-1628	31		18	
1628-1629	22		20	
1629-1630	42	27.4	31	22
1630-1631	29		44	
1631-1632	32		23	
1632-1633	26		21	
1633-1634	20		24	
1634-1635	29		29	
1635-1636	22		12	
1636-1637	42		18	
1637-1638	33		25	
1638-1639	35		16	
1639-1640	40	30.8	18	23

1640-1641	30		22	
1641-1642	33		26	
1642-1643	29		20	
1643-1644	27		21	
1644-1645	20		22	
1645-1646	26		27	
1646-1647	29		21	
1647-1648	9		13	
1648-1649	17		10	
1649-1650	21	24.1	13	19.5
1650-1651	25		11	
1651-1652	27		21	
1652-1653	17		13	
1653-1654	32		15	
1654-1655	30		29	
1655-1656	34		26	
1656-1657	26		22	
1657-1658	26		19	
1658-1659	24		17	
1659-1660	21	26.2	12	18.5
Total	*1,650*	*27.5*	*1,274*	*21.2*

C2: Freemen's admissions, occupational breakdown, Canterbury 1600-1660 (Source: CCA-CC/F/A/20-26)

	1600-1610	1610-1620	1620-1630	1630-1640	1640-1650	1650-1660	Total
Building and allied							
Bricklayer	1	8	2	15	6	9	41
Carpenter	4	3	4	14	15	14	54
Glazier	2	2	2	2	6	3	17
Joiner	5	8	5	6	1	6	31
Mason	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Painter	1	1	2	3	0	1	8
Pavier	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**14**	**24**	**15**	**40**	**28**	**33**	**154**
Clothing							
Buttonmaker	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Girdler	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hatdresser	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hatter	1	1	0	0	0	1	3
Heelmaker	0	0	0	2	1	1	4
Tailor	33	42	41	36	15	19	186
Total	**35**	**43**	**43**	**38**	**16**	**21**	**196**
Distributive							
Apothecary	0	3	4	2	3	1	13
Barber	3	2	4	4	8	2	23
Chandler	0	2	2	0	2	0	6
Chapman	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Draper	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Fellmonger	2	3	1	4	1	3	14
Grocer	10	12	9	16	12	11	70
Haberdasher	6	9	7	2	4	0	28
Haberdasher of small	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Linen draper	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Linendraper	1	3	1	2	1	1	9
Mercer	5	5	4	6	6	4	30
Merchant	0	1	0	0	0	2	3
Milliner	0	0	1	6	1	2	10
Petty chapman	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Stationer	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Stationer/Haberdasher	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Woollendraper	7	10	8	6	1	3	35
Total	**37**	**51**	**43**	**49**	**40**	**31**	**251**
Food and drink							
Alehousekeeper	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Baker	6	4	8	4	4	6	32
Beerbrewer	2	3	3	2	0	1	11
Brewer	2	8	3	6	3	2	24
Butcher	7	8	9	6	17	10	57
Cheesemonger	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Cook	1	4	1	1	1	1	9
Innholder	6	2	2	4	2	2	18
Innkeeper	0	0	1	6	2	3	12
Malster	1	2	4	5	2	5	19
Maltman	1	4	0	0	0	0	5
Miller	0	2	3	4	2	3	14
Millman	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Salter	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Victualler	0	3	2	1	6	5	17
Vintner	3	10	5	7	9	1	35
White baker	0	3	5	0	0	0	8
Total	**29**	**53**	**48**	**46**	**48**	**42**	**266**

Gentry							
Esquire	0	4	3	3	2	3	15
Gentleman	6	14	6	16	9	10	61
Knight	1	1	2	1	0	0	5
Total	**7**	**19**	**11**	**20**	**11**	**13**	**81**
Leather and allied							
Cobbler	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Collarmaker	4	0	2	2	2	2	12
Cordwainer	0	8	24	23	30	26	111
Currier	0	1	3	3	4	2	13
Glover	3	1	2	4	4	4	18
Harnessmaker	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Sadler	4	6	3	3	2	2	20
Shoemaker	19	21	4	0	3	0	47
Tanner	0	1	0	2	1	1	5
Total	**32**	**38**	**38**	**38**	**46**	**37**	**229**
Metalwork							
Blacksmith	2	6	5	6	1	2	22
Brasier	2	0	2	1	1	0	6
Canmaker	0	1	0	1	1	0	3
Cutler	3	2	0	2	1	2	10
Drawer	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Farrier	0	0	1	1	0	2	4
Goldsmith	0	1	0	0	0	3	4
Gun-maker	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Gunsmith	0	1	0	1	0	1	3
Ironmonger	2	1	2	2	1	2	10
Locksmith	0	3	1	0	0	0	4
Needlemaker	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Pewterer	1	1	3	1	0	1	7
Pinmaker	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Plumber	1	0	1	1	1	1	5
Potmaker	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Pumpmaker	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Smith	4	3	2	1	4	6	20
Tankerd maker	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tinker	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Whitesmith	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**21**	**20**	**19**	**17**	**11**	**20**	**108**
Miscellaneous							
Bookbinder	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Broker	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Clockmaker	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Collier	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Confessioner	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Gardener	0	1	0	1	3	1	6
Husbandman	1	1	1	3	1	3	10
Instrument maker	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Labourer	1	0	0	3	0	9	13
Mariner	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Modelmaker	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Overseer of PPH	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Pipemaker	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Ripper	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Soapmaker	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Timberman	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Tobacco pipe maker	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Upholster	0	0	1	0	1	1	3
Watchmaker	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**5**	**6**	**2**	**10**	**8**	**20**	**51**

Professional							
Barber Surgeon	0	1	0	3	1	1	6
Clerk	2	3	1	0	1	1	8
Doctor of Law	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Doctor of physic	1	0	0	1	0	1	3
Honorable Colonel	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Lay clerk	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Musician	1	0	1	3	2	2	9
Muster master	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Notary public	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Physician	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Public notary	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Schoolmaster	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Scrivener	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Singing man	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Surgeon	0	0	2	2	0	0	4
Total	**7**	**5**	**7**	**12**	**4**	**6**	**41**
Textiles							
Clothier	4	3	5	5	2	4	23
Clothworker	3	3	7	7	6	1	27
Coverlet maker	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Dyer	0	2	0	0	0	3	5
Embroiderer	1	2	1	1	0	0	5
Feltmaker	0	0	0	1	0	2	3
Hempdresser	1	2	1	2	2	3	11
Kersymaker	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Linenweaver	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Silkweaver	2	2	2	0	1	1	8
Threadmaker	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Weaver	5	5	7	0	5	1	23
Woolcomber	0	2	0	1	1	1	5
Total	**16**	**21**	**23**	**18**	**20**	**16**	**114**
Transport							
Coachman	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hackneyman	8	2	0	0	1	2	13
Total	**8**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**4**	**15**
Woodworking							
Basketmaker	1	1	0	1	1	2	6
Coachmaker	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Cooper	2	1	6	4	3	5	21
Lastmaker	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Turner	0	2	1	1	2	4	10
Wheeler	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Wheelwright	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**4**	**4**	**8**	**6**	**6**	**13**	**41**
Yeoman	**14**	**17**	**15**	**10**	**2**	**2**	**60**
Unknown	**18**	**15**	**2**	**4**	**0**	**4**	**43**
Total	***247***	***318***	***274***	***308***	***241***	***262***	***1650***

Appendix D: Annual Membership of Canterbury Burghmote, 1600-1660

Key:

( )	Left/died this year
[ ]	Assumed individual may have left/died this year but no direct evidence
-----	Marks beginning of new appointments made during that year
I, II, III	Individual identification of members with the same name
Ald.	Alderman
bur.	buried
CC	Common Council/man
(C)	Chamberlain
(M)	Mayor
(S)	Sheriff

Explanatory notes:

a) Tables for 1600-1602 are derived from Durkin, pp. 304-6.

b) Lists are dated by mayoral year. When a common councilman is promoted to alderman his name has been placed in the alderman's list for that year, but the appointment may have been made at any time between 29 September of one year and 28 September of the next year.

c) Dates of election and swearing in can vary and dates refer to the date of swearing in unless otherwise stated; the minutes do not always record a date of swearing in. This can occasionally, especially after 1640, mean a member was never sworn in and where evidence has been found to support this it is noted.

d) In the absence of minute book evidence for the period 1603-1629 the accuracy of lists for these dates should be treated with greater caution than for other dates. See Section 2.2 for further details.

g) Fines relate to dinner fines, a form of entry payment found in chamberlains' accounts, see Section 2.2 for further details.

h) All folio numbers refer to CCA-CC/A/C/4 unless otherwise stated.

e) Churches referred to in the footnotes relate to Canterbury parish churches.

Sources:

Canterbury parish records, Canterbury Archdeaconry and Consistory Court wills and inventories, Canterbury burghmote minute books CCA-CC/A/C/3, 4, 5; Canterbury city Chamberlains' Accounts, CCA-CC/F/A/20-26

1600-1601

Aldermen	Common Council
Simon Brome	Thomas Greneleffe
Richard Gaunt	John Knightsmyth
Ralphe Bawden	John Bedle
Bartholomew Brome	Robert Railton
(C) Edward Nethersole	Bartholomew Man
Mark Berry	Thomas Halke
Thomas Long	Nicholas Mychell
Thomas Hovenden	Nicholas Colebrand
James Frengeham	John Elphick
William Clarck	George Moore
Charles Wetenhall	Christopher Bridge
Robert Wyn	Henry Finch
(M)Warham Jemmett	Thomas Beane
-----	Richard Lee
	Matthew Hadde
	John Boys
	(Edmond Nicholson)[1]
	Joseph Colfe I
	(S) Ralph Groves
	John Watson I
	William Watmer
	John Dawnton
	George Clegatt
	Thomas Hawlett

	Richard Bridge[2]
	George Wanderton[3]

1601-1602

Aldermen	Common Council
(M) Simon Brome	Thomas Greneleffe
Richard Gaunt	(John Knightsmyth)[4]
Ralphe Bawden	John Bedle
Bartholomew Brome	Robert Railton
(C) Edward Nethersole	Bartholomew Man
Mark Berry	Thomas Halke
(Thomas Long)[5]	Nicholas Mychell
Thomas Hovenden	(Nicholas Colebrand)[6]
(James Frengeham)[7]	(John Elphick)[8]
William Clarck	George Moore
Charles Wetenhall	Christopher Bridge
Robert Wyn	Henry Finch
(Warham Jemmett)[9]	Thomas Beane
-----	Richard Lee
Thomas Paramore[10]	Matthew Hadde
(C) William Watmer[11]	John Boys
George Clegatt[12]	Joseph Colfe I
	Ralph Groves
	John Watson I
	William Watmer
	John Dawnton
	(S) George Clegatt
	Thomas Hawlett
	(Richard Bridge)[13]

	George Master[14]
	Anthony Wells[15]
	Thomas Clyffe[16]
	Thomas Cheseman[17]
	James Robynson[18]

[1] Disappears from records, Dec 1600.
[2] 30 Dec 1600, AC3, fol. 379^{v}.
[3] 10 Mar 1601, AC3, fol. 382^{r}.
[4] PRC/17/52/30.
[5] Discharged, left city, 20 Apr 1602, AC3, fol. 409^{v}.
[6] Recorded as deceased, Sep.
[7] Discharged, leaving the country, 20 Apr 1602, AC3, fol. 410^{r}.
[8] Discharged 7 Sep 1602, AC3, fol. 417^{v}.
[9] Discharged at own request 20 Oct 1601, AC3, fol. 393v.
[10] Appointed CC and Ald., 9 Mar 1602, AC3, fol. 401^{r}.
[11] 4 May 1602, AC3, fol. 410^{v}.
[12] 4 May 1602, AC3, fol. 410^{v}.
[13] Bur. 14 Feb 1602, St Andrew.
[14] 6 Apr 1602, AC3, fol. 408^{r}.
[15] 18 May 1602, AC3, fol. 411^{r}.
[16] 4 May 1602, AC3, fol. 410^{v}.
[17] 7 Sep 1602, AC3, fol. 418^{r}.
[18] 7 Sep 1602, AC3, fol. 418^{r}.

1602-1603

Aldermen	Common Council
Simon Brome	Thomas Greneleffe
(M) Richard Gaunt	John Bedle
Ralphe Bawden	Robert Railton
Bartholomew Brome	Bartholomew Man
Edward Nethersole	Thomas Halke
Mark Berry	[Nicholas Mychell]
Thomas Hovenden	George Moore
William Clarck	Christopher Bridge
Charles Wetenhall	Henry Finch
Robert Wyn	[Thomas Beane]
Thomas Paramore	Richard Lee
(C) William Watmer	Matthew Hadde
George Clegatt	John Boys
-----	Joseph Colfe I
	Ralph Groves
	John Watson I
	John Dawnton
	(S) Thomas Hawlett
	George Wanderton
	George Master
	Anthony Wells
	Thomas Clyffe
	Thomas Cheseman
	James Robynson

	Edward Kennard[19]
	George Elvyn[20]

1603-1604

Aldermen	Common Council
(Simon Brome)[21]	Thomas Greneleffe
Richard Gaunt	John Bedle
(M) Ralphe Bawden	Robert Railton
Bartholomew Brome	Bartholomew Man
Edward Nethersole	(S) Thomas Halke
Mark Berry	George Moore
Thomas Hovenden	Christopher Bridge
William Clarck	Henry Finch
Charles Wetenhall	Richard Lee
Robert Wyn	Matthew Hadde
Thomas Paramore	John Boys
(C) William Watmer	Joseph Colfe I
George Clegatt	Ralph Groves
-----	John Watson I
	John Dawnton
	Thomas Hawlett
	George Wanderton
	George Master
	(Anthony Wells)[22]
	Thomas Clyffe
	Thomas Cheseman
	James Robynson
	Edward Kennard
	George Elvyn
	-----

[19] CC fine, FA21, fol.17^{v}.
[20] CC fine, FA21, fol.18^{r}.
[21] Bur. 1 Dec 1603, St George.
[22] PRC31/49 W/2.

1604-1605

Aldermen	Common Council
Richard Gaunt	Thomas Greneleffe
Ralphe Bawden	John Bedle
Bartholomew Brome	Robert Railton
(M) Edward Nethersole	Bartholomew Man
Mark Berry	George Moore
Thomas Hovenden	Christopher Bridge
William Clarck	[Henry Finch][23]
Charles Wetenhall	Richard Lee
Robert Wyn	Matthew Hadde
Thomas Paramore	John Boys
William Watmer	Joseph Colfe I
(C) George Clegatt	Ralph Groves
-----	John Watson I
Thomas Halke[24]	(S) John Dawnton
	Thomas Hawlett
	George Wanderton
	George Master
	Thomas Clyffe
	Thomas Cheseman
	James Robynson
	Edward Kennard
	George Elvyn

	Richard Scott[25]
	Thomas Player[26]
	Thomas Chapman[27]

1605-1606

Aldermen	Common Council
Richard Gaunt	[Thomas Greneleffe]
Ralphe Bawden	(John Bedle)[28]
Bartholomew Brome	Robert Railton
Edward Nethersole	[Bartholomew Man]
(M) Mark Berry	George Moore
Thomas Hovenden	Christopher Bridge
William Clarck	Richard Lee
Charles Wetenhall	Matthew Hadde
Robert Wyn	John Boys
Thomas Paramore	Joseph Colfe I
William Watmer	Ralph Groves
(C) George Clegatt	John Watson I
Thomas Halke	John Dawnton
-----	Thomas Hawlett
	George Wanderton
	George Master
	[Thomas Clyffe]
	Thomas Cheseman
	James Robynson
	Edward Kennard
	George Elvyn
	Richard Scott
	Thomas Player
	(S) Thomas Chapman

	John Peeres[29]
	Richard Lockley[30]
	Thomas Fetherstone[31]
	Henry Bridge[32]

[23] Became reader of Gray's Inn in May 1604 so possibly left the council at this point.
[24] Ald. fine, FA21, fol. 109^{v}.
[25] CC fine, FA21, fol. 109^{v}.
[26] CC fine, FA21, fol. 109^{v}.
[27] CC fine, FA21, fol. 109^{v}.

[28] PRC/17/60/229a
[29] CC fine, FA21, fol. 151^{r}.
[30] CC fine, FA21, fol. 151^{r}.
[31] CC fine, FA21, fol. 151^{r}.
[32] CC fine, FA21, fol. 151^{r}.

1606-1607

Aldermen	Common Council
Richard Gaunt	Robert Railton
Ralphe Bawden	George Moore
Bartholomew Brome	Christopher Bridge
Edward Nethersole	Richard Lee
Mark Berry	Matthew Hadde
(M) Thomas Hovenden	John Boys
William Clarck	Joseph Colfe I
Charles Wetenhall	Ralph Groves
Robert Wyn	John Watson I
(C) Thomas Paramore	John Dawnton
William Watmer	(Thomas Hawlett)[33]
George Clegatt	George Wanderton
Thomas Halke	George Master
-----	Thomas Cheseman
	James Robynson
	Edward Kennard
	George Elvyn
	Richard Scott
	Thomas Player
	Thomas Chapman
	John Peeres
	Richard Lockley
	(S) Thomas Fetherstone
	Henry Bridge

	Thomas Brome[34]

1607-1608

Aldermen	Common Council
Richard Gaunt	Robert Railton
Ralphe Bawden	George Moore
[Bartholomew Brome][35]	Christopher Bridge
Edward Nethersole	Richard Lee
Mark Berry	Matthew Hadde
Thomas Hovenden	John Boys
William Clarck	Ralph Groves
Charles Wetenhall	John Watson I
Robert Wyn	John Dawnton
(M) Thomas Paramore	George Wanderton
William Watmer	George Master
George Clegatt	Thomas Cheseman
(C) Thomas Halke	James Robynson
-----	Edward Kennard
Joseph Colfe I[36]	(S) George Elvyn
	Richard Scott
	Thomas Player
	Thomas Chapman
	John Peeres
	Richard Lockley
	Thomas Fetherstone
	Henry Bridge
	Thomas Brome
	-----

[33] PRC/28/6/253, 1606.

[34] CC fine, FA21, fol. 190[v].

[35] Since another new alderman joins the most likely candidate to have left is Bartholomew Brome. No date of death has been ascertained (see *HoP*), however, he probably died before May this year as he is not named in TNA STAC 8/115/14.

[36] Mention as Ald., FA21, fol. 226[r].

1608-1609

Aldermen	Common Council
Richard Gaunt	Robert Railton
Ralphe Bawden	George Moore
Edward Nethersole	Christopher Bridge
Mark Berry	(Richard Lee)[37]
Thomas Hovenden	Matthew Hadde
(William Clarck)[38]	John Boys
Charles Wetenhall	Ralph Groves
(Robert Wyn)[39]	John Watson I
Thomas Paramore	John Dawnton
(M) William Watmer	George Wanderton
George Clegatt	George Master
(C) Thomas Halke	Thomas Cheseman
Joseph Colfe I	James Robynson
-----	Edward Kennard
(S) Thomas Brome[40]	Richard Scott
George Elvyn[41]	Thomas Player
	Thomas Chapman
	John Peeres
	Richard Lockley
	Thomas Fetherstone
	Henry Bridge

	John Dunkyn[42]
	James Dunkyn[43]
	William Clegatt[44]
	William Man[45]

1609-1610

Aldermen	Common Council
Richard Gaunt	Robert Railton
Ralphe Bawden	George Moore
Edward Nethersole	Christopher Bridge
Mark Berry	Matthew Hadde
Thomas Hovenden	John Boys
Charles Wetenhall	Ralph Groves
Thomas Paramore	John Watson I
William Watmer	(John Dawnton)[46]
(M) George Clegatt	George Wanderton
Thomas Halke	(S) George Master
(C) Joseph Colfe I	Thomas Cheseman
Thomas Brome	James Robynson
George Elvyn	Edward Kennard
-----	Richard Scott
	Thomas Player
	Thomas Chapman
	John Peeres
	Richard Lockley
	Thomas Fetherstone
	Henry Bridge
	John Dunkyn
	James Dunkyn
	William Clegatt
	William Man

	John Meriam[47]

[37] Died 22 Dec 1608, *HoP*.
[38] Bur. 3 Jan 1609, St George.
[39] Bur. 6 Sep 1609, St George.
[40] Ald. fine, FA21, fol. 282^{r}.
[41] Ald. fine, FA21, fol. 283^{r}.
[42] CC fine, FA21, fol. 281^{v}.
[43] CC fine, FA21, fol. 282^{r}.
[44] CC fine, FA21, fol. 293^{r}.
[45] CC fine, FA21, fol. 293^{r}.
[46] PRC/16/137 D/1.
[47] CC fine, FA21, fol. 330^{r}.

1610-1611

Aldermen	Common Council
Richard Gaunt	Robert Railton
Ralphe Bawden	George Moore
Edward Nethersole	Christopher Bridge
Mark Berry	Matthew Hadde
Thomas Hovenden	John Boys
Charles Wetenhall	Ralph Groves
Thomas Paramore	John Watson I
William Watmer	George Wanderton
George Clegatt	George Master
(M) Thomas Halke	Thomas Cheseman
(C) Joseph Colfe I	James Robynson
Thomas Brome	[Edward Kennard]
George Elvyn	Richard Scott
-----	Thomas Player
	Thomas Chapman
	John Peeres
	Richard Lockley
	Thomas Fetherstone
	(S) Henry Bridge
	(John Dunkyn)[48]
	James Dunkyn
	William Clegatt
	William Man
	John Meriam

	Avery Sabine[49]
	John Furser[50]

1611-1612

Aldermen	Common Council
(C) Richard Gaunt	(Robert Railton)[51]
(Ralphe Bawden)[52]	George Moore
Edward Nethersole	Christopher Bridge
Mark Berry	Matthew Hadde
Thomas Hovenden	(John Boys)[53]
Charles Wetenhall	Ralph Groves
Thomas Paramore	John Watson I
William Watmer	George Wanderton
George Clegatt	George Master
(Thomas Halke)[54]	Thomas Cheseman
(M) Joseph Colfe I	James Robynson
Thomas Brome	Richard Scott
George Elvyn	Thomas Player
-----	Thomas Chapman
Thomas Fetherstone	John Peeres
	Richard Lockley
	Henry Bridge
	James Dunkyn
	William Clegatt
	William Man
	John Meriam
	Avery Sabine
	John Furser

	(S) [Nicholas Colebrand][55]

[48] Bur. 5 May 1610, St Mildred.
[49] CC fine, FA21, fol. 22^{v}.
[50] CCfine, FA21, fol. 23^{r}.
[51] Bur. 26 Feb 1612, St Andrew.
[52] Bur. 4 Jan 1612, St Peter.
[53] Died Aug 1612.
[54] Bur. 23 Dec 1611, St Peter.
[55] May have died in office and been succeeded by Henry Bridge as sheriff.

1612-1613

Aldermen	Common Council
(C) Richard Gaunt	George Moore
Edward Nethersole	Christopher Bridge
Mark Berry	Matthew Hadde
Thomas Hovenden	Ralph Groves
Charles Wetenhall	George Wanderton
Thomas Paramore	George Master
William Watmer	[Thomas Cheseman] [56]
George Clegatt	James Robynson
Joseph Colfe I	Richard Scott
Thomas Brome	Thomas Player
George Elvyn	Thomas Chapman
(M) Thomas Fetherstone	John Peeres
-----	Richard Lockley
John Watson I[57]	Henry Bridge
	James Dunkyn
	William Clegatt
	William Man
	John Meriam
	(S) Avery Sabine
	John Furser

	Ralph Hawkins[58]
	Israel Weevil[59]
	Thomas Brancker[60]
	James Nicholson[61]

1613-1614

Aldermen	Common Council
Richard Gaunt	George Moore
Edward Nethersole	Christopher Bridge
Mark Berry	Matthew Hadde
Thomas Hovenden	Ralph Groves
Charles Wetenhall	George Wanderton
Thomas Paramore	George Master
(C) William Watmer	James Robynson
George Clegatt	Richard Scott
Joseph Colfe I	(S) Thomas Player
Thomas Brome	Thomas Chapman
(M) George Elvyn	John Peeres
John Watson I	Richard Lockley
Thomas Fetherstone	Henry Bridge
-----	James Dunkyn
	William Clegatt
	William Man
	John Meriam
	Avery Sabine
	John Furser
	Ralph Hawkins
	Israel Weevil
	Thomas Brancker
	James Nicholson

	John Hunt[62]

[56] Disappears from account auditor lists after 1611-12.
[57] Ald. fine, FA22/1, fol. 96^{r}.
[58] CC fine, FA22/1, fol. 96^{r}.
[59] CC fine, FA22/1, fol. 96^{r}.
[60] CC fine, FA22/1, fol. 96^{r}.
[61] CC fine, FA22/1, fol. 96^{r}.
[62] CC fine, FA22/1, fol. 144^{v}.

1614-1615

Aldermen	Common Council
Richard Gaunt	George Moore
Edward Nethersole	Christopher Bridge
Mark Berry	Matthew Hadde
Thomas Hovenden	Ralph Groves
(Charles Wetenhall)[63]	George Wanderton
Thomas Paramore	George Master
(C) William Watmer	James Robynson
George Clegatt	Richard Scott
Joseph Colfe I	Thomas Player
[Thomas Brome][64]	Thomas Chapman
George Elvyn	Richard Lockley
John Watson I	Henry Bridge
Thomas Fetherstone	James Dunkyn
-----	William Clegatt
(M) John Peeres	William Man
Avery Sabine[65]	John Meriam
	John Furser
	Ralph Hawkins
	Israel Weevil
	(S) Thomas Brancker
	James Nicholson
	John Hunt

	Thomas Reader[66]
	James Master[67]
	Henry Vanner[68]

1615-1616

Aldermen	Common Council
Richard Gaunt	George Moore
[Edward Nethersole][69]	(Christopher Bridge)[70]
Mark Berry	Matthew Hadde
Thomas Hovenden	Ralph Groves
[Thomas Paramore][71]	George Wanderton
William Watmer	George Master
George Clegatt	James Robynson
Joseph Colfe I	Richard Scott
George Elvyn	Thomas Player
(M) John Watson I	Richard Lockley
(Thomas Fetherstone)[72]	Henry Bridge
John Peeres	James Dunkyn
(C) Avery Sabine	William Clegatt
-----	(William Man)[73]
(S) John Hunt[74]	John Meriam
Thomas Chapman[75]	John Furser
Henry Vanner	Ralph Hawkins
	Isreal Weevil
	Thomas Brancker
	James Nicholson
	Thomas Reader
	James Master

	John Harris[76]
	William Whiting I[77]

[63] Bur. 5 Dec 1615, St Andrew.

[64] Since an additional alderman was appointed this year one of the established men must have left/died. As other aldermen are known to have been present in later years the most likely candidate is Thomas Brome.

[65] Ald. fine, FA22/1, fol. 184^{v}.

[66] CC fine, FA22/1, fol. 183^{r}.

[67] CC fine, FA22/1, fol. 184^{r}.

[68] Ald., CC, and sheriff's fines, FA22/1, fol. 231^{v}.

[69] Probably moved out of the city this year.

[70] Bur. 25 Dec 1615, St Andrew.

[71] Probably moved to Fordwich this year given the number of new aldermen.

[72] Bur. 22 Sep 1616, St George.

[73] PRC/32/44/48b.

[74] Ald. fine, FA22/1, fol. 231^{v}.

[75] Ald. fine, FA22/1, fol. 231^{v}.

[76] CC fine, FA22/1, fol. 232^{r}.

[77] CC fine, FA22/1, fol. 232^{r}.

1616-1617

Aldermen	Common Council
Richard Gaunt	George Moore
(M) Mark Berry	(Matthew Hadde)[78]
Thomas Hovenden	Ralph Groves
William Watmer	George Wanderton
Joseph Colfe I	George Master
George Elvyn	James Robynson
John Watson I	Richard Scott
John Peeres	Thomas Player
(C) Avery Sabine	Richard Lockley
John Hunt	Henry Bridge
George Clegatt	James Dunkyn
Thomas Chapman	William Clegatt
Henry Vanner	John Meriam
-----	John Furser
	Ralph Hawkins
	Israel Weevil
	Thomas Brancker
	James Nicholson
	Thomas Reader
	James Master
	John Harris
	William Whiting I

	(S) John White
	Thomas White[79]

1617-1618

Aldermen	Common Council
Richard Gaunt	George Moore
(Mark Berry)[80]	Ralph Groves
(M) Thomas Hovenden	George Wanderton
William Watmer	George Master
Joseph Colfe I	James Robynson
George Elvyn	Richard Scott
John Watson I	Thomas Player
John Peeres	Henry Bridge
(C) Avery Sabine	William Clegatt
John Hunt	John Meriam
George Clegatt	John Furser
(Thomas Chapman)[81]	(S) Ralph Hawkins
Henry Vanner	Israel Weevil
-----	Thomas Brancker
Richard Lockley[82]	James Nicholson
James Dunkyn[83]	Thomas Reader
	James Master
	John Harris
	William Whiting I
	John White
	Thomas White

	John Gilbert[84]
	Thomas Middleton[85]
	John Finch[86]

[78] Bur. 14 Aug 1617, St Alphege.
[79] CC fine, FA22/1, fol. 283^{r}.
[80] PRC16/161 B/19.
[81] Bur. 21 Oct 1617, St Andrew.
[82] Ald. fine, FA22/1, fol. 328^{r}.
[83] Ald. fine, FA22/1, fol. 328^{r}.
[84] CC fine, FA22/1, fol. 327^{r}.
[85] CC fine, FA22/1, fol. 328^{r}.
[86] As recorder.

1618-1619

Aldermen	Common Council
(Richard Gaunt)[87]	(S) George Moore
Thomas Hovenden	Ralph Groves
William Watmer	George Wanderton
Joseph Colfe I	George Master
(C) George Elvyn	James Robynson
John Watson I	Richard Scott
John Peeres	Thomas Player
(M) Avery Sabine	Henry Bridge
John Hunt	William Clagett
George Clagett	John Meriam
Henry Vanner	John Furser
Richard Lockley	Israel Weevil
James Dunkyn	Thomas Brancker
-----	James Nicholson
Ralph Hawkins[88]	Thomas Reader
	James Master
	John Harris
	William Whiting I
	John White
	Thomas White
	John Gilbert
	Thomas Middleton
	John Finch

1619-1620

Aldermen	Common Council
(Thomas Hovenden)[89]	Ralph Groves
William Watmer	George Wanderton
(Joseph Colfe I)[90]	George Master
(C) George Elvyn	James Robynson
John Watson I	Richard Scott
John Peeres	Thomas Player
Avery Sabine	Henry Bridge
John Hunt	William Clagett
George Clagett	John Meriam
(M) Henry Vanner	John Furser
Richard Lockley	Israel Weevil
James Dunkyn	Thomas Brancker
Ralph Hawkins	James Nicholson
-----	Thomas Reader
George Moore[91]	(S) James Master
	John Harris
	William Whiting I
	John White
	Thomas White
	John Gilbert
	Thomas Middleton
	John Finch

	Thomas Marshall[92]

[87] Bur. 29 Jan 1619, St George.
[88] Ald. fine, FA22/1, fol. 328^{r}.
[89] Bur. 30 Dec 1619, St Andrew.
[90] PRC32/45/114.
[91] Ald., CC, and sheriff's fines, FA22/2, fol. 435^{v}.
[92] CC fine, FA22/2, fol. 435^{v}.

1620-1621

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Groves
George Elvyn	George Wanderton
John Watson I	George Master
(C) John Peeres	James Robynson
Avery Sabine	Richard Scott
John Hunt	Thomas Player
George Clagett	Henry Bridge
Henry Vanner	William Clagett
Richard Lockley	John Meriam
James Dunkyn	John Furser
(M) Ralph Hawkins	Israel Weevil
George Moore	Thomas Brancker
-----	James Nicholson
John Harris[93]	Thomas Reader
	James Master
	William Whiting I
	John White
	Thomas White
	John Gilbert
	(S) Thomas Middleton
	John Finch
	Thomas Marshall

	John Terrie[94]

1621-1622

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Groves
George Elvyn	George Wanderton
John Watson I	George Master
(C) John Peeres	James Robynson
Avery Sabine	Richard Scott
(M) John Hunt	Thomas Player
George Clagett	Henry Bridge
Henry Vanner	William Clagett
Richard Lockley	John Meriam
James Dunkyn	John Furser
Ralph Hawkins	Israel Weevil
George Moore	Thomas Brancker
(John Harris)[95]	James Nicholson
-----	Thomas Reader
James Master[96]	William Whiting I
	John White
	(S) Thomas White
	John Gilbert
	Thomas Middleton
	John Finch
	Thomas Marshall
	John Terrie
	-----

[93] Mention as Ald. in subsidy roll CCA-CC/S/4/25.
[94] CC fine, FA23, fol. 25[r].
[95] PRC 17/63/183.
[96] Ald. fine, FA23, fol. 86[r].

1622-1623

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Groves
George Elvyn	George Wanderton
John Watson I	George Master
John Peeres	(James Robynson)[97]
(C) Avery Sabine	Richard Scott
John Hunt	Thomas Player
(M) George Clagett	Henry Bridge
Henry Vanner	(S) William Clagett
Richard Lockley	John Meriam
James Dunkyn	John Furser
Ralph Hawkins	Israel Weevil
George Moore	Thomas Brancker
James Master	James Nicholson
-----	Thomas Reader
	William Whiting I
	John White
	Thomas White
	John Gilbert
	Thomas Middleton
	John Finch
	Thomas Marshall
	John Terrie

	Symon Pennys[98]
	Joseph Colfe II[99]

1623-1624

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Groves
(George Elvyn)[100]	George Wanderton
John Watson I	George Master
John Peeres	Richard Scott
(C) Avery Sabine	Thomas Player
John Hunt	Henry Bridge
George Clagett	William Clagett
Henry Vanner	John Meriam
(M) Richard Lockley	John Furser
James Dunkyn	Israel Weevil
Ralph Hawkins	Thomas Brancker
George Moore	James Nicholson
James Master	Thomas Reader
-----	William Whiting I
	John White
	(Thomas White)[101]
	(S) John Gilbert
	Thomas Middleton
	John Finch
	Thomas Marshall
	John Terrie
	(Symon Pennys)[102]
	Joseph Colfe II
	-----

[97] Bur. 17 Jan 1623, St Andrew.
[98] CC fine, FA23, fol. 138r.
[99] CC fine, FA23, fol. 138[r].
[100] Bur. 1 Nov 1623, St Mary Breadman.
[101] PRC17/63/382a.
[102] PRC/17/66/57.

1624-1625

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Groves
John Watson I	George Wanderton
John Peeres	George Master
(C) Avery Sabine	Richard Scott
John Hunt	Thomas Player
George Clagett	[Henry Bridge]
Henry Vanner	William Clagett
Richard Lockley	John Meriam
(James Dunkyn)[103]	John Furser
Ralph Hawkins	(Israel Weevil)[104]
(George Moore)[105]	Thomas Brancker
(M) James Master	James Nicholson
-----	Thomas Reader
(S) William Whiting I	(John White)[106]
	John Gilbert
	Thomas Middleton
	(John Finch)[107]
	Thomas Marshall
	John Terrie
	Joseph Colfe II

	Peter Pyard[108]
	Walter Southwell[109]
	Henry Lightfoot[110]
	John Standley[111]
	Charles Annott[112]
	Clive Carter[113]
	George Young[114]
	William Bridge[115]

1625-1626

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Groves
John Watson I	[George Wanderton]
John Peeres	(George Master) [116]
(C) Avery Sabine	Richard Scott
John Hunt	Thomas Player
George Clagett	William Clagtet
Henry Vanner	John Meriam
(Ralph Hawkins)[117]	Thomas Brancker
Richard Lockley	James Nicholson
James Master	Thomas Reader
(M) William Whiting I	John Gilbert
-----	Thomas Middleton
John Standley[118]	Thomas Marshall
John Furser[119]	John Terrie
	Joseph Colfe II
	Peter Pyard
	Walter Southwell
	(S) Henry Lightfoot
	Charles Annott
	Clive Carter
	George Young
	William Bridge

	George Knott[120]
	Thomas Forward[121]

[103] PRC 32/46/184b.
[104] Bur. 9 Oct 1624, St Mildred.
[105] PROB/11/144.
[106] PRC17/66/96.
[107] Dismissed as recorder, 1625.
[108] CC fine, FA23, fol. 238^{r}.
[109] CC fine, FA23, fol. 238^{r}.
[110] CC fine, FA23, fol. 238^{r}.
[111] CC fine, FA23, fol. 238^{r}.
[112] CC fine, FA23, fol. 238^{r}.
[113] CC fine, FA23, fol. 239^{r}.
[114] CC fine, FA23, fol. 239^{r}.
[115] CC fine, FA23, fol. 239^{v}.
[116] Bur. 27 Feb 1623, St George.
[117] Bur. 25 June 1626, St Peter.
[118] Ald. fine, FA23, fol. 284^{r}.
[119] Mention as Ald. of Burgate Ward, subsidy roll CCA-CC/B/C/S/4/26.
[120] CC fine, FA23, fol. 285^{v}.
[121] CC fine, FA23, fol. 285^{v}.

1626-1627

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Groves
John Watson I	Richard Scott
John Peeres	Thomas Player
(C) Avery Sabine	William Clagett
John Hunt	John Meriam
George Clagett	Thomas Middleton
Henry Vanner	Thomas Brancker
Richard Lockley	James Nicholson
James Master	Thomas Reader
William Whiting I	John Gilbert
(M) John Standley	Thomas Marshall
John Furser	(S) John Terrie
-----	Joseph Colfe II
John Roberts[122]	Peter Pyard
	Walter Southwell
	Henry Lightfoot
	Charles Annott
	Clive Carter
	George Young
	William Bridge
	George Knott
	Thomas Forward

	Henry Jenkyn[123]
	Thomas Fidge[124]

1627-1628

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Groves
John Watson I	Richard Scott
(John Peeres)[125]	Thomas Player
(C) Avery Sabine	William Clagett
John Hunt	John Meriam
George Clagett	Thomas Middleton
Henry Vanner	Thomas Brancker
Richard Lockley	James Nicholson
James Master	Thomas Reader
William Whiting I[126]	John Gilbert
John Standley	Thomas Marshall
(M) John Furser	John Terrie
John Roberts	Joseph Colfe II
-----	Peter Pyard
	Walter Southwell
	(S) Henry Lightfoot[127]
	Charles Annott
	Clive Carter
	George Young
	William Bridge
	George Knott
	Thomas Forward
	Henry Jenkyn
	Thomas Fidge
	-----

[122] CC and Ald. fines, FA23, fol. 330^{v}.
[123] CC fine, FA23, fol. 330^{v}.
[124] CC fine, FA23, fol. 330^{v}.
[125] Bur. 19 Mar 1627, St Andrew.
[126] Ald. and sheriff's fines, FA23, fol. 383^{v}.
[127] Sheriff's fine, FA23, fol. 383^{v}.

1628-1629

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Groves
(C) John Watson I	Richard Scott
Avery Sabine	Thomas Player
John Hunt	William Clagett
George Clagett	John Meriam
Henry Vanner	[Thomas Middleton]
Richard Lockley	Thomas Brancker
James Master	James Nicholson
William Whiting I	Thomas Reader
John Standley	[John Gilbert]
John Furser	Thomas Marshall
(M) John Roberts	John Terrie
-----	Joseph Colfe II
	Peter Pyard
	Walter Southwell
	Henry Lightfoot
	Charles Annott
	(S) Clive Carter
	George Young
	William Bridge
	George Knott
	Thomas Forward
	Henry Jenkyn
	Thomas Fidge

1629-1630

Aldermen	Common Council
(M) William Watmer	Ralph Groves
John Watson I	Richard Scott
Avery Sabine	Thomas Player
John Hunt	William Clagett
George Clagett	Thomas Brancker
Henry Vanner	James Nicholson
(Richard Lockley)[128]	Thomas Marshall
James Master	John Terrie
William Whiting I	Peter Pyard
John Standley	Walter Southwell
(C) John Furser	(Henry Lightfoot)[129]
John Roberts	Charles Annott
-----	Clive Carter
John Meriam[130]	George Young
(S) Joseph Colfe II[131]	William Bridge
Thomas Reader[132]	George Knott
	Thomas Forward[133]
	[Henry Jenkyn]
	Thomas Fidge

	Mathewe Hawkins[134]
	Roger Simpson[135]
	Daniel Masterson[136]
	James Glover[137]
	George Milles[138]
	John Lade[139]
	Lancelot Lovelace[140]

[128] Discharged on petition, moved to Hackington, fol. 8^{v}.
[129] PRC17/67/63b.
[130] Ald. by 13 Apr 1630, mentioned in defaulter list, fol. 1^{v}.
[131] Chosen Ald. 25 May 1630, fol. 2^{r}.
[132] 28 Sep 1630, fol. 11^{v}.
[133] Bur. 4 Jul 1629, St Andrew.
[134] 25 May 1630, fol. 2^{r}.
[135] 25 May 1630, fol. 2^{r}.
[136] CC fine, FA23, fol. 493^{v}.
[137] 14 Sep 1630, fol. 9^{v}.
[138] Noted in defaulters list, fol. 1^{v}.
[139] Noted in defaulters list, fol. 1^{v}.
[140] 14 Sep 1630, fol. 9^{v}.

1630-1631

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Groves
[John Watson I][141]	Richard Scott
(M) Avery Sabine	Thomas Player
John Hunt	William Clagett
George Clagett	Thomas Brancker
(Henry Vanner)[142]	James Nicholson
James Master	Thomas Marshall
William Whiting I	John Terrie
John Standley	Peter Pyard
(C) John Furser	Charles Annott
(John Roberts)[143]	Clive Carter
John Meriam	George Young
(S) Joseph Colfe II	William Bridge
Thomas Reader	George Knott
-----	Thomas Fidge
Walter Southwell[144]	Mathew Hawkins
John Lade[145]	Roger Simpson
	Daniel Masterson
	James Glover
	George Milles
	Lancelot Lovelace

	John Lee I[146]
	John Philpott[147]
	Joseph Bulkley[148]

1631-1632

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Groves
Avery Sabine	Richard Scott
(John Hunt)[149]	Thomas Player
George Clagett	William Clagget
James Master	Thomas Brancker
William Whiting I	Thomas Marshall
John Standley	John Terrie
(C) John Furser	Peter Piard
(M) John Meriam	(Charles Annott) [150]
(Joseph Colfe II)[151]	Clive Carter
(Thomas Reader)[152]	George Young
Walter Southwell	George Knott
John Lade	Thomas Fidge
-----	(S) Matt. Hawkins
James Nicholson[153]	Roger Simpson
William Bridge[154]	Daniel Masterson
	James Glover
	George Milles
	Lancelot Lovelace
	John Lee I
	John Philpott
	Joseph Bulkley

	Thomas Young[155]

[141] Bur. 24 Apr 1633, St Andrew.
[142] PRC16/196 UV/4.
[143] Discharged on petition, 1 Feb 1631, fol. 21^{v}.
[144] Chosen Ald. 19 Jul 1631, fol. 30^{v}.
[145] Chosen Ald. 19 Jul 1631, fol. 31^{r}.
[146] Haberdasher, 14 Sep 1631, fol. 34^{r}.
[147] 14 Sep 1631, fol. 34^{r}.
[148] Noted as restored to place of CC, 13 Sep 1631, fol. 33^{r}.
[149] Bur. 29 Mar 1632, St Peter. According to entry in AC4, he died at the Burghmote meeting 10 Apr 1632, but this date has been altered and given his burial date he must have died at the previous meeting on 27 Mar 1632, fols 45^{r}, 45^{v}.
[150] Bur. 23 Oct 1631, St George.
[151] Bur. 27 Jun 1632, St Mary Breadman.
[152] Bur. 9 Aug 1632, St George.
[153] 17 July 1632, fol. 50^{v}.
[154] 14 Aug 1632, fol. 50^{v}.
[155] 31 Jul 1632, fol. 51^{v}.

1632-1633

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Grove
Avery Sabine	Richard Scott
(M) George Clagett	Thomas Player
(C) James Master	William Clagett
William Whiting I	Thomas Brancker
John Standley	Thomas Marshall
John Furser	(S) Peter Pyard
John Meriam	Clive Carter
Walter Southwell	George Young
James Nicholson	George Knott
William Bridge	Thomas Fidge
John Lade	Mathewe Hawkins
-----	Roger Simpson
John Terry[156]	Daniel Masterson
	James Glover
	George Milles
	Lancelot Lovelace
	John Lee I
	John Philpott
	Joseph Bulkley
	Thomas Young

	Thomas Kyngsford[157]
	Francis Maplisden[158]
	John Watson II[159]

1633-1634

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Grove
Avery Sabine	(Richard Scott)[160]
George Clagett	Thomas Player
(C) James Master	William Clagett
William Whiting I	Thomas Brancker
John Standley	Thomas Marshall
John Furser	(S) Peter Pyard
John Meriam	Clive Carter
James Nicholson	George Young
Walter Southwell	George Knott
James Nicholson	Thomas Fidge
William Bridge	Mathewe Hawkins
(M) John Lade	Roger Simpson
John Terry	Daniel Masterson
-----	James Glover
	George Milles
	Lancelot Lovelace
	John Lee I
	(John Philpott)[161]
	Joseph Bulkley
	Thomas Young
	Thomas Kyngsford
	Francis Maplisden
	John Watston II

	William Taylor[162]
	Thomas Burton[163]

[156] 1 Jan 1633, fol. 59^{v}.
[157] 9 Oct 1632, fol. 55^{v}.
[158] 10 Sep 1633, fol. 72^{r}.
[159] 10 Sep 1633, fol. 72^{r}.
[160] PRC/17/69/110.
[161] Bur. 26 Sep 1633, St Alphege.
[162] 12 Aug 1634, fol. 88^{r}.
[163] 12 Aug 1634, fol. 88^{r}.

1634-1635

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Ralph Grove
Avery Sabine	Thomas Player
George Clagett	William Clagett
(C) James Master	Thomas Brancker
William Whiting I	Thomas Marshall
John Standley	Peter Pyard
John Furser	Clive Carter
John Meriam	George Young
James Nicholson	George Knott
(M) Walter Southwell	Thomas Fidge
William Bridge	Mathewe Hawkins
John Lade	Roger Simpson
John Terry	Daniel Masterson
-----	(S) James Glover
	George Milles
	Lancelot Lovelace
	John Lee I
	Joseph Bulkley
	Thomas Young
	Thomas Kyngsford
	Francis Maplisden
	John Watson II[164]
	William Taylor
	Thomas Burton

1635-1636

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	(Ralph Grove) [165]
Avery Sabine	Thomas Player
George Clagett	William Clagett
(C) James Master	Thomas Brancker
William Whiting I	Thomas Marshall
John Standley	Peter Pyard
John Furser	Clive Carter
(John Meriam)[166]	George Young
(M) James Nicholson	George Knott
Walter Southwell	Thomas Fidge
William Bridge	Mathewe Hawkins
John Lade	Roger Simpson
John Terry	(S) Daniel Masterson
-----	James Glover
	George Milles
	Lancelot Lovelace
	John Lee I
	Joseph Bulkley
	[Thomas Young]
	Thomas Kyngsford
	Francis Maplisden
	John Watson II
	William Taylor
	Thomas Burton

	Richard Juxon[167]

[164] 10 Sep 1633, fol. 72[r].

[165] PRC/17/69/95a.

[166] Bur. 23 Sep 1636, All Saints.

[167] Chosen CC, town clerk and coroner, 30 Dec 1635, fol. 111[v].

1636-1637

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Thomas Player
Avery Sabine	William Clagett
George Clagett	Thomas Brancker
James Master	Thomas Marshall
(C) William Whiting I	Peter Pyard
John Standley	Clive Carter
John Furser	George Young
James Nicholson	George Knott
Walter Southwell	Thomas Fidge
John Lade	Mathewe Hawkins
John Terry	Roger Simpson
(M) William Bridge	James Glover
-----	George Milles
Daniel Masterson[168]	[Lancelot Lovelace][169]
	John Lee I
	Joseph Bulkley
	Thomas Kyngsford
	Francis Maplisden
	John Watson II
	William Taylor
	Thomas Burton
	(S) Richard Juxon

	Thomas Tressor[170]
	Francis Lovelace[171]

1637-1638

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Thomas Player
Avery Sabine	William Clagett
(George Clagett)[172]	Thomas Brancker
James Master	Thomas Marshall
(C) William Whiting I	Peter Pyard
John Standley	George Young
John Furser	George Knott
James Nicholson	Thomas Fidge
Walter Southwell	(Mathewe Hawkins)[173]
John Lade	(S) Roger Simpson
(M) John Terry	James Glover
William Bridge	George Milles
Daniel Masterson	John Lee I
-----	Joseph Bulkley
Clive Carter[174]	Thomas Kyngsford
	Francis Maplisden
	John Watson II
	William Taylor
	Thomas Burton
	Richard Juckson
	Thomas Tressor
	Francis Lovelace

	Paul Petit[175]
	Vespasian Harris[176]
	Leonard Lovelace[177]
	Edward Norden[178]

[168] 5 Sep 1637, fol. 129[r].

[169] Dies in 1640 but by 13 Dec 1636 his son Francis Lovelace succeeds him as recorder, fol. 122[r].

[170] 15 Nov 1636, fol. 121[r].

[171] Granted freedom 29 Nov 1636 and appointed recorder by 13 Dec 1636, fols 121[v], 122[r].

[172] Bur. 12 Apr 1638, St Andrew.

[173] Discharged 10 Jul 1638 as left the city for Tenterden then London, absent for 1 year, fol. 137[r].

[174] 10 Jul 1638, fol. 137[r].

[175] 12 Dec 1637, fol. 131[r].

[176] 24 Jul 1638, fol. 137[v].

[177] 24 Jul 1638, fol. 137[v].

[178] Chosen 4 Sep 1638, fol. 139[v].

1638-1639

Aldermen	Common Council
William Watmer	Thomas Player
Avery Sabine	(William Clagett)[179]
(M) James Master	Thomas Brancker
(C) William Whiting I	Thomas Marshall
John Standley	Peter Pyard
John Furser	George Young
James Nicholson	George Knott
(Walter Southwell)[180]	Thomas Fidge
John Lade	Roger Simpson
John Terry	James Glover
William Bridge	George Milles
Daniel Masterson	John Lee I
Clive Carter	Joseph Bulkley
-----	Thomas Kyngsford
John Watson II [181]	Francis Maplisden
	William Taylor
	(Thomas Burton)[182]
	Richard Juxon
	Thomas Tressor
	Francis Lovelace
	(S) Paul Petit
	Vespasian Harris
	Leonard Lovelace
	Edward Norden

	Robert Turner (ygr)[183]

1639-1640

Aldermen	Common Council
(William Watmer)[184]	Thomas Player
Avery Sabine	(Thomas Brancker)[185]
James Master	Thomas Marshall
William Whiting I	Peter Pyard
(M) John Standley	George Young
John Furser	Thomas Fidge
James Nicholson	Roger Simpson
(C) John Lade	James Glover
John Terry	George Milles
William Bridge	John Lee I
Daniel Masterson	Joseph Bulkley
Clive Carter	Thomas Kyngsford
John Watson II	Francis Maplisden
-----	William Taylor
George Knott[186]	Richard Juxon
	Thomas Tressor
	Francis Lovelace
	Paul Petit
	Vespasian Harris
	Leonard Lovelace
	(S) Edward Norden
	Robert Turner

	John Pollon[187]
	Thomas Gilbert[188]

[179] 23 Jul 1639 long term absentee, given one month to attend or face discharge, AC4, fol. 147[r]. No evidence of discharge but disappears from default lists.
[180] Bur. 19 Mar 1639, St Mary Breadman.
[181] 9 Jul 1639, fol. 146[v].
[182] Bur. 23 Aug 1638, St Paul.
[183] 23 Jul 1639, fol. 147[r].
[184] PRC16/231 W/17.
[185] Bur. 6 Dec 1639, St Andrew.
[186] 21 Jul 1640, fol. 154[r].
[187] Chosen CC 14 Apr 1640, fol. 152[r].
[188] Chosen CC 18 Aug 1640, fol. 154[r].

1640-1641

Aldermen	Common Council
Avery Sabine	Thomas Player
James Master	Thomas Marshall
William Whiting I	Peter Pyard
John Standley	George Young
(John Furser)[189]	Thomas Fidge
James Nicholson	Roger Simpson
(C) John Lade	James Glover
John Terry	George Milles
William Bridge	John Lee I
(M) Daniel Masterson	Joseph Bulkley
Clive Carter	Thomas Kyngsford
John Watson II	Francis Maplisden
George Knott	William Taylor
-----	Richard Juxon
(S) John Pollon[190]	Thomas Tressor
	Francis Lovelace
	Paul Petit
	Vespasian Harris
	Leonard Lovelace
	Edward Norden
	Robert Turner
	Thomas Gilbert

	Richard Chandler[191]
	William Reeve[192]
	Thomas Staples[193]

1641-1642

Aldermen	Common Council
Avery Sabine	[Thomas Player][194]
James Master	Thomas Marshall
William Whiting I	Peter Pyard
John Standley	George Young
(James Nicholson)[195]	Thomas Fidge
(C) John Lade	Roger Simpson
John Terry	(James Glover)[196]
William Bridge	George Milles
Daniel Masterson	John Lee I
(M) Clive Carter	Joseph Bulkley
John Watson II	Thomas Kyngsford
George Knott	Francis Maplisden
John Pollon	William Taylor
-----	Richard Juxon
Paul Petit[197]	Thomas Tressor
	Francis Lovelace
	(S) Vespasian Harris
	Leonard Lovelace
	Edward Norden
	Robert Turner
	Thomas Gilbert
	Richard Chandler
	William Reeve
	Thomas Staples

	Walter Mond[198]

[189] PRC31/114 F/3.
[190] 14 Sep 1641, fol. 162^{v}.
[191] 17 Aug 1641, fol. 162^{v}.
[192] 17 Aug 1641, fol. 162^{v}.
[193] 14 Sep 1641, fol. 162^{v}.
[194] Signs Culmer letter dated 9 Aug 1642.
[195] Discharged, blind, lame and infirmities of age, 10 May 1642, fol. 168^{v}. Bur. 21 Jan 1645, St Andrew.
[196] PRC/11/8/127.
[197] 2 Aug 1642, fol. 170^{r}.
[198] Chosen 30 Aug 1642, fol. 171^{r}.

1642-1643

Aldermen	Common Council
Avery Sabine	Thomas Marshall
James Master	Peter Piard
William Whiting I	George Young
John Standley	Thomas Fidge
(C) John Lade	Roger Simpson
John Terry	(S) John Lee I
William Bridge	(Joseph Bulkley)[199]
(M/2) Dan. Masterson	Thomas Kyngsford
(M/1) (J. Watson II)[200]	Francis Maplisden
Clive Carter	William Taylor
George Knott	Richard Juxon
John Pollon	Thomas Tressor
Paul Petit	(Francis Lovelace)[201]
-----	Vespasian Harris
George Milles[202]	Edward Norden
	Leonard Lovelace
	Robert Turner
	Thomas Gilbert
	Richard Chandler
	William Reeve
	Thomas Staples
	Walter Mond

	Michael Page[203]
	George Nichols[204]
	William Glover[205]
	Mr Thomas Ludd[206]

1643-1644

Aldermen	Common Council
Avery Sabine	Thomas Marshall
James Master	(Peter Piard)[207]
William Whiting I	(S) George Young
(John Standley)[208]	Thomas Fidge
(M) John Lade	Roger Simpson
John Terry	John Lee I
William Bridge	Thomas Kyngsford
(C) Daniel Masterson	Francis Maplisden
Clive Carter	(William Taylor)[209]
George Knott	(Richard Juxon)[210]
John Pollon	Thomas Tressor
Paul Petit	Vespasian Harris
George Milles	Edward Norden
-----	Leonard Lovelace
Michael Page[211]	Robert Turner
	Thomas Gilbert
	Richard Chandler
	Thomas Staples
	William Reeve
	Walter Mond
	George Nichols
	William Glover
	Thomas Ludd

	John Simpson[212]
	John Crane[213]
	Thomas Denne[214]

[199] Bur. 6 Dec 1642, St Andrew.
[200] Died during mayoralty, between will dated 12 Jul and probate dated 18 Jul 1643; replaced by Daniel Masterson.
[201] Discharged on request, 18 Jul 1643, fol. 178^{r}.
[202] 12 Sep 1643, fol. 180^{v}.
[203] 18 Jul 1643, fol. 178^{r}.
[204] 18 Jul 1643, fol. 178^{r}.
[205] Chosen 12 Sep 1643, fol. 180^{v}.
[206] 12 Sep 1643, fol. 180^{v}.
[207] Chosen town clerk 16 Jan 1644, fol. 184^{r}. Bur. 14 Jul 1644, St George.
[208] Bur. 20 Feb 1644, St Mildred.
[209] Bur. 25 May 1644, St Andrew.
[210] PRC/31/122 IJ/1.
[211] 30 Jul 1644, fol. 191^{v}.
[212] 16 Jul 1644, fol. 190^{v}.
[213] 16 Jul 1644, fol. 190^{v}.
[214] 30 Jul 1644, fol. 191^{r}.

1644-1645

Aldermen	Common Council
Avery Sabine	Thomas Marshall
James Master	(George Young)[215]
William Whiting I	Thomas Fidge
John Lade	Roger Simpson
John Terry	John Lee I
William Bridge	Thomas Kyngsford
(C) Daniel Masterson	Francis Maplisden
Clive Carter	Thomas Tressor
(M) John Pollon	Vespasian Harris
George Knott	(Edward Norden)[216]
Paul Petit	Leonard Lovelace
George Milles	Robert Turner
Michael Page	Thomas Gilbert
-----	Richard Chandler
	Thomas Staples
	(S) William Reeve
	Walter Mond
	[George Nichols][217]
	William Glover
	Thomas Ludd
	John Simpson
	John Crane
	Thomas Denne

	Thomas Hart[218]
	Thomas Bridge I[219]
	Edward Alexander[220]
	Richard Harrison[221]

1645-1646

Aldermen	Common Council
(M) Avery Sabine	Thomas Marshall
James Master	Thomas Fidge
(William Whiting I)[222]	(Roger Simpson)[223]
John Lade	Thomas Kyngsford
(John Terry)[224]	Francis Maplisden
William Bridge	(S) Thomas Tressor
(C) Daniel Masterson	Vespasian Harris
Clive Carter	Leonard Lovelace
John Pollon	Robert Turner
(George Knott)[225]	Thomas Gilbert
Paul Petit	Richard Chandler
George Milles	Thomas Staples
Michael Page	William Reeve
-----	Walter Mond
John Lee I[226]	William Glover
	Thomas Ludd
	John Simpson
	John Crane
	Thomas Denne
	(Thomas Hart)[227]
	Thomas Bridge I
	Edward Alexander
	Richard Harrison

	William Stanley[228]
	Joseph Philips[229]
	William Whiting II[230]

[215] Discharged, moved from city, 14 Jan 1645, fol. 198^{v}.
[216] Discharged, moved from city, 9 Sep 1645, fol. 208^{r}.
[217] Disappears from defaulter lists.
[218] 14 Jan 1645, fol. 198^{v}.
[219] 17 Jun 1645, fol. 204^{v}.
[220] 17 Jun 1645, fol. 204^{v}.
[221] Chosen 9 Sep 1645, fol. 209^{r}.
[222] Bur. 9 Jan 1646, St Mary Magdalene.
[223] Discharged, non-attendance for two years, fols 219^{v}, 221^{v}, 228^{v}.
[224] Discharged on petition, deafness and inability of body, 11 Aug 1646, fol. 227^{v}; Petition CCA-CC/A/P/P/1. Bur. 4 Jan 1647, St Mildred.
[225] Discharged, moved from city, 8 Sep 1646, fol. 230^{r}.
[226] 8 Sep 1646, fol. 230^{r}.
[227] Bur. 12 Jul 1646, St Andrew.
[228] 11 Aug 1646, fol. 228^{v}.
[229] 22 Sep 1646, fol. 230^{v}.
[230] 8 Sep 1646, fol. 230^{r}.

1646-1647

Aldermen	Common Council
Avery Sabine	Thomas Marshall
(James Master)[231]	Thomas Fidge
John Lade	Thomas Kyngsford
William Bridge	Francis Maplisden
(C) Daniel Masterson	Thomas Tressor
Clive Carter	Vespasian Harris
John Pollon	Leonard Lovelace
(M) Paul Petit	Robert Turner
George Milles	Thomas Gilbert
Michael Page	Richard Chandler
John Lee I	Thomas Staples
-----	William Reeve
	Walter Mond
	William Glover
	Thomas Ludd
	John Simpson
	(S) John Crane
	Thomas Denne
	Thomas Bridge I
	Edward Alexander
	Richard Harrison
	William Stanley
	Joseph Phillips
	William Whiting II

1647-1648

Aldermen	Common Council
Avery Sabine	Thomas Marshall
John Lade	Thomas Fidge
(M) William Bridge	(S) Thomas Kyngsford
(C) Daniel Masterson	Francis Maplisden
Clive Carter	Leonard Lovelace
John Pollon	Robert Turner
Paul Petit	Thomas Gilbert
George Milles	Richard Chandler
Michael Page	Thomas Staples
John Lee I	Walter Mond
-----	William Glover
William Reeve[232]	Thomas Ludd
Vespasian Harris[233]	John Simpson
Thomas Tressor[234]	John Crane
	Thomas Denne
	Thomas Bridge I
	Edward Alexander
	Richard Harrison
	William Stanley
	Joseph Philips
	William Whiting II

	William Beane[235]
	Zachary Lee[236]

[231] Discharged on petition, called away from duty, 20 Oct 1646, CCA-CC/A/P/B/1646/27; fol. 234^{r}.
[232] 2 Nov 1647, fol. 257^{v}.
[233] 2 Nov 1647, fol. 257^{v}.
[234] 4 Apr 1648, fol. 264^{r}.
[235] 14 Sep 1648, fol. 268^{v}.
[236] 14 Sep 1648, fol. 268^{v}.

1648-1649

Aldermen	Common Council
(Avery Sabine)[237]	Thomas Marshall
John Lade	(Thomas Fidge)[238]
William Bridge	Thomas Kyngsford
(C) Daniel Masterson	Francis Maplisden
Clive Carter	Leonard Lovelace
John Pollon	(Robert Turner)[239]
(Paul Petit)[240]	Thomas Gilbert
George Milles	Richard Chandler
(M) Michael Page	(Thomas Staples)[241]
John Lee I	(S) Walter Mond
William Reeve	William Glover
Vespasian Harris	Thomas Ludd
Thomas Tressor	John Simpson
-----	John Crane
	Thomas Denne
	Thomas Bridge I
	Edward Alexander
	Richard Harrison
	William Stanley
	Joseph Philips
	William Whiting II
	William Beane
	Zachary Lee

	Francis Plomer[242]
	Jeremy Masterson[243]
	Henry Knight[244]

1649-1650

Aldermen	Common Council
John Lade	Thomas Marshall
William Bridge	Thomas Kyngsford
(C) Daniel Masterson	Francis Maplisden
[Clive Carter][245]	Leonard Lovelace
John Pollon	Richard Chandler
George Milles	Walter Mond
Michael Page	(William Glover) [246]
John Lee I	Thomas Ludd
(M) William Reeve	John Simpson
Vespasian Harris	John Crane
Thomas Tressor	Thomas Denne
-----	[Thomas Bridge I][247]
Thomas Gilbert[248]	(Edward Alexander)[249]
William Whiting II[250]	Richard Harrison
	William Stanley
	Joseph Philips
	(S) William Beane
	Zachary Lee
	Francis Plomer
	Jeremy Masterson
	Henry Knight

	John Lee II[251]
	Sandford Brancker[252]
	Thomas Ockman[253]
	Thomas Bridge II[254]
	John Fry[255]
	Henry Twyman[256]

[237] Bur. 30 Nov 1648, St George.
[238] Bur. 12 Feb 1649, recorded at St Andrew and Holy Cross.
[239] Discharged, absent over one year, 28 Nov 1648, fol. 272^{v}.
[240] Discharged, moved from city, 28 Nov 1648, fol. 272^{r}.
[241] Discharged, moved from city, 28 Nov 1648, fol. 272^{r}.
[242] Chosen 28 Nov 1648, fol. 272^{v}.
[243] Chosen 28 Nov 1648, fol. 272^{v}.
[244] Chosen 28 Nov 1648, fol. 272^{v}.
[245] Disappears from defaulter lists.
[246] Discharged, absent for two years, 25 Jun 1650, fol. 302^{v}.
[247] Disappears from defaulter lists.
[248] 25 Dec 1649, fol. 294^{r}.
[249] PRC/16/260 A/8.
[250] 5 Feb 1650, fol. 296^{v}.
[251] Fellmonger, 16 Apr 1650, fol. 300^{r}.
[252] 25 Jun 1650, fol. 303^{r}.
[253] 16 Apr 1650, fol. 300^{r}.
[254] 16 Apr 1650, fol. 300^{r}.
[255] 3 Sep 1650, fol. 306^{r}.
[256] 3 Sep 1650, fol. 306^{r}.

1650-1651

Aldermen	Common Council
John Lade	(Thomas Marshall)[257]
William Bridge	Thomas Kyngsford
Daniel Masterson	(Francis Maplisden)[258]
John Pollon	(Leonard Lovelace)[259]
(George Milles)[260]	(Richard Chandler)[261]
(C) Michael Page	Walter Mond
(John Lee I)[262]	Thomas Ludd
William Reeve	(John Simpson)[263]
(Vespasian Harris)[264]	John Crane[265]
(M) Thomas Tressor	Thomas Denne
(Thomas Gilbert)[266]	Richard Harrison
William Whiting II	William Beane
-----	Zachary Lee
William Stanley[267]	Francis Plomer
John Lee II[268]	Jeremy Masterson
(S) Henry Knight[269]	Sandford Brancker
	Thomas Ockman
	Thomas Bridge II
	John Fry
	Henry Twyman

	John Dickenson[270]
	Thomas Mayne[271]
	Anthony Farrar[272]
	Richard Hardes[273]
	Thomas Gorham[274]
	Thomas Harrison[275]
	Richard May[276]
	Richard Forstall[277]

1651-1652

Aldermen	Common Council
John Lade	Thomas Kyngsford
William Bridge	Walter Mond
Daniel Masterson	Thomas Ludd
John Pollon	John Crane
(C) Michael Page	Thomas Denne
William Reeve	Richard Harrison
(Thomas Tressor)[278]	(Joseph Philips)[279]
(M) William Whiting II	William Beane
William Stanley	Zachary Lee
John Lee II	Francis Plomer[280]
Henry Knight	Jeremy Masterson
-----	Sandford Brancker
Henry Twyman[281]	Thomas Ockman
	Thomas Bridge II
	(S) John Fry
	John Dickenson
	Thomas Mayne
	Anthony Farrar
	Richard Hardes
	Thomas Gorham
	Thomas Harrison
	Richard May
	Richard Forstall

	Daniel Hamadge[282]

[257] Discharged, neglect of office, 24 Dec 1650, fol. 313[r].
[258] Discharged on petition, 26 Nov 1650, fol. 311[r].
[259] Discharged, imprisoned for a year, 10 Jun 1651, fol. 324[r].
[260] Requests removal, AC4, fols 311[r-v].
[261] Discharged, process begins 15 Oct 1650, fol. 310[r].
[262] Discharged, moved from city, 16 Sep 1651, fol. 327[r].
[263] Discharged, 24 Dec 1650, fol. 313[r].
[264] Discharged on petition, 26 Nov 1650, fol. 311[r].
[265] Chosen Ald. 24 Dec 1650, fol. 313[r], refuses and returns to CC, 21 Jan 1650, fol. 314[r].
[266] Discharged on petition, 10 Jun 1651, fol. 324[v].
[267] 8 Feb 1651, fol. 315[v].
[268] 8 Feb 1651, fol. 315[v].
[269] 8 Feb 1651, fol. 315[v].
[270] 24 Dec 1650, fol. 313[v].
[271] 8 Feb 1651, fol. 315[v].
[272] 4 Mar 1651, fol. 317[r].
[273] 1 Apr 1651, fol. 319[v].
[274] 1 Apr 1651, fol. 319[v].
[275] 1 Apr 1651, fol. 319[v].
[276] 5 Aug 1651, fol. 325[r].
[277] 5 Aug 1651, fol. 325[r].
[278] Bur. 12 Sep 1652, St Andrew.
[279] Discharged on petition after fine for contempt, 30 Sep 1651, fols 327[r], 329[r].
[280] Chosen Ald. 30 Sep 1651, refused and fined, fol. 330[r].
[281] 17 Aug 1652, fol. 343[v].
[282] 17 Aug 1652, fol. 343[v].

1652-1653

Aldermen	Common Council
John Lade	[Thomas Kyngsford][283]
William Bridge	Walter Mond
Daniel Masterson	Thomas Ludd
John Pollon	John Crane
(C) Michael Page	Thomas Denne
(William Reeve)[284]	Richard Harrison
William Whiting II	William Beane
William Stanley	Zachary Lee
(M) John Lee II	[Francis Plomer]
Henry Knight	Jeremy Masterson
Henry Twyman	Sandford Brancker
-----	Thomas Ockman
(S) Richard May[285]	Thomas Bridge II
Anthony Farrar[286]	John Fry
	John Dickenson
	Thomas Mayne
	Richard Hardes
	Thomas Gorham
	Thomas Harrison
	Richard Forstall
	Daniel Hamadge

	Henry Collett[287]

1653-1654

Aldermen	Common Council
John Lade	Walter Mond
William Bridge	Thomas Ludd
Daniel Masterson	John Crane
John Pollon	Thomas Denne
(C) Michael Page	Richard Harrison
William Whiting II	William Beane
(M) William Stanley	(S) Jeremy Masterson
John Lee II	Sandford Brancker
Henry Knight	Thomas Ockman
Henry Twyman	Thomas Bridge II
Richard May	John Fry
Anthony Farrar	John Dickenson
-----	Thomas Mayne
Zachary Lee[288]	Richard Hardes
	Thomas Gorham
	Thomas Harrison
	Richard Forstall
	Daniel Hamadge
	Henry Collett

	Nathaniell Lade[289]
	Thomas Violett[290]
	Thomas Chandler[291]
	Randolph Ludd[292]
	Walter Maplisden[293]

[283] Disappears from defaulter lists. Possibly bur. 17 Apr 1653, St Andrew.
[284] PROB/11/227.
[285] 13 Sep 1653, fol. 358[r].
[286] Chosen 7 Jun 1653, fol. 355[v].
[287] Elder. 26 Oct 1652, fol. 346[v].
[288] 14 Sep 1654, fol. 371[v].
[289] 17 Jan 1654, fol. 363[r].
[290] 17 Jan 1654, fol. 363[r].
[291] 17 Jan 1654, fol. 363[r].
[292] 17 Jan 1654, fol. 363[r].
[293] 14 Sep 1654, fol. 371[v].

1654-1655

Aldermen	Common Council
John Lade	Walter Mond
(William Bridge)[294]	(Thomas Ludd)[295]
Daniel Masterson	John Crane
John Pollon	Thomas Denne
(C) Michael Page	Richard Harrison
William Whiting II	William Beane
William Stanley	Jeremy Masterson
John Lee II	(Sandford Brancker)[296]
(M) Henry Knight	Thomas Ockman
Henry Twyman	(Thomas Bridge II)[297]
Richard May	(S) John Fry
Anthony Farrar	John Dickenson
Zachary Lee	Thomas Mayne
-----	Richard Hardes
	Thomas Gorham
	Thomas Harrison
	Richard Forstall
	Daniel Hamadge
	Henry Collett
	Nathaniell Lade
	Thomas Violett
	Thomas Chandler
	Randolph Ludd
	Walter Maplisden

	(Richard Mascall)[298]
	William Turner[299]
	Israell Jacob[300]

1655-1656

Aldermen	Common Council
John Lade	Walter Mond
(Daniel Masterson)[301]	John Crane
[John Pollon][302]	(Thomas Denne)[303]
(C) Michael Page	Richard Harrison
John Lee II	[Jeremy Masterson][304]
Henry Knight	John Fry
(William Whiting II)[305]	John Dickenson
William Stanley	Thomas Mayne
(M) Henry Twyman	Richard Hardes
Richard May	Thomas Gorham
(Anthony Farrar)[306]	Thomas Harrison
Zachary Lee	Richard Forstall
-----	Daniel Hamadge
William Beane[307]	(S) Henry Collett
Thomas Ockman[308]	Nathaniell Lade
	Thomas Violett
	Thomas Chandler
	Randolph Ludd
	Walter Maplisden
	William Turner
	Israell Jacob

	Squier Beverton[309]
	(John Fowle)[310]
	(Francis Maplisden)[311]
	Kendrick Lake[312]

[294] Discharged on petition, age and disability, 24 Oct 1654, fol. 375^{v}.
[295] Discharged on petition, infirmity, 30 Jan 1655, fol. 381^{v}.
[296] Discharged on petition, 10 Oct 1654, fol. 375^{r}.
[297] Discharged, wilful non-attendance for a year, 30 Jan 1655, fol. 381^{v}.
[298] Chosen 30 Jul 1655, paid fine for refusal, fols 390^{r}, 391^{r}.
[299] 14 Aug 1655, fol. 390^{r}.
[300] 14 Aug 1655, fol. 390^{r}.
[301] Bur. 5 Oct 1655, St Andrew.
[302] Disappears from defaulter lists.
[303] Bur. 1 Aug 1656, St Mary Magdalene.
[304] Discharged on petition, 20 May 1656, fol. 402^{r}.
[305] PROB 11/255/46.
[306] Discharged on petition, 9 Sep 1656, fol. 408^{v}.
[307] 29 Jan 1656, fol. 397^{v}.
[308] 29 Jan 1656, fol. 397^{v}.
[309] 26 Feb 1656, fol. 399^{v}.
[310] Chosen 26 Feb 1656, fined for refusal, fol. 399^{v}; FA26, fol. 285^{v}.
[311] Chosen 26 Feb 1656, fol. 399^{v}. Possibly never sworn.
[312] Chosen 20 May 1656, fol. 402^{v}.

1656-1657

Aldermen	Common Council
John Lade	Walter Mond
Michael Page	John Crane (Snr)
(C) John Lee II	Richard Harrison
Henry Knight	John Fry[313]
William Stanley	John Dickenson
Henry Twyman	(S) Thomas Mayne[314]
(M) Richard May	Richard Hardes
Zachary Lee	Thomas Gorham
William Beane	Thomas Harrison
Thomas Ockman	Daniel Hamadge
-----	[Henry Collett][315]
Squier Beverton[316]	Nathaniell Lade
William Turner[317]	Thomas Violett
Richard Forstall[318]	Thomas Chandler
	Randolph Ludd
	Walter Maplisden
	Israell Jacob
	Kendrick Lake

	Edward Chambers[319]
	John Crux[320]
	Thomas Oughton[321]
	Joseph Colfe III [322]
	Nicholas Burgis[323]
	Nicholas Williams younger[324]

1657-1658

Aldermen	Common Council
John Lade	Walter Mond
(C) Michael Page	John Crane (Snr)
John Lee II	Richard Harrison
Henry Knight	John Fry
William Stanley	(S) John Dickenson
Henry Twyman	Thomas Mayne
Richard May	Richard Hardes
(M) Zachary Lee	Thomas Gorham
William Beane	Thomas Harrison
Thomas Ockman	Daniel Hamadge
Squier Beverton	Nathaniell Lade
William Turner	Thomas Violett
Richard Forstall	Thomas Chandler
-----	Randolph Ludd
	Walter Maplisden
	Israell Jacob
	Kendrick Lake
	Edward Chambers
	John Crux
	Thomas Oughton
	Joseph Colfe III
	Nicholas Burgis
	Nicholas Williams
	-----

[313] Chosen Ald. 24 Mar 1657, returned to CC on petition 7 Apr 1657, fols 420^{v}, 421^{v}-422^{r}, 430^{r}.
[314] Chosen Ald. 24 Mar 1657, returned to CC on petition 7 Apr 1657, fols 420^{v}, 422^{r}, 422^{v}.
[315] Disappears from defaulter lists.
[316] 16 Jun 1657, fol. 425^{r}.
[317] 8 Sep 1657, fol. 427^{v}.
[318] 14 Sep 1657, fol. 428^{r}.
[319] Chosen 7 Apr 1657, fol. 422^{v}.
[320] Chosen 7 Apr 1657, fol. 422^{v}.
[321] 8 Sep 1657, fol. 427^{v}.
[322] 8 Sep 1657, fol. 427^{v}.
[323] Chosen 14 Sep 1657, fol. 428^{r}.
[324] Chosen 22 Sep 1657, fol. 429^{r}.

1658-1659

Aldermen	Common Council
John Lade	(Walter Mond)[325]
Michael Page	John Crane (Snr)
John Lee II	(Richard Harrison)[326]
Henry Knight	John Fry
William Stanley	John Dickenson
Henry Twyman	Thomas Mayne
Richard May	Richard Hardes
(C) Zachary Lee	(Thomas Gorham)[327]
(William Beane)[328]	Thomas Harrison
(M) Thomas Ockman	Daniel Hamadge
Squier Beverton	Nathaniell Lade
William Turner	(S) Thomas Violett
Richard Forstall	Thomas Chandler
-----	Randolph Ludd
	Walter Maplisden
	Israell Jacob
	[Kendrick Lake][329]
	Edward Chambers
	John Crux
	Thomas Oughton
	Joseph Colfe III
	Nicholas Burgis
	Nicholas Williams

	Thomas St Nicholas[330]
	Thomas Swaffer[331]
	Edward Andrewes[332]
	John Tressor[333]
	(Avery Hilles)[334]
	(John Somner)[335]

1659-1660

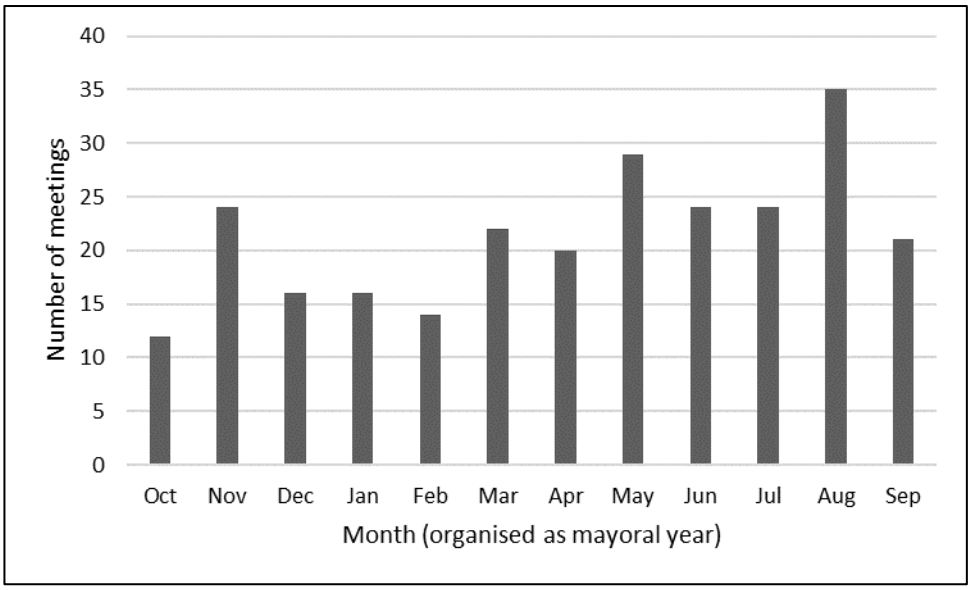
Aldermen	Common Council
John Lade	John Crane
Michael Page	John Fry
John Lee II	John Dickenson
Henry Knight	Thomas Mayne
William Stanley	Richard Hardes
Henry Twyman	Thomas Harrison
Richard May	Daniel Hamadge
(C) Zachary Lee	Nathaniell Lade
Thomas Ockman	Thomas Violett
(M) Squier Beverton	Thomas Chandler
William Turner	Randolph Ludd
Richard Forstall	Walter Maplisden
-----	(S?) Israell Jacob
Edward Andrewes[336]	Edward Chambers
	John Crux
	Thomas Oughton
	Joseph Colfe III
	Nicholas Burgis
	Nicholas Williams
	Thomas St Nicholas
	Thomas Swaffer
	John Tressor

	Thomas Fidge[337]

[325] Bur. 7 May 1659, St Margaret.
[326] Discharged on petition, age and infirmity, 9 Aug 1659, AC5, fol. 14^{v}.
[327] Discharged on petition, AC5, fol. 8^{v}.
[328] Discharged on petition, loss of sight, 6 Sep 1659, AC5, fol. 15^{v}.
[329] Disappears from defaulter lists.
[330] 29 Sep 1658, fol. 446^{v}.
[331] 3 May 1659, AC5, 12^{r}.
[332] Chosen 3 May 1659, ordered to appear 28 Jun 1659, sworn 23 Aug 1659, AC5, fols 12^{r}, 13^{v}, 15^{r}.
[333] Sworn 14 Sep 1659, AC5, fol. 16^{r}.
[334] Chosen 3 May 1659, ordered to appear 28 Jun 1659, dismissed as incapable in law 23 Aug 1659, AC5, fols 12^{r}, 13^{v}, 15^{r}.
[335] Chosen 6 Sep 1659, ordered to appear 20 Sep 1659, fined £20 for repeated refusal 18 Oct 1659, AC5, fols 15^{r}, 16^{v}, 18^{v}-19^{r}.
[336] Sworn 3 Apr 1660, AC5, fol. 24^{r}.
[337] Sworn 18 Oct 1659, AC5, fol. 18^{r}.

Appendix E: Meetings Data

E1: Meetings with no recorded business in Canterbury by month, 1630-1660 (Source: CC/A/C/4).



Appendix F: Gifts Data

F1: Sugar loaf gifts given by Canterbury and Maidstone corporations, 1600-1630 (Source: CC-F/A/20-26, Md/FCa1/1600-1660).

Mayoral Year Beginning	Canterbury	Maidstone
1600		
1601		
1602		
1603		
1604		
1605		
1606		
1607		
1608		
1609		
1610		
1611		
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1618		
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1620		
1621		
1622		
1623		
1624		
1625		
1626		
1627		
1628		
1629		

Key:
Blue: Evidence of sugar loaf gift given
White: No evidence found
Grey: Missing records

Mayoral Year Beginning	Canterbury	Maidstone
1600		
1601		
1602		
1603		
1604		
1605		
1606		
1607		
1608		
1609		
1610		
1611		
1612		
1613		
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1619		
1620		
1621		
1622		
1623		
1624		
1625		
1626		
1627		
1628		
1629		
1630		
1631		
1632		
1633		
1634		
1635		
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1640		
1641		
1642		
1643		
1644		
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1649		
1650		
1651		
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1653		
1654		
1655		
1656		
1657		
1658		
1659		

F2: Venison gifts given to Canterbury and Maidstone Corporations, 1600-1660 (Source: CC/F/A/20-26; Md/FCa1/1601-1660).

Key:
Blue: Evidence of venison gift received
White: No evidence found
Grey: Missing records

Bibliography

Primary Materials

Manuscript Sources

Canterbury Cathedral Archives (CCA)

City Collection (CC)

A/A/1-62	City Charters (c.1155-1836)
A/P/B/	Petitions to burghmote
A/P/P/1/11, 22	Petitions and proclamations
A/C/1	Burghmote and quarter sessions minute book (1419-1548)
A/C/3	Burghmote minute book (1578-1602)
A/C/4	Burghmote minute book (1630-1658)
A/C/5	Burghmote minute book (1658-1672)
A/C/7	Burghmote minute book (1684-1695)
A/C/8	Burghmote minute book (1695-1744)
A/D/1	Rough minutes (c.1616-17)
A/O/3	Recorder's appointment (1593)
F/A/19	Chamberlains' Accounts (1587-1592)
F/A/20	Chamberlains' Accounts (1592-1602)
F/A/21	Chamberlains' Accounts (1602-1610)
F/A/22/1, 2	Chamberlains' Accounts (1610-1620)
F/A/23	Chamberlains' Accounts (1620-1630)
F/A/24	Chamberlains' Accounts (1630-1640)
F/A/25	Chamberlains' Accounts (1640-1650)
F/A/26	Chamberlains' Accounts (1650-1660)
B/A/C/1-4	Charter tax (1608)
B/A/Q/1	Plague assessment (1605)
B/C/S/4/25, 26	Subsidy rolls (1621-6)
WOODRUFF/54	Trade incorporation deeds
Uncatalogued	Alderman Bunce's Abridgement (minute books)

Miscellaneous Collections including parish records (U)

U/3/1/1	St Mary Magdalene parish registers
U3/2/1	St Mary Breadman parish registers
U3/3/1	St George parish registers
U3/4/1	St Mary Bredin parish registers
U3/5/1	St Andrew parish registers
U3/6/1	St Margaret parish registers
U3/8/1	St Alphege parish registers
U3/9/1	All Saints parish registers
U3/10/1	Holy Cross parish registers
U3/81/1	St Paul parish registers
U3/89/1	St Mildred parish registers
U3/90/1	St Peter parish registers
U3/103/1	St Mary Northgate parish registers
U3/105/1	St George parish registers
U12/A1	Drapers' and Tailors' Memoranda Book (1544-1672)
U66/1	Diary of Thomas Scott (1626)
Map/49	Estate map (1550-1650)

Dean and Chapter (DCc)

DCc/ChAnt/C/1237	Evidence for Quo Warranto (1615x1633)
DCc/Survey/22	The Parliamentary Survey of the cathedral's estates in the City of Canterbury (1650)

Diocese of Canterbury (DCb)

PRC 10	Archdeaconry Court register of inventories
PRC 11	Archdeaconry Court loose inventories
PRC 16	Archdeaconry Court original wills
PRC 17	Archdeaconry Court registered wills
PRC 28	Consistory Court registered inventories
PRC 31	Consistory Court original wills
PRC 32	Consistory Court registered wills

Kent History and Library Centre (KHLC)

Maidstone Borough Collection (Md)

ACm1/1a	Burghmote minutes (1561-1604)
ACm1/2	Burghmote minutes (1604-1643)
ACm1/3	Burghmote minutes (1643-1694)
FCa/1/1600-1660	Maidstone Accounts (1600-1660)
IC1-4	Maidstone Charters (1549-1619)

Lambeth Palace Library

LPL-MS 1730	Accounts of Archbishop Abbot (1614-1622)

The National Archives, Kew

Chancery (C)

C66/2571	Patent roll

Probate (PROB)

PROB 11	Prerogative Court of Canterbury: Will Registers

Star Chamber (STAC)

STAC/8/115/14	Denne vs Paramore (1608)

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